

RED WEEKLY

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SOUTH AFRICA RALLY organised by London IMG
Speakers include: *Billy Nannen (ANC), Tariq Ali (IMG) and representative from Namibia Support Group*
Fri. 22 Oct., 7.30pm, LSE New Theatre, Houghton St, W.C.2

CALLAGHANS' THREE R'S

Reduction in wages
Redundancy for millions
Rundown in services

REALLY, IT IS ALL RATHER SICK.

There is James Callaghan, acting the moralising headmaster, prattling on about his 'concern' for education — when according to the National Union of Teachers, his Government policies have meant that there are 20,000 teachers unemployed.

There he is, proclaiming that 'there is no virtue in producing well-adjusted members of society who are unemployed because they do not have the right skills' — when his Government deliberately creates mass unemployment and throws onto the streets 200,000 school-leavers, 'right skills' or not.

There he is, shaking his finger at teachers, telling them, 'what you are doing must meet the needs of the children' — when his Government cuts are depriving children of schools, hospitals and decent housing.

And there he is, with a worried frown, expressing his 'concern' over 'why such a high proportion of girls abandon science before leaving school' — when his policies have made equal pay a joke, and unemployment amongst women is increasing at a quicker rate than at any time since the war.



The real 'concerns' of those who suffer from the rule of Callaghan, Healey and the International Monetary Fund are nothing to do with curriculum or science versus arts. They are to do with:

★ £45 million worth of cuts in educational spending announced in Healey's July measures.

★ The raising of the price of school meals by 250 per cent by September 1977.

★ The cuts in all social services which have yet to come as the price of the IMF loan to prop up the pound. In Healey's measures education is expected to be a special target — believe it or not, education was deemed by the financial experts to have been treated lightly by Healey in July.

And the answer is not in any tightening of control of teachers, or uniformity in teaching practices. It is action for a programme of public works to employ the jobless and meet social need. Action to stop the financiers bleeding the social services. Action to get automatic compensation for inflation in social expenditure.

In other words, the answer is fighting the cuts and the Social Contract of which they are

21 WEEKS AND IT'S

THE WOMEN WORKERS at the Trico Folberth plant in Brentford, West London, have won equal pay. After 21 weeks management finally had to agree to pay women operators the men's rate instead of bringing the men's rate down to that of women.

The Trico dispute has become well-known throughout the labour movement. The volume of press coverage showed the importance of this strike for equal pay in Britain — on a par with the Ford seamstresses' strike in 1968. Because it illustrated so clearly the inadequacies of the Equal Pay Act, and particularly of the tribunal system, it gave the employers more problems than they had originally anticipated.

The Trico women showed the way forward by refusing to negotiate on the bosses' terms, never accepting for one moment their arguments for reduction of the men's wages. This meant they had to boycott the tribunal, which was an obstacle to equal pay, and rely on their own struggle instead.

This view is now shared by a sizeable section of the labour movement. The TUC Congress this year passed a motion from USDAW, the shopworkers union, calling for 'equal pay for work of equal value instead of equal pay for work of the same or broadly similar nature'. Judith Hunt, speaking to the motion, said that working women had not benefitted fully from the Equal Pay Act because of its loopholes and the way in which it is being interpreted by industrial tribunals.

There is now widespread opposition to the way the Act has been implemented, an opposition which could develop into a national campaign to amend the Act and stop the employers using it to keep women as cheap labour. This comes at a time when the Labour Government wants to hold down wages and



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

VICTORY AT TRICO!

almost excluded rises for equal pay from the last round of the pay deal. Trico was altogether too embarrassing for the Government and employers, who had to give in to the strikers' demands.

The victory is a tribute to the courage and determination of the women and men strikers, and a victory for women throughout Britain still struggling for equal pay against the machinery of the Equal Pay Act.

(More on page 3.)

Q Why has IS put up a candidate in the Walsall by-election?

A We think that putting up Parliamentary candidates will draw the attention of people who had previously never heard of Socialist Worker towards the politics of the International Socialists and the possibility of developing a revolutionary socialist party.

At the same time we think it gives the opportunity to put forward the idea that there can be a fight back against the Government and that there is some organisational framework that is yet only in its initial stages, but none the less it is in existence, and can draw rank-and-file activists to play their part in changing the course of events.

Q How will the forthcoming conference on the cuts on 6 November lay the basis of a fight back in areas like Walsall?

A The main objective is to involve militants and activists in the campaigns that are now beginning to appear, such as the 17 November day of action. I do think there are limitations to what 6 November can do. I do not think it will pull a tremendous amount of weight.

It will however be able to fit into calls already made, and because of the level of activity in the class as a whole, it will assist the leverage of a section of militants and help them when arguing for stoppages on 17 November.

Q Going back to the election campaign — what type of campaign is Socialist Worker running in this election, say, compared to that run by the Labour Party?

A Well, the important element in our campaign is to say to the workers whom we are drawing towards us that it's not a question of the votes that are cast on 4 November but a question of their involvement in the struggle against the policies of this Labour Government. We will actively encourage them to become part of rank-and-file activity against the cuts and unemployment and racism.

What we're saying is that we do not accept the parliamentary road to socialism; we don't think there's any possibility of parliamentary institutions legislating socialism; and we think it's even less likely that one socialist MP can change the political atmosphere in this country.

Q Can we go on to the point you made at the beginning. If the central aspect of the campaign is to build a Socialist Workers Party, how do you actually see this being represented in some sort of general orientation — for example, in the coming general elections?

A I think it's a question of when the election takes place. My guess is that the Government would not welcome an early election and would prefer to sit it out until the tide changed in its favour. But the possibility exists that the Government will panic under pressure from the IMF and the ruling class in this country. In that situation we may



'We are standing in order to build the organisation'

INTERVIEW WITH JIMMY McCALLUM, 'SOCIALIST WORKER' CANDIDATE IN THE WALSALL NORTH BY-ELECTION

find ourselves having to argue forcibly against the return of the Tories. That could offset the purpose of putting up candidates.

However, the important thing for

us is the difficulty of convincing militant workers of your integrity, of your willingness to fight back if you are saying 'Vote Labour' at this stage. And so, in order to develop

their own confidence and capacity to change events, we think it is important for Socialist Worker to put up as many candidates as possible so that a clear possibility of an alternative emerges over the next year.

We recognise that when a general election does take place, we would be standing as many candidates in as many places as possible. That would be the consequence of fighting in every by-election possible and raising the idea of developing a revolutionary socialist alternative and a rank-and-file fight back.

Q But those who are prepared to fight the Labour Government extend beyond the ranks of the IS. While IS is the biggest organisation on the far left, would not the unity of all the forces of the far left make a far greater impact than the orientation towards a Socialist Workers Party?

A We do not pretend that we are the only organisation on the left. All we say is that workers who become disillusioned with Labour are also confused about what the alternatives are. It is therefore imperative that we begin to draw those militant workers to a revolutionary perspective.

Because IS has maintained its strength over the past two years, has not lost ground, and has retained its capacity in organising around the Right to Work Campaign and various rank-and-file organisations we do offer the only credible alternative and only serious possibility of building a revolutionary party.

