



NATIONALISATION KEY ISSUE

The Labour Party Conference decisions on economic policy show once again the bankruptcy of the Labour left.

It should come as a surprise to no one that the Party leadership is totally unprepared to commit itself to any course which goes against the interests of big industrial capital. But the capitulation of almost every single leader of the Labour left to Wilson's rejection of the proposal to nationalise 25 leading companies should make anyone who believes that the way forward lies through Michael Foot or Jack Jones think again.

By CHRIS BALFOUR

Wilson's plan for nationalisation would affect only sectors of the economy that are bankrupt, inefficient, or the scene of the worst and least important forms of capital profiteering. The real centres of capitalist power and wealth — the great industrial and financial concerns — are to be left almost untouched.

But even Labour's proposals will have an impact on the working class movement far beyond anything that their authors intended. They will raise the

issue of nationalisation as a solution to the crisis of capitalism in the mind of every trade union militant in the country. Trade unionists who have been fighting tooth-and-nail against speed up, redundancies, and low wages, will start to think in terms of ending the control of the bosses over their lives once and for all.

A programme of anti-capitalist nationalisations can only be carried out effectively by the working class and its organisations. Who can better break the capitalist stranglehold over business information — the det-

ails of how an industry is run — than the workers in that industry who already have much of the information if they simply put their heads together? Who is in a better position to watch every move of the management and prevent them sabotaging production than the workers who know every trick of the bosses from years of struggle?

This class response must be pushed forward. Struggles must be launched against the capitalist domination of industry and finance, going beyond the programme and policies of the Labour Party.

Nationalisations in the interests

of the working class cannot be carried through simply by Government decree or by turning to the forces of the capitalist state: the civil service, the police. The ruling class will do everything in its power to sabotage attempts to take over its property, as it did in Britain when Labour tried to nationalise the steel industry after the Second World War.

Wedgewood Benn has proposed that shop stewards' combine committees in firms designated by Labour for nationalisation should draw up the plans for take-over. Certainly — but why should workers wait on the nod from Wilson & Co?

In every major capitalist concern in this country, a combine-wide committee of shop floor representatives should be set up now to work out plans for nationalisation of the firm and the implementation of a real system of workers control.

Workers, organised through such committees, would know how to deal with Chrysler's high-handed threat to close down — they would take over the plant and declare the management redundant.

But the working class cannot afford to sit back and wait for the next election before acting. Every day that the Tories remain in power is one more day that the working class has to bear the burden of Tory policies, one more day that the Government can use to try and split, demoralise and weaken the working class.

Big confrontations are coming in the months ahead between the Tories and powerful sections of the working class. These will be an opportunity to develop those types of organisation which could carry through a programme of nationalisation in the interests of the working class — to coordinate the struggles of separate groups of workers, organise practical solidarity, and prepare a general strike to bring the Tory Government down.

A key task of Labour Party militants in the months ahead will be to fight to ensure that Party resources are placed at the disposal of all those engaged in struggle against the Tory government.

MASS SUPPORT FOR SHREWSBURY 24

Over 4,000 London building workers struck, and 350 marched to the Home Office on Wednesday, in a gesture of solidarity with the 24 building workers whose trial opened in Shrewsbury that day. They face a number of charges, including conspiracy in some cases, arising out of picketing during the building strike last year. The demonstration also stopped at Congress House to demand action from the TUC in defence of the 24. In Edinburgh, 3,000 responded to a strike call from the building workers' Joint Shop Stewards Committee, and several hundred rallied outside St. Andrews House, where a deputation was sent in to lodge a protest with the Secretary of State for Scotland. In Shrewsbury itself, 3,000 workers from all over Britain demanded an end to the trial.

Actions such as these must be organised throughout the trial; to culminate in the kind of action which freed the Pentonville 5, if the 24 are convicted. The aim of the ruling class in this trial is to test out the reaction of the working class movement to the use of the "criminal" law against strikers, now that the Industrial Relations Act has been made unworkable. A firm response to Shrewsbury will make it clear that such a line of attack is not going to work.

The campaign requires a national defence committee, based on all bodies active on the Shrewsbury issue. Owing to the domination of the Liverpool conference by the political line of the Communist Party, no such body emerged; the campaign could thus be jeopardised, and lead only to protest action.

Local defence committees must be built in every area, and broader and



Above: First militants coming off the Lovell's site in Guildford Street, in solidarity with the Shrewsbury 24

Photo: Chris Davies (Report)

broader layers of the working class drawn in to the defence of the 24. The building strike proved the value of the flying picket, and it is in the interests of the working class as a whole to defend the use of this weapon.

This month's Fighting Fund came very close to reaching our £200 target — £190 received by the end of the month. There can be no excuse now for failing to reach our target and even going over the top in October.

The recent Labour Party Conference has shown the kind of scare-mongering which the ruling class and their newspapers will engage in when they feel that their interests may be in any way threatened. Obviously Red Weekly is in no position to compete directly with capitalist newspapers whose readership is in the millions. But what we can try to do is arm an ever-widening circle of militants with the information and arguments which they can use to fight the influence of capitalist ideas among their workmates, neighbours etc.

We need your financial assistance. Send all contributions to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 182, Pentonville Road, London, N.1. Why not become a regular contributor?

Trade Unionists back anti-Fascist picket

Several leading trade unionists in London have already backed the call for a mass picket outside the National Front conference at Conway Hall on Saturday, 13 October. Among them are Sid Easton, T&GWU cab-drivers' leader; Jim Kemp, T&GWU Convenor Steward; and John Hoskin of the NUR, member of the Executive Committee of Hammersmith Trades Council. For further details of the demonstration see page 4.

ACCOMMODATION CRISIS: students fight back

Like hundreds of thousands of working class people, students returning to college this term face an accommodation crisis. Many students, even those with families, are being forced to live in the corridors and halls of their student unions.

A bedsitter in London now costs anywhere between £8-11 - hardly covered by the derisory £20 a year increase in the grant offered by the government. For both students and working class families the problem has the same roots - the cut in welfare spending on housing, education, pensions, the health service, etc. At the same time thousands of properties are deliberately being left empty by millionaire speculators. In Brighton, for example, although there are 282 students and 1,900 families without accommodation, there are 2,700 empty properties.

The 'solutions' of successive Labour and Tory governments have only made the problem worse. Rents have been put up under the Housing Finance Act and grants for house building have been cut; while for college accommodation grants have been halved and rents raised in order to pay for the building of any extra accommodation. In Sussex University students pay out £72,000 every year to offset the interest on loans for

the building of more accommodation. Labour and Tories both favour making students live at home. This would discourage entry into higher education, and make parents and students, instead of the state, pay for the maintenance of those who do enter college.

Students must demand that college authorities carry out a crash building programme, and compel them meanwhile to provide accommodation at a reasonable price for all homeless students. To further this demand students should take over administration blocks for 'instant' emergency living space. It is the easiest thing in the world to play off homeless students against homeless families, and support must be won from local trades councils, shop stewards committees and tenants associations. There should be joint action between homeless families and students; they could for example occupy empty property together, and demand that the council take it over and restore it to a habitable condition.

The leadership of the National Union of

Students is campaigning for a higher grant, and against discrimination in the allocation of grants. This is quite insufficient for the struggle against lack of accommodation and worsening conditions of study. The demands of the grants campaign must include a 'no' to price increases in the colleges, an end to 'loan financing,' and adequate accommodation for all. In addition the NUS Executive must organise national actions in solidarity with those colleges where students are already carrying out occupations against the college authorities.

Ray Burns

STOP PRESS: 400 University of Sussex students are now occupying their administration block over the lack of student accommodation. The motion to occupy demanded immediate accommodation and stressed that it was a national as well as local problem; the Students Union is therefore contacting all other students unions, tenants associations and all bodies of the labour movement in the area to co-ordinate activity over the housing crisis.

NUS march: campaign for higher grants will not solve accommodation problems

CURRENT ACCOUNT

Cry from Nairobi

Last week's gloom-laden meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Nairobi showed that agreement on world monetary reform is still as far away as ever.

The recent revaluation of the Dutch guilder and tremendous speculative pressure against the French franc underlined the extreme instability of the current arrangements, which are the legacy of the series of violent convulsions which have brought the Bretton Woods system down in ruins. Under these arrangements, the dollar was the major reserve which backed the international value of other currencies; and the dollar in turn was backed by the massive US gold reserve accumulated during the Second World War.

But American government spending abroad and the gigantic American balance of trade deficit which built up during the 1960s flooded the world with dollars. The inflation which this encouraged led increasingly to a collapse of faith in the dollar. Dollars were converted into gold and the US gold reserve began to melt away. In 1971 the US overthrew the system: it devalued the dollar in an attempt to restore the competitiveness of American goods and suspended the convertibility of the dollar into gold to stem the haemorrhage of gold from Fort Knox.

The end result of this is that there is now no world system of exchange as such. Each country is pursuing its own path. Some (most underdeveloped countries) keep their currencies tied to the dollar or some other currency; others (the EEC except for Britain, Ireland and Italy) keep their currencies fixed in relation to each other and allow them to float jointly against all others; and others (Britain, Ireland, Italy, the US and Japan) allow their money to float against all others.

This leads to tremendous bouts of speculation and rapid and unpredictable changes in the relative values of currencies, controllable only by raising interest rates to their highest levels ever. This is a constant threat to world trade and therefore to production and employment in all capitalist countries. It is with this threat looming over them that the IMF's Committee of 20 has been so unsuccessfully struggling to devise a new, more orderly set of rules.

The immediate setback to this task has been the US decision to abandon the idea of reform until the massive recent devaluations of the dollar have led to a large and stable surplus in the American balance of payments. By delaying reform the US is also trying to force European concessions in the new 'Nixon round' of tariff reduction negotiations.

At the same time the US rejects European pressure to restore the gold convertibility of the dollar. Nixon knows that if he did so at the present unrealistically low official price of gold then, in spite of its improving balance of trade; the US would lose all its gold in a week; and a much higher price would produce a bonanza for countries with a lot of gold (e.g. France, the USSR and South Africa—he is more opposed to helping the first than the other two).

But even if the capitalist countries could resolve these tremendous differences and produce some new set of rules, there are more basic reasons why the new set of rules would not work. All of the reform plans give a major role to SDRs (Special Deposit Receipts, a new world money backed by the major currencies). These SDRs would be bits of paper worth only what the national paper currencies were worth. Their value would thus be eroded every day by the mounting worldwide inflation, so that they would be no more a basis for monetary stability than any national paper currency.

After the Nairobi meeting all the finance ministers made despairing remarks. But none more plaintively than Antony Barber, who knows that without massive international support sterling may be the first currency whose number is up.

Michael Price

Photo: Chris Davies (Report)



We publish below a reply to an attack on Gery Lawless which was published in the Clann na hEireann paper *Rosc Catha*, and subsequently re-printed in *Workers Press*. We would remind our readers that we have already published statements in issues 15, 16 and 17 of *Red Weekly* which refute the allegations made by *Workers Press* that Gery Lawless has assisted the police.

One year ago *Rosc Catha* was launched, following Clann na hEireann's refusal to sell the September 1972 issue of the *United Irishman*, because of its vicious anti-Trotskyist statements. Why does Clann now publish, in the September/October issue of *Rosc Catha*, a lying attack on Gery Lawless and the International Marxist Group?

The withdrawal of Clann from the Anti-Internment League, and its disgraceful splitting activities in the Anti-Internment Ad-Hoc Committee in August this year, are symptoms of a political trajectory which results from Clann's association with the Official Republicans in Ireland. This movement has devoted most of its energies in the last year to the irrelevant local government elections, and to a vain attempt to get representation in a Northern Ireland Assembly which is about to be kicked into the dustbin of history. It is in this situation of political frustration, and sectarian isolation, that Clann has fallen victim to the fantasies of some of its leaders.

On the afternoon of Sunday 19 August, Gery Lawless received a phone call which relayed to him an Irish Republican Publicity Bureau statement, claiming Provisional IRA responsibility for the incendiary bomb attacks in Oxford Street. After checking with sources who confirmed that the statement was genuine, he then wrote a story, based on it, for the *Press Association*.

Rosc Catha claims that the Provisionals have subsequently 'denounced this statement as a hoax', and that Sean Mac Stiofain has denied Provisional involvement in the bombings in Britain.

The anonymous author of this article is well aware that only the IRPB makes statements on behalf of the Provisional IRA; we can be quite sure that if Gery Lawless had issued such a false statement there would have been an IRPB denial, but more than one month has gone past without such a rebuttal. Indeed the first IRPB statement issued after that date warned Edward Heath on 15 September that: 'we shall strike when and wherever necessary'.

On the basis of this statement 'Colman Richards' wrote in the Foreign Office's own paper *The Observer*, on Sunday 16 September, that: 'The

Gery Lawless: reply to Rosc Catha

Provisional IRA virtually acknowledged responsibility for the bombings in Britain'. We are sure that we do not have to remind *Rosc Catha* of the identity and sympathies of 'Colman Richards'. Can we expect a denunciation of him, or of those other journalists sympathetic to Republicanism who have written articles which have accepted Provisional involvement in the bombings?

LITTLE REGARD FOR TRUTH

Would *Rosc Catha* like to confirm that the claim that the IRPB statement was a 'hoax' originated not from the IRPB or the Provisional IRA, but from Alex Mitchell of *Workers Press*, who obtained it from Sinn Fein (Kevin Street) by phoning them up and badgering them until he was put off with that statement? Sinn Fein could not have confirmed that the IRA were responsible, or their premises would have been closed down, and the statement used as evidence to imprison some of their leaders. By the same token Mac Stiofain could not have asserted or denied Provisional responsibility, but could only state a personal opinion, which does not have any official status, and cannot be presented as a statement by the Provisional IRA.

It is, by the way, in Clann's own interests to stop ignorant people on the British left from confusing Sinn Fein with the IRA. Already *Workers Press* has declared *Rosc Catha*'s statement on Gery Lawless to be a statement from the 'Official IRA'. If the IRA were to be banned in Britain, such a headline could be used as evidence against Clann na hEireann.

Beware of false friends comrades—you must be aware that *Workers Press* has such a strict regard for truth that it published excerpts from black propaganda, fake interviews with Sean Mac Stiofain and Ruairi O Bradaigh, and then refused

to retract them when they were exposed as British Intelligence provocations.

ANGRY BRIGADE

It is a lie, we repeat a lie, that Gery Lawless was the source of information published in a French newspaper which named Ian Purdie and Digger Walsh as responsible for bombing Robert Carr's house. We will not challenge *Rosc Catha* to produce that article, because we know that it does not exist.

It is also a lie that *Red Mole* published an article which gave names and descriptions of members of the Angry Brigade. The following is the exact and full text of this famous open letter: 'To all members of the Angry Brigade. The man known to you as "Duncan" is a pig. The man who went to Manchester before January 12th is a pig. Ask yourselves, are you being used by the pigs?' (*The Red Mole*, Vol.2, No.4)

Will *Rosc Catha* substantiate its accusations by showing us, from the records of the trial of anyone convicted of alleged Angry Brigade actions, how this piece aided the police in making arrests?

QUESTIONS

Finally, would *Rosc Catha* furnish us with replies to the following three questions:-

1. You claim that Gery Lawless is a wrecker; did he wreck *Rosc Catha* when it was struggling to come out, or did he, on the contrary, help you by providing photographs, articles, assistance with lay-out, etc?
2. *Rosc Catha* claims to be acting in the interests of Republicans as a whole, and tries to give the impression of defending the Provisionals. Why then does the anonymous writer fail to take account of the statement by Brendan Magill, National Organiser of the (Provisional) Republican Movement in Britain, expressing gratitude to Gery Lawless for his work, in face of 'recent slanders'. (See *Red Weekly*, 31 August).
3. Is it not a fact that the anonymous writer was told, by a reliable source, who had been solicited for information, that the IRPB statement was genuine, before the article was written?

It would be in the best interests of *Rosc Catha* and Clann na hEireann to retract these slanders and lies, before this attempt to discredit Gery Lawless achieves quite the opposite effect. And much more important, before the tradition of co-operation in united front activity between Clann, IMG and other organisations is irreparably damaged. Such an outcome would be to the detriment of the struggle to build a movement in Britain to aid the fight of the Irish people to free themselves from British Imperialism. A fight to which Gery Lawless has already contributed more than many of the people who now slander him.

LABOUR TURNS ... AND TURNS

By ALAN JONES

So far the expected left-right free-for-all at the Labour Party Conference has not seen the light of day — on all the key questions the Conference's image has been one of 'comradely unity and unanimity.

This was true of no debate more than that over the controversial nationalisation question. The Conference called for the 'early nationalisation of important parts of the British economy.' This was a compromise formula worked out between the Party's National Executive Committee (NEC) and Wilson, with the backing of Jack Jones of the Transport & General Workers.

The NEC scheme would have been a direct — if only partial and inadequate — blow against the interests of big industrial capital. But the Wilson proposals are quite compatible with the staunch defence of capitalist interests for which the last Labour government was noted. The nationalisation of land and drug firm strikes



Wilson lays it on the line: the Labour Party conference

at only the grossest form of capitalist profiteering — it leaves the core of capitalist big business untouched. The spiralling world prices of raw materials must have convinced many capitalists that the nationalisation of mineral resources is a necessary step to relieve some of the pressure — especially on fuels, through the take-over of North Sea gas and oil. The ports are chronically inefficient, and the aircraft and shipbuilding industry teetering on the verge of bankruptcy.

It is true that the Labour Party has turned to the left — the programme mapped out in Wilson's speech contains one of the most extensive plans for nationalisation in Labour's history. But this turn is being carried out totally under the control of those who headed the last Labour Government: arch-reactionaries like Healey and Callaghan are part of the not-so-new 'left-wing' team.

But the Wilson team have had to pay a price for tightening their grip on the Party — they have had to turn about and shout in a leftward direction. The policies mapped out in the Wilson speech are not in themselves anti-capitalist, but merely by raising the questions of nationalisation they will set off a debate that will go beyond the control of the Labour

leadership. In the debate which is just beginning, hundreds of thousands of trade union militants, and millions of ordinary workers can be won, not to the lukewarm proposals of Wilson, but to real, massive nationalisation. The task of revolutionaries is to carry through this process and ensure that the working class does not sit quietly on their hands, waiting for a Labour Government to work its way down the list to their company.

The objective effect of Labour's turn, despite the Conference votes, will be to create widespread expectations among the mass of workers that the next Labour Government will carry out sweeping, anti-capitalist measures. If Wilson & Co. fail to meet these expectations, we will see a revolt against the Government which will make the 1969 struggle against 'In Place of Strife' look like a storm in a tea cup.

One interesting sidelight to this whole affair has been the behaviour of the trade union 'lefts', particularly Jack Jones, who emerged as the saviours of Wilson and the party leadership. It is clear that these bureaucrats are in a difficult situation. Big confrontations between the Government and important sections of the working class are in the offing. An all-out

industrial struggle around any one of these claims would throw the Tory Government and the ruling class into chaos and open up the biggest political crisis in Britain since the 1930s. This is not at all a prospect that Jones, Scanlon and co. relish, so they are intent on channelling the energies of the working class movement into electoral activities for the return of a Labour Government. They are thus concerned that the Labour Party should be able to rally the support of trade union militants, but at the same time be in a position to win a 'normal' election (i.e. without a massive strike upsurge and vast working class mobilisation). So they seek to push the Party leftward on things like foreign policy and social services. But they are not prepared to risk any kind of break with the Wilson leadership which might give the impression that the Party was divided and expose it to attacks from the capitalist press that might reduce its electoral appeal.

The central struggle within the working class movement over the coming months will be the fight against Wilson and his bureaucratic allies on the question of whether or not to fight Phase 3 and on Labour's conception of carrying through nationalisations on the basis of the capitalist state.

Unions playing a dangerous game at Chrysler

Such deep antagonisms have now appeared among Chrysler workers that the trade union movement faces one of its blackest defeats for a long time.

One hundred and fifty-six electricians at Coventry have been on strike for nine weeks, demanding implementation of an agreement to transfer them to staff status with a pay rise of £250. Chrysler refused, after being advised by the Pay Board that payment of £250 would be followed by a restraining order.

The electricians' union, the EPTU, deserves sharp criticism. The demand for staff status is an elitist one, undermining the unity of the workers. Furthermore, once the struggle broke out, Chapple repeatedly said that if Chrysler agreed to pay the £250, then the EPTU would not fight the Pay Board. The stewards failed to dissociate themselves from this.

Although given basic trade union support by other workers at Chrysler (millwrights refused to cross picket lines, and production workers blacked machines worked by scab labour), these political weaknesses became fatal once Scanlon and Jones intervened to order production workers to scab on the electricians. In the event, only Linwood workers disobeyed them.

Chrysler have deliberately tried to split the workers further. Their threat to sack 8,000 men was designed to provoke discussions between the two sections aimed at producing a 'local settlement.' This 'local settlement' would consist either of a return to work or an agreement by other workers to sacrifice money due to them under the pay laws so as to make up the electricians' rise to the £250. There are some signs that the top leadership of the EPTU is advocating the latter.

The talks last Monday between all the stewards at Coventry illustrate the tragic situation at Chrysler. Earlier on, production workers had said that they would not lodge claims based on any norms established by the electricians. Management had told electricians that fear of such claims was the main thing preventing them settling. But rather than urge the production workers to launch similar wage-claims themselves, the EPTU stewards issued a statement denouncing the other unions for wanting to put in such claims, thereby sabotaging the dispute!

Nobody should be under any illusions about the reactionary nature of the intervention by Scanlon and Jones. They knew that the tendency of the struggle was to develop into one against the Pay Board. Instead of intervening to change the political basis on which the electricians were fighting and transforming

the struggle into a united fight against the Pay Board, they therefore stepped in to trample on even the most basic trade union principles.

The point, however, is not to use the electricians' political weaknesses as an excuse for doing nothing while they are carved up. The point is to change the situation for the better. This could best be achieved if the production workers took up a struggle against the Pay Board, and the electricians announced their determination to fight the Pay Board should it outlaw any settlement. Other groups of workers — the Lucas workers still supporting the electricians, the Hull dockers and British Leyland workers planning strikes against the Pay Board — should make a direct political intervention among the Chrysler workers to turn the struggle in this direction. Otherwise a catastrophe awaits Chrysler workers.

Dave Bailey



Williams celebrates, but little joy for other workers

Three weeks ago Ford, Dagenham management decided on a show of strength. Without any investigation they sacked Winston Williams for allegedly threatening a foreman. After a week-long strike Williams was reinstated, pending arbitration.

Confused response to Ford provocation

The Williams incident occurred after a 50% speed-up in his department. The management demanded a production increase from 480 to 714 units per day. But the men felt that the management were deliberately provoking a strike so as to avoid paying workers laid off due to strikes in the Midlands components industry. This finally led to the workers demanding payment irrespective of whether lay-offs occur because of internal or external causes.

However the stewards have still proved unable to overcome the sectionalism, which has led

to confusion and disunity. For example, in both the PTA (final assembly) and Body Plant, a common policy was agreed on: lay-offs without pay would be resisted and in future laid-off workers would come in and demand work. But the Williams strike produced a confused situation, in which some sections were striking, while others were demanding work; and some simply demanded Williams' reinstatement, while others demanded a new lay-off agreement in addition.

The decision to accept the result of arbitration on the Williams case, is a serious concession to

the management, especially since the sacking was probably a provocation. But the whole struggle was conducted so as to avoid the main questions. The demand for internal lay-off pay was not fought for, and this can only lead to a mood of resignation which will prevent solidarity actions in the event of further victimisations.

There are already signs of a management offensive, and the best way to stave it off is to launch a struggle on the lay-off pay question. This would put the management back on the defensive, unite the different departments and strengthen the still weak links between them.

Under Phase 2 workers felt unable to fight the Government alone; Ford militants must learn from this the importance of solidarity between different groups of workers. This could take the form of linking the Ford claim with the national engineering claim for £10 and a 35 hour week. Workers at Dagenham, and throughout the Ford combine must begin to organise now for the fight against Phase 3.

Bert Parsons



National Front seized on the Ugandan Asians issue to whip up racism. Photo shows march from Smithfield last August

Fighting the Front

LONDON

Plans are well under way for the counter-mobilisation to the NF conference, which is taking place in the Conway Hall on Saturday, 13 October. The NF, elated with its successes in the local elections, is pulling out all the stops for this occasion.

There will be a picket outside the Conway Hall starting at 10.00 a.m. Forces from outside London are being asked to form up in Lincoln's Inn Fields (near the Aldwych, W.C.2.) at 12 noon to march on Conway Hall for a mass picket. A preparatory meeting will take place on Wednesday, 10 October, at the University of London Union in Malet Street, in Room 3D at 8.00 p.m. All organisations and individuals supporting the mobilisation are asked to attend.

LIVERPOOL

Following the rout of Colin Jordan and his British Movement in June, anti-fascist organisation has been further strengthened on Merseyside with a meeting on 26 September at which the chair was taken by an official representative of the Merseyside Docks Shop Stewards Committee. The discussion centred around the need to combat racist influence within the working class and stop further fascist meetings (the NF is expected to field candidates here at the next elections).

The meeting was supported by Birkenhead Trades Council, shop stewards in Dunlop and other Merseyside factories, IMG, IS, WF, CFB, Big Flame, and the University Socialist and Women's Liberation societies. A committee was set up and a further meeting will be called to gain more support and to discuss perspectives.

NOTTINGHAM

About 300 NF members from the Midlands, Lancashire and Yorkshires gathered in Nottingham last Saturday under the slogans of 'Britain for the British' and 'End Red Race-Mixing.' About 60 local militants succeeded in delaying their march for 30 minutes by standing in front of it, but were eventually cleared away by the police, who made four arrests. The anti-fascists then followed the demonstration through the town, shouting slogans in opposition, and succeeded in more than doubling their numbers, with many black youths joining in.

The anti-fascist mobilisation was regarded as a partial success by the organisers, but its small size and inability to stop the NF march clearly indicate that the left must take this question much more seriously in future.

The National Front, the largest fascist movement in Britain, repeatedly screams: 'we are a working class organisation,' and is now setting out to give flesh and blood to that claim. Times without number in recent weeks it has thrown its weight into efforts to infiltrate the social struggles, the organisations, the atmosphere of the working class. And it believes that it is learning fast how this task may be accomplished.

'Their literature contains violently expressed regurgitation of the class struggle, as set out in any handbook on revolution,' cries an astonished Tory dignitary in North London's Wood Green area. This was a week after National Front activists had noisily burst into a genteel Conservative summer fete in Sidcup, addressed by Edward Heath and Dame Patricia Hornsby-Smith and yelled abuse at 'the worst traitors this country has ever known.' What lies behind this vehement anti-Tory line, and the increasing fervour of the National Front to gain entrance into the ranks of the proletariat?

Social crisis

'Most British people realise that our national situation is truly desperate, economically and in every other way. They won't be fobbed off with soft soap from newspaper scribblers any more than from parliamentary babblers. They want new men and new policies and they want them soon.' This comment from September's *Spearhead*, the NF monthly, although buried amongst the paper's usual diet of claptrap ('The Pearson flag, foisted upon Canadians without their consent, is a sorry imitation of the Peruvian Merchant Navy flag ... devoid of heraldic meaning'), illustrates the Front's current air of urgency.

In the face of fierce inflation and a deteriorating balance of payments, the economic thumbscrews of the Phase 2 wage restrictions, rising rents, price levels and mortgage interest rates, have been applied to the working class by British capitalism. Observers from Hugh Scanlon to Enoch Powell have warned of an impending social crisis, when the workers will commence retaliation in earnest. The NF is not so blind as to miss that message. It is highly conscious not only of the unpopularity of the Heath government, but of the miserable failure of the 'official' leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions, to trigger a sustained mass campaign capable of replacing the Tories with an alternative administration worthy of working class support. Ears straining for the oncoming sounds of class warfare, the Front is fashioning its own armour for this particular type of battle, and in the classic tradition of European fascism, at such times it dons the inappropriate campaign costumes

of the militant left.

The detailed selection of precisely which items of socialistic clothing to wear is, of course, a matter requiring some advice, but knowledgeable experts are to hand. On the National Directorate of the NF we now find Michael Lobb (selected as the Front's candidate in Newham South, London, for the next election) who claims rich experience from his former membership of the Communist Party of Great Britain. Soon to join him on the Directorate is John Fairhurst from Southall with a long record of trade union activity. Such preparations for a 'shift to the left' by the NF are compatible with their own stated ideology (they claim to be neither 'left' nor 'right' but, as nationalists, 'above' such categories), and with their hidden hopes of securing in the course of time cash from certain capitalist circles.

'Left wing' lines

Fascism has always proved a very dangerous weapon for any capitalist class to employ — a weapon of last resort. Its fusillades have often in the past injured bosses, in the process of eliminating working class organisations. But a spell of apparent 'left' militancy is a price that may have to be paid. With Phase 3 and its attendant conflicts looming, the NF is developing two such lines of 'left wing' activity: agitation inside trade unions on carefully selected 'militant' themes, and 'community politics.'

In an 'Open Letter to Trade Unionists' published in December 1971, the NF explained the policies on major trade union issues which they offered prior to their present 'left' phase: 'We have in fact supported in principle the legislation proposed by both this Government and the last Labour Government to make certain issues in industrial relations subject to outside arbitration ... it is in the interests of industry as a whole.' This public attitude to such measures as the Industrial Relations Act has now altered in tone, and the new emphasis is on 'workers' rights.'

The May 1973 *Spearhead* interviews an NF leader: 'What is your attitude to the Industrial Relations Act?' Answer: 'As with the wage and price "freeze" it is bound to fail.' The NF spokesman points to alternative proposals: 'profit sharing ... assures the workers in efficient firms better pay ... workers partnership has the same effect.' This type of concept provides the Front with industrial policies which are obviously more attractive to sections of rank and file unionists; policies around which industrial support for the NF can be built.

A contributor to the April 1973 *Spearhead* illustrates the line and language we can now expect from these self-styled 'racialist trade unionists':

'Whilst recognising that there have been unreasonable demands made by some bodies of workers, usually through unofficial action urged on by Communists, nevertheless in a situation where justifiable demands for increased wages and pensions are being made by the poorer sections of the community, we must stand firmly against a

N PLAT F FASO

Tom Cameron on the
against the threat of



Government whose main concern is to ensure that increases in business costs are borne by those least able to bear them.'

Demagogic militancy of this nature, tied naturally to anti-immigrant themes, is currently surfacing with NF assistance in a whole variety of trade unions. This is particularly the case in those white collar workers' organisations where trade union traditions, in the normal mould, are new and fairly weak.

Community politics

Beyond the trade unions, among the ranks of the often unorganised working class inhabitants of localities confronted with different social problems, the Front is playing a new tune. Across those areas of London faced with massive disruption by property speculators (known officially as 'dockland re-development schemes'), the NF is initiating an interesting campaign. Among their propaganda points are: 'The working class character of the area be preserved by the provision of a majority of council-owned rented houses in any development scheme,' 'A tough line against land speculators and property sharks,' 'White British people be given priority in all re-housing.'

This admixture of attitudes based on class interest and others based on skin colour, is designed to allow the fascists to move more freely among workers influenced by the growing movement against the destruction of the old dockland communities — a broad movement currently led in the direction of 'pressure' politics by a coalition of social democrats, church leaders, and Communist Party members and therefore relatively easy to infiltrate. Other signs of the NF's sudden, opportunist, conversion to 'community politics' have appeared. Out of the blue, yesterday's ragbag of ex-nazis and racist fanatics are running polite local campaigns to save the old facade of Leicester's London Road railway station from demolition, to raise money for a wireless intercom system for lonely old-age pensioners, to appeal for the rehousing of elderly inhabitants of a slum terrace in Sutton, and further equally worthy causes. These fine sentiments, these charitable endeavours, spring less from

FORM ORISTS!

Urgent need to organise the National Front.

Once more Enoch Powell is stepping up his racist offensive. Following the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the education of immigrant children, he said: 'I told you so ... I have been demanding accurate statistics for years.' He alleged that there had been a deliberate conspiracy by the Department of Education to cover up the extent of the 'damage' being done to the education of white pupils sitting side by side with blacks, just as the politicians had turned a blind eye to the 'funeral pyre' being made of Britain's traditions by the number of immigrants entering the country. He predicted once again that a third or more of the population of London will be coloured by 1980. This 'nightmarish scene', he said, will lead to racial explosions — at least it will if Mr. Powell gets his way.

devotion to the environment and the plight of the poor, than from the deliberate search of the National Front for new inroads into local communities, new means to convey the old message of racist nationalism into the homes of the working class.

Beyond England

The winning of firm roots beyond England, in other parts of the UK is necessary if the NF is ever to become a real force in British politics.

Mosley's British Union of Fascists, at the height of its upsurge in the late 1930s, never extended seriously into Wales or the North of Ireland, despite its glorification of Sir Edward Carson's Ulster Volunteers of 1911, as fascist forefathers 'in bearing, will, act and thought.' Modern conditions, however, present the National Front with rare opportunities which they are anxious to seize. While their infant forces in Scotland have yet to find their feet, the NF is fully conscious of the possibilities created by the deepening and dramatic crisis of Ulster Unionism.

Longstanding Front agitation in the traditional areas of the English midlands, Greater London, and around the South coast, now reaches further afield. In June a candidate was rushed into the elections for the Northern Ireland Assembly in South Down, as a 'National Front Loyalist.' Despite poor support at the polls, they saw this first effort in Ulster as 'a real base for promoting branches of the NF throughout Northern Ireland.'

This represents something of a shift from the situation on 1 May last year, when Martin Webster spoke for the Front alongside William Craig at a Vanguard rally in London, decorated with the banners of both the Orange Order and the NF. As Unionism changes and splits under the challenge of the minority in the North of Ireland, the NF is rejecting public alliances with this or that formation in the Orange camp, and attempting independent initiatives. This will have interesting repercussions on the sidelines of Unionism in Ulster and amongst its offshoots in Britain — UDA branches in the Midlands, Orange Lodges in working

class areas of Glasgow and Merseyside. Successful recruitment in these circles would assist the NF's desires to create a base in all parts of the UK.

Against the left

Infiltrating working class areas and institutions, the fascists will inevitably clash with the left forces entrenched there. The new-found confidence of the NF, as it counts its votes and membership figures, enables the organisation to consider mounting an offensive against sections of the socialist left. Some moves in this direction have already been made. A dozen or so NF members picketed a meeting organised by the South East London Institute for Workers Control in Lewisham early in July, and boasted to the local paper about 'fighting communism on its own ground.'

The Front has materialised in certain colleges, as the new academic year dawns, peddling a student-oriented paper entitled *Spark*. The task of the magazine and its supporters, working in a social milieu which

the NF frequently admits is dominated by the left and near-hopeless for extreme-right agitation, is to provoke and damage socialist forces in the student field.

This type of activity, reflecting the general optimism and current expansion of the organisation, naturally inspires the various thug elements in and around the Front to engage in wilder adventures. Telephone threats to the Labour Party Young Socialists in Gloucester, the beating up and near-blinding of a black student at Nottingham University by right wingers, an assault on a photographer who discovered a secret fascist meeting in the Caxton Hall, all point to a rising level of violent activity on the fringes of the right.

This new atmosphere pervades other circles on the far-right. *British Crusade*, a duplicated rag close to Colin Jordan's 'British Movement' has announced the formation of a 'force of trained men' (modestly calling themselves 'The Defence') to 'carry out the duties that the police are unable to do due to their non-political nature.' Such quaint phenomena

apart, the left must bear in mind the distinct possibility of an NF campaign against socialist meetings and events, dragging in its wake the most vicious of the individual hangers-on of the fascist right.

These significant developments on the extreme right require a positive and determined response by every tendency on the left. Each National Front initiative, each fascist mobilisation, must be replied to with the maximum strength which only united action can afford. The recent complete routing of Colin Jordan's attempted rally at Liverpool's Pier Head reminds us of the first principle of anti-fascist struggle: no public platform for the extreme right-wing. For this principle to operate in the coming months, given the new direction of the NF, the issue of anti-fascist action *must be included* in the plans of different socialist organisations for combatting 'Phase 3' of the 'freeze,' and other attacks on the working class. Otherwise, in a relatively short time, and without the left being adequately prepared, such action will be forced upon us as the fascists select their targets.

A Parliamentary Select Committee Report published last week described the existing statistics on the number of black children in schools as 'useless'. The Report points to the fact that many black children do not show up in the statistics, because the Department of Education uses a definition of 'immigrant' which excludes the children of parents who have been in the country for more than ten years.

In light of the fact that numbers needing special aid are much greater than official figures suggested, the Report recommends that a central fund should be set up, to which local education authorities could apply for resources to meet the special requirements of immigrants, both adults and children. Black children are at a big disadvantage in the white school, because they either speak little English or a particular dialect of English, and have different cultural backgrounds from white children. The Report argues for a major effort diverted towards English teaching, a re-examination of the practice of placing large numbers of black children in schools for the 'Educationally Sub-Normal', and an end to the present method of collecting statistics.

The Report will raise the temperature of political debate around the question of blacks in education. It will provide some leverage for

tion system proclaims 'equality of opportunity' regardless of race, colour or creed. If this slogan were to actually correspond to reality, then the present employment patterns of black workers would start to break down in a very short time.

For the black pupil to achieve 'equality of opportunity' in the classroom, requires unequal expenditure, in terms of facilities and teaching time. Average educational expenditure per head is already 15% more for the black than the white pupil. Yet one of the reasons why the capitalist class encouraged black migrant workers to come to Britain in the first place, was because the capitalist state would save money on workers whose dependants remained in the home country, and thus made no demands on the social services.

DISCRIMINATION

Discrimination by the capitalists against black school leavers seeking jobs is widespread. This was the conclusion of a recent survey, in which one employer was quoted as saying: 'If two identical boys applied, one white, one coloured, we'd give it to the white one'. A recent survey of 200 West Indian boys in North London found that unemployment among the 16-24 age group was 22%.

In view of the plans of British capitalism for black children, the education authorities do not go out of their way to give black pupils the opportunity to overcome the built-in disadvantages a black child must inevitably face in a white English school. Many parents of black

Why do so many black children finish up in ESN schools? In fact, any unruly or unresponsive child — black or white — is likely to be referred by the teacher to an educational psychologist for an 'intelligence' test to decide whether or not the child is 'fit to stay' in the normal school. Intelligence testing is notoriously biased in favour of white children, who share the linguistic and cultural habits of those who draw up and administer the tests. But even were it possible to devise a 'colour-free' test, the whole principle behind such intelligence testing, whether for black or white, is quite evil: it assumes that differences in performance and achievement are due to biologically determined differences in ability.

EXPECTATIONS

Many could no doubt be saved from the ESN school by increased expenditure on the black child. But the educational performance of working class children in general is lower than middle class kids, not only because of unequal expenditure, but because of the expectations of the working class pupil. And black working class children expect to finish up in the very lowest job categories reserved for immigrant and black workers. The experience of black school leavers, black youth unemployment, etc., fully confirms this for the black pupil. Such expectations necessarily have a devastating effect on their performance at school, and this opens them up to a permanent danger of being transferred to ESN.

RACISM IN EDUCATION

the case of the ESN schools

those forces campaigning for an end to many of the abuses which black children suffer in the schools and which reinforce white racism in society. It also recognises that black children have special problems requiring additional expenditure over and above that expended on the white child. But the conclusion that the number of black children is higher than previously believed, and the recognition of the need to spend more on black pupils, will also be used by the extreme right to heighten their present racist campaign.

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY?

In recent issues of *Red Weekly* we have looked at the plight of black workers in this country — the legislation designed to stop them from settling with their families, deprivation of political rights, and the means whereby blacks are intimidated into not fighting the employer or the state. For twenty years, the capitalists have sought to maintain a black migrant work force which is super-exploited and which can be placed in those jobs deserted by white workers. But what about the future for the children of those black workers who have settled in Britain?

The ruling class would prefer black children in Britain to take up the same types of jobs as their parents once they leave school. If large numbers of black youth were to enter skilled occupations, this would encourage other black workers fighting for the elimination of colour bars on skilled jobs and for equality in pay and conditions with white workers. Yet the educa-

children have been forced to create voluntary associations of their own to do the work which the schools won't do. Teacher training colleges do little to combat the racial prejudice which is likely to be shown by white teachers in the school classroom. (Only one teacher in six teaching in multi-racial schools was given any formal training at college about black children or their backgrounds.) The education authorities therefore reinforce the employers' policy of keeping blacks out of certain types of occupations and often out of jobs altogether — by doing as little as possible to help black pupils overcome their special educational problems.

ESN SCHOOLS

One of the worst symptoms of the plight of black children in the schools is the large number of black children to be found in ESN ('Educationally Sub-Normal') schools. Twice as many immigrant children as their proportion in ordinary schools would suggest find their way into ESN schools. Furthermore, in one East London ESN school, 65% of the children are black, yet only seven are classed as 'immigrant' by the DES.

Children labelled 'ESN' are those whose failure to keep up with their classmates at school is alleged to stem from mental or psychological deficiencies. They are placed in a special school which doesn't try to equip children with academic skills, but simply aims to enable them to survive without becoming a 'burden' on the state.

In addition, the fact that some children are singled out for the ESN school because of their behaviour rather than anything else, indicates that the child who expresses social grievances in the school (through 'unruly behaviour', etc) is among the most likely candidates for the ESN school. The transfer of the black child to ESN by means of an 'intelligence' test serves to hide this fact. It is the institutionalised racism practised against blacks which produces resentment and anger ('behaviour differences' as the authorities put it) in the black pupil, and leads to conflict with the school authorities.

To ensure 'equality of opportunity' between black and white in education requires additional expenditure which British capitalism will be reluctant to provide. But the problem goes much deeper. The black workers must be assured of equality of opportunity in employment.

The British ruling class, because it needs to maintain the racial distribution of jobs, will resist this. The fight on the employment front must be taken up by the working class. The struggle in education (for example, to abolish the ESN school) must go hand in hand with a struggle against colour bars on promotion, blacks-out-first redundancy clauses, low pay etc., if racial equality is to be achieved.

John Kilbane

CHILE: Mass organisation before the military coup

In reviewing the important lessons of the Chilean experience, the British left has often overlooked the positive side — the creativity and energy which the Chilean masses revealed in organising a largely spontaneous resistance to the forces of reaction. It is for this reason that we publish the following account of popular, mass organisation in the period preceding the coup.

Faced with the weakness of the Allende Government and a growing economic crisis, as well as a marked offensive by the Right, the working class in Chile has been developing its own organizations for more than a year. Under the Popular Unity Government, these were known as 'People's Power'.

The first form of 'People's Power' to emerge was the industrial *cordon*: a geographical grouping of workers in industries over an area about the size of a borough. The first *cordon* emerged in June 1972 in the biggest industrial area in the country, a suburb of Santiago with 46,000 workers in 250 industries. This was Cordon Cerrillos-Maipu: Cerrillos after the industrial area, Maipu after a farm area on its borders. By September 1973, such *cordons* had been formed in all the industrial suburbs of Santiago, and the political parties of the left were pushing for the creation of similar *cordons* throughout the country.

The *cordons* were organized around a co-ordinating assembly of delegates from the different factories, these being elected in turn by the assembly of workers in each factory. The body which had power to take decisions was the assembly of delegates, but an executive committee was elected from its ranks to put decisions into action, and meetings of the assembly were open to anyone who wished to come.

Cordon Cerrillos-Maipu grew out of a set of concrete conflicts within the area at a time when Popular Unity's original strategy was already on the verge of collapse. Forty-four peasant leaders in the neighbouring agricultural district of Maipu were arrested for attempting to take over a large farm which had already been marked for agrarian reform. This was seen as an overt instance of 'class justice'. There were demonstrations and conflicts with the police outside the courthouse, including an attempt to hold the judge hostage, and more people were imprisoned. A mass movement of peasants in the area developed, occupying more than 150 farms and calling for the takeover of all farms in the province of Santiago.

At the same time, there were disputes in three factories in the Cerrillos area. A small chicken processing plant with 15 workers was supposed to be nationalized, but at the last minute the owner refused to go along. It was important to workers in the area as a source of meat which the owner was selling on the black market — i.e. to the rich. Another factory, 'Polycron', was being occupied by workers because the boss (a great textile monopolist) had refused to honour an agreement with the government giving workers a share of the firm's profits and better housing (it was later 'nationalized' by the government because the occupation interrupted supplies to the already nationalized sector of the economy). A third, foreign-owned factory was on strike.

Their list of demands for this demonstration were:

1. Support the Government and President Allende in so far as this expresses the struggles and mobilizations of the workers.
2. Expropriation of monopoly firms and those with more than 14 million escudos capital (about £400,000: this was the original demand of the Popular Unity program, which had been changed to 91 'strategic' monopolies in the spring of 1972).

3. Also expropriate all industries which are in any way strategic, all those belonging to foreign capital, and all those which boycott production and do not fulfil their commitments to their workers.

4. Workers' control over production in all industries, farms, mines, and so on, through delegates' councils, delegates being recallable by the base.

5. On salaries: an automatic wage rise with every 5% rise in the cost of living; workers' assemblies to fix a maximum and minimum wage; creation of a National Council of Salaries, elected by the base.

6. Repudiate the bosses and the bourgeoisie, who have taken refuge in the courts, in the Controleria (which rather like the Queen, had to approve government legislation, and was refusing to do so) and in the Parliament.

7. Take possession of all farms which have been legally expropriated.

8. Peasants' and farmworkers' control over the system of credit, distribution of materials and machinery, through delegates' councils in all agricultural organisations. Delegates to be recallable by the base.

9. Creation of a State Construction Firm with control by the urban poor and unemployed and the workers, through delegates' councils.

10. Immediate solution to the housing situation of those who live in temporary camps and squatting settlements.

11. Expropriation of all urban or non-agricultural land, with the participation of the urban poor and unemployed, and workers, through delegates' councils.

12. Set up the Popular Assembly to replace Parliament.

All these demands went very much beyond the cautious program of 'laying the basis for socialism' and reconciling all non-monopolist sectors laid down in the program of Popular Unity.

The demand for a Popular Assembly to replace Parliament was part of the Socialist Party's own program at the time ('The task of the moment is to destroy Parliament' was one of their slogans), part of a program whose general line was 'Advance, not Retreat', in opposition to the call of the Communist Party and Allende to 'Consolidate'. The Socialist Party has always been the second party of the Chilean working class (the largest working class party is the Communist): its opposition to the line of Allende was thus very important, and 1972 was a year of cooperation and dialogue between the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR — the largest revolutionary socialist organisation; not part of the Popular Unity Coalition), the Socialists, and elements in the other parties of Popular Unity who thought of themselves as revolutionaries.

This existence of a revolutionary left within the Popular Unity coalition meant that the spontaneous organizations of the working class were protected from the inevitable attempts of the bureaucratic sectors to 'control' them in the interests of conciliating the Right, and that militants from a number of parties representing different sectors of the working class and its allies — the proletariat (Socialist Party), the peasantry (MAPU & MIR), the urban poor and unemployed in the *poblaciones* or people's living quarters (MIR) — could take an organized part in pushing forward the development of 'People's Power'.

But 'People's Power' was less the creation of the political parties of the left than it was of the offensive of the Right. During 1972 and



One of the last demonstrations by the MIR, Chilean revolutionaries, before the coup

1973, the strategy of the Right in Chile was to use its control over the judiciary, the police, Parliament and the Controleria (which, as we have mentioned, has to sign Government legislation) in order to harass the Popular Unity Government in every way. Its supporters among small businessmen (like the lorry-owners and shopkeepers) and the professional classes were using strikes to undermine the economy; and they were aiming to create a mass movement in the streets calling for the armed forces to intervene to 'end the chaos' continually being created by their activities.

In these circumstances, the working class and its allies were bound to find themselves time and again in situations where the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie was acting against their interests, even while the Government was formally committed to representing those interests. Working class self-organization to defend the takeovers of factories and farms and protest against class justice were a necessary reaction to this situation. The actions of the bosses, lorry-owners and other counter-revolutionary groups meant that the working class had to take action to gain control over the system of production itself, because this was slipping increasingly out of the government's control.

In October 1972, the lorry owners went on strike for the first time, followed quickly by other right-wing 'professional' groups such as white-collar workers and doctors, and by the bosses themselves, who began to sabotage production in every feasible way. Shopkeepers sympathetic to the Right closed their shops, and many small shopkeepers who were not sympathetic were forced to close by the threat of a Right wing fascist organization, 'Fatherland and Freedom'. Workers mobilized to take over factories so that the production should go on in the face of the bosses' strike. They developed organizations capable of handling the problems of supplies and communications for a whole network of industries, and capable of protecting these industries and supply networks against organized, armed, right wing attempts at sabotage.

Similar organizations were also thrown up in the people's living quarters. There too, securing

supplies became a matter of urgency, and local 'supply command centres' grew up, reorganizing as a massive community effort the small People's Supply Committees (JAPS) which Popular Unity itself had created in 1971 to enforce price controls. It was necessary to organize workers' guards, to protect small shopkeepers who stayed open, against the threats of the Right. In some places, people's power in the living quarters joined with people's power in industry to form a single organization, the 'communal command centre'.

The tragedy of Popular Unity is that in its last months, differences within the coalition, and even within the revolutionary left, seriously weakened these mass, popular organizations. Until mid-August of 1973, the Communist Party refused to allow its militants to participate in the *cordons*, denouncing them as 'parallel organizations' in competition with the trade union federation (CUT).

But differences also appeared between the Socialist Party and the MIR. The Socialist Party, in opposition to the Communists, moved actively to reinforce the *cordons*: building a provincial co-ordinating assembly of delegates from individual *cordons* where this was possible and setting out a policy of confronting the coming coup through a defence organization of the people at their place of work.

The MIR strategy was much more cautious. They argued that the only appropriate revolutionary organizations of the working class were those where the working class was already united with its allies from the urban poor and unemployed — organizations based on the unity of industry and the living quarters — the 'communal command centres'. They may already have been thinking of the possibilities of waging a guerrilla war.

Now the survival of the revolutionary left in Chile depends on the organizations of 'People's Power', built up over the last year. A strategy of prolonged guerrilla war against the military junta is the only one possible. The military can only destroy these organizations through an unprecedented massacre of the working class. If they stop short of that, Chile's revolutionary process may yet go forward again.

SAM WALLER

WHAT'S ON

IMG RED FORUM: Series of introductory discussions for those in the London area on the politics of the Fourth International. Tuesday 9 October: 'Imperialism'. General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (5 mins Kings X tube) at 8.00 pm.

BRIGHTON IMG PUBLIC MEETING: Public meeting on Phase 3, speaker Stew Lynch (GMWU personal capacity). 8.00 pm, Wednesday 10 October at Stanford Arms pub, Preston Circus, Brighton.

CAMBRIDGE IMG PUBLIC MEETING: Tariq Ali on 'Chile: Lessons and Tasks for the British Left'. Wednesday 10 October, 8.00 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Jesus Lane (behind Union).

HULL RED FORUM: 'Racialism in the Labour Movement', speaker Bob Pennington. Thursday 11 October, Red Lion pub, Beverley Road, Hull.

FIFE SOCIALIST FORUM: Tim Hall on 'Labour's new left image — how real?'. Wednesday 10 October, at 7.30 pm in the Labour Party Rooms, 44 Victoria Road, Kirkcaldy.

MANCHESTER RED CIRCLE: Every Thursday from 11 October at 'The Ancoats', Great Ancoats Street. First speaker: Bob Sutcliffe on 'Imperialism'.

NEWCASTLE PUBLIC MEETING: 'Defend the Shrewsbury 24: hands off pickets'. Tuesday 9 October, 8.00 pm. Speaker: Jim Kemp (London Joint Sites Committee). Chairman: Jim Murray (Chairman, Vickers-Newcastle Shop Stewards Committee). At Newcastle Labour Club, 45 Leazes Park Road. Sponsored by Gateshead UCATT No.2 branch, Vickers-Elswick Works Committee, etc.

THE JOKE'S OVER: A report on the 'social needs of homosexuals', published by Gayprints and Ret Studies. 'An important contribution to gay liberation' — Writing on the Wall. Price: 20p (inc p&p) from Gayprints Dept RW, Box GP, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1.

MERSEYSIDE IMG DISCUSSION GROUP: A series of introductory discussions organised by Merseyside IMG on the politics of the Fourth International. Starts Monday, 8 October. For details, phone John, 051-638 8081 or write to MDG, 52 Cullen Street, Liverpool 8.

CEYLON SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN: Public meeting, Friday 19 October, 7.30 pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square — 'The Chilean experience and its significance for revolutionary movements in all continents'.

NOTTINGHAM RED CIRCLES: Wide-ranging series of discussions based on the politics of the Fourth International. Every 2nd and 4th Tuesday in the month, 8.00 p.m. at the Lion Hotel, Clumber Street.

LEAFLETS, PAMPHLETS, COVERS, ETC: Quality electrostencils by return. Only 30p! (plus 5p p&p) from 56 Park Road, Lenton, Nottingham. All proceeds to Red Weekly fund drive.

FREE THE COVENTRY 71: Saturday 6 October, rally in Coventry Precinct at 11.30 am — speaker Michael Farrell. Sunday 7 October, demonstration at 2.30 pm from Small Heath Park, Birmingham, to rally in Digbeth Civic Hall. Monday 8 October, picket outside Birmingham Crown Court at 9.00 am.

TECHNICAL TEACHERS Rank & File meeting: Sunday 7 October at The Roebuck, Tottenham Court Road (Warren St tube) at 7.00 pm. Speaker and discussion on conditions of service.

RANK & FILE pamphlet, 'Education and Society' by Chanie Rosenberg, 10p plus 5p p&p on orders less than 10. From: 86 Mount Grove Road, London N5.

WORKERS FIGHT PUBLIC MEETING: 'Chile — a discussion on the lessons for marxists'. Speakers: Bas Hardy and Andrew Hornung. Sunday 7 October, 'Golden Lion', Kings Cross Road, N1 at 8.00 pm.

Last week's declaration of independence by the state of Guine-Bissau is an important stage in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism which has been fought for twelve years under the leadership of the PAIGCV (African Party for the Independence of Guine-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands).

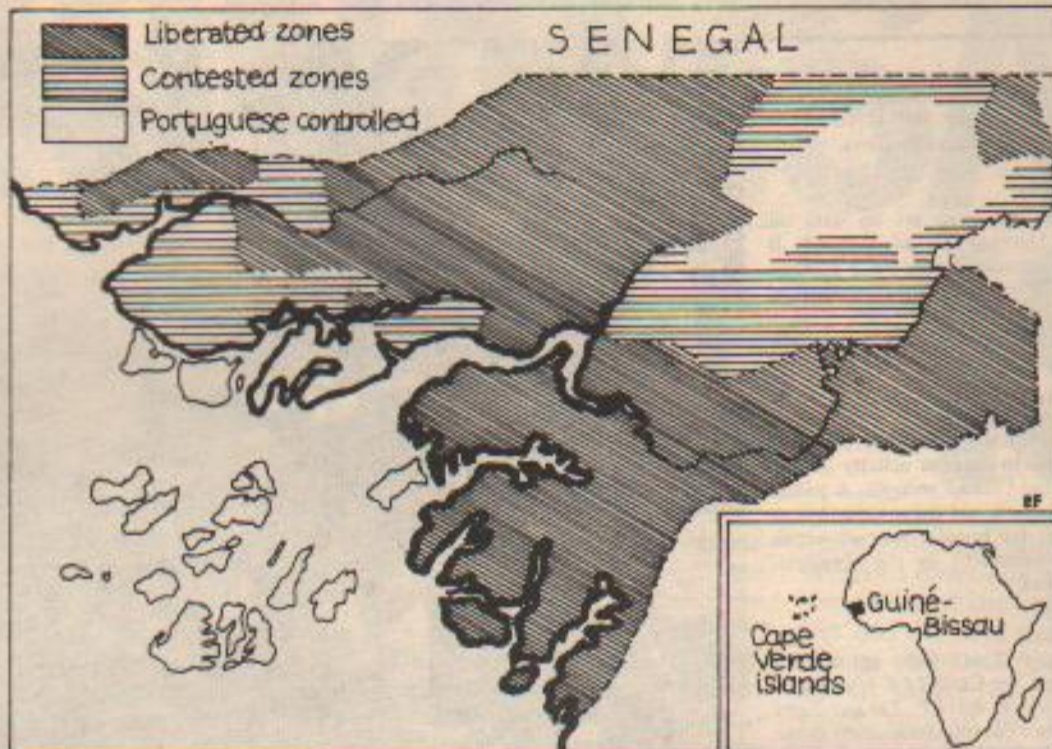
All the reports made in the recent past by visitors to the territory like Basil Davidson and Gerard Chaliand give firm support to the PAIGCV's claim that they effectively control 75% of the mainland territory. In large parts of this area they have successfully sustained administrative structures and the fabric of the social services, bringing education, medical supplies and personnel, etc., within reach for the first time of large numbers of the population. It is even possible for the new state to talk about the organisation of external trade through the co-operation in particular of neighbouring Guinea.

But of course this declaration does not signal the end of the war. Valuable international publicity will be obtained through the attempt to secure membership of the United Nations. Once again it will be clear for all to see that Portuguese colonialism is not an isolated and anomalous phenomenon, but has the backing of the major imperialist powers in NATO, Britain, the USA, France etc.

CAPE VERDE ISLANDS

The question of Guine also illuminates a key contradictory aspect of Portuguese colonialism. In reality the mainland territory does not possess significant strategic or economic importance. If the figures were available they would undoubtedly show that, particularly since the start of the military campaign, it has been a constant drain on Portugal's resources. However the Cape Verde Islands, 200 miles off the coast of Africa, are important as a communications base not just for Portugal but for the NATO alliance as a whole.

GUINÉ-BISSAU DECLARES INDEPENDENCE



It was this reasoning which probably lay behind the assassination of the PAIGCV

leader Amilcar Cabral in January this year. The most authenticated version of the affair

suggested that it was undertaken by individuals in the PAIGCV who had made a deal with the Portuguese by which Guine would be granted independence on condition that Portugal retained the Cape Verde Islands. Since the PAIGCV has always insisted on liberation of the whole territory, however, this line appears to have met with little response in Guine.

CENTRAL BATTLE

In any case it is doubtful if Portugal can actually carry through even this kind of settlement in the area without critical effects on her whole colonial strategy. Clearly the central battle both for Portugal, with its particular economic interests, and for international imperialism as a whole lies 2,000 miles away in Angola and Mozambique.

But the liberation movements have always insisted on the related nature of their struggles: undoubtedly a victory in Guine would give a big boost to developments in the South.

Secondly, the imperialists are no doubt acutely conscious that of all the liberation movements in Africa the PAIGCV has offered the clearest analysis of African economic dependence on imperialism and the most explicit and practical commitment to the socialist revolution. For that reason the tremors set up by its victory could well be felt in some of the citadels of neo-colonialism in West Africa.

For all these reasons a campaign in the coming months to publicise and expand support for the PAIGCV's initiative will be vitally necessary in combating the continued attempts of imperialism to dampen down the struggle in Africa. The diplomatic bargaining which ensues from the declaration must not be seen as an end in itself. Rather, it should be the key springboard for escalating the solidarity movement which took its first steps during Portuguese premier Cuetano's July visit to Britain.

TONY SOUTHALL

With his recent and predictable victory in the elections behind him, Argentina's President Juan Peron is now turning his attention to the left-wing opposition to his regime.

On 15 June we warned in *Red Weekly* that the new Peronist Government would not be prepared to tolerate any opposition currents outside its ranks. Sure enough, one of the first acts of the new President was to ban the Revolutionary Army of the People (ERP)—the largest armed revolutionary organisation in the country.

On Tuesday, 25 September—the day following the banning of the ERP—Jose Rucci, general secretary of the Peronist trade union federation, the CGT, was assassinated outside his home. The Chief of Police claimed to have received a phone call accepting responsibility on behalf of the ERP-22 (a split from the ERP, pro-Peronist and rather militarist in outlook). At once the Peronists took this up, proclaiming 'We are at war with the ERP', as they had done after the shooting at Ezeiza on Peron's return to the country (the ERP then turned out to have had nothing to do with it).

As before, however, this story could not stick. Journalists were sceptical about this claim from the beginning, because it was not customary for the armed groups to claim responsibility in this way. As one of them argued in *Le Monde* of 28 September: 'The possibility of a simple settling of accounts between leaders of the left and the right within the CGT is not excluded. Numerous left-wing Peronists were hostile to Jose Rucci, whom they condemned because of his contacts with the military before the return

Peron cracks down on Left

of Peron. These are the same left currents who, last May, assassinated another Peronist trade unionist, Dick Kloosterman, an important leader in the metal industry.'

This theory was given strong support by the murder of a leader of the left-wing Peronist youth the day after Rucci's death. It seemed clear that despite their public attacks on the ERP the right-wing Peronists knew better, and were unable to restrain some of their number from seeking revenge in a more likely quarter.

There is no reason whatsoever to doubt the ERP's statement denying their involvement in the Rucci killing. (Except, of course, for this country's self-proclaimed 'Trotskyist' daily *Workers' Press*, who are able to print the ERP denial one day and a slanderous article the next—by the same author—joining hands with Argentina's reactionaries to try and pin the blame on the ERP; in the price they set for such treachery to the revolutionary movement they outdo even Judas, selling themselves for the price of a few phony polemical barbs to hurl at the IMG and the Fourth International.)

The events surrounding the Rucci killing serve



Rucci (left) campaigning with Peron and his wife Isabelita

to underline the danger in which the revolutionary left in Argentina finds itself. The consolidation of the Peronist regime can only take place on the backs of the working class, but an important part of the Peronist movement's support comes from exactly this source. That is why it is necessary for Peron to eradicate all forces that could offer an alternative way forward for the working class: starting with those who have remained outside the Peronist movement and then turning to the left-wing opposition within his own ranks.

The recent Chilean experience offers many lessons for revolutionaries in Argentina. On the one hand, we have seen the tremendous possibilities that exist in a period of mass upsurge to develop the independent activity and organisation of the masses, on the other hand the weakness of such activity in the face of the capitalist state if the people are not fully prepared for armed struggle.

The armed organisations of the Argentinian revolutionary vanguard are very precious

acquisitions that must be maintained at all costs. They are the reservoir of the training, experience and equipment which will be necessary to prepare the mass movement for civil war.

But the revolutionary groups cannot carry out this task simply by maintaining or extending their armed apparatuses. Alongside this work they must launch political initiatives to develop the independent mobilisation of the masses and break the Peronist strangle-hold. They must not only arm themselves, but convince the masses of the need for self-defence and, when the time is appropriate, arm the masses for this job.

In the long run, only a Leninist, revolutionary party can tie together the essential tasks of mobilising the anti-capitalist political potential of the mass movement which the victory of Peron has set in motion, and equipping that mass movement for civil war—the only road to proletarian power.

BRIAN SLOCOCK

Even the right wing press in France was forced to admit that last Saturday's 'march on Besancon' in support of the striking Lip watch workers was an impressive display of unity in action. Estimates of the numbers involved ranged from 30,000 (the police) to 100,000 (the unions).

The most important feature of the march was its non-exclusive character. For only the second time in its history (the first being during the anti-conscription demonstrations earlier this year), the Communist Party-led CGT union federation was forced to march alongside the organisations of the revolutionary left in a single, united demonstration. The CGT had earlier forbidden the revolutionaries to set up stands at the fair held before the march, and when the revolutionaries did so anyway the CGT withdrew its stand in protest. But it could hardly have extended this action to the march without very seriously damaging what credibili-

Lip Triumph for unity in action!

ty it still retains as a supporter of the Lip struggle.

As one of the organisers commented, 'Such a demonstration would not have been possible a year ago'. Thousands of workers travelled from all over France to meet at Lip and exchange their experiences of struggle—among them smelting workers from the strike at Pechiney, seamstresses from the work-in at

Cerizay, and many of the immigrant workers involved in the recent anti-racist strikes. The mood was one of confidence and militancy: 'Lip will win, or we'll be back!'

However, all the signs are that, for the CGT at least, the struggle has gone far enough. Their speaker at the rally warned that: 'We know that we can't get everything at once. We may have to be satisfied with achieving

less than our full demands.' With the negotiations over the future of the company now at a decisive stage, such statements can only demobilise the working class and encourage the Government to stand firm.

For the CGT, the 'march on Besancon' was very much a final gesture of support for a struggle which has increasingly embarrassed them by its advanced forms of struggle and its challenge to capitalist property relations. This makes it all the more urgent that local rank-and-file militants intensify their activity in support of the Lip workers, building on the support committees which were set up all over France to mobilise for last Saturday's march. Only in this way can the resistance of the Lip workers be strengthened in face of the 'take it or leave it' attitude which the Government negotiator is now adopting over the question of redundancies.

JOHN MARSTON

CHILE: REIGN OF TERROR

RED NOTES

News reports continue to come in providing further evidence of the terror which the new military Junta has unleashed on the people of Chile,

The correspondent of the American magazine *Newsweek* reports having seen the bodies of two hundred young workers, shot through the throat, in a Santiago morgue. He was told that almost 3000 corpses had passed through the morgue in the

two weeks following the coup. Meanwhile, the Junta has been proceeding with the task of stamping out all political opposition. The trade union federation (the CUT) has been dissolved and all the Popular Unity parties outlawed. The technical colleges, and the sociology, journalism, and education faculties of the universities have all been closed down. Special officials have been appointed

by the military to take charge of the political purging of the universities,

The general secretaries of the Socialist and Communist Parties, Carlos Altamirano and Luis Corvalan, have not been killed, as was previously reported. However, Corvalan has fallen into the hands of the military and faces imminent execution. Altamir-

ano and many other left wing leaders are the object of an intense hunt throughout the country.

International solidarity in defence of the Chilean workers and peasants is urgently needed. A major campaign must be mounted to expose the terror being waged by the Junta, and to try and save Luis Corvalan and other left-wing militants from the firing squads.

Workers at the Reading firm of Adwest Engineering have stopped an attempted victimisation, following their successful sit-in strike. On Monday evening, women on the twilight shift at Western Thompson, the associated firm which was out in sympathy, were told there was no work. However only the women who had supported the strike were sent home, scabs were given work.

Next morning, the day shift workers walked out at 9.30, and by 11.30 a settlement had been reached. The women who had been turned away were paid for the shift, and although there will not be a twilight shift this week, workers will be re-started on the basis of seniority, as work for the shift is built up.

Who shot Tommy Herron? No one has claimed responsibility, but the Dublin review *Hibernia* comes up with an impressive list of clues. The killers were professionals, he was killed by one bullet, just behind the ear, and his head was covered with his jacket to minimise the mess when his brains were blown out. He either knew his killers, or they had lawful authority to compel him to enter the car in which he was driven to his death. The murder occurred during the Heath visit, thus cutting down the publicity. Journalists have compared the timing with that of the Dublin bombings, and the bomb which exploded in Claudy at the time of Operation Motorman. In other words, Ian Paisley, and the UDA Press Officer, who have practically named the SAS, are on the right track.

Mrs Peggy Chaston, the Reading housewife who has launched a petition demanding the withdrawal of British Troops from the North of Ireland, has been the target of a Black Propaganda exercise. The *Reading Chronicle* of September 21st reports that she has received a letter purporting to come from Sinn Fein thanking her: 'on behalf of the IRA' for her 'help in defeating the British Army in Occupation'. The final paragraph reads: 'It is indeed ironic that a lot of silly old cows—the fur coat brigade—should be our greatest allies; the best friends the IRA ever had'. The letter, which was posted in Belfast, is signed: 'Mairin de Burca and Tony Heffernan', who are the joint-secretaries of the *Official* Republicans and not engaged in a military campaign, indeed Mairin de Burca claims to be a 'pacifist', and certainly would not endorse the statement that: 'human targets are better than industrial ones and that those funeral caskets returning home are having the desired effect.'

Solidarity action

NATIONAL DEMO
Sunday, 4 November

GLASGOW

A united front committee has been set up after an initiative by militants in the University Department of Latin American Studies. In addition to the demonstration against a submarine launching for the Chilean Navy, over 600 people marched through Glasgow in a solidarity demonstration on 15 September.

TYNESIDE

Over 200 people attended a meeting sponsored by Newcastle Trades Council last Saturday. Representatives from the IMG, CP, Newcastle Trades Council, AUEW, NUR, and the Jarrow Shipyards Shop Stewards Committee pledged continuing solidarity action with the struggle of the Chilean workers and peasants. A resolution, which was passed unanimously, stressed the special responsibility of Tyneside workers in relation to the repairs

being carried out on Chilean warships in the area. Support for the 4 November demo was also unanimously agreed.

LIVERPOOL

A committee has been set up with the support of Liverpool Trades Council. It has called a demonstration for 3 November, and will organise the checking of goods moving to or from Chile, passing the necessary information to shop stewards on the docks.

ROTHERHAM

Rotherham Trades Council has set up a sub-committee to organise activity in solidarity with the Chilean struggle. A public meeting is planned, and the sub-committee will campaign for broader support within the labour movement in the Sheffield/Rotherham area.

CARDIFF

The campaign in South Wales got off to a bad start when the Cardiff CP organised a meeting at which the CP, Labour Party and Plaid Cymru (Welsh nationalists) spoke, but members of IMG and IS who spoke from the floor were subjected to interruptions from the chairman. They would have been prevented from speaking at all had not many of those present protested at this bureaucratic behaviour.



Footprints at the crossroads

The fate of the strike at Footprint Tools in Sheffield, which began in June over the sacking of an AUEW steward, will probably be decided at an engineering shop stewards' quarterly meeting this Thursday.

As reported in last week's *Red Weekly* the turning point in the strike was a mass picket at which the AUEW District Secretary and the sacked steward, along with six others, were arrested. This provocation by the Police (with the help of the Special Patrol Group) was clearly intended to undermine the confidence of the strikers in the organised strength of the Union, and its ability to carry out effective picketing. A defeat at Footprints will seriously weaken the chances of an effective offensive in the area over the engineering pay claim.

At James Neill, a factory where as many as 100 workers have been mobilised during work hours for the picket line at Footprints, the management have suspended 16 workers, with the result that two thirds of the factory is now on strike. This has meant an important escalation in support for Footprint.

DISTRICT STRIKE

Two possibilities confront the Union;

either preparation for a district strike, to unite the union and provide the forces for a picket capable of closing down the factory; or a de-escalation of the struggle in defence of the Footprint strikers, and a face-saving mobilisation over the forthcoming trials. The District Committee seems to be moving in the second direction.

As publicity in preparation for the trial George Caborn the District Secretary, has been trying to establish the 'respectability' of the picketing. At a mass picket held a week after the arrests, local dignitaries including the Watch Committee were invited to observe, and Caborn substituted for the police in ensuring a peaceful and ineffective picket.

The strike committee at Footprint, a number of union branches, and the shop stewards at Bone Cravens (a leading factory in the area) have all come out in favour of a district strike. At this Thursday's meeting the D.C. will advocate a one-off show of force centred on the trial, but whatever mobilisation is called, it must be organised as part of the preparation for a district strike, which alone can ensure the victory of the Footprint strikers, and give the union confidence for the coming battles.

JIM WILSON

British government strikes out

As the Whitelaw solution to the Irish problem teeters on the brink of failure, the British government and its Irish collaborators are hitting out wildly at those who oppose their plans.

In Dublin, Provisional prisoners are nearing their third week on hunger strike for political status. A massive force of troops and police was moved into the prison last Friday following a false report about a planned riot and bombings, but was unable to provoke the prisoners.

In London, police raids at the weekend reached massive proportions, as they used the pretext of the bombings to gather information about the left. In several cases doors were knocked down and police refused to identify themselves. The excuse of searching for 'explosives' was used to make charges for possession of drugs and other offences.

Various organisations are responding with protest action. IMG, IS, the SLL and WF have called a joint meeting for Friday evening, and there will be a demonstration to New Scotland Yard on Saturday involving squatters' groups, left-wing and Irish organisations. It assembles in Charington St., N.1., at 2.00 p.m.

Meeting in defence of Workers Fight and victims of recent police raids.

Speakers from IS, SLL, IMG, WF, 7.30 Friday 5th October Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, (Holborn Tube).

LEVINÉ

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