

RED WEEKLY

**COWLEY:
Witch-hunt
exposed - p5**

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HANDS OFF BLACK PEOPLE

BLACK PEOPLE in Britain face violence on two fronts today:

VIOLENCE FROM THE RACISTS: Vermin like Kingsley Read who declared after the murder of an Asian youth in Southall, 'One down — one million to go'. And from the little Hitlers of the National Front, who are running their election campaign in Balckburn around the slogan 'Get the Blacks out of Blackburn'.

VIOLENCE FROM THE POLICE: The truncheons and dustbin-lids of Notting Hill speak volumes of the police chiefs' sugar-coated phrases about 'racial harmony'. If you're young and black, you're hassled and you're harassed — every night. If you argue back the intimidation is continued in the press, where the police denounce such resistance as the acts of 'criminals' not to be confused with 'decent black people'.



At the same time when attacks are made on blacks the police are nowhere to be found — despite their boast that they will 'control the streets'. The only security blacks have is that they provide for themselves; black self-defence against racist attacks, and against police brutality.

Callaghan backs up the police provocation in Notting Hill. It's more convenient to blame the black youth than to admit that his Government's policies have created the mass unemployment and crumbling services on which the racists breed.

The Labour Party, worried about the electoral success of the fascists, launches a campaign allegedly against racism which accepts immig-

ration controls. The TUC makes pious noises while banging the nationalist drum of import controls.

The message of all the Labour leaders is 'we don't want confrontation'. They're running away from the racists. But the fascists are gunning for them as well. Last week Blackburn MP Barbara Castle got a bullet through the post. Whether she and the rest of the Labour left will wake up before such messages are delivered by something more deadly is doubtful. They have forgotten the lessons of the thirties. They have not learned the history of Italy and Germany. Only mass working class action can drive the fascists off the streets.

The demonstration in Blackburn this week is a turning point for the anti-racist campaign. We are going to confront the fascists in their strong-

hold, fight to explain that socialist policies can solve the present crisis while racist ones can only produce scapegoats. And show that black and white must unite, not in words, but in mass action on the streets against racism and for socialism.

**END ALL IMMIGRATION LAWS!
NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS!**

**LABOUR MOVEMENT
MUST SUPPORT BLACK
SELF-DEFENCE!**

March on 11 Sept: 2pm Whalley Range, Blackburn

Blackburn Youth say STAND UP

Extracts from a leaflet published by the Asian Youth Organisation in Blackburn

OVER THE past couple of months the question of racialism has once again come to the forefront of British political life. It is not something that is spoken in whispers anymore. It is talked about openly. One thing is very clear: the deep racist feelings against the immigrant community.

Whilst the white community debates whether those who are here should be repatriated or integrated, the underlying assumption is that 'we don't want any more of them here'. Throughout white society, there is a common consensus that the number of immigrants must be restricted.

Of course, we also have our Uncle Toms, those who have earned themselves a fat livelihood via the race relations industry, who are always attending numerous conferences on our behalf that don't seem to do us any good, and who feel we must play it cool, present petitions to the Prime Minister, and gabble and talk about it.

We young Asian militants say that the time to ACT has arrived. We say WE ARE HERE TO STAY, and not even Enoch Powell's grandfather can repatriate us.

The real problem of racialism, and one that is often covered up by the twaddle of the race relations industry, is the exploitation of black workers as cheap labour. This is the heart and soul of our presence here.

And the simple fact is that the white working class and its trade union movement (despite pious resolutions passed) acquiesces in this situation. In a number of cases, white workers have actively resisted promotion of black workers.

Those who preach 'Black and White, Unite and Fight' should preach it to those who actually practise the racialism—and not to us!



Contrary to what some of our white friends like to tell us, racialism in Britain is not the sudden product of the activities of the National Front. True, the NF exploits the race issue for its own purposes, but it exploits something that is rampant and is always there.

For certain elements to tell black people that it is all due to the fascists is quite wrong. The current racialism is a result of Britain's imperialist history, it stems from her colonial past. Racialism is a manifestation of imperialist ideology.

If white people in Britain are to

come seriously to terms with their racist attitudes towards black people all over the world, they must come to terms with the imperialist history that is deeply lodged within their culture.

We ourselves must remember that the root cause of our problems is the exploitation of the countries from which we come. Imperialist exploitation has resulted in poverty back home, as our raw materials and other commodities were plundered in the interest of metropolitan countries. It is precisely because we were plundered like this that the worst

WOLVERHAMPTON ANTI-RACIST COMMITTEE
Public meeting against racism and immigration controls
Sunday 12 September, 3pm, Wolverhampton Polytechnic
Speakers include: TARIQ ALI, JIMMY McCALLUM (Socialist Worker prospective candidate, Walsall North), Mr NOOR (President, Wolverhampton IWA), KEITH WYMER (Labour prospective candidate, South Staffs)

AND FIGHT

Butchers in blue

By Graham Richards

AN ELDERLY MOTHER is going around Chester-le-Street with a petition. It calls for a public inquiry into the death of her son, 39-year-old Liddle Towers, after he had been in police custody. So far only two people approached have refused to sign.

Liddle Towers was arrested at about one o'clock in the morning in January this year. He had been in the Key Club at Birtley along with his fiancée, Joyce Jacques. Outside the club waited a

But not only did Liddle intend to allow his fiancée to drive, he was also cheery when approached by the two constables. In anger, they decided to arrest him anyway, on a drunk and disorderly charge. As Joyce looked round from opening the car door to see where Liddle was, she saw him being dragged along the road.

Before his death, Liddle lived for a number of days. During this time he was able to tell his family and a number of friends what had happened to him. Seven policemen — six constables and one sergeant — set about him. They stripped off his clothes, hitting him mainly in the stomach and small of the back.

According to Dr. Jack Ennis, a pathologist, he died because of 'haemorrhage due to ruptured spleen and pancreas and other injuries. These were consistent with being caused by impacts to the

that police inquiries should be conducted by someone from another force, this was only nominally adhered to in this case. A Durham police officer investigated the affair — but until the re-organisation of local government, the Birtley men whom he was supposed to investigate had been buddies in the same force. Naturally, on the basis of his report, the Director of Public Prosecutions has decided to take no action.

This has not satisfied Liddle's family and his friends. They point out that unless Liddle's explanation is accepted — namely, that he was savagely beaten by the police — it is impossible to account for his very extensive injuries. At the very least they want the dismissal of his murderers from the force.

Marian Woods, Liddle's sister, argues that there is little chance of gaining even this limited objective through official channels. She would therefore like to see an inquiry into her brother's death conducted by trade unions in the North East. She would like to see, as the outcome of such an inquiry, the publication of a full and comprehensive report on how he met his end.

Brutal

Such a report would merely serve to confirm an already widely-held opinion — the police in the North East are among the most brutal and corrupt in the country. The stories about them are

jobs in Britain seemed wonderful to us.

Today, when black people are struggling so heroically against imperialism, we must begin to link ourselves to that struggle also, from here in Britain. We will not win dignity in any part of the world so long as our mother countries are still plundered by imperialism.

Let us combine the struggle against racialism in Britain with the struggles of the Third World, of which Britain is still a major exploiter, as in South Africa, Zimbabwe, etc. **HEREIN LIES OUR SALVATION.**

* They harassed Eddie Milne and his supporters during the General Election because he exposed the scandal of builder and night club owner Sid MacCullough selling houses at half their market value to police officers.

* Judge Roderick Sewell told a jury in a Gosforth bank robbery case that it should not rely upon police evidence as the officers were 'utterly discredited'.

* A Newcastle solicitor claims that he was threatened with physical assault when he entered a police station.

* The *Newcastle Journal* of 18 May 1976 carried reports of cases where policemen were accused of brutality. In one, a police sergeant was said to have 'gone berserk' with his truncheon, causing a three-inch cut on a man's head, while in the other a policeman used a knotted dog chain to whip his victims. In both cases the police were found not guilty.

* Within a few days of starting an organisation for those who have suffered from police malpractices, Mrs Ratcliffe of Whitley Bay has been approached by 82 people, each with their own particular example.

* In Felling, the home of ex-Alderman Cunningham, the police ran their own burglary racket. A standard joke in the town was about the policeman who approached a man in the street to ask him: 'Will you lend me £5 until the banks shut?'

Clearly, in such circumstances it is important that the trade union move-

BLACK STRUGGLE
a journal against racism and capitalism
20p



BLACK STRUGGLE is a new journal written by active militants taking up the major questions which confront blacks in a capitalist society infested with racism. It aims to provide a forum for debate and controversy on those issues arising out of the struggle against black oppression.

In the first issue, the Asian Socialist Forum draw some useful lessons from the upsurge in Southall. There is an up-to-date account and analysis of contemporary fascist organisations in Britain. The journal will also insist on the connection between racism and imperialism. A regular international section features articles on India, Jamaica and South Africa plus a report on the situation in Boston USA. Reports from local correspondents will also feature prominently.

Copies and enquiries about the editorial collective to: C/o 15 Portland Road, London N15. The journal costs 20p. — annual subscriptions [including p&p] £1.50.

samaj

PHOTO: JOHN STURROCK (REPORT)

IN FOCUS

Kissinger cracks the whip - but will they jump?

The continued existence of the white regimes in southern Africa depends ultimately on the goodwill of Western imperialism — and in particular, of the United States. Thus the talks between Kissinger and Vorster in Zurich last weekend were of no little importance for the future. With the ever-increasing radicalisation of the black working class, Vorster's ability to sell apartheid to his imperialist masters as the best defence of imperialist interests in South Africa is now severely limited. The intensity and scope of the demonstrations have convinced Dr Kissinger that an alternative strategy must be developed which heads off the potential development of a conscious anti-imperialist struggle by the black African militants.

Dr Kissinger expressed this position forcefully in a recent speech in Washington. He condemned 'South Africa's internal structure ... (as) incompatible with any concept of human dignity', but went on to say: 'No system that leads to periodic upheavals and violence can possibly be just, nor can it last.' Forget the bit about justice, just concentrate on the complaint about the inability of apartheid to guarantee political stability and safeguard imperialist investments. The words 'nor can it last' give the game away completely.

Safeguard huge profits

Far from having any concern for the plight of the black African under apartheid, Kissinger is simply worried about how to safeguard the huge profits which imperialism extracts from South Africa. The problem he faces — in Rhodesia and Namibia, too, but especially in South Africa — is what combination of forces to replace the white regimes by.

At present the South African police show little sign of being able to defeat the wave of protest sweeping the country. Indeed, the solidarity of the black African working class must be frightening to them. During a recent three-day boycott of work at the Soweto township over a hundred thousand people were absent on any one day. That the police have totally failed in their attempts to break the self-confidence of the black Africans was again demonstrated by the determination of the coloured demonstrators in carrying the fight against apartheid into the heart of the business area of Cape Town. The South African regime is surely beginning to wonder what it can do to quell the disturbances.

Concessions of a cosmetic nature may well be tried, but it is unlikely that they will fool anyone — least of all the black militants. However, with a summit meeting of five African countries taking place specifically to discuss Kissinger's proposed mission to South Africa, he clearly needs to extract something from Vorster in order to retain any credibility.

No major concessions

As to whether any major concessions will be granted, this is extremely unlikely. A rational strategy for multinational corporations in South Africa hardly coincides with the interests of maintaining white privilege. With the abolition of apartheid, the privileged position of many of the whites would disappear too. It is only the super-exploitation of the black working class that permits the high standard of living enjoyed by many white workers (who would otherwise have badly paid jobs). It is thus inconceivable that apartheid could be ended simply at the dictates of imperialism.

There are, of course, sectors of South African capital which have no use for apartheid and are already calling for an end to 'petty-apartheid' (seats for whites only, etc.). The reason for this liberalism is of course to be found in the drive for profit. With the increasing growth of the South African economy, more and more skilled labour is required.

But as there are only a limited number of whites in South Africa, and blacks are banned in general from such posts, bottlenecks occur and act as a brake on industry. The result is that the apartheid laws are engineered to allow some blacks to do jobs normally reserved for whites. This gives rise to the argument in some quarters that in time the colour bar will float up and apartheid will simply disappear. But once again this neglects the political strength of the unskilled white workers who form the social base of the regime.

Zimbabwe is key

Unfortunately the forces opposed to the regime in South Africa are still appallingly weak at present; and unless they are able to weld themselves into a force capable of challenging for power, this must tragically remain the case. Whether they succeed or not will largely depend on the South African economy, the attitude of the surrounding states, and of course the masses' self-confidence. Hence it can be appreciated that in many ways the outcome of the struggle for Zimbabwe is key. As the *Guardian* put it:

'Rhodesia is on its way to African rule, by the bloody or the peaceful route nobody yet knows.'

In other words, it is a question of whether imperialism manages to replace the Smith regime with a neo-colonialist government before the struggle goes beyond these limits to produce a state totally opposed to imperialism.

The strength of the South African economy will also have an important effect on the outcome of the struggle. More than 60 per cent of foreign investment in South Africa is British, which means that the responsibilities of British socialists are very great. Our equal responsibilities toward the struggle in Zimbabwe cannot be underestimated. At present it is vital to build a solidarity movement in Britain which fights for the Labour Government to break all links with South Africa and fights to aid the armed struggle in Rhodesia in all possible ways. For if real solidarity is not given to the militants in southern Africa, there is a real danger that they will be defeated and demoralised.

The manoeuvrings of Kissinger are an attempt to impose a neo-colonial strategy in Rhodesia and ultimately likewise in South Africa. This represents a potentially very dangerous development — the more so as right-wing Labour leaders are playing a central role in these manoeuvres.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

Messrs Benn, Mikardo and Hayward at the press launching of Labour's campaign against racism. The material for the campaign backs the racist 1971 Immigration Act to the hilt. If these gentlemen disagreed with it they didn't say so.

'We don't want confrontation'

ON FRIDAY, 3 September, the Labour Party launched its apology for a campaign against racism. Labour Party Chairman Ron Hayward was there at the press conference along with Ian Mikardo, Joan Lester and Tony Benn. Apparently, Tony's ability to attend meetings has improved lately.

So what did the Labour Party have to say? 'Work Together With Labour' is the amusing tag-line given to their campaign, although Tony Benn at least realised that 'unemployment bred fascism'.

'I remember the fascists of the thirties. They bred on despair, turning one group from another. The growth of racism stems from the same factor of unemployment. Now it's the blacks — it was the Jews. The trade union and labour movement was sufficiently strong to stop fascism in the Thirties. We must stop fascism getting a hold today.'

Red Weekly expressed its agreement with Mr. Benn that unemployment and deteriorating social services are indeed the breeding ground of racism. However, when we enquired as to why Mr. Benn missed the crucial meeting of the Labour Party National Executive Committee which approved the cuts and continues to sit in a Government which is making the problems of unemployment and cuts worse, Ron Hayward intervened to say that he 'didn't see what this had to do with racism'. We never found out whether Mr. Benn did, because he didn't answer the question.

Pious

Later on, Ron Hayward related how recently the Labour Party had called a press conference on South Africa: 'It's no use condemning racism abroad if we condone it at home.' Unfortunately, the Labour Party's 'campaign' against racism is a mixture of pious moralism and condoning of racism.

Labour's By-election Trial

Stonehouse leaves Walsall. Jenkins leaves Stechford. Apart from arguments as to whether the Common Market would be better headed by a crook, or whether Jenkins should be consigned to the jail where he held Des Warren, no sleep will be lost by militants as to the eventual fate of these two former members of the right-wing Labour establishment.

More serious questions are raised. Last weekend the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group re-affirmed its support for the Socialist Worker candidacy in Walsall North. Whatever the inadequacies of his programme, Jimmy McCallum represents a fighting alternative to the betrayals of the Labour Government.



ROY JENKINS - off soon to his £60,000 job with the EEC.

ment. United action and free debate provide the best possible conditions to build around the campaign

Dover, they are also reassured that 'the laws against illegal immigration are tough and toughly enforced'.

There is little doubt that Labour's response to the racists has been inspired more by the success of the fascists in taking votes off Labour than by any principled opposition to racism. This is reflected in the fact that none of the Labour Party's propaganda — a mere 50,000 or so leaflets and pamphlets — is being produced in the languages of the black community.

SAY LABOUR LEADERS COUNCILS

Moreover, while giving support to Labour councils that ban the fascists from using public halls, the party, according to Ian Mikardo, 'has always left it up to individuals as to whether they will go onto platforms with NF candidates or not'.

The attitude of the Labour Party leadership can be summed up in a single phrase from Ron Hayward: 'We don't want confrontation.' No, the Labour Party leadership certainly does not want to confront the fascists and racists head-on — in the streets or anywhere else.

To do that would mean putting their own house in order: opposing all Immigration Acts, supporting the right of the black community to build self-defence squads against the racist attacks, and driving the fascists off the streets. It would mean supporting the formation of black caucuses within the trade unions and Labour Party to deal with the specific problems they confront.

The Labour leaders won't encourage this. No wonder Ian Mikardo was nonplussed when asked why more blacks didn't involve themselves in politics and the Labour Party. 'We have the same problem with women', he mused. They don't often put themselves forward as candidates.' I wonder why.

Mick Gosling.

fighting the cuts, declining living standards, unemployment and racism. The drawing together of these movements would be part of the campaign for a class struggle left wing in the working class — a nationally co-ordinated fight-back against the Labour Government which would fight for alternative policies and an alternative leadership.

In that context, the possibility of standing Tariq Ali, a member of the IMG, was discussed. It was stressed, however, that if a candidate emerged who could represent those tasks more clearly, then a campaign in support of that candidate would be pushed forward.

The message is clear. Cuts, unemployment and decreasing living stan-

COWLEY: LEYLAND, UNION BOSSES CHOP MILITANT STEWARDS



Leyland Cars

A SPECIAL REPORT INTO THE REASONS BEHIND THE WITCH-HUNT OF THE 'UNION FOUR' AT COWLEY.

BRITISH LEYLAND management and right-wing red-baiting senior steward Reg Parsons cleared a significant hurdle at Cowley last week in their fight to break the back of the shop stewards organisation as a fighting force.

Last Friday a mass meeting of day-shift workers in the North Works direct production areas voted overwhelmingly to return to work, leaving defence of four victimised shop stewards in the treacherous hands of the local union bureaucracy. The fact that the four concerned were stewards on the night-shift and were prevented from explaining their point of view to the meeting demonstrates the collaboration between union officials and management in bringing about the final result.

Collusion

More evidence of this collusion has now been revealed: the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the No. 5 Regional Committee of the Transport & General Workers Union has decided to set up an 'enquiry' into all aspects of recent affairs—and in the meantime, Parsons has been given the go ahead to arrange replacements for the four stewards.

No wonder the press is gloating. What was at stake was an elementary trade union principle: the right of the shop floor to hold meetings as and when necessary. The so-called 'union four' simply addressed such a meeting on the sacking of Brother Hussain—a sacking that had not been fought by the local union bureaucrats although the official initially responsible in the case had agreed that it was unfair dismissal.



REG PARSONS - red-baiting T&GWU senior steward at Cowley.

Management have been looking for an opportunity to attack the strong stewards organisation at the plant. With orders for the Princess piling up, the bosses are seeking to take advantage of the Ryder plan to

result has been a black market for the Princess, with customers paying well over list price.

Management want a 50 per cent increase in production on the Princess. With no money available for a major capital investment programme, they are therefore trying to screw a 25 per cent productivity increase.

Sacked

But at Cowley there's a procedure to deal with such changes in production levels. The Industrial Engineering (IE) agreement lays down that any proposed changes to 'man assignment' sheets are subject to negotiation. The case of Bro. Hussain shows just what Leyland—and the trade union bureaucracy—think of this 'cumbersome' procedure. When he asked for a meeting to discuss his sheet he was sacked. When the four addressed a work meeting on the case they were jumped on. Speed-up is vital, endless discussions on individual cases unprofitable. An example had to be made.

On 29 August Leyland issued a Clock Notice to North Works employees. Its aim: to hammer the militant shop stewards organisation which, despite the 'participation' schemes proposed in the Ryder Report, is a mighty barrier to Leyland's rationalisation plans.

Dismissal

'The purpose of this Clock Notice, it ran, is to bring to the attention of the minority that, in future, those employees who organise unofficial meetings in the Plant without the support of the Senior Trade Union representative(s) and the Company, will be proceeded against in the Discipline Procedure with a view to their dismissal for promoting disruption within the Plant and thereby causing lost production.'

By the time this notice appeared, management had already contacted the local union officials. As early as 20 August, C.M. Barrett, Industrial Relations Manager, sent a letter to David Buckle, Transport and General Workers Union District Official. The letter complained about the convening of an 'unofficial' meeting the previous day to discuss the 'Hussain case', and asked Buckle to telephone Barrett 'to arrange the earliest possible meeting'. A copy of this letter was also sent 'confidentially' to Reg Parsons.

It doesn't take much to imagine what the reply was. The management called in the four stewards along with Parsons and Buckle in a meeting, and proceeded to



TERRY CULLEN, ANDY BROWN and TONY HOMER, three of the victimised stewards. Now being witch-hunted by the Tory press.

sons and Buckle then called a mass meeting involving sections not directly concerned with the case.

But the double-barrelled shot-gun provided by the company and loaded by Buckle and Parsons backfired. After a two hour debate in which the stewards put their case against the officials' betrayal, the meeting voted by 230 to 189 to support the stewards.

Broadside

That afternoon, Parsons told a 20-strong delegation from the Princess track that 'the mass meeting gave a mandate for whatever action each group decided'. And later that afternoon Buckle told the four stewards that 'any action taken will be constitutional as far as the mass meeting is concerned'.

But by the weekend Buckle and Parsons had decided that the memory of the mass meeting was wearing thin. They opened up a broadside in the local press. Buckle called for a return to normal working in the Oxford Mail. On Tuesday 31 August, Parsons published a leaflet addressed 'Urgent Report to all TGWU members - Cowley Assembly Plant'.

It has to be read to be believed.

Too much

'It is becoming increasingly difficult for me as your elected Senior Steward to continue in this very responsible job, particularly against a background of corrupt agitators who are financed by outside political forces to bring Leyland to its knees for political reasons. I just cannot carry on against such pressure on my own. It is too much for any one man'

But not apparently for Parsons in collaboration with the local union bureaucracy and Leyland management. The leaflet ended with a 'plan of action' for beating 'these kind of people that represent anarchy and disruption in order to strengthen their sick political ideals'.

principles of workers democracy. Management also did their bit by sending intimidatory letters to the stewards, feeding the press, and intimidating the workers in the Maxi division. The objective of this conspiracy was the second mass meeting on Friday 3 September.

The workers in the Princess division were solid behind their stewards despite this campaign. The AUEW also gave their limited support, refusing to do the job of any TGWU member in dispute as a result of supporting the stewards. And when it held an emer-

gency meeting on Thursday 2 September, the Joint Shop Stewards Committee threw its weight behind the four and distributed a 'Statement to Members'.

But the hysteria had done its job. At Friday's mass meeting a return to work was agreed. Parsons and Buckle had rigged it so that only day-shift workers were involved and the night-shift workers would have to wait a full three days for their mass meeting.

As a result trade union democracy and a fighting shop stewards organisation have suffered a serious setback at Cowley.

the case of Bro. Hussain

Members of the 5/293 branch of the Transport and General Workers Union are circulating a report concerning the sacking of Brother Hussain — the worker whose case was taken up by the four witch-hunted shop stewards. The report, endorsed at a branch meeting, takes the form of a reply to a letter from David Buckle, District Officer of the Transport and General Workers Union, informing Bro. Hussain that there was nothing he could do to protect his job.

The report points out that Bro. Hussain had a completely clean record when he was transferred under the Movement of Labour Agreement (MOL) to the North Works, where he worked on front seats — one of the most difficult jobs, on Section 4.

'In referring to this period in your letter, you say that Bro. Hussain was in "continual trouble" and that the company "seriously considered" giving him three days suspension, but never carried it out. We are astounded that you can accept that suspension "seriously considered" but never carried out can become part of a member's record leading to his dismissal.'

The report also challenges Buckle's allegation that on 19 January 1976, Bro. Hussain was transferred to another section in the hope that he would show an improvement in work standards. 'Bro. Hussain was transferred from Section 4 to Section 3 at his own request, under the MOL. Management had no part of it, yet you say it was an act of discipline and state it as part of his so-called "record".'

In Section 3 Hussain was again put on a job generally considered a bad one, and

'When the case came up with the production manager the entire company case was taken from the foreman's notebooks — remember there was still not a mark on Bro. Hussain's record card. The Company's case was accepted by the senior steward, Bro. Parsons, who agreed that Bro. Hussain be given two days suspension and transferred to an indirect area.'

Bro. Hussain eventually arrived on the Maxi track in a job no-one wanted. Whilst still in the training period he asked the steward to request a meeting with the superintendent to discuss his worries about the job. Amazingly the superintendent sacked him.

A meeting was then fixed with Hussain, his steward, Parsons, and the Production Manager. But Hussain was sick and unable to attend, and after his steward had been sent home, 'a meeting was held between Bro. Parsons and the Production Manager Mr Sudworth, at which Bro. Hussain's dismissal was endorsed'

The branch interviewed the relevant people, then went to see Bro. Thompson — at that time the union official responsible for the plant. 'After an hour he agreed that something was wrong and decided to make written application to the management for a conference to be convened on the basis of unfair dismissal The branch was satisfied with this meeting.'

Unfortunately, next day Bro. Thompson was sick and never returned prior to retiring. Buckle took over, refused to deal with the Branch officers, and listened only to Parsons. No conference was asked for. Instead Buckle met Industrial Relations Manager Barrett along with Parsons and Bro. Hussain.

Buckle asked Sudworth for the management to give the facts of the case. Bro. Hussain was not asked for the facts. 'After management had stated their case you adjourned and then went back in and met as your own. After this

Revolt behind bars



Water, water everywhere- and

not a drop to drink!

NOT EVEN the combined super-brain of the employers, the gutter press, the Labour Government and the trade union bureaucracy could have created the water shortage. But there's been a conspiracy nevertheless. An attempt is now being made to place responsibility for at least part of the capitalist crisis on super-human shoulders: nature itself!

But nature does not act in quite the arbitrary fashion that these worthies would have us believe. There is no drought as such. There's plenty of water about—on race-tracks and golf courses, for instance—and if rain falls in the 'wrong' places, that's because sufficient reservoirs and pipe systems have not been built.

Nor was the shortage of rain divinely ordained. 'Natural weather conditions' are profoundly influenced by what is called the 'ozone layer' of the atmosphere.

This ozone layer protects the earth against the harmful effects of the sun's ultra-violet rays. But the pollution which is generated by the so-called advanced state of capitalist technology is eliminating the ozone layer. The propellants in those anti-perspirant aerosol cans and other spray cans for 'de-polluting' home and body play a role in this. As the ozone layer thins, the sun's ultra-violet rays find it easier to penetrate, and this creates the supposedly 'natural' melting of the ice cap.

Sun-baked

All this has the impact of pulling the

want to create pollution, but 'where there's muck there's brass'. Anti-pollution equipment is either not installed or allowed to fall into disrepair. It's not good for profits.

No wonder, also, that in response to the drought, in addition to all the ingenious schemes to cut back working class consumption (they didn't want to give us baths in the first place), the bosses come up with projects such as cutting down trees. Trees, after all, do consume a great deal of water.

Environment

The only problem is that cutting down trees adds to the problem. Recently a small wood was cut down in the South of France. The result was that the average temperature in the area immediately rose two degrees Centigrade, thus reinforcing the whole process.

The poisonous 'fall-out' following the explosion at the Icmesa factory in Seveso

socialist economy and inform the demands and struggles of today.

Australian building workers have already had considerable success in implementing a 'green ban' on anti-social building projects that damage the environment. Socialists in Britain countered the Tories' propaganda about the oil crisis at the time of the three-day week in 1974 by explaining that this was aimed to divide the miners from the rest of the class and putting forward alternative proposals for energy production based on coal.

Simple practical remedies can also answer the anti-working class 'drought remedies' of Sunny Jim's Government. First, it can't have escaped anyone's notice that Britain is surrounded by water—salt water. Desalination projects have been at the heart of Israel's water plans, combined with irrigation schemes which pump water direct to the roots of crops. Why not here?

Reservoir

Secondly, there is the possibility of utilising water that does exist under-

THE SLATES and bricks which rained down from the roof of Hull prison were the only effective resort open to the militant prisoners to reveal the state of Britain's jails today. *Overcrowded* — there are more men and women in prison than ever before. *Brutal* — their exposure of the beating of a prisoner by four prison warders is only the tip of the iceberg. *Repressive* — there is no appeal about conditions or incidents except through panels which also deal with internal discipline.

The path followed by the hundred prisoners of Hull has been trodden before by prisoners demanding their rights. September 1966 saw 187 prisoners at Parkhurst involved in a non-violent sit-down against brutality. Non-violent as far as the prisoners were concerned that is. But 80 of them were attacked by nearly 500 prison officers. Many suffered serious injuries.

The next collective protest came in 1969 when a round robin was signed by 120 prisoners and was eventually published in the *People*. As a result the Home Secretary, Jim Callaghan, ordered an enquiry. The findings recommended the prosecution of four of the warders named in the round robin. Callaghan suppressed the findings of the report. The upshot was the riot of October 1969 — the bloodiest in the history of the British penal system.

Whitewash

More recently, prison brutality was dragged out into the light of day with the violence against Republican prisoners in Winson Green Prison. This ended with the whitewash acquittal of the warders involved. But the joint action of Republican and other prisoners at Hull will act to highlight the special violence they encounter from the warders and start to overcome hostility from other prisoners.

At any rate, the Republicans must have felt at home when the Saracen personnel carrier from the Fifth Inskilling Dragoons rumbled into the prison courtyard containing three soldiers thinly disguised as prison officers. But the use of the Army in putting down prison revolts is the inevitable logic of prison reform.

The prison population now stands at 40,500. This is well over the previous 'peak year' of 1971. Women prisoners make up an increasing proportion of the total. The crisis arising from the unsuitable accommodation into which prisoners are crowded, often two or three to a cell, has led Home Office officials to advocate more liberal policies, because there is no cash to keep up with the increase in inmates.

An additional purpose for such reforms is the principle that the more rights that prisoners enjoy, the more they stand to lose by breaking prison rules. But the problem with prison

reform is that once people are given the hope of living like human beings, they tend to treat it as a right and even agitate for improvement in their conditions. So every reform has to be accompanied by the 'big stick' — control units, limited association of prisoners, massive perimeter security and so on.

The last mass revolt against prison conditions came in 1972, a matter of weeks after the release of the five dockers from Pentonville had been secured by mass strike action. Yet despite the heroism of the prisoners, not a finger was lifted in the labour movement to support their struggle. Why was this, just after the capitalist class had demonstrated that by a court decision they can turn their class enemies into criminals at will?

Weakness

One reason is the lies which pour out of the press about pampered prisoners with their feet up watching television or making pottery. But more importantly, it shows the traditional weakness of the British labour movement towards the more backward sections of the working class.

And they are politically backward. Those on the left who argue that 'all crimes are political' because of the disrespect that a criminal has for private property are mistaken. The essence of revolution is its *collective* character. In a socialist society, those people who could not adjust to the new order and resolved this through individual attacks on people or property would be subjected to discipline and restrictions, although in a manner which genuinely re-equipped them to play a role in a revolutionary process.

Criminal activity is a feature of the politically backward sections of the class, particularly the youth. Individual solutions are sought to solve their own crisis. This is essentially what separates the trade union militant dubbed as a 'criminal' by the capitalist class from those who make up the majority of prisoners.

However the capitalist class do not care to make such fine distinctions. So Dick Pooley, national organiser of Preservation of the Rights of Prisoners (PROP), was dead right when he shouted to the Hull protesters that their prison was one of the symbols of working class oppression.

PROP calls for reforms, summarised in its prisoners charter, which would sweep away the veil of secrecy that hangs over Britain's jails and *guarantee* basic rights for all prisoners. The failure of the labour movement to support the actions which have erupted in the prisons around such demands is testimony to the deafness of the trade union movement to Pooley's words and the strength of the ruling class sentiment that 'they're just bloody criminals — they deserve what they get'.

Steve Potter

Torture in Britain's jails

THE WINDOW is opaque. You can only tell the difference between night and day. The only people you see are wardens. You cannot speak to them, and they do not speak to you.

This was the routine in a Wakefield Prison 'control unit' as revealed by one of its inmates this year. The existence of 'control units' was only exposed late in 1975, although they were set up in August 1974 as an innovation after the 1972 prisoners' strike. The routine was intended to impress on prisoners that they are not the masters of their own affairs.

'Control units' are not unlike the silent wing (tote trakt) of Ossendorf prison in West Germany where Ulrike Meinhof, the urban guerilla leader, was kept in isolation and sensory deprivation. But the silent wing has the added refinement of constant levels of temperature (extremes of heat from -30° to +60°) and constant TV surveillance. She suffered this torture for a year and then was confined to three years strict solitary. On 9 May this year her body was found in her cell at Stuttgart prison under suspicious circumstances. The West German state deny that she was murdered. But here is her own account of the slow death she suffered at their hands, smuggled out of prison:

'The feeling that one's head was going to explode.
The feeling, the spinal cord would be forced into the brain.
The feeling, the brain would slowly shrink together, like dried fruit for instance.
The feeling, one was uninterruptedly, imperceptibly, exposed to electrification, one was remotely controlled.
The feeling, one urinated the soul from one's body, as if one could not hold the urine.'

'Control units' have now supposedly been withdrawn — but only in name. The special wing at Wakefield has not been closed. Drugs are now being used in conjunction with punishment techniques. The use of sensory deprivation torture in Ireland has been exposed. They still have to call it by its right name in Britain's prisons.

Already one such aquifer in Berkshire yields 18 million gallons a day to feed the reservoirs that provide London with its daily consumption of some 450 million gallons.

Thirdly, enough water falls in Britain every year to meet our requirements many times over. If it falls in the 'wrong' places it could be piped and channelled

A crash programme of public works to carry out these projects would not only end all talk of drought. It would provide work for Britain's 200,000 unemployed building workers, and for engineers and technicians. Instead of calls from Len Murray for class collaboration with the bosses, for 'Britain to unite against the drought', the workers movement

Welsh fight for health

EVEN the rumour of proposed closure was enough to bring three-quarters of the entire staff of Lansdowne Hospital in Cardiff to a promptly organised union mass meeting.

Addressing the meeting—which the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS (NCC) had been central in organising—Dai Coity Davies, President of the NCC and an executive member of the South Wales National Union of Mineworkers, stressed the need for unity in action against the closure. He spoke of the role of the miners in the fight for the health service—and their determination to defend it. He spoke with the authorisation of the South Wales EC when he pledged the full support of the NUM to any fight launched by the hospital workers—a fight not just for their sakes, but for those of all working people.

National Union of Public Employees District Organiser Adrian Jones told the meeting that he had forced the Area Health Authority to concede a special meeting to discuss the question of closures. Members of the NCC then successfully proposed that a picket of that meeting be arranged.

Support for the campaign has so far come from members of the General and Municipal Workers Union, NALGO, the local Residents Association, and the Patients' Relatives Committee. An action committee was launched from the mass meeting which will be convening to discuss plans for the campaign.

The Area Health Authority appears to want to move in administrative staff from another building to make room for the proposed Welsh Assembly building: so high on the committee's priorities will be discussions of possible occupations to stop contractors moving in—or better still, a pledge from NALGO administrative staff that they will refuse to move.

It's action like this which is adding the meat to the initiatives launched by the NCC at a national level to force the Labour Party to implement 1975 conference policy on the NHS. To bang that point home, NCC supporters will be calling on local party delegates to join the lobby against the cuts outside the Labour Party Conference in Blackpool on Tuesday 28 September.

ERICA BARNETT

THE FIGHT FOR JOBS

Lessons of the Right to Work March

THE FIRST COMMENT to be made about the London to Brighton march of the Right to Work Campaign takes the form of a tribute to the 500-odd marchers who took part and who suffered blistered feet, near-exhaustion, and for some, demoralisation. The marchers spoke passionately of the frustration of being unemployed. What is to be criticised is that the march only served to increase that frustration.

The organisational failures are the least important. That the march rarely ran on time, that it ran out of money and the unemployed marchers were asked to contribute £1 each, that some of the marchers had to sleep in the open, that many never completed the march—all these failures, while regrettable and avoidable, were not the main mistakes.

Yet they were symptomatic of the march as a whole, in that they underlined the political failures of the march organisers, and led to confusion and

head-scratching as to what exactly was the purpose of the whole venture. For, apart from rather repetitive sentiments such as 'we are angry, so we're marching to lobby the TUC', there was no lead given as to how to direct the anger, as to the policies necessary to fight unemployment, as to what direction apart from a projected conference the campaign should take.

This was especially unfortunate as the march was an opportunity to develop such discussions. Apart from many members and sympathisers of the International Socialists who took part, most of the participants were young, fresh to political experience, and eager to discuss and argue. But the leadership of the march denied them such an opportunity.

Mass meetings were predominantly restricted to 'organisational' issues; tent meetings, usually led by IS members, were similarly restricted; and there were no meetings at which the way forward for the fight against unemployment was

discussed. In brief, the marchers were not encouraged to learn about how to fight the TUC/Labour Government policies or what demands to organise around.

Not only did this take the form of an absence of discussion: the banners of political parties were banned throughout most of the march, and the issuing of leaflets was strongly discouraged. There were more ominous aspects. When a contingent of gay workers attempted to carry their banner at Brixton, it was grabbed by stewards who told the marchers that if they wouldn't remove it the stewards would.

Shortly afterwards a 'Woman's Right to Work' contingent trying to display their banner were met with the outstretched hands of march leaders John Deason and Tommy Douras. Again the banner came down, and in the argument which followed Douras was dragged away by Deason when he started to issue threats of physical violence.

On the first night, at the meeting of the march council, a delegate from Bristol had his finger grabbed and twisted by another march organiser, Jimmy McCallum, after arguing about the question of democracy on the march. On the second day, another supporter of the women's contingent, Val Coultas, a marcher sponsored by the National Union of Students Executive, was shoved and pushed by stewards and told to 'get to the back of the march'.

Meeting

This was no isolated incident, for at times a witch-hunt atmosphere existed against IMG members or *Red Weekly* supporters. At the mass meeting when



the issue of women's and gay contingents was discussed, John Deason said 'This Woman's Right to Work banner is the banner of a political party, the International Marxist Group. No banners of political parties are allowed, which is why this one isn't.'

Lie

This was an outright lie. Certain members of the IMG supported the banner and the right of those who wished to carry it, but the women's contingent was by no means exclusively made up of members or sympathisers of the IMG. But for Deason this was irrelevant, because his purpose was to win the vote at the mass meeting against the carrying of the banner.

This meeting itself had an importance, because at the preceding 'council' there had been a decision that such issues weren't up for discussion at mass meetings. The issue of the separate contingents was the one occasion when this prohibition was successfully fought. And although the mass meeting voted against the contingents' rights, the fact that the matter was discussed at all, albeit for only 15 minutes—was a victory for proletarian democracy.

But the decision itself was not, because workers' democracy is not simply about majority rulings, it is about the defence of the rights of such minorities within the workers movement to organise, make their own propaganda, and



Oil on trouble

Labour, Tories and the SNP have all fed Scottish workers the same story. Don't worry if the traditional heavy industries are going to the wall, oil's coming to save us. That will bring jobs for all.

But the story is getting a bit sick now. In the same week that unemployment topped one and a half million, it was announced that 1,200 workers at the Redpath Dorman Long rig construction yard in Methil, Fife, can expect to join the dole queue by the end of the year. The yard was originally hailed as the solution to unemployment caused by the closure of Fife's pits.

Two hundred RDL workers were joined by stewards from other yards in a demonstration against the closure at the end of last month, but while many of his members were marching for the right to work, Engineering Union general secretary John Boyd was telling a meeting in Glasgow that 'despite the difficult situation, the Government is doing the right thing...Labour will only win

Boyd's claims were somewhat shaky with the announcement on the same day in Dundee alone—where unemployment already over 11 per cent—600 workers National Cash Registers and 300 employed in the Public Works Department have been sacked (the latter as a result of Government-ordered cuts). Boyd's political foresight also seems to be limited. As Tom Coyne, joint chairperson of the RDL action committee, pointed out at the demonstration: 'If the Government doesn't do something about chronic unemployment in Scotland, Labour voters will stay away from polls or vote SNP.'

The workers at RDL and Dundee expect little help in defending their jobs from the likes of Boyd or the Scottish TUC—latter busily announcing its wish for 'co-operation' with the Cabinet. They should focus instead the lead given by the Rolls Royce workers at Blantyre occupying against the sure, and by the mass demonstration



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

they wish to, carry their banners. The limited nature of the discussion at the mass meeting did not allow such principles to be raised.

What was especially distasteful was that John Deason in making his recommendations miseducated the marchers about the nature of workers' democracy. His talk about 'there has to be a military discipline' reflects the same sort of notions which the trade union and Labour Party bureaucracy come out with when they argue against the existence of independent or even 'rank and file' groupings inside those organisations.

Behind all these tactics lay the attempts of the IS leaders to ban any banners, policies or practices which were not their own. This IS control was evident during the march. The march's council was eventually restricted to 12 members: eight were elected, four were nominees of who and what it wasn't clear — but all these four were members of IS.

Facade

There is nothing particularly wrong with IS attempting to dominate the march — what was wrong was the disgusting facade of the campaign being 'independent' and not associated with any political organisation. Because it was, and the smears against the IMG, the violence, the absence of political discussion, the bans on banners, all

aimed against the articulation of any policies which weren't those of IS. If the IS want to build a genuinely open and democratic campaign against unemployment, such practices will not do it.

Banner

Nor will the campaign achieve anything while it refuses to take seriously the mass organisations of the working class. They should not exclude Labour Party banners, as they did, they should welcome such support. They did invite trade union banners throughout the march, but there were precious few, just as there were precious few mainstream working class militants on the march.

Such militants will not be won easily. Nor will the active as opposed to passive participation of trade union branches, trades councils, even elements of the 'left' bureaucracy who are willing to become involved in the fightback against the policies of the Government and TUC. But such a fight is essential, because a campaign not oriented to the mass organisations is going nowhere.

It may be good fun to chant 'Hurry, Hurry, Kill Len Murray' or Jack Jones's Body will be lying in the grave'; it may get publicity to disrupt *Tribune* meetings; but infantile chants say nothing to the working class and busting up meetings is no way to involve workers who retain reformist illusions.

Bust-ups

There were too many bust-ups on the march, there were too many times workers' democracy was flouted, and there was too little on offer to the marchers to give a way forward in the fight back against unemployment. The IS may recruit out of the march, they may be pleased they got their name in the press, but such victories are ephemeral and sectarian in the true sense of the word — putting the interest of the group before those of the working class.

It is to be hoped that the IS will not rush to such judgements, it is to be hoped that they will be able to listen to others and talk to others. That in itself would not only be a pleasant change for IS, it would be a victory for the working class as a whole — the type of victory the London to Brighton march did not give.

Should any leading member of the Right to Work Campaign or the Inter-

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)



...and the right to organise

Following last week's walk-out of 200 workers from the Grunwick Film Processing factories in Willesden, the management have clearly set their face against all attempts to recognise the genuine grievances of the strikers.

On Tuesday 31 August they refused to discuss the question of union recognition with the union involved, the clerical workers' APEX. Three days later they attempted to intimidate the strikers — who are mainly Asians with little or no experience of trade unionism — by issuing P45's to student workers and letters stating that the permanent workers were sacked. They have brought in scab labour from the start, in some cases relatives of those workers remaining; and there is also some evidence that children are being used.

But the strikers will not be intimidated. Despite their inexperience, they have been well organised right from the beginning. They have a strike committee, daily mass meetings and have been very active — with the help of the Brent Trades Council — in raising support not just in the area but from

Student teachers- jobs action urgent!

THIRTY THOUSAND teachers are now unemployed according to the National Union of Teachers. The 'solution' of the Department of Education and Science is to fail one in five of all teacher trainees in future.

That was the grim backdrop for the delegates who met at the National Union of Students Teacher Education Sector Conference in Ormskirk last week. Many of the delegates were neither mandated nor elected. Only three hours of debate in three days were devoted to discussing the eight motions before the conference — factors which allowed the Broad Left-dominated executive to reassert their political control over the colleges, a control shaken by the militant occupations of the colleges last term.

Thus the conference decided to 'educate' students on the issues involved, to win support from MPs, and to pressure local authorities not to implement the cuts. The high point for action will be the South East Region TUC week of action from 8-12 November, and a national demonstration to be held on 9 November.

Positive

But despite the final outcome, the conference saw positive developments. The National Coordinating Committee, set up by the most active colleges at the end of the summer term, won a third of the delegate votes for its alternative positions. Three NCC candidates and one from the National Organisation of International Socialist Societies (NOISS) won places on the nine-

person Teacher Education National Committee.

The motion backed by the NCC centred on a clear refusal to subordinate the action of student teachers to gaining alliances with the trade union leaders and 'lefts'. Calling for united action between students and workers to force the implementation of a reduction in class sizes to 30, to provide better education and more jobs, they proposed the building of action committees of unemployed teachers which would also demand full, free trade union rights for the jobless. Direct action, put firmly in this framework, can win real gains.

Vital

The unity which militant delegates achieved around the NCC was a big step forward. Unfortunately, NOISS's refusal to back either the motion or a joint slate was a grave error. The results of the election to the National Committee should be a sharp lesson for the sectarians. From the 178 delegates, NCC candidates polled 58 first preferences to NOISS's 17.

Unity in action will be vital in the preparation for the new term. The first step must be a massive response to the DES *diktat* to boost the failure rate in order to hide teacher unemployment. Action against this proposal must be accompanied by the demand that the NUS launch a national campaign and insist that the leaders of the NUT and the lecturers' union NATFHE refuse to cooperate with the new ruling.

PAUL BROOKE (IMG National Student Organiser)

water

needed, with local action committees of all workers co-ordinating resistance to the sackings.

Oil will provide no solution while the Labour Government, with Tony Benn as Energy Minister, continues to pander to the every whim of the multinationals — giving aid to fly-by-night cowboy firms while ignoring calls by the labour movement for the nationalisation of oil.

An investigation into how oil is being exploited, who owns it, what safety conditions exist etc. should be launched by the RDL action committee, together with stewards from other yards — another Five yard, Burntisland Fabricators, has already announced 150 redundancies and few yards are thought to have orders going beyond mid-1977. This can be the first step to drawing up a plan of how oil can be used for the benefit of working people, preparing the way for nationalisation.

important to learn the lessons of Trico and not wait 14 weeks for such a committee.

There is already good local support, but there is obviously a need to co-ordinate that support as well as taking some of the work of solidarity, fund raising etc. off the shoulders of the strikers. The students, who have been the driving force of the strike, will be returning to college in the next two weeks, so it is essential to get a support committee off the ground by then. The members of the Brent WWC present at the meeting promised the support of the Charter in initiating this activity.

This strike is for a demand that is at the heart of the trade union movement: the right for workers to organise themselves. And although racialism has not reared its head directly, it is often workers who are immigrants or from immigrant parents who find themselves super-exploited, working in appalling conditions for very little money. When such workers are prepared to fight, as are those at Grunwick, they must receive maximum support from the labour movement.

VYSHINSKY RIDES AGAIN

BY CHARLES VAN GELDEREN, TROTSKYIST ACTIVIST
FOR FORTY YEARS

Since April of last year, the Workers Revolutionary Party headed by Gerry Healy has devoted a great deal of its time and apparently abundant financial resources to a campaign purporting to deal with 'Security and the Fourth International'. Altogether 26 articles on this subject appeared in the late *Workers Press*. Now the campaign has been reopened with the arrival in this country of Harold Robins, one of Trotsky's guards in Mexico, and George Vereeken from Belgium.

Nineteen of the articles which appeared in *Workers Press* between 14 August and 9 September have been re-published in a luxury paperback under the title *How the GPU murdered Trotsky — Security and the Fourth International*. At £3 per copy, the 1½ million unemployed workers of this country must be making a bee-line for the bookshops to purchase this masterpiece of lies and innuendoes.

Hardly anyone today doubts that Trotsky was murdered on the orders of Stalin, and that 'Jacques Mornard' (Mercader) was a GPU agent. So the purpose of this campaign is not to prove the guilt of the Kremlin masters. What then lies behind this prodigious expenditure of time, effort and money? The real reason is to launch a ferocious attack on the Fourth International and its leadership.

Stooges

Politically bankrupt, organisationally stagnant, Healy has seen his 'International Committee' split, with first the return of the American Socialist Workers Party to a sympathetic relationship with the Fourth International headed by the United Secretariat, and the rupture with the Lambert group in France. This has left him almost completely isolated in his Clapham lair, with only a few stooges here and there, propped up by financial aid from the London centre.

Meanwhile, the Fourth International has continued to grow and now has sections or sympathising organisations in more than 42 countries. Its international leadership meets regularly, is elected by International Conferences (not appointed from 'above') and are known, unlike the anonymous members of the 'International Committee'. In Britain, Healy lost his working class base with the expulsion of Thornett and his supporters, and there is an increasing turnover of members in the WRP as more and more of its adherents come up against its harsh and monolithic bureaucratic regime. It is here, in the political field, that we must look for the real motives of the Healy campaign.

While the campaign is aimed at the Fourth International as a whole, its principal targets have been Joseph Hansen and George Novack of the American SWP. This is no accident. For years they were Healy's closest associates. After the split in the International in 1953, Hansen and Novack devoted a great deal of their time and talents to helping Healy to build the Trotskyist movement in this country. In fact, one can state quite categorically that they materially assisted Healy's theoretical development.

Ghosted

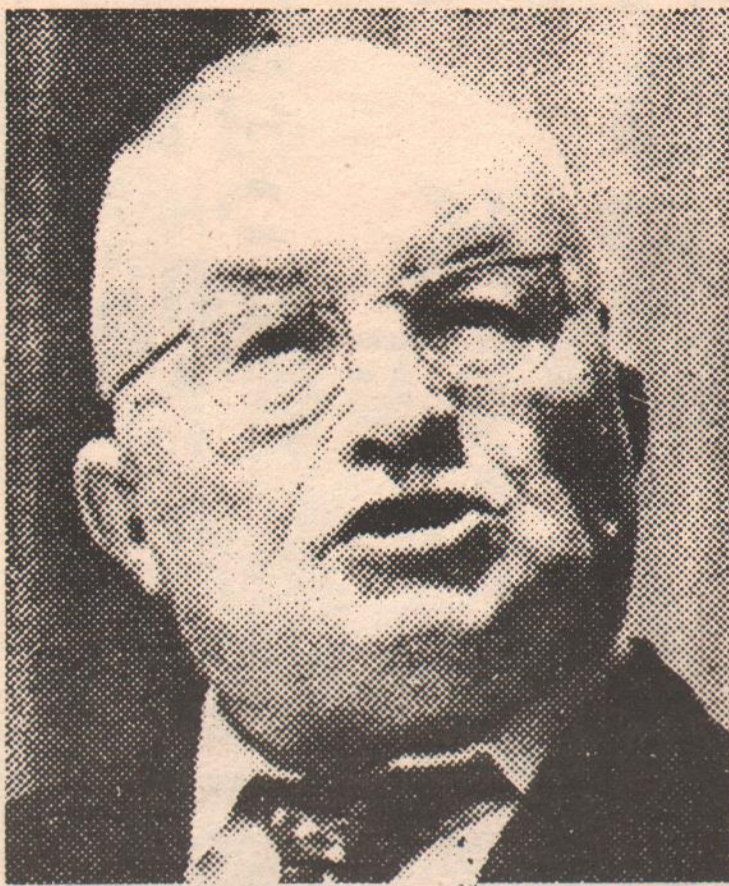
In the May/August 1952 issue of *Labour Review* (Vol. 1, No. 2) there appeared an article by Gerry Healy. It was an in-depth review of Aneurin Bevan's *In Place of Fear*. Some of us, when we first read the article (subsequently published as a pamphlet), were not only impressed by its theoretical clarity but also surprised — we were not accustomed to think of Healy as a theoretician

article was written in the American rather than the British idiom. Careless editing left in words like 'railroad' instead of 'railways', 'labour' was spelt in the American way without the 'u', and so on. It therefore came as no great surprise when John Lawrence (at the time a member of the Political Committee and a staunch supporter of Healy) informed me that the article was, in fact, written by George Novack, and that Healy himself had proposed that it should be published under his name.

Perhaps there should be a Commission set up to enquire how many of Healy's articles were written by him or ghosted by comrades whom he now accuses of being GPU accomplices?

It is precisely because Healy was so close to comrades Hansen and Novack that he never forgave them for 'deserting' him and his 'International Committee', which is why he is carrying on this vile campaign against them.

Far from running away from Healy's charges, Hansen has met them head-on, and replied to them point-by-point in a number of articles in *Intercontinental Press*. Comrades of the WRP who are really interested in getting at the truth should not accept the garbled 'quotations' appearing in *News Line* but should read for themselves what Hansen and Novack have written. We



HEALY - present-day exponent of Stalin's technique of the big lie and frame-up.

commend to their attention especially *Intercontinental Press* of 24 November 1975 in which Hansen answers the key allegations; the article by George Novack in the *Intercontinental Press* of December 1975 — 'Healy's frame-up against Joseph Hansen'; and, above all, the full-length repudiation of Healy's facts in the issue of 9 August 1976 — 'Healy Caught in the Big Lie', where Hansen completely demolishes Healy's fabrications.

In his frenzied attempt to destroy the Fourth International, Healy has found himself some strange allies, among them George Vereeken of

Belgium, described in *News Line* of 16 August 1976 as a 'veteran Trotskyist'. This is interesting, as we are well acquainted with Vereeken's history as a 'Trotskyist'.

On 20 January 1938, Leon Trotsky wrote to his secretary Van:

'As for Cde. Ver, who unfortunately increasingly takes his distance from Marxism, it is extremely characteristic that he finds it possible to support Sneevliet in his totally opportunist struggle, now open, against the Fourth International and at the same time to conduct against us his ultra-leftist intransigence' (*Bulletin Interieure Internationale*, édité par le Secretariat Internationale Pour la Quatrième Internationale No. 3, début mai 1938, p.10).

Opponent

This 'veteran Trotskyist' has, in fact, been a veteran opponent of the Fourth International since its inception. The following is an extract from the minutes of the first EC of the FI after the 1938 Founding Conference:

'Report of the Ver affair by Cde. L. (Belgium):

He traced the history of Ver's drift away from us up to his recent resignation from the Belgian Party. Ver. violently opposed the "French turn" in 1934 [entry of our French section into the SFIO—CvG] and when in 1935 the Belgian section entered the Labour Party, he and his followers split. Later, the comrades who had entered the LP split away from that party...and re-united with V's organisation to form an independent party in Belgium. But V had not forgotten the old differences and regarded all those who supported the "French turn" (i.e. the overwhelming majority of our international organisation) as traitors. Friction speedily developed inside the new party and V began to develop differences with our international organisation on a whole variety of questions, Holland, Spain etc. *On nearly every issue that came up he allied himself with the most backward elements in the International.* [My emphasis — CvG].

'Nevertheless, L. (Trotsky) did not immediately launch a campaign against him..... He waited until Ver. saw the Transitional Programme and realised he would have to take up a position on this practical question instead of spending time in fruitless polemics. He was not prepared to take the step towards the masses indicated by the programme and gave in his resignation...it appears that he has been working for some time with Sneevliet and Molinier against our international organisation.

Sectarian

The general opinion was that Ver's resignation had removed a persistent obstructionist and confirmed sectarian from our ranks

But perhaps, after all, it is not so strange that Healy should find himself in close alliance with this veteran of anti-Trotsky

International Commission (Cannon, Shachtman, Gould) to unite the various Trotskyist groupings in Britain into a single organisation prior to the Founding Conference. The WIL preferred to pursue its own sectarian path and linked itself with Vereeken, the Molinier group in France, and other sectarians who considered themselves more Trotskyist than Trotsky. These organisations published a 'Draft Resolution for an International Conference' (*La Verité*, August 1939, No. 2) [1] which contained the following:

'The organisations condemn the bureaucratic system by means of which Trotsky [my emphasis —CvG] through the agency of the International Secretariat manoeuvres the B-L Groups, renewing the system of the first years of the CI, a system which favoured the triumph of the bureaucracy over the Left Opposition.' [2]

The same EC which rejected Vereeken also considered an application for 'sympathetic affiliation' from the WIL. The EC declared itself as not opposed to sympathetic affiliation 'in cases where an organisation is moving towards us, but in this case the WIL has shown by its actions that it is moving away from us'

In an interview in *News Line* (19 August, 1976), Vereeken states: 'My respect for him [Trotsky] increases as years go by. Trotsky's clear-sightedness about social, political and scientific development was unmatched.' What a pity that he should have spent so many years, while Trotsky was alive and trying to build the Fourth International, opposing Trotsky on nearly every important issue; and that now, once again, we find him in the camp of those who are trying to destroy Trotsky's International.

Vereeken also bemoans the fact that Trotsky was 'misled' about him by agents of the GPU. This probably refers to the rumour, which was rife at the time, that Vereeken had implicated Trotsky's son, Sedov, in the assassination by the GPU of Ignace Reiss. Who were these GPU agents who so easily pulled the wool over Trotsky's eyes?

Loose talk

Vereeken denied these imputations in *Bulletin interieur*, No. 14, May 1938 (page 17), where he stated: 'As a militant revolutionary, I have always opposed false accusations brought deliberately or otherwise against militant revolutionaries of whatever tendency' (Healy, please take note). But in the same bulletin there is a statement signed 'Cami 18.iii.38' which quotes Vereeken as having said: 'Si le Vieux critique Sneevliet, il devrait avec beaucoup de raisons critiquer son propre fils.' (If the Old Man [Trotsky] criticises Sneevliet, he should for many [or good] reasons criticise his own son). [3]

If Vereeken does not directly accuse Sedov, it seems he was given to loose talk. He does not seem to have learned anything from his own history.

We must now pose a question. Healy accuses Hansen of concealing his association (sic) with known GPU agents for 37 years. We must now ask Healy why he concealed his own connections with 'Etienne' (Zborowski) from his followers. Healy revealed this association in a letter to this very same Joseph Hansen whom he now accuses, in true Vyshinsky style, of the foulest misdeeds, dated 14 March 1960.

Not only did Healy meet 'Etienne' on several occasions (how often?), but this GPU agent actually stayed a night at Healy's house. In the kindness of his heart Healy even bought the poor man a pair of shoes. All this took place in 1946. Should there not now be an enquiry as to why Healy kept silent about this for 14 years?

Bonus

Finally, I offer Healy a little bonus. The writer of these lines actually knew Trotsky's murderer 'Jacobson' and Sylvia Ageloff in Paris in 1938. The photo in *How the GPU murdered Trotsky* of these two with Maria Craipeau was taken by me and is my copyright. Perhaps I will now be indicted as an accomplice of Joseph Hansen, George Novack, James P. Cannon, et al!

For a suitable donation to the Red Weekly Fighting Fund, I am prepared to let him have a whole list of people who were in Paris at that time and must have met Mornard. Then, like his infamous predecessor in the Kremlin, he can now stage a whole series of 'Moscow Trials' and keep the pages of *News Line* filled with this sensational rubbish, thus avoiding the necessity of dealing with the real issues of the class struggle in Britain and the world.

London, 2 September 1976.

FOOTNOTES

1. Found in the Vereeken Archives at Harvard.
2. Note the document's references to 'the first years of the CI', i.e. when the Comintern was headed by Lenin and Trotsky, thus giving support to the mythology that Leninism fostered Stalinism.

3. Camille was one of the pseudonyms of Rudolf Klement, Secretary of the International



Vereeken's eye-witness account of GPU disruption, sabotage and murder inside the Trotskyist movement in the 1930s. Secretary of the Belgian Trotskyists in those years and party to the movements internal struggles, Vereeken documents the sinister role played by the provocateur Marc

IS and Walsall

Recent issues of Red Weekly have begun to develop a serious critique of the International Socialists and have engaged in a useful and potentially valuable debate with IS members. This discussion was however marred by the coverage of the IS candidature in the Walsall by-election, and the totally uncritical reporting of the Right to Work March in the issue dated 26 August.

Red Weekly claimed that the standing of an IS candidate represented a 'major tactical shift'. What evidence is there of this? In reality it merely represents an extension and continuation of the IS strategy and approach. IS is putting itself forward as an alternative to the Labour Party. In contrast Red Weekly has always argued, correctly, that revolutionaries should demand that the labour movement

breaks with government policies, as a means of building a broad based opposition from within the Labour Party.

In concrete terms, this requires the standing of class struggle candidates based on sections of the labour movement, opposed to the Callaghan/Healey leadership. Yet Red Weekly merely murmured that IS 'should approach other revolutionary organisations' — in other words, it gave credence to the ultra-left, sectarian politics which IS advances. The article completely failed to refer to the emergence and growth of rank and file Labour Party bodies such as 'Labour against the Cuts'.

In practice the IS approach will isolate revolutionaries from developing struggles, trends, and the potential within the labour movement. Moreover, in ignoring the pot-

ential of the organised workers movement, an acceptance of this approach leads to propagandist acts by the revolutionary left, a mere substitute which can only confuse and divert the class struggle, and ultimately harm the relationship between Red Weekly and labour movement forces.

In ignoring the potential for labour movement candidates (and although it is possible that such potential does not exist in Walsall, the article should not have obscured the fact that possibilities do exist in many areas), Red Weekly gave a blank cheque of support to the weaknesses, opportunism, and sheer confusion of the IS perspectives — STEVE FERRIS, EDDIE ASHBE, PAUL MITCHELL, JANE CLARK, JEAN MACKENZIE (Southampton).

LETTERS

Letters to The Editors, Red Weekly, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. Letters should be as brief as possible. We reserve the right to cut all letters over 600 words.

Kicking football about

As a supporter of a team currently 89th out of 92 in the English Football League, I felt your writers (2 September) failed to answer the question — football, opiate of the masses or part of an essentially healthy working class culture — that they set themselves. The article also suffered from the awful clichés — 'the two titans of Spanish football', Stan Bowles 'creative inside forward', Duncan Mackenzie's 'intuitive skills' — that dominate the back pages of the popular press.

In fact it is revealing that the article picked such names from the footballing elite and bemoaned the failure of 'our' team managers to use such non-conformers in their sides. After all, whatever the reasons of the international selectors for not choosing him, it is a bit thick for a socialist paper to pass off Stan Bowles carrying on with nude (female) models in the pages of the *Mirror* (and elsewhere) while leaving a wife and three kids at home as 'peccadilloes' (whatever they are).

Having stressed the domination of football by big business — for example, a few years back in the middle of a big financial crisis Brentford director and Labour MP Jack Dunnett tried to sell the club lock, stock and barrel to Queens Park Rangers for £105,000 — the article offered no suggestions as to how the players and supporters could take control into their own hands.

Lincoln City recently ran a scheme whereby the supporters bought a player in order to boost involvement with the team. This cunning version of 'worker participation' helped Lincoln to top the Fourth Division last season. If 'participation' is possible, why not schemes for workers control of football? In May '68 in France, for example, players did threaten to strike at one point with confused demands for 'democratisation', but showed the potential that is there.

It seems to me that the essential first step in giving football back to the players and the fans would be to turn the clubs themselves into sporting centres open to all to use, and financed by local authorities as a social service. If necessary the money could be raised through levies on local business. By making the clubs the property of the local communities, which are after all predominantly working class, greater opportunities would be given to local youth and the teams would much more resemble the local factory teams of the early days, doing much to eliminate the 'star' system, ridiculous transfer fees and professional status itself.

By making the clubs the property of the community, produced through its common effort, perhaps it would also help to overcome football's role as an opiate of the masses by eliminating distinctions between active player and passive spectator (the role of all 'games' in capitalist society).



These, of course, are just suggestions, and whatever the weaknesses of *Red Weekly's* initial approach it is to be congratulated on considering a subject which is, after all, a significant element of the culture of the working class — NIGEL TEAL (Brentford).



CALLAGHAN - trying to laugh off the struggle by Rolls Royce workers in Blantyre. Their occupation is solid in its aim to prevent the closure of the factory.

'WHAT GOOD'S A CAPITALIST ASSEMBLY?'

It was appropriate that Neil Williamson's article 'Government blocks real power for the Scottish Assembly' (*Red Weekly*, 26 August), should appear on the week of Jim Callaghan's visit to Scotland — a visit intended to tie up the Government's Assembly deal in discussions with the Scottish Council of the Labour Party and the STUC General Council. These negotiations took place behind the backs of the working class with scant regard for their views or conference decisions. In fact the Assembly package is a result of discussions and disputes solely within the leadership of the labour movement.

Williamson's article failed to relate the question of the Assembly to the problems facing Scottish workers. No mention is made of how unemployment and the cuts are to be combated. Callaghan was unable to venture out on to the streets during his visit not because of demonstrations for an Assembly with whatever powers, but because of enraged Scottish workers demonstrating, despite the STUC or the Labour Party, against mass unemployment and the destruction of the welfare state — demonstrations which reached mass proportions as local working people joined them.

While admitting that Scotland is a nation, we have to be very careful in analysing its problems. For two centuries Scotland was an equal partner with England in the creation of British imperialism. Since the First World War its traditional heavy industries have undergone a decline which has left Clydeside an industrial desert.

This is not a problem, however, confined to Scotland, or a problem of English domination. It is a result of a general problem for British imperialism: first of all, the drain of industry towards geographical settings closer to Britain's major markets now — Europe; secondly, a preference by capital to invest overseas ignoring industrial development.

Unlike an underdeveloped nation, Scotland has had no shortage of capital; its problem is that this capital was invested elsewhere. Scotland's problems are not of English domination but of British imperialism, which Scotland is part of despite differences between sections of capital based in England and Scotland (broadly representing industrial and financial interests).

Failing to identify the roots of Scotland's problems, Williamson fails to give Scottish

leadership of the working class and how the real problems can be solved, calling for 'real power (sic) for a capitalist assembly'. Revolutionaries must be clear that a capitalist assembly is no solution for Scottish workers. Growing support for the SNP is not a product of English imperialism but of the cynical betrayals of the Labour Party and trade union leaderships. — CHRIS URE (Edinburgh).

Talking of the weather...

'Due to the water shortage management regrets the showers will remain locked.' So, having worked in oil, grease, dirt, dust, etc. for eight hours, we have to travel home filthy.

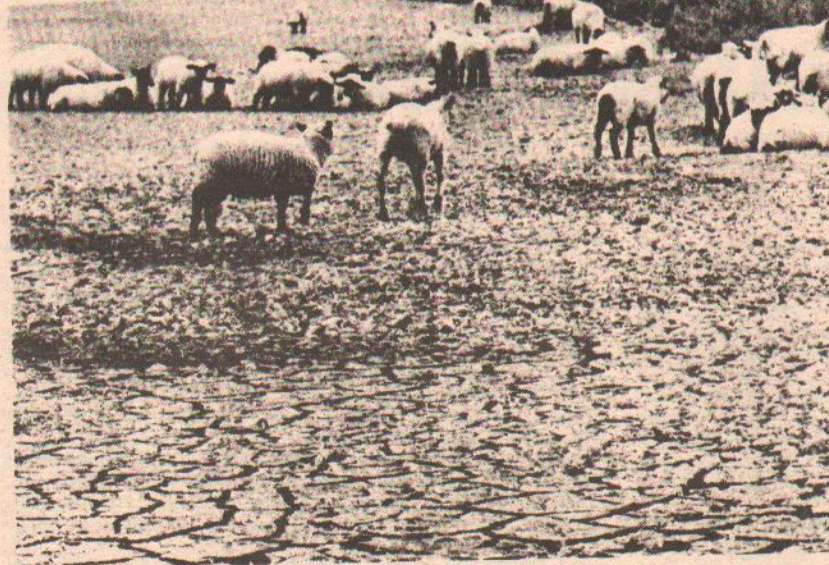
'Due to the water shortage the Welsh Water Authority regrets disconnected between 2 p.m. and 8 p.m.' So, having arrived home from the 6-2 shift filthy, we have to remain filthy.

Still, it could be worse. In the North West, standing taps in the street are being prepared. Working class women, it will be the women or kids, will have to queue in order to receive inadequate supplies.

Never mind, our lads in the British Army are doing a fine job fighting fires. A nice change from cracking Catholic heads. Of course it's beyond the capacities of the unemployed to fight fires — well, maybe not quite beyond their capacities, but the troops are cheaper and if you give these loafers a job, even a temporary one, they'll expect one as some sort of right.

Not that you can accuse the Labour Government of being idle on the issue. They've established a hot line for informers and in conjunction with other European governments intend to punish the water wasters. They're doing all they can, and after all, who can control the weather? This drought came from the blue. It's not the Government's fault that the past five years have been exceedingly dry. How could they foresee this weather?

Sure, it's rough on the workers. Mind you, 'guerilla' raids on golf courses are going a bit far. These women should leave it to the authorities. After all, if we're going to suffer together, to defeat inflation, why



Party leaders were being opportunist in blaming Plaid Cymru. After all, these 'Nats' with their opposition to reservoirs being sited on arable lands are a nuisance. If we had Plaid in Birmingham, they would be without water rather than South Wales. That's no solution, is it?

Yes, I know there's 38 million gallons of drinking water in and around the pits not being used. But what do you want, should we start queuing outside Bedwas or Maundy with a bucket? Workers enquiry, what's that?

not producing anything.

Sure, our firm's begun Saturday working for the first time in four years in order to stockpile against the possible closedown. At least that way they don't lose their profits and provide us with a bit of overtime. Of course, they use thousands more gallons of water that way, but that's not their fault is it?

Anyway, what's that paper of yours got to say on the drought? Nothing! See, even you communists can't do anything about

WHAT'S ON

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

MANCHESTER coaches leaving for Chile demo, 12 Sept, at 6.50am from St Peter's Sq. £2.50.

NATIONAL GAY CAUCUS: open to all comrades in the IMG who either identify as gay or who do not but have gay relationships. 9-10 October in Nottingham. For discussion papers, documents and further information, contact Char Stannier, 58 Burford Road, Forest Fields, Nottingham. (0602 76410).

WORLD REVOLUTION public forum: 'Spain Yesterday and Today — Fascism and Anti-fascism against the proletariat'. Sat 18 September, 2.30, Club Room, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1.

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FREE EVA FOREST Campaign is circulating a petition for the release of this Spanish feminist. Lunchtime picket (12.30-2.30) of Spanish Embassy, Thurs 16 Sept, on second anniversary of her imprisonment. Petition will be handed in if enough signatures gathered. Further details from the Campaign, c/o 38 Earham St, London WC2.

WATCH THIS SPACE: North London IMG proudly presents a bop in aid of the Red Weekly Fighting Fund. Saturday 18 September. 8 till late at the Old Fire Station, Mayton Street, N7.

CAMPAIGN to Repeal the Immigration Act public meeting: Thurs 9 Sept, 7pm, at Artists for Democracy, 143 Whitfield Street, W1. (Warren St. tube). Labour movement speaker on racism and the law that robs immigrants of their basic rights.

NAC BENEFIT, Glenda Jackson and friends, Sunday 19 September at 7.30pm in Cambridge Theatre, Earham Street, London WC2. Tickets £3, £2, £1.50 from NAC (Box Office), Flat 4, 43/47 Ponder Street, London N7. Phone 607 7619 or 800 4803, 10am to 3pm. Please enclose s.a.e.

MANCHESTER: Revolutionary Communist Group public dayschool on 'The Crisis of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat'. Saturday 18 September, 10-6pm, UMIS

CHILE DEMO -WHAT NEXT?

The general secretary of the Labour Party, Ron Hayward, is speaking on the platform of the demonstration organised by the Chile Solidarity Campaign for 12 September. This would seem to indicate support for the aims of the campaign — the international isolation of the Pinochet regime. But it hardly fits in with what the Labour Government has been doing in practice — only a couple of weeks ago it allowed the last submarine to be delivered into the hands of the Chilean butchers.

The way ahead for the Chile Solidarity Campaign is to reaffirm the policy of boycott, on which there have been some hesitations lately, and to carry it out on the basis of a clear plan

of action and a forceful campaign of propaganda amongst the rank and file, which does not depend on the labour bureaucracy.

More than that, the groundwork that the CSC has carried out and its fairly wide audience in the labour movement must be used to build solidarity actions with the working class of Argentina, whose defeat would be a major setback for the world revolution. A Latin American Solidarity Campaign would be the best way to permit a prompt reaction to events in Latin America which require urgent action — events such as the recent drawn-out strike of the Bolivian miners and the assassination of the Trotskyist leader Rodriguez in Venezuela.

On the side of repression, international solidarity is thriving in Latin America, highlighted by recent revelations about a 'Plan Phoenix' [modelled on the American experiment in Vietnam] which aims to 'neutralise' all elements remotely connected with the struggle for the liberation of their country.

This attempt to exterminate the whole Latin American vanguard must be resisted and the fascist international of Pinochet (Chile), Banzer (Bolivia), Geisel (Brazil), Mendez (Uruguay), and Videla (Argentina) must be fought with the solidarity of working

people in all counties. The blood of Enriquez, Santucho, Rodriguez and the countless others who have fallen since Ernesto Che Guevara will be avenged! The Labour Government must be forced to allow free entry of Latin American refugees into the country, and it must be forced to refuse the granting of credit and loans to these regimes of torture and extermination!

Juan Sosa

INTRODUCTION TO CHILE
(A CARTOON HISTORY)

Available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1. Price £1.00 plus 15p (postage and packing.)

IN MAY 1974 THE FOLLOWING COMMUNIQUE WAS RECEIVED FROM THE CHILEAN UNDERGROUND NEWS AGENCY 'RESISTENCIA'...

"THE HAWKER HUNTER PLANES, WHICH WERE RECENTLY BOUGHT IN GREAT BRITAIN AND ARRIVED TWO MONTHS AGO, HAVE BEEN SABOTAGED AT THE MILITARY AIRPORT OF 'EL BOSQUE' NEAR SANTIAGO. SAND AND OTHER SUBSTANCES HAVE BEEN ADDED TO THE FUEL, SO THAT THE ENGINES WERE RUINED!"

YEHHH!
THEY LEFT OUT THE SUGAR?

MEANWHILE WORKERS AT ROLLS-ROYCE FACTORIES IN EAST KILBRIDE PREVENTED EIGHT REMAINING ENGINES FROM LEAVING BRITAIN — (IT WAS HAWKER-HUNTERS WHICH WERE USED TO BOMB THE MONTE PALACE IN 1973.)

AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE COMBINED ACTION OF BRITISH WORKERS AND THE UNDERGROUND CHILEAN AIRFORCE THE CHILEAN AIRFORCE HAS BEEN FORCED TO CUT ITS FLIGHTS BY HALF.

POOR JORGE... IT'S THE ONLY WAY HE CAN LOG HIS FLYING HOURS

LIFE UNDER GANDHI'S REPRESSION



All five opposition parties walked out of the Indian Parliament last week when the Government headed by Indira Gandhi introduced a new constitutional amendment to make the dictatorship's rule absolutely watertight. S. GUPTA, an Indian student, reports below on life under the Emergency.

A VIOLENT BATTLE took place on 19 April this year between the police and local residents in the middle of Delhi. By the end of the day over 100 people lay dead (some estimates were even as high as 300), among them a few policemen.

This confrontation had grown out of a protest over the issue of compulsory sterilisation. In the area where the clash took place, a number of houses had been knocked down and their occupants offered

resettlement only if they agreed to be sterilised. In addition there were stories of people being picked up off the streets by the police and being sterilised against their will.

Despite so many deaths in the heart of the capital, there was no mention of the incident in the once vociferous but now completely censored press. But such an incident could not be covered up so easily. On the third day after the riot, a short police statement was issued. This seemed to believe that only five people were killed. Two days later, however, another statement was issued admitting to 11 dead.

This was followed by an article — identical in every single paper — which raved against 'rumour-mongers' and 'miscreants' who spread 'groundless' stories about Government intentions to impose compulsory sterilisation. Groundless? The Maharashtra State Government is almost certain to pass a bill insisting on sterilisation of parents with three children, and similar moves are afoot in a number of other states.

Chancellor. If any are found to have been active in left politics, they are immediately refused admission. This happened to a friend of mine whose sole 'crime' had been to participate in a Marxist study group!

A lecture boycott was organised against these victimisations, but did not succeed in ending them. Student union elections are banned — and consequently there are no student unions. Student representatives on various university committees are now appointed by the authorities.

Brutal

Violent repression by the State is no new feature in India; the Emergency only meant an intensification of this repression. For instance, the people of Nagaland in the North-East of India have been fighting for independence since 1948.

The Indian Government has used the most brutal tactics in order to deny the right of self-determination to the Naga people, such as the removal of whole villages to selected areas and the dropping of napalm on villages known to be sympathetic to the guerrillas. It is interesting to compare the Indian State's role in Nagaland with its supposedly anti-imperialist position on liberation struggles in other parts of the world.

Although the increase in repression which accompanied the Emergency was initially directed more against the extreme right (partly because the left had already been heavily repressed), it is now clear that the Emergency is being used mainly against the left and the working class. Jayaprakash Narayan and a number of leaders of right-wing parties have been freed, while trade union militants and activists in left parties — such as George Fernandes, leader of the Socialist Party and the railwaymen's union — are still being arrested and tortured.

Executions

In December of last year two Maoist peasants were hung despite many protests. These were the first official political executions in India for almost thirty years (I use the word 'official' as hundreds of other political prisoners have been 'shot while trying to escape').

Despite the terrorist policies of the Gandhi regime, there is still some resistance and an underground is developing in some cities. Numerous strikes have taken place, although most of them have met with severe repression. Unfortunately the left is very divided and heavily influenced by the class collaborationist policies of Stalinism, but more and more people are becoming disillusioned with the centrist Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the Maoist groupings.

New appeal denounces Polish trials

On 20 July, the Warsaw Regional Tribunal meted out sentences to seven participants in a workers' demonstration which had taken place on 25 June at a tractor factory in Ursus near Warsaw. This had been one of the largest of many demonstrations which took place in Poland protesting against the increase in food prices. Those condemned received up to three years imprisonment. The conduct of the court violated the principle of open trials. Only the families of the defendants were allowed to attend the hearings; access was barred to foreign journalists and to the many intellectuals and students who tried to attend the hearing. The workers were accused of taking 'an active part in hooligan activities'. The entire defence counsel was appointed by the state.

Simultaneously another trial was taking place in Radom, and here also the defendants were participants in a mass demonstration. The defendants received up to ten years in jail. The press has announced that further trials will be taking place.

It is our duty to oppose the notion that the workers' protests against a socially unjust policy and authoritarian methods of government are acts of 'hooliganism'. And it must be forcefully underlined that responsibility for the violation of rights during the events in Ursus and other Polish cities lies with the authorities. They sapped life out of the higher forms of workers democracy, reduced to nothing the workers councils created in 1956, and transformed the trade unions into dead, fictitious bodies subjugated to the apparatus of the authorities. We consider that to avoid such dramatic events in the future, it is indispensable to return to the workers the rights due to them and not to resort to repression.

'is opposed to any relationship in which man is a humiliated being, an abandoned or scorned slave'.

We are aware that Polish public opinion cannot hear our voice through normal channels, but we are convinced that we express the feelings of the majority of Polish people. That is why we address ourselves, through the medium of your editorial board, to all those who struggle for workers' rights, which are an integral part of the rights of man. We launch the following appeal: come to the aid of Polish workers in prison. Information from the prisons and court rooms indicates that the security forces used physical violence during the investigations. It is also universally known that workers suspected of participating in the demonstrations are being dismissed from work en masse. This threatens the very material existence of themselves and their families.

We address ourselves to Jean-Paul Sartre, Andre Malraux, Pierre Emmanuel, Louis Aragon, Jean Marie Domenach, Claude Roy, Jean Daniel, Laurent Schwartz. We address ourselves to Gunther Grass, Heinrich Boll, Arthur Miller, Saul Bellow, Eugene Montal, Ignace Silone, Stephen Spender and Robert Conquest. We address ourselves to all those who solidarise with the struggle of workers throughout the world for the liberation of work. Demand the release of those who participated in the workers' protest in Poland.

STANISLAW BARANCZAK, poet of the younger generation; KACEK BOCHENSKI, writer; KAZIMIERZ BRANDYS, writer; STEFAN KISIELEWSKI, writer and Catholic publicist; ANDRZEJ KIJOWSKI, writer and publicist; RYSZARD KRYNICKI, economist; JAN JOZEF LIPSKI, critic and literary historian; ADAM MICHNIK, historian; HALINA MIKOLAJSKA, actress; MAREK

Demagogic

For the past year there have been many demagogic speeches by Government politicians — most notably Sanjay Gandhi, the Prime Minister's son — over the need for family planning. The Indian Government seems intent on using as a scapegoat the myth that India's large population is the cause of India's economic and social problems.

The ugly face of the Emergency is seen in the repression of many worker and student militants. A large number of trade unionists, mainly in the Communist Party of India (which supports the Emergency and the Gandhi Government) were arrested merely for going on hunger strike on 6 January against a presidential order slashing by half the minimum bonus payable to workers.

On the campuses of the two universities in Delhi, groups of police are always to be seen standing around armed with rifles and batons. Politics cannot be discussed openly (unless in support of the regime), as the campuses are rife with plain clothes cops and a person can be detained under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act for up to two years without charge and without the right to know why they are being detained.

Swoops

Immediately after the Emergency, many students and lecturers were arrested in police swoops on both campuses. Every student hostel has its statutory three or four police informers. The wardens of these hostels have the power to search any room

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

ALL THE HYSTERIA whipped up over the last couple of weeks against the violence of the anti-imperialist struggle has tended to obscure the very real institutional violence being meted out day in day out to Republican prisoners in the Six Counties' jails.

In Her Majesty's prison on the Crumlin Road in Belfast, for example, the cells are infested with mice and cockroaches. The total lack of hygiene in the prison has also led to prisoners becoming diseased and just the other week there was a serious outbreak of

scabies in A Wing [the remand block].

The food provided for the prisoners is disgusting, and most of them depend almost entirely on parcels sent in by relatives and friends. What food is eatable invariably arrives cold.

In all the prisons, those held are subjected to a continuous barrage of physical and verbal abuse from the 'screws'. At visiting time the prisoners are often subjected to strip searches; refusal to cooperate leads to loss of visits. The strip search is made particularly embarrassing in an at-

tempt to remove the prisoners' dignity.

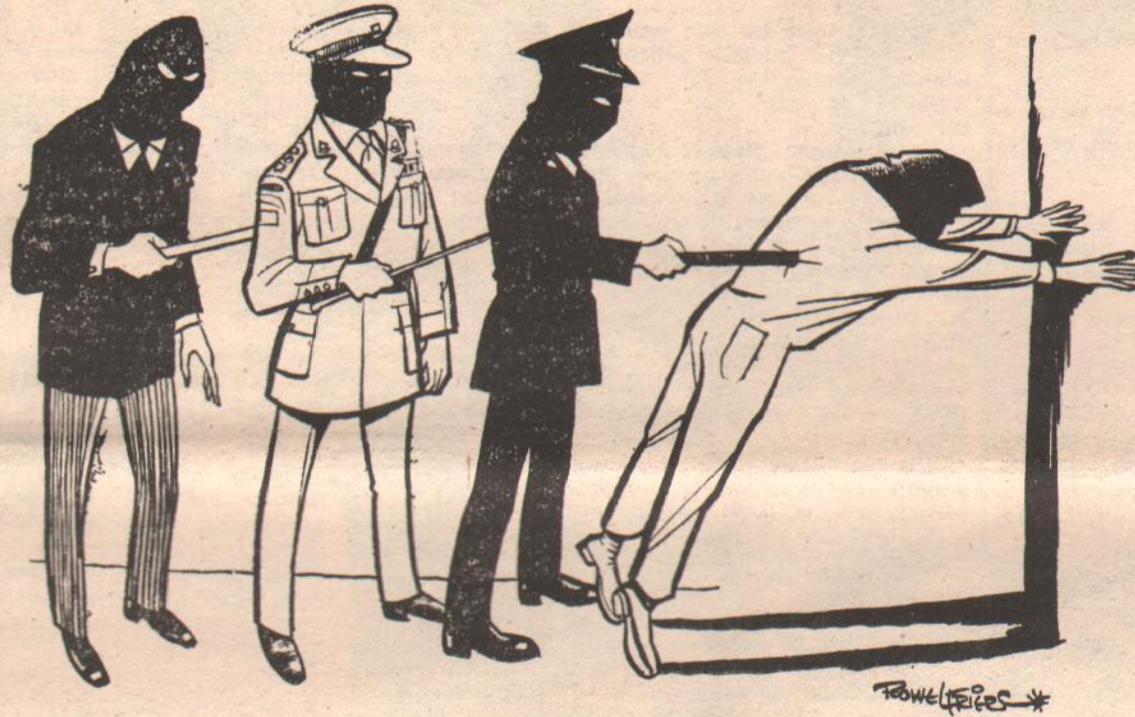
In the former internment camp of Magilligan, the Provisional prisoners recently took retaliatory action against the prison regulations. In a statement issued by the Battalion Commander, Republican POWs, they described their protest: 'A prison war-

der was taken into our custody and invited to strip off his uniform in the identical manner that he [the screw] would strip a Republican. When the search was completed the prisoners asked the screw to sign a statement saying that 'I have been subjected to no ill-treatment whatsoever', and 'no violence or duress has been used ag-



UP AND OVER, THE SCENE DURING THE PREVIOUS JETTISONING OF LONG KESH FOOD

The Torturers



FOWLER

1971 AND 1976

Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, did not like the report from the European Human Rights Commission which found Britain guilty of torture in Ireland in 1971. For him it was 'raking over the past', which should have been forgotten long ago.

British imperialism might be able to disregard its history, but unfortunately the Irish people cannot so easily escape its consequences. Nor can they escape the consequences of what is taking place today. The record of the torturers does not end in 1971; it will not end until Britain finally gets out. But here, as a reminder, is that record as it was in 1971 and as it is today.

August 1971: Report from European Commission

'After a first interview he was put against the wall leaning back on his forehead with his hands behind his back and his feet kicked back as far as possible. During later questioning his feet were kicked away from him and at the same time his hair was pulled and his head hit against the wall. One soldier grabbed his head and punched him on the nose. When he fell he was pulled up by the hair.'

August 1976: Sworn Statement of a Derry Youth

'I was grabbed (by the troops) and kicked to the ground. They grabbed me by the hair and trailed me 600 feet. I was punched in the face, kicked on the back, kidneys and legs. They slammed my head against the wall. They made me stand against the wall, with my legs spread apart and kept digging at us with their batons and poking us between the legs with them. If we turned our heads they smashed their batons against the side of our faces.'

'The seven of us were thrown into a saracen. We were thrown on top of each other, there was no room and the boy under me was so bloody and slippery. At the

shirt at the throat, twisted me around and lifted me into the air saying: "Open your mouth again and I'll break every bone in your body."

August 1971: Report from European Commission

'... the hood was tightened on his neck on more than one occasion so that he could hardly breathe; while hooded he was made to run along with his head down until his head banged on something hard. At another stage a lot of people started to beat him around the ribs and stomach with fists.'

June 1976: Report given by Frank Maguire, MP for Fermanagh/South Tyrone, and Father Paul, Dungannon priest, following army raids in the Eglisish and Benburb areas of Co. Tyrone

'The menfolk were dragged outside, had their mouths taped, hoods put over their heads and were made to walk across fields, with their hands tied behind their backs. In one home they had told the man arrested that he was going to be shot. The victims were released after four hours but not until some of them had been severely beaten.'

'Seven witnesses who gave evidence of their treatment at Palace Barracks, Hollywood, had been subjected to assaults during interrogation which sometimes caused severe injury. In these cases the Commission is satisfied that these persons deliberately caused severe suffering and amounted to inhuman treatment.'

August 1976: Report given by John Cushnahan, general secretary of the pro-British Alliance Party

'The girl, from the Ballymurphy area, was stopped by soldiers while walking past Fort Pegasus on the Whiterock Road and driven away in a Land Rover. In a field she was taken out of the Land Rover by British troops and was slashed three times on the face and five or six times on each arm with a rusty razor blade.'

August 1971: Report from European Commission

'The Commission considers that those in command at Palace Barracks at the relevant time could not have been ignorant of the acts involved. On the basis of the evidence given by those officers, it is clear they did not take action to prevent the occurrence or repetition of such acts.'

June 1976: Report given by teenage daughter of Mrs Simpson

'A soldier came and told us, "put your fucking face to the wall". We were made to stand against the wall with our hands behind our backs Then I was taken to another room with a woman soldier where they took all my belongings. She stated I must strip. I refused absolutely. She

'They brought in my mother. She was asked if she would agree to a strip search. She refused, but thinking I had agreed so as to get free she submitted and began to remove her clothing. She was standing in her bra and panties when the woman soldier told her to remove these, and when my mother was absolutely naked they opened the door and exposed my mother to the soldiers outside.'

'My mother complained of a pain in her chest and felt nauseated. The medical orderly placed her on a couch. I went over to the couch and found my mother had fainted and was unconscious.'

Postscript 1

The Irish Government, which brought the charges against Britain, has now itself broken the European Convention of Human Rights. Under new measures that Government has recently taken concerning the power to hold suspects for seven days without charge, it is in breach of Article 15, a fact which has been admitted by the Irish Government.

Postscript 2

Of the 14 men subjected to the hooding torture, one died of a heart attack at the age of 42, one developed Hodgins disease at the age of 29, and two needed surgery for skin disease caused by nerves. A new study of the after-effects made by an Irish psychiatrist and an American psychiatrist has shown that nearly all of those studied continue to suffer from after-effects.

Postscript 3

According to the European Commission, 'in most cases no criminal or disciplinary punishment has been imposed on persons who have committed acts of ill treatment.' According to the *Irish Times*: 'Since 1971

against me to induce me to sign this statement'. The statement was signed by a prison officer, D. McClean.

Similar action was also taken by prisoners elsewhere against the Board of Visitors- gentlemen expert at turning a blind eye to the ill-treatment of prisoners.

In Crumlin Road there are absolutely no recreational facilities made available to prisoners. The vindictiveness of the prison authorities can be illustrated by the fact that although there are goal posts built in the prison yard, the prisoners have been consistently denied a football. Not that they would have much opportunity to use it anyway. Prisoners are allowed out for exercise for only 1½ hours per day divided into three half hour periods; for the remainder they are locked up in their cells.

Such treatment, however, is not solely due to the warped mentality of prison staff. It is linked to the present campaign by the British Government to remove political status from Republican prisoners. The authorities are trying hard to break morale through the use of these tactics and thus prevent any repetition of the prison protests of 1974 when Long Kesh internment camp was razed to the ground.

That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

'We know that we have to measure our success by the number of riots we cause' (*Sun*, 30 August). Obviously quoted to show the iniquity of some Notting Hill hoodlum, you might think. Wrong. Some riots are a good thing, according to Rupert Murdoch's rag. That was Bay City Rollers lead singer Les McKeown speaking.

There's only one problem. The danger of people getting hurt? No. On one occasion, '£1,500 worth of damage was done to the limousine', drummer Derek Longmuir is quoted as complaining. Must have taken at least a couple of minutes on stage to recoup that amount.

The bus company in Edinburgh appears to be making a valiant effort to challenge that earning rate, however. Our correspondent there reports that with the latest increase in the maximum bus fare from 20p to 25p, it can be cheaper to travel on Concorde than on an Edinburgh bus. The only difference is that the Edinburgh buses don't serve champagne.

Mind you, the Edinburgh fares are practically nothing when compared with those charged on the Caledonian MacBray ferry between Sconser in Skye and the nearby island of Raasay. The return fare for a lorry and driver can be £70 (for some four miles!), and apparently the Government pays a 75% subsidy for the service—making the alleged true cost £280. The *West Highland Free Press* calculates that this is more than fifty times the cost per mile of the American space shot to Mars!

New from Red Books

Red Books is now in temporary premises at 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.

* THE ECONOMICS OF MARX

M.C. Howard and J.E. King are editors of this selection of readings by Marx and contemporary commentators. Part one is an examination by T. Sowell of the significance of *Capital* today; part two illustrates key Marxist economic concepts via Marx's most succinct writings; and parts three, four and five consist of comments on *The Labour Theory of Value*, *The Theory of Economic Development*, and *Imperialism* by noted scholars — among them Dobb, Sweezy, Tsuro and Meek. Price £1.25, post 17p.

* POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NORTH SEA OIL

This surveys the implications of North Sea oil for the British economy. It deals with OPEC policies, British oil demand, perspectives for exploration and discovery, length of life of fields, the effects on employment, balance of payments, industrial development, and options in Government policy. It discusses how Scottish and British interests clash. Price £2.65, post 20p.

* SOVIETS AT SACLAY?

This booklet is an account of the new forms of workers organisation which developed in May 1968 at the French nuclear research station of Saclay. The author, J. Pesquet, was a member of the central action committee. He describes the way workers councils were set up, and the attitude taken by various tendencies towards them. The work is designed to provide lessons for workers engaged in struggle against capitalism and bureaucracy. Price 90p, post 9p.

* SOCIALIST OPPOSITION IN EASTERN EUROPE

'The Czechoslovak example' is the subtitle of this book by Jiri Pelikan, leading member of the Czech CP during the Prague Spring. It gives an exhaustive account of developments in that period, and discusses such topics as 'The Responsibility of the Left in the West', 'The Historical Roots of the Socialist Opposition', and 'The Role of Detente'. The book is excellently documented with 14 appendices. Price £2.95, post 23p.

* POLICING LOW WAGES

This is Low Pay Unit pamphlet No. 4, and

RED WEEKLY

LONGBRIDGE: It's a lockout

BRITISH LEYLAND management is on an all-out offensive to ram through speed-up and undermine militant stewards organisation. That's the lesson behind the victimisation of four shop stewards at Cowley (see page 4). Now at Longbridge things have taken an even more sinister turn.

In face of the refusal of seven tool-setters' stewards to order their 200 striking men back to work, Leyland management has said that the whole of the 18,000-strong workforce will remain locked out. But the ground for this blatant piece of intimidation has been laid by the works committee—led by the Communist Party convenor Derek Robinson!

With the plant paralysed by four separate disputes involving technicians, tool-setters, rectifiers and maintenance engineers—the latter denied their traditional right of work-sharing during lay-offs—the works committee called a meeting for the plant's 6-700 stewards on Monday morning. A series of recommendations were put.

Their essence was contained in the first clause, pledging shop stewards 'not to take unofficial strike action or to impose any unofficial sanctions or impede continuous production in any way till the procedure has been exhausted'. This is backed up by a section in paragraph two that reads: 'Any action by any group that is contrary to the above will not be acceptable to our organisation.'

By posing the issue as one of confidence, and claiming that Jones and Scanlon had personally intervened to warn of

a threatened withdrawal of Government funds, the works committee were able to steamroller their proposal through the 560-strong meeting with only three against.

Leyland management promptly levelled their guns at the heads of the tool-setters' stewards.

Longbridge is the biggest car plant still fully 'participating'. But even management are cynical about its use. They recently bypassed the participation committee in Unit 2 with instructions on big changes that are to occur there, including a switch-over from the Allegro to the Mini in one of the plants. The workers' representatives responded by walking out of the committee, despite the pleas of the works committee that they return. The latter's message to Unit 2 workers is simple: if the management won't help us, we must participate on our own...

There is little doubt that the present offensive in Leyland is being co-ordinated at the highest level. Unfortunately the workers' response is not.

At Cowley, right-wing senior steward Reg Parsons leads the witch-hunt against fellow stewards. At Longbridge, the Communist Party itself, wedded to participation, helps to load the company's gun. The potential cost of this abject collaboration—the jobs of tens of thousands of car workers.

JAMES DRAKE

AS TUC MEETS IT'S HEADS IN THE SAND

Any remaining fears amongst the leaders of the TUC that this week's holiday in Brighton might be hit by rain were blown away on Monday night. With ballots returned from 14,000 seamen, the National Union of Seamen announced that there was only a majority of 309 in favour of the 'some form of industrial action' in pursuit of their limit-busting wage claim.

The leaders of the NUS promptly announced that industrial action was unlikely, because they didn't want to 'upset the applecart' over the social contract.

With the storm clouds at sea gone, with Alan Sapper politely withdrawing the Cine-Technicians' motion against wage-restraint, opposition to wage-cutting was left to the tiny Furniture Trades Union and a few white-collar unions. Huge majorities in favour of the Government on every decisive question were guaranteed. Speeches against unemployment and the cuts that followed were simply meant to soothe the bureaucrats' troubled consciences.

With more than 1½ million unemployed, it's hard to imagine that five years ago these same leaders were

threatening the Tory Government with fire and brimstone because unemployment had just risen above half a million!

But that's not to write off this week's TUC as a bureaucrats' bean-feast. On Wednesday morning the National Union of Public Employees felt compelled to call a lobby of the conference to protest about the cuts. At the same time the executive of the Civil and Public Services Association has called for a one-day strike in November against planned cuts of 40,000 jobs in the civil service.

That revolt is brewing is even reflected in the 'row' between Jack Jones and other union leaders over the next round or otherwise of incomes policy. These outbursts might

be press-managed theatrics, but demonstrate that despite the 18 to 1 vote for the 4½ per cent limit at the TUC, the union leaders are running scared of their ability to hold the line for a third year.

Even on unemployment, token caps had to be doffed in the direction of the 35-hour week and some increase in public works to provide jobs.

But if the incipient revolt is to be harnessed into an effective challenge for alternative policies and alternative leadership in the trade unions and the Labour Party, then the minority at all levels of the trade unions and the Labour Party who are prepared to fight the Government's policies in action must be united in a common struggle.



RICKY TOMLINSON addresses Right to Work Marchers on their way to Brighton and the TUC Congress. One of the Shrewsbury building workers imprisoned by the courts, he has given full support to the campaign in defence of the 43 militants lifted from the last march. Support should be built for pickets of their court appearances.

Strikers close down

Trico

THE FIFTEENTH WEEK of the Trico equal pay strike began with heavy rain—but the pickets were cheerful. They had just learned that the Goods Inwards Department had been flooded, and plumbers refused to come out on the bank holiday weekend, leaving materials there to rust. This Department previously refused to handle the goods brought in by the convoys, and left containers to rot in the yard. And by the end of the week, still no sign of the plumbers...

Tuesday 31 August was an eventful day for the strike. A mass picket had been called, though hampered by being so close to the bank holiday, and a mass meeting of strikers was held. Despite the Tribunal decision against their claim, which could have demoralised the women, the turn-out was good and morale high. The District Secretary reported that an article had been submitted to the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers journal on the strike, and a member of the Strike Committee described a visit to Glasgow to organise blacking.

Blacking

However, if the AUEW Executive Committee had sent out a national directive on blacking, for which a page in their journal is no substitute, such 400-mile excursions would not be necessary. The human resources of the Strike Committee are already desperately stretched, and there can be little doubt that the blacking of all wiper blades, backed up by national action in solidarity with the Trico women, could have won equal pay weeks ago.

A specially convened meeting of the Greater London Association of Trades Councils took place that Tuesday evening.



will be asked to attend, and delegates to both the South-East Region TUC and the TUC Congress will be raising the question of support for the strike. The suggestion put forward by the Working Women's Charter delegates for a recall meeting to continue co-ordination of support for the strike was accepted in principle, but a date set for three weeks' time.

The onus of organising the demonstration has been left on the shoulders of the overburdened Strike Committee and District Committee, who have not as yet decided on a date. Thus a meeting which was positive in words has so far turned out negative in action: a weekly recall meeting of the GLATC, together with outside bodies supporting the strike, could have mobilised on a London scale within two weeks, and called for stoppages to ensure trade unionists could attend.

That this demonstration should take place soon and be successful became even more imperative last Thursday, when lay-offs of production workers at both the Brentford and Northampton factories were announced by management as from the next day. Whether or not this was a result of the non-appearance of the plumbers, management could not continue production—a definite victory for the strikers.

Now the question is: how soon will

strikers would swing the balance in favour of a speedy victory.

The Trico strike has drastically revealed the inadequacies of the Equal Pay Act, and the union's refusal to appear at the Tribunal has exposed these bodies as tools of the employers. When the Trico women lobby the TUC this week, they will be raising the question of what the trade union movement can do to make equal pay for equal work a reality, instead of a paper promise.

SUE LANDAU

The Sunday Times pointed out that firms implementing equal pay may be restricted by this round of the pay policy. Trico falls into this category, because the Tribunal's decision against the women has left the dispute as a simple wage claim as far as the Government is concerned—and a wage claim which exceeds the 4½ per cent.

But a mass campaign for equal pay must make it clear, as the Trico women have done, that there can be no compromise on equality. The social contract, of which the pay policy is a part, was sold to the unions through promises that the position of women and the low paid would be improved. Yet with every phase of this 'contract' the realisation of these

BACK THE FREE PRESS

TWO SUNDAYS AGO, Jonathan Dimbleby revealed on the David Frost television programme that ITV and BBC entered into a pact that the views of those fighting British imperialism in Ireland would never be transmitted to the British public. This revelation comes as no surprise to those who have watched television's coverage of Ireland over the last seven years. And television is not alone in the stream of garbage it releases on Ireland; it is shared by the ruling class press and even sections of the left press.

Red Weekly has no such pact of silence. In the past few weeks we have interviewed a leading member of the Provisional Republican movement, publicised the treatment of Republican prisoners, and given in detail the truth about the women's 'peace' movement. No paper, either on the right or the left, can equal this record—and we intend to see it is sustained. But there is no such thing as the 'free' press; everything costs money, and covering Ireland means expensive phone calls, subscriptions to Irish papers, and occasional visits to Ireland. For that, as for everything else, we need money.

So instead of following Mr Frost's advice and protesting to the BBC about its coverage of Ireland, it is much easier and more effective to read and build *Red Weekly*. Money now to: Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. We've already had a good start to September, receiving £76.20 last week. Our thanks to: D.A. Russell, £3; J. Pellatsch, £28; M. Black, £20; J. Blanco White, £7; Hayes supporter, £1.60; South East London IMG, £17.



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