Those elements inside other organisations who are serious about building such a party will find that

ers campaigned for a candidate supported by all those bodies fighting the anti-working class policies of the Callaghan/Healey leadership — such as the Right to Work Committee, Tyneside Action Committee Against the Cuts, Tyneside Socialist Centre, Working Women's Charter Groups, the committee set up to fight for an enquiry into the murder of EPTU shop steward Liddle Towers, etc.. This support would have embodied the practical action being taken in the area on unemployment, cuts, racism, women's rights and corruption.

IS chose instead to put forward their own candidate and made it clear that they would not withdraw if a class struggle candidate based on such bodies were nominated. It is not surprising therefore that their current election material ignores key issues like labour movement and police corruption and the fight for women's right to work. The Socialist Worker campaign is in fact limited to meetings with IS speakers, sales of Socialist Worker and leaflets calling for the building of the Socialist Workers Party.

a real fight against the policies of the Labour Government, but do not necessarily agree with the perspective of building a revolutionary party from the IS. Rank-and-file Labour Party members involved in the Cuts Campaign and the Socialist Centre will now probably campaign for the official Labour candidate or simply abstain. Those militants could have been won to campaigning for a class struggle candidate. But that is of little importance to the IS.

Despite the extreme sectarianism of the IS, the IMG in Newcastle still believes that all those wanting to fight against the policies of the Labour Government should vote for IS. However, it has proved impossible to support the Socialist Worker campaign itself.

Therefore the IMG in Newcastle is fighting for broad-based action to intervene in the elections around the main questions of cuts and racism, and for action against the National Front candidate. Whilst the IMG will argue for a vote for Dave Hayes, this will not be the basis

Q To return to the campaign. The IMG and the Red Weekly have criticised the way in which it has been developed in terms of the failure to draw in wider forces through support committees to give this campaign a wider and more democratic content. For example, the IMG has called for a meeting on 27 October to discuss a class struggle candidate in the Stechford by-election along these lines. What is your attitude to this sort of proposal?

A I've described how the IS saw the need to put up candidates. We saw it within our particular analysis of the Labour Government and of the economic situation, and the need to draw militants towards a revolutionary perspective. It is a matter of putting up Socialist Worker candidates in order to build the organisation and raise the possibility of a revolutionary party.

Q I think our differences would come on how a revolutionary alternative can be built to the Communist Party and Labour Party. We would see the creation of such an alternative coming not just from the IS, but out of a genuine regroupment of the other forces on the far left of which the IS is a part, and indeed a large part. How does this relate to the perspective of the Socialist Workers Party announced in Socialist Worker just recently?

A The Socialist Worker did not announce the Socialist Workers Party as such. It was a declaration by the IS National Council on the intention to build and to recruit in order to have a serious perspective of developing the SWP.

In the past we have opposed, and rightly opposed, the notion that we can announce, or declare, or put a date on the formation of the revolutionary party. We think that the party will be built out of the struggle for recruitment to the International Socialists. Through a genuine dialogue with those who read Socialist Worker joining the IS we will present the possibility of establishing the SWP.

That is essentially different from your perspective, and a major difference between us: we see it as being a question of recruitment to the IS which will put on the agenda the formation of a revolutionary socialist party.

Q What is your attitude to the united front tactic which doesn't merely revolve around the IS or the Right to Work Campaign and can involve those who are not yet willing to join a revolutionary organisation. Do you see such a perspective?

A The united front can only be built around united action. I think the limitation of united front work between the IS and the IMG is the capacity of the IMG to pull action into that united front. It's not on the agenda except in the possibility of joint initiatives between the Right to Work and the LCDTU on the cuts.

What is on the agenda is the possibility of convincing a whole number of militants — who as you say, are not ready to join the revolutionary socialist organisation — that there is a possibility of joining a rank-and-file organisation that has an independence and authority in the trade union movement. We think that the Right to Work campaign can be built into that sort of organisation.

Q When I asked you the question on the united front, I was not referring so much to the forces of the IS and IMG being the basis of that united front. I was thinking more of the militants of the Labour Party, the trade unions and the Communist Party. What vehicles do you see for work with these people if they are not prepared to join the Right to Work Campaign?

A I'll have to take your word for it that there is this layer of people who are sceptical of the Right to Work Campaign but yet want to be active. Our experience is that in fact those people who are prejudiced against the Right to Work Campaign are prejudiced from the point of view of the Communist Party or from a very strong adaptation to the right wing of the Labour Party.

The Right to Work Campaign, because it has IS activists in significant positions inside it, does not frighten those who are genuinely interested in building a rank-and-file Right to Work Campaign. Because it is the only force they can rally around inside the trade unions, they are prepared to rally around to build a rank-and-file organisation like that.

Three labour movement candidates in Newcastle

Three candidates from the labour movement are contesting the by-election in Newcastle Central: Harry Cowans, the Labour Party candidate; Dave Hayes, the Socialist Worker candidate; and a member of Eddie Milne's Northumberland Labour Party [at the time of writing, Milne has not announced the name of his candidate].

Red Weekly urges support for Dave Hayes as the only candidate with any history of fighting the Labour Government's anti-working class policies. A large vote for Dave Hayes will strengthen the fight against the cuts, racism and unemployment.

However, it is necessary to make many criticisms of the Socialist Worker campaign. It correctly calls for a fight for the right to work, against all cuts, against racism and immigration controls and against the Social Contract, but it does not give any clear idea on how to fight for united action of the widest number of militants around these demands. Counterposed instead is the building of the rank-and-file movement and the Socialist

Trico victory 'a shining example'

The Trico strike ended united as it had begun, with the victorious workers marching back to work as one body.

Last Friday's jubilant mass meeting of Trico workers heard the terms of the employers' surrender. The strike won its main demand for a common operational rate throughout the factory. This means that the women's rate of pay will be raised to cover the extra £6.50 that male workers doing the same job have been receiving.

The agreement also ties down the employers to complete mutuality in procedure relating to the movement of workers inside the factory, if the management attempts to split up militants and disrupt the strong workplace organisation born in the strike. The return to work will be full and complete. The management has given a pledge of no victimisation and the agreement is operative from the day that the strikers return.

Repaid

Lastly, all benefits lost in the period of the strike will be repaid by the management. The obvious flaw in the agreement is that there is no backdating of the claim. But the workers are prepared to arm themselves against any re-occurrence of disputes with Trico management or any attempt on the multinational's part to erode the gains made through the strike.

Mass meetings will be held every month in the factory regardless of whether there is any dispute. This will be accompanied by the production of a regular factory bulletin to sustain the involvement of the rank and file in the trade union. To lay a strong basis for any future dispute, a regular levy of 10p per worker will be organised by the shop stewards committee.

The fight for a closed shop was confirmed by Eileen Ward, one of the women shop stewards who has played a leading part in the strike, in the last issue of the strike committee bulletin: 'We'll have a strong union now, and it will be respected'.

The bulletin also rightly says that 'our success will be a shining example for thousands of women around the country to become organised and demand their rights.'

EILEEN WARD

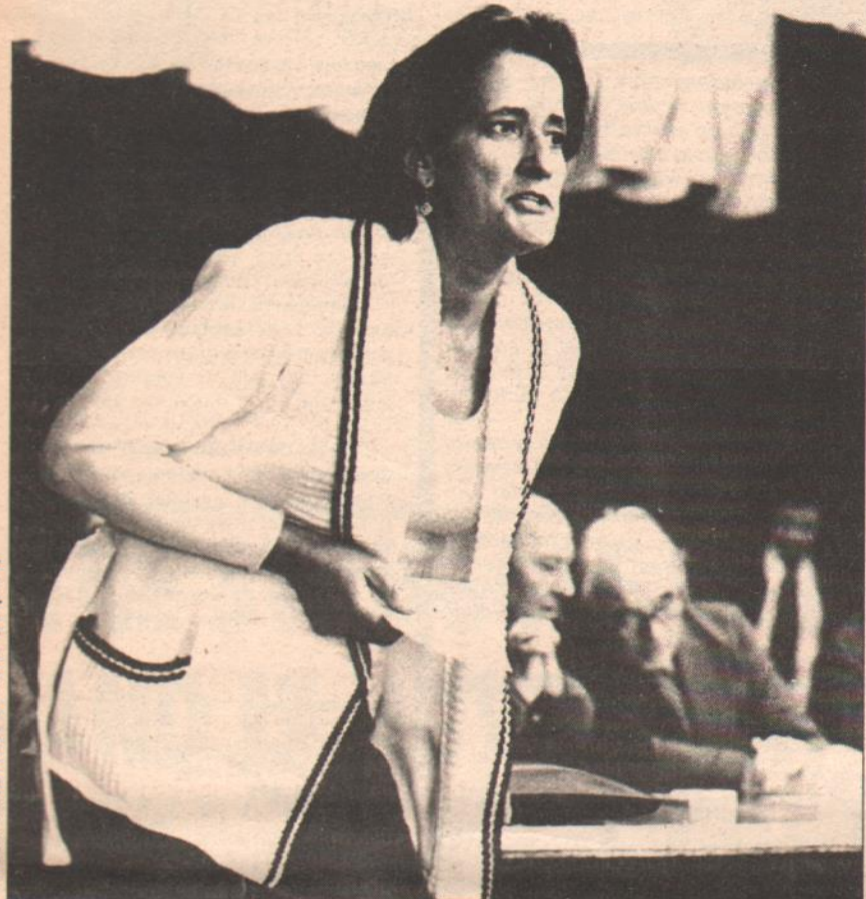


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

NOW FOR NATIONAL RALLY

As the national press carried news of the victory scored for equal pay by the Trico strikers, a meeting was underway to further the impact of this important strike. 16 October saw the first national meeting to plan a rally organised by the Working Women's Charter Campaign on 'One Year On from the Sex Discrimination Act — Rally for Women's Rights'.

The Trico strikers have shown that only through the strength of their own struggles will women achieve their rights to equality and independence. In this fight the Trico women are not alone. Throughout the country, struggles continue in the face of inadequate Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination legislation and mounting attacks on abortion rights, childcare provision and a woman's right to work.

With this in mind, the meeting — attended by representatives from trade union branches, Charter groups and

Labour Party wards — agreed to Working Women's Charter Campaign proposals that: 'The rally should aim to bring together broad sections of the workers' and women's movement on the basis of the interest in women's rights stimulated by government legislation. The rally should impress on those attending the necessity of self activity to implement the legislation and the need to extend this fight by giving sanction and support to struggles for women's rights.'

A planning committee for the rally was set up. While this includes the National Working Women's Charter Campaign, it was stressed that the committee, and the rally itself, should encourage support from all organisations supporting women's rights, whatever their attitude to the Charter. Delegates to this first meeting heard of the potential for this broad-based support. Supporters for the rally

already include 15 Labour MPs [among them Helene Hayman, Audrey Wise, Norman Atkinson and Ian Mikardo], labour movement figures like Ernie Roberts [AUEW] and Jack Collins [NUM], trades councils, student unions, Labour Parties, and the London Co-op Political Committee.

Red Weekly readers should build this important rally, which has now been fixed for 26 February at Alexandra Palace, London N22. The next planning meeting is on Sunday 31 October at Hornsey Women's Centre, 153 Archway Road, London N7 at 3.00pm. For further information, sponsorship letters, etc. write to 'One Year on from SDA — Rally for Women's Rights', c/o 49 Lowther Hill, London SE23 1PZ. Financial contributions payable to 'Working Women's Charter Campaign'.

IN FOCUS

The Socialist Alternative?

THE WRITS ARE OUT! The by-elections in Walsall, Newcastle and Workington are set for 4 November. As soon as Roy Jenkins leaves for his £60,000 job with the European Economic Community at Christmas, another will be due in Stechford, Birmingham.

The Labour Government is not overjoyed at the prospect. A growing discontent and anger with their policies is being expressed all over the country in thousands of small but significant struggles. Now the tremendous victory of the Trico strikers shows that it is possible to start a fight back and win. But not all of this anger expresses itself so positively. The Labour leaders know that one result of their policies will be massive abstentions of Labour voters thoroughly disenchanted by the similarity between the policies of Callaghan and Healey, and those of the Tories. Some of these abstentions will turn to the 'radical' policies of the fascist groups, the National Front and National Party.

Yet still the Labour leaders' hypocrisy knows no bounds. Callaghan's Oxford speech tries to put the blame for the 200,000 jobless school leavers on teachers. Both he and Healey keep very quiet about the next round of cuts ordered by the International Monetary Fund, which they support all down the line.

Tremendous need

The increasing rightward drift of the Government creates a tremendous need for the building of a left wing in the unions based on the politics of class struggle, not the class collaboration of the Social Contract. This fight cannot be confined to the shop-floor. It must also be built out of the struggle against racism on the streets, against women's oppression and action in support of those fighting imperialism.

That fight has to be taken into the by-elections. While Red Weekly generally supports a vote for Labour as the mass party of the working class, the best candidates to build the class struggle left wing today are those who are willing and capable of organising the fight back in the constituencies in a democratic way around their campaign. Where there is no broad class struggle candidate or an IMG candidate who stands for that perspective, we will support the International Socialists.

However, as Jimmy McCallum explains in this issue, the International Socialists oppose such a perspective of a class struggle left wing. What they offer in its place is in our opinion an ultra left tactic for building the revolutionary party.

In their campaign for the Socialist Workers Party, the IS are forced to bluff. A recent issue of Socialist Worker described the Communist Party as 'falling apart'. This is just wishful thinking. Jimmy McCallum has to take the word of the Red Weekly that there are a large number of militants who are prepared to fight against the Government's policies yet are sceptical of the Right to Work Campaign. We would direct his attention to the forces at the National Assembly on Unemployment held this spring, whose 3,000 plus rank-and-file delegates dwarf the existing support for the Right to Work Campaign. The left bureaucrats under pressure can mobilise thousands of workers. They still retain credibility despite their sell-outs. In the end, McCallum reduces the problem of building the Socialist Workers Party to building the IS. Which is where we started.

Face away

Red Weekly will consistently oppose the notion that the way to build a revolutionary party is to erect oneself on a pedestal, whether it is marked 'IS' or 'Right to Work Campaign' and demand that the working class fall in behind. Ultimatums to workers who still support reformist organisations to join your own turn their face away from the fight for the united working class front.

The fight for unity in action around policies that can open up the road to a solution based on workers control is the best way to break workers from their reformist leaders.

The standing of alternative candidates to the Labour Party in the coming elections can be the basis of reaching the widest number of workers and the beginning of a fight back based on mass action against the policies of the Government. But only if every effort is made to open the door to the campaigns and organisations in which they are involved.



POLICE protected the fascists of the National Front as hundreds of demonstrators organised by Camden Trades Council picketed their AGM at Conway Hall in London last Saturday. But a victory was won when the hall's owners, the South Place Ethical Society, banned the NF from using it for the next year. This was one of the last havens for the fascists in London. Labour movement and



Photos: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

LEFTS BACK CALLAGHAN

While some are beginning to organise and act against the Social Contract, what of the 'lefts' of the Labour Party? Those such as Frank Allaun, Barbara Castle, John Forrest, Judith Hart, Eric Heffer, Lena Jeger, Joan Maynard, Ian Mikardo and Renee Short. Well, all these are members of the Labour Party National Executive, and as such all, in association with Nick Bradley of the LPYS, recently produced a document entitled 'The Report the NEC Would Not Publish'.

This document seemed to imply a vigorous attack on the Social Contract, in that it contrasted the differences between the conference decisions of the TUC and Labour Party and the actual policies which emerged from the 26 July meeting of the Liaison Committee of the TUC, the Labour Party NEC, the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the Labour Government.

This exposure was underlined by what Joan Maynard wrote in *Voice of the Unions* on the eve of the TUC conference, saying: 'The Social Contract and the 4½ per cent endorsed by the recent

round of public expenditure cuts will be opposed and rightly so.' Opposition to the Social Contract is also shared by the LPYS, which at its last conference had denounced the Social Contract.

So with Nick Bradley on the NEC, with Joan Maynard saying what she did, and with the publications of the 'Secret Report', it might appear that the lefts were loading their big guns against the Social Contract. But not so. The preamble of the report stated:

'Some members of the Liaison Committee and some members of the NEC suggested that those who take our view are trying to smash the Social Contract... But of course the suggestion has no truth in it at all.'

The statement was signed by Maynard, Bradley and all the other 'lefts'. Bradley's capitulation is especially disgraceful in that by signing the statement he is in open breach of the decisions taken at the LPYS conference — and it is the LPYS he is meant to represent on the NEC. At the very least, LPYS members should ensure that such a representation is now challenged.

LCDTU awakes

On 9 October, a little-publicised meeting of the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions took place in London and decided to launch a campaign against the Social Contract.

The LCDTU was formed in 1969 as a counter-offensive to the Labour Government's *In Place of Strife* proposals, and it played a significant part in the campaign which eventually defeated this anti-union plan. But since the Social Contract the LCDTU has been dormant, lying in an exile which was self-imposed.

The reason was that the LCDTU has

always remained firmly in the orbit of the trade union 'lefts' like Scanlon and Jones. As a brain child of the Communist Party to help cement its alliance with these characters, the LCDTU never acted as anything more than a pressure group within the trade unions. With the union 'lefts' going over to open support of the Labour Government, there was little scope for the LCDTU.

Now the limited action called by the public sector unions for 17 November and the accompanying 'week of action' have given the LCDTU room to manoeuvre. Hence the call made for a campaign against the Social Contract. At the moment this campaign is restricted to a series of local conferences and a national one in February 1977.

But the CP still faces a dilemma: it feels pressure from its own base to 'do something', but it is committed in its *British Road to Socialism* to an alliance with the 'lefts' who at present want to 'do' as little as possible.

This dilemma means that the conferences the LCDTU has announced are unlikely to be built in any committed way. Mostly they will be confined to those areas where CP support is already assured.

Despite this, there is such widespread discontent among militants that the conferences do have potential. In supporting this initiative, trade unionists should ensure that the conferences provide full scope for discussion and decision making — an element of workers democracy the LCDTU has not been known for in the past.

Fighting the Social Contract

For two years the support of the trade union bureaucracy for the Social Contract has confused the working class movement in this country. Wage cuts, inflation, cuts in social expenditure — all can be attributed to the shady deal which took to itself the high sounding title of 'social contract'.

Trade union leaders such as Jones and Scanlon, to whom many militants once looked to defend their living standards, fully promoted the deal with the right-wing Labour leaders. Left Labour leaders such as Benn and Hart on the NEC have consistently argued support for the con-trick. Today, under mounting pressure from the economic crisis, some left-wingers who have opposed the Social Contract are buckling.

But a fight back has started. On 17 November, thousands of workers will take industrial action and demonstrate against the cuts. A number of conferences have been organised to continue the fight. All such initiatives should be supported. But the central problem they must all tackle is how to build the broadest possible unity in action against the Government's policies.

The first step is to develop the struggle to turn 17 November into a day of strike action against the Social Contract. Socialists in the labour movement should take up the call from last Saturday's meeting of the National Co-ordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS for the building of an anti-Social Contract contingent on the 17th; and then take this forward by building an ongoing alliance against the Social Contract of public sector workers both locally and nationally, turning such an alliance into a strike force for mobilising mass united labour movement action against the Callaghan Government.

Cuts Conference and Democracy

It is probable that one of the reasons the LCDTU has awoken from its slumbers is the activities of the National Right to Work Campaign. This campaign has managed to attract both publicity and support as one of the few initiatives through which militants could direct their anger.

The Right to Work Campaign has itself called a delegate conference for 6 November on the cuts and unemployment. When the conference was first announced, Red Weekly criticised it because:

- * Delegating bodies were not permitted to submit resolutions
- * Attendance was too strictly limited — for instance, Constituency Labour Parties were not allowed to send delegates.
- * The Campaign had no orientation to other organisations or campaigns such as the LCDTU or the National Co-ordinating Committee Against the Cuts in the NHS.

Some of these criticisms can now be withdrawn. It is good to report that the draft declaration proposed by the conference organisers includes the statement:

'This conference calls on the organisers of the Assembly [on unemployment] and the LCDTU to unite with the RTWC in these efforts and agree to a joint meeting.'

While it is a bit off-putting to simply demand that the LCDTU and the Assembly back the efforts of the RTWC, this proposed declaration does represent a serious attempt to seek unity with others who do not give full backing to all aspects of the RTWC, and is to be applauded as such.

Another step forward is that the organisers of the conference are allowing delegating bodies to submit amendments to its resolution. While this is still not as good as allowing alternative resolutions to be submitted, and while the invitation to make amendments comes so late that many union branches will not have the opportunity to submit them in time, at least some genuine discussion should be able to take place.

That discussion itself should centre on what follows the conference and what policies should emerge from it. The RTWC secretary, John Deason has declared that he wants 'to bring together everyone who wants to fight'. If these words are meant seriously then it is silly,

especially as student teachers have been to the fore in fighting concretely against the cuts, and unemployment. And the high vote recorded at the Labour Party Conference against the cuts shows that it is a serious error to continue to disregard militants in the CLPs.

But despite these limitations, the 6 November conference is a date which militants in the labour movement should remember — and circle in red!

WORTHY AIMS BUT

The 'Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement' has organised a conference this weekend on wage control and union democracy. Its stated aim is 'to bring together the wages struggle, the attacks on trade union democracy launched by the bureaucrats and trade union leaders, and the programme necessary if workers are to defend their living standards'.

Obviously a move to defend trade union democracy is important — especially as attacks on it are one way in which the trade union leadership has managed to enforce the Social Contract. Equally apparent is the need to secure widespread agreement among militants on an action programme which can defend workers' living standards.

But what is not the case is that agreement on a wide-ranging action programme is a pre-condition for a campaign on the issue of democracy within the unions. Such a campaign should be directed to all those forces involved in a struggle against the present policies of the



GRUNWICK STRIKERS - on the march to the House of Commons last Friday. The strike has entered its ninth week. Strike committee secretary Mehmood Ahmed said, 'We are determined and will see it through.' One of the speediest ways this could be done is for Tom Jackson, general secretary of the UPW to black the mail order work coming through the post office as per his TUC pledge.

INTERNATIONAL FORUM IN MANCHESTER

A series of meetings to discuss aspects of Marxist theory and contemporary politics

- | | |
|---|--|
| October 20th
Robin Blackburn | Marxism and Problems of Revolutionary Politics |
| October 27th
John Ross | Faction, Party, International |
| November 3rd
Peter Gowan & David Purdy | Debate on the Class Nature of the USSR |
| November 10th
Michael Lowy | Marxism in Latin America |
| November 18th
Tariq Ali | Euro-Communism: The Italian Turn |
| November 24th
Hilary Wainwright | The Labour Party and the Working Class |
| December 1st
Julian Atkinson | Fascism, Racism, the Strong State |
| December 8th
Ian Gough | Marxist Theories of the Welfare State |

* This meeting on Thursday

Wednesday evenings at 8.00 p.m. in the Large Assembly Hall, 14th Floor, Building 1, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL

Tyndale head speaks out

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



Responding to demands from the Confederation of British Industry, Prime Minister Callaghan called this week for a new emphasis in schools on the 'three Rs'. His policy implies that the state will take control of the school curriculum to effect changes in the interests of big business.

The attack being made on the teachers of William Tyndale School has provided fuel for this initiative. The teachers face an Inner London Education Authority tribunal which starts on 1 November. They are being charged on the basis of the recent Auld Report into the events at the school.

Red Weekly asked TERRY ELLIS, suspended headmaster of William Tyndale school, for his

views on some of these issues. We do not agree with all of his opinions — especially on workers control of education — and we hope that this interview will spark off a discussion to which readers are invited to contribute. However, the most crucial thing of course is to pull everything possible behind the defence of the Tyndale teachers against victimisation.

Money for legal fees is urgently needed [the bureaucracy of the National Union of Teachers is refusing support]. Financial assistance and resolutions of support should be rushed to: William Tyndale Defence Fund, 32 Clifton Court, Finsbury Park, London.

RED WEEKLY: Perhaps the biggest public debate raised by the Tyndale enquiry is the question of the relationship between teaching technique and educational standards. The Auld Report says that the 'Tyndale teachers spent too much time philosophising and not enough time on the basic day-to-day work of teaching the pupils how to read, write and add'. What's your reaction to that?

TERRY ELLIS: Well, I'd make two points on that. First, the time spent allegedly philosophising was after school hours. How this could have interfered with the day-to-day teaching in the school, I can't quite see.

Secondly, there is a basic fallacy in this argument. Auld fails totally to see that one cannot have a teaching technique or a teaching method without having a philosophy first, and philosophies have to be hammered out before techniques are applied. He seems to suppose, quite wrongly — and perhaps because he knows nothing about schools — that there is some kind of consensus about what people are actually doing in schools.

Something that the press has focussed on has been your giving of optional projects to pupils who were able to exercise the option of not doing a project at all. What was the thinking behind giving children this range of choice?

Well, the press reports are wrong in saying that the children had the option of doing nothing at all. The widest range was provided so that there would be something for everybody to choose from.

If a wide range of options was provided, it was to catch the interests of a wide range of children, to ensure that everybody did something. And one shouldn't make false distinctions either between work and play — that is something that is taught in all the best training colleges. It has been part of educational ideology for the last twenty years.

For example, the Plowden Report emphasises positive discrimination for the underprivileged in the school. But when you actually try to do it, you get jumped on by a lot of middle class managers who say you aren't catering for the whole range — by which they mean you aren't catering for the middle classes exclusively, and leaving out everybody else.

The Tyndale affair has taken place over the past couple of years against the background of cuts. A lot of people link the two, since there is a need on the part

opposing cuts in the health service in West Glamorgan. Graham Attwell, local NUPE branch chairman, stole the limelight when he revealed the contents of a previously secret document which detailed cuts and closures by the local health authority.

The revelations underlined Dr Berry Beaumont's speech to the meeting calling for workers to demand the opening of the NHS books and a campaign to halt all interest payments being made to the big financiers. Gordon Gibson, a local IMG activist, moved a resolution for a workers enquiry into the local health service and full support for the public service unions action on 17 November. It was unanimously passed.

HAVERFORDWEST: Pensioners in this South Wales town have stated their willingness to occupy the local county hospital if closure plans go ahead. They are demanding that it is retained as a geriatric hospital.

All over the country the fight against Labour's 'your money and your life' policies is growing. All out for the 17th. Join the contingent against the Social Contract!

of the authorities to look for scapegoats. The Tyndale affair did not come about because of the cuts, but having come about, the Inner London Education Authority are hoping it will encourage other teachers not to take strike action on things like the cuts. They hope it will frighten people into being docile.

Auld emphasises this. The kind of teachers he likes are docile, who don't discuss how schools should be run or who have union consciousness. Tyndale was well-known for these things, and by putting down the Tyndale people they hope to say 'Watch out'.

It is being suggested now that reformed managerial bodies should be created with direct representation of local business interests.

Well, if big business gets control over what goes on in schools, this will be a retrograde step. One good thing about the present system is that it has not been seen as a way of simply providing fodder for big business to use.

If this happens, then we will get businessmen wanting workers trained to be docile and trained only in certain limited techniques. This has been the cry of big business for many years. Liberalising the curriculum hasn't provided for management needs.

The NUT are partly to blame for this. They have sold themselves on the basis that they are providing a bright future for kids. The working class has on the whole had a reactionary approach to education. They want to see it in terms of individual mobility, to become 'bourgeoisified', and to make it to the top. Of course, some individuals have.

We've had a small door, and 100 people have fought each other to get through that door. Ninety-nine out of the hundred haven't got through. Nobody's ever tried to get everybody together to get the whole wall down. That's why Rhodes Boyson has had such success. He expresses the reactionary views of the working class.

Progressive education has been won against working class opposition, not with working class support. Working class parents want their child to get to the top — it is extremely naive to think that bringing in parents and ancillary workers to run the schools is the answer. It may be a consciousness raising question to bring them in and let them know what we're doing, but these are the most reactionary forces in education.

You have got to have a change in working class consciousness, rather than try to sell what's going on in schools in terms of working class consciousness. In the end I don't think schools change society, society changes schools.

THE STRUGGLE FOR HEALTH AND 17 NOVEMBER



BRISTOL - 2000 demonstrators besiege Weston-Super-Mare town hall against the 'merge and cut' closure of Weston Health District.

THE WAVE OF STRUGGLE in defence of jobs and services inside the National Health Service is growing in strength. Last week the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS called for a contingent against the Social Contract on the 17 November national public service unions demonstration.

In our last issue we looked at the growing fightback inside London's hospitals in Hackney, Camden and the threatened Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital. But the campaign is assuming national proportions.....

SHEFFIELD: The Area Health Authority has announced the proposed closure of five hospitals, a geriatric unit, a chest unit and the city's specialist physiotherapy centre.

THE LONDON COMMITTEE of the International Marxist Group is organising readers' meetings in the North and West areas of London for all supporters and sympathisers of Red Weekly who want to build a revolutionary intervention in the Day of Action against the cuts on 17 November. Called by six public sector unions and backed by strike action by London NALGO, 17 November could be the beginning of the end of the social contract. Work with us to make sure it is.

NORTH LONDON: 7.30pm Friday 29 October at the John Barnes Library, Camden Road [next to Holloway Prison]. Discussion introduced by Di Udall [N. London Organiser IMG] and in a personal capacity Dave Burn [Executive Committee Islington NALGO] and Mike Fitzgerald [North London Hospitals G&MWU].

WEST LONDON: 7.30pm Tuesday 26 Oct

These announcements have strengthened the determination of a local campaign which has been led by the Sheffield Campaign Against Public Expenditure Cuts. But this firm policy is watered down in practice by the unions involved making 'consultation' their main tactical approach.

Nevertheless SCAPEC called a 1,000 strong demonstration on 16 October supported by the Trades Council. Speakers emphasised the necessity to go on to build for 17 November, and Sheffield IMG is campaigning as widely as possible for action on the day, including occupation of hospitals and wards.

At a public meeting on Wednesday 3 November, at which the main speaker will be Dr Berry Beaumont, Red Weekly supporters will explain their policies of calling for Labour Party and trade union representatives to resign from the AHA and join the campaign, combined with the call for the opening of the AHA's books. The meeting is at the Prince of Wales pub, Division Street, Sheffield, at 7.30pm.

BRISTOL: Several small hospitals in the Bristol area virtually closed down on 11 October to send delegations to a lobby of Avon Area Health Authority. Other delegations from all the major hospitals in Bristol joined the 400 strong picket.

This was part of a double protest against the 'merge and cut' closure of Weston Health District. The same day

Meanwhile the fight for action on 17 November is building up with the holding of a public forum on the fight against cuts and unemployment, supported by Rolls Royce Shop Stewards and other activists in the Bristol area. The forum call came after a motion calling for the Trades Council to organise a delegate conference for action on the day had been defeated as a result of opposition from Communist Party members. The meeting is on Monday 8 November, 7.30pm at the Central Hall, Oldmarket, Bristol.

SOUTHAMPTON: Two years ago, telephonists at Southampton District General Hospital took strike action for additional pay for the responsibility of manning new emergency alarm systems. After conceding their case the management shoved their claim into the machinery of the Whitley Council. The strikers went back to work pending the result. Since then.... nothing!

Now action is starting again, with the blacking of all emergency calls except fire and cardiac arrest. As usual the management is trying to put responsibility for any consequences onto the strikers. The only known effective antidote is being applied by the workers — seeking support from other sections of hospital staff and the labour movement in general.

SWANSEA: Miners' leader Dai Coity Davies, a member of the South Wales Executive Committee of the NUM, chaired a 90 strong meeting of trade unionists

CUTS ANGER IN TYNESIDE



Thousands marched against the cuts last weekend in the most impressive demonstration seen in Tyneside for many months. The march was organised by the Divisional Council of the National Union of Public Employees as part of the build up to the national demonstration and lobby of Parliament on 17 November.

One person in ten is jobless in the area. Slogans opposing both cuts and unemployment echoed through the streets of Newcastle. However, much of the potential of the march was lost in the rally at the end, called jointly by NUPE, the National and Local Government Officers Association, the Civil and Public Services Association, and the National Union of Teachers.

Bernard Dix of NUPE, the main speaker, correctly asserted that there is not simply a choice between the economic policies of Callaghan/Healey and Thatcher/Prior/Heseltine. But the only alternative he put forward was the economic policies of the Labour Party and TUC.

Bro. Dix also made a veiled attack on Jones and Scanlon when referring to how the big unions have bludgeoned some of the smaller ones into accepting the Social Contract. He correctly demanded that the big unions use their strength to fight the cuts, but didn't mention the need to fight against the Social Contract which is primarily responsible for the cuts.

It was left to Chairman Mike Atkinson from NUPE to mention the demo on 17 November but unfortunately there was no real organisation to make sure that those on the march in Newcastle could fight to buy

NCC Cuts Supplement

LABOUR & THE N.H.S.

5p

JUST OUT! Latest details of where and how NHS cuts are being planned. Order from: Dr. Paul Stern, 55 Bridge Lane, London NW11 [to whom local reports of further cuts should be sent].

ITALIAN WORKERS FIGHT AUSTERITY PLAN

THE CAPITULATION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY before Government's tough austerity package has met with a swift and militant response from the rank and file of the workers movement.

- These measures include:
- * 100 lira increase in the price of a litre of petrol.
 - * 20% increase in car insurance.
 - * 20% increase in postal charges.
 - * 10% increase in rail fares.
 - * increases of up to 50% on basic goods and foodstuffs.
 - * abolition of seven public holidays.
 - * a freeze on wage increases for higher paid workers.

The economic strategy of the Christian Democratic Government is to reduce the traditional reliance on deficit-financing by increasing tax revenues — hence the price increases — and cutting public spending, which means increased unemployment and a reduction in essential services.

Support

The support of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) is necessary to carry out these vicious attacks on working class living standards. The Christian Democrats are a minority government which is only maintained in power by the abstention of the large bloc of PCI deputies. The PCI has obliged by abstaining on every important motion, including a vote of confidence in the government earlier this year.

According to PCI general secretary Berlinguer, the abstention leaves the PCI room to 'pressurise' the Government. This is part of the strategy of the 'historic compromise', which aims to win the PCI 'effective participation in the political leadership of the country' in coalition with the Christian Democrats. So far the latter have not been willing to play ball, but this has not deterred the PCI from tailing slavishly behind government policy, specifically ruling out the project of a 'government of the left'.

In practice this means that the PCI is fully implicated in the present attacks on working class living standards. The day before the main austerity package was announced, two leading PCI economists were involved in talks with Prime Minister Andreotti.

Approval

It is not just the PCI which supports the measures. Bettino Craxi, the new leader of the Socialist Party (PSI), has also given his public approval. But the attitude of the trade union leaders, under pressure from the rank and file,



BETTINO CRAXI - Socialist leader.

has been more guarded. Giorgio Benvenuto of the UIL (PSI union) said it was 'a very different proposal from our own'. Hardly unbridled militancy, but significantly different from the position of his party chief.

But the most important endorsement came from Luciano Lama, the general secretary of the PCI union, the CGIL, which is as big as the two other major unions put together. Lama was able to dictate his party's position to the other two, the UIL and the CISL. He was 'substantially in agreement with the President of the Council of Ministers'.

By
Richard Carver



Photo: REPORT

paid workers, which he had long been campaigning against himself! These clauses, which guarantee automatic pay increases in line with a cost of living index, were an important victory for the Italian workers in the 1940s which they have been able to defend up to the present day.

Of course they have many limitations; they do not apply to many lower paid sections of workers, nor do they

constitute a real sliding scale of wages since the cost of living index is outdated and, crucially, is not under workers control. Nevertheless, they represent important gains for the Italian working class which have been defended tooth and nail. The PCI's assault on these in the name of a 'redistribution in favour of the lower paid' is a massive betrayal of the workers who voted for the party.

Instead of fighting for the extension of these clauses to the lower paid workers and for workers control of the cost of living index, the PCI produced an economic document on the eve of the austerity package which denounced opposition to the government plan as 'corporatist' or 'individualist'.

But the PCI has not been able to get away with passive abstention on these anti-working class measures. Even before

the plan was announced, CGIL-UIL-CISL had been forced to call a two-hour general strike to 'cuss' the measures. The PCI supported this strike in the name of a campaign for 'industrial reconstruction'. In reality, however, the pressure of the movement was already being brought to bear on the party and its bureaucrats.

Spontaneous

The strength of the workers' reaction became clear when the measures were announced. There was a spontaneous strike at FIAT-Rivalturo Turin. The following day the Indesit Turin workers struck. A general assembly of the workers adopted the following motion:

'The working class of Indesit opposes and rejects a political line which demands sacrifices and which means



quotidiano dei lavoratori

Far left MP resigns from organisation

Silvano Corvisieri, a leading member of Avanguardia Operaia since its foundation in 1968, has resigned from the organisation.

Corvisieri was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in June as a member of the united far left 'Proletarian Democracy' slate. He says he will not resign his seat but use it 'to guarantee links between the movement and its representatives which the Proletarian Democracy group has not been able to build.'

Only the day before his resignation, Corvisieri had been the joint sponsor of a parliamentary Bill on abortion. This Bill would establish free abortion on demand up to 22 weeks, and the decriminalisation of abortion after that time. The Bill, although it has the support of the vast

large part of the AO itself.

What lies behind this — and the real reason for the resignation — is the impending fusion of AO with the PDUP. These are two of the most substantial organisations to the left of the Italian Communist Party (PCI).

AO, formed by dissident members of the Fourth International, assumes Maoist international and theoretical positions but is in practice little more than a militant trade union organisation. Internationally it tends to defend the manoeuvres of the Chinese bureaucracy in terms of the pressure of 'objective' circumstances. Domestically, it combines its super-trade unionism with extreme sectarianism. During the period of big workers struggles from 1969 onwards it argued for committees of revolutionary

group is the product of a fusion between a left split from the old PSIUP (itself a left split from the Socialist Party in the early 1960s) and a left split from the CP — the 'Manifesto' group. These two elements co-exist uneasily within the PDUP. But it still has an important intervention in the trade unions, including representatives in the bureaucracy.

The fusion is designed to establish a new PSIUP on what Corvisieri describes as a centrist basis. He regards this, quite correctly, as a step away from building the revolutionary party.

Corvisieri has called for the formation of another pole of attraction to build a party which 'would be the effective expression of



no concrete guarantee. We demand therefore that the trade unions become representatives of the demands of the rank and file'.

Already the PCI and the union bureaucracies were posed with an acute dilemma. The FLM, the metal workers union and traditionally the most militant section of the working class, came out with a call for a general strike this week. Antonio Lettieri, the FLM national secretary and a member of the centrist Party of Proletarian Unity (PDUP), described the measures as 'the politics of theft'.

Modify

The CGIL-UIL-CSIL was forced to support this call in the hope of heading off the struggle. The PCI paper *l'Unita* explained that 'the union is going into the street to modify the government measures'. Its only opposition was on the question of petrol price rises. The PCI sticks by its support of the wage freeze and other price increases.

The most important element in the present crisis is that the mass of Italian workers are rejecting in practice the strategy of the PCI for shoring up the rotten Christian Democratic regime. In the past week a massive strike has hit the industrial North of the country. This has been directed against the austerity plan and has generally been outside the aegis of the three main trade unions. The pleas of the PCI for orderly protest to 'amend' the measures have been ignored.

Last Wednesday the key industrial city of Turin was paralysed by a general strike. This was finally supported by the three main unions, but only after a wave of spontaneous, unofficial stoppages. From there the strikes spread over the whole of Northern Italy.

Occupation

The workers of Motta and Ale magna, two giant confectionery companies faced with wholesale redundancies, have promised to build 'another Leyland-Innocenti'. Last winter the workers of Leyland-Innocenti, faced with the closing of the factory, mounted a massive occupation against redundancies.

In Genoa 800 Italseider workers occupied the tramway depots and organised mass assemblies and demonstrations in the streets, while the main motorway out of Milan was blocked by striking workers from several firms, including Fargas and Banti.

As yet these struggles are uncoordinated and without any clear political leadership. The PCI and CGIL are still capable of absorbing these particular struggles into their own reformist framework. But it is becoming clear that large numbers of those workers who voted for the PCI in June do not accept the practical implications of the 'historic compromise'. They are taking the first steps on the road to sweeping away the Christian Democratic Government.



Italian left goes on the air

After a year of hesitation, Italy's supreme court passed a final decision in late 1975 which effectively deprived the state radio of its broadcasting monopoly. In the last ten months this little-publicised decision has led to an unprecedented explosion in the growth of 'free' radio stations. It has also presented the revolutionary left with a whole number of new problems, for this is the first time anywhere that revolutionaries have gained such unlimited access to the electronic media.

Recently SANDRO SILVESTRI, a member of the Committee of Citta Future, one of the largest left-wing stations in Rome, and a militant of the GCR [Italian section of the Fourth International] was in London. Carl Gardner interviewed him for Red Weekly.

●What is the structure of the free radio stations in Italy at the moment?

Well, since the constitutional court decision a really impressive number of new stations have opened. Today they number 800 in the whole of Italy and there are 52 in Rome alone!

They break down into three different groups. Fifty per cent are commercial stations, transmitting music and advertising; 30 per cent are playthings set up by individuals getting together and transmitting perhaps from 3pm to 1am; and the other 20 per cent, 150 stations, are political stations. Of course a minority of these are overtly fascist or religious, but at least 120 stations are openly declared to be left-wing stations, calling themselves 'democratic' radio.

●What is the attitude of the Communist Party [PCI] to these developments?

First, there is no station which is openly a PCI station. They have said

that there is a state radio, we represent about 50 per cent of the voters, therefore we will control 50 per cent of the state radio. This is why they say we don't need 'free' radio.

As on hundreds of things, they are completely equivocal just now, because they are choosing the way of the constitution. The Italian constitution is something that the PCI helped to build 30 years ago through its resistance to the fascists. Therefore it recognises the state and the constitution.

Now it is one step from power, it doesn't take a position even on this question of the radio. We know very well that in every radio there are two or three CP members, but they only tag along, they have no line.

●What about the other parties?

Well, for the time being the Christian Democrats are defending us — but only because they want to work out some deal to maintain the commercial stations!

On the revolutionary left, no organisation has yet realised the potential power of these stations and made a big orientation towards them — probably because they are too tied up with their own problems after the 20 June elections and the low vote for the revolutionary left. For example many people in the PDUP are now discussing whether to re-enter the Communist Party.

We in the Democratic Federation of Free Radio think that the radio could be the first means by which people of different left organisations could debate issues, and this could be the first step towards unifying the movement. Until now there has been no practical project in which the left could build something together. Of course there are all the social events, the marches, the demonstrations, etc., but not the real creation of something.

The attitude of the revolutionary left organisations can be summed up by Citta Future's experience. Avanguardia Operaia and PDUP gave some of their comrades money to open the station, but we have the unusual situation where they don't control the radio politically and in practice it is open to the fullest expression of ideas by the revolutionary left.

200,000 people. Even the official audience research polls say that the state radio has lost half of its listeners between 8pm and midnight.

This is because the commercial stations put out better music, while the 'democratic' stations give much better news, with more information and much faster. For example, the news of the death of Chairman Mao was given half an hour sooner on Citta Future than on the state radio.

●How are the stations financed?

The cost of opening a station is between £3,000 and £4,000, which is very easy to raise. Then, because there are no high running costs like paper or printing, there are only the costs of the electricity, rooms and things like that. Only one member of the committee — the secretary — is

Of course that is a lot of money for a democratic station which makes no money, but not much for the commercial stations which have a lot of advertising. All the stations will then be forced to take advertising.

We reject it of course — we say that if we have to pay some royalties, then we will pay only for the records we play. The 50,000 lira to be paid to the society now will go to the fascist writers and musicians as well, which we don't accept.

●Do you think the experiment will go on? Is there a general united campaign among the left to preserve these stations?

I hope this will happen soon, when the Federation of Democratic Radio

A DAY AT RADIO CITTA FUTURE

<p>6.30 am Morning 'wake-up' for the workers, including last news of the night and workers songs.</p> <p>7.30 Analysis of the press coverage of different papers covering economic, political, trade union and cultural affairs.</p> <p>8.30-9.30 Domestic review — prices, questions concerning the home.</p> <p>9.30-10.00 Music.</p> <p>10.00-11.00 Self-organised transmission by the women's movement.</p> <p>11.00-11.15 Students' news, transmitted during their morning break.</p> <p>11.15-12.00 Music.</p> <p>12.00-1.00 First of the current affairs 'specials', with an interview or discussion on economics or politics etc.</p> <p>1.00-2.00 Music.</p> <p>2.00-3.00 Regional news from Rome.</p> <p>3.00-5.00 Rotating series of programmes 'from the base': trade unions, wom-</p>	<p>en, soldiers, tenants groups etc.</p> <p>5.00-6.00 Second programme by the women's movement.</p> <p>6.00-7.00 Second 'special' with discussion on one specific topic.</p> <p>7.00-8.00 News of the Day.</p> <p>8.00-10.00 Music</p> <p>10.00-12.00 The major discussion of the day, with a phone-in link.</p> <p>12.00-3.00 am 'The Night of the Comrades'. Each worker on the station in rotation can broadcast what he/she wants — 'the freakier part of the station'.</p> <p>3.00-3.30 Summary of the newspaper headlines/stories just published.</p> <p>3.30-6.00 am Programme for night-workers: taxi drivers, medical staff, even the police. We tape an interview earlier in the evening which we broadcast. We then ask workers to phone in with their comments.</p>
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paid, the rest have jobs or are unemployed.

The station is financed in three ways. First by public subscriptions, for which we appeal on the air. Secondly through some advertising, though many democratic stations refuse to take any advertising. Thirdly through some money donated by the revolutionary organisations, which we accept without being tied to a specific political line.

●Given this massive potential, are there no attempts to limit the power of these democratic stations?

When the constitutional court passed its decision, there were some outstanding 'regulations' to be set out. Now they are trying to drive a wedge between the commercial sta-

have called a Press Conference in which we will clarify our position and issue a war-declaration. Starting from that, the parties will begin to take positions. The revolutionary wing is with us, the Socialists will probably be with us — the big question is the CP.

●Have there been any objections from the broadcasting or journalists' unions?

No, not at the moment. I think that the majority of people still regard the whole thing as a big toy. I think the bourgeoisie has made a big mistake in allowing it to happen, but the general position seems to be, in all



LETTERS

December 1975 saw the fusion of Workers Fight and Workers Power into the International Communist League. Both groups originated from expulsions from the International Socialists. The fusion could have been one step in the process of overcoming the fragmentation of the far left. Instead the ICL split only nine months later. In Red Weekly two weeks ago, JOHN MARSHALL wrote: 'What the split in the ICL demonstrates in real life is not the futility of regroupment, but the futility of sectarianism which regards all forces with which disagreements exist, not as revolutionaries, but as centrists or reformists.'

We print this week some of the letters we have received on the split. JOHN MARSHALL will reply in a future issue.

Plain speaking or false politeness?

John Marshall makes a simple and plausible-sounding case: the ex-Workers Fight leadership is so intolerant of other revolutionary organisations (and he cites our harsh criticisms of the IMG, the USFI and even the RCG) that we must be equally intolerant of the least political difference within our own ranks. And that explains why the WF-WP fusion ended — he says — in the suppression of internal democracy.

'If anyone who disagrees with you is not seen as a revolutionary but a "Brand-white centrist", a "political suicide", a "deserter" or whatever, then obviously the appropriate organisational methods follow. What this boils down to is that anyone who "calls things by their right name" must be a suppressor of democracy! But democracy, for communists, doesn't depend on sweet language. That is a centrist conception.'

We have been accused by the new 'Workers Power' and now John Marshall of using slander. But to say that the IMG 'hit rock bottom' on the EEC referendum and adapted to Tribunate nationalism is comment, political characterisation, opinion: it is arguable in terms of ideas, and we have argued it. It has nothing whatsoever to do with slander.

Nor have the political characterisations we have made of those who split from the I-CL: what else but 'deserters' can one call people who run away from political discussion and refuse even to come to a conference to move their own documents? What else is it but 'political suicide' to bolt headlong out of the only organisation they are in general and principled agreement with, to an existence which, they have admitted, rules out the allocation of resources they argued so hotly the I-CL should adopt?

Those who split from the I-CL knew better, in fact, than to make such bald allegations. Not once were they able to make definite allegations that we failed to circulate a single document, or that we falsified minutes and reports of discussions, or that the arrangements for the Conference or any other meeting were in any way improper. They make many insinuations now about bad organisational procedures in the I-CL. Never once in the I-CL did they propose changes in procedure — reorganisation or re-election of committees, postponement of conference or modification of its agenda, removal of particular

comrades from particular positions, changed arrangements for minute-keeping...

John Marshall's talk of 'suppression of internal democracy' is a straight slander which he should prove or retract. We know of one attempt to suppress internal democracy in the I-CL. Three members — Hughes, Stocking and King — attempted to set themselves above the authority of the I-CL Conference. That was dealt with.

What other attempt to suppress internal democracy can John Marshall cite? The RCP, in the 1940s, made an offer of £50 to anyone who could find a page in one of the CP's anti-Trotskyist pamphlets which did not contain at least one lie. We will offer the IMG £50 if they can produce one proven example of suppression of internal democracy in the I-CL.

The slanderous premise for John Marshall's whole argument simply doesn't exist. Far from being intolerant, we were the people who said repeatedly that the political differences were easily containable within the I-CL, that they were secondary to the major areas of principled agreement. Far from 'demanding that an opponent should abandon factional methods' (which John Marshall implies we did), we suggested that they form a faction or tendency on a clear political basis.

What we did oppose was their sliding around from minute to minute, changing their political argument and stance but retaining their circle intact through all these shifts. And what we could not permit was the attempt by these people to re-define the I-CL as a federation and place themselves above the democratic-centralist norms which they themselves had agreed to when the I-CL was formed.

John Marshall's logic is: fusions and

regroupments should be all-embracing federations; the IMG should have been included even if both parties to the fusion which formed the I-CL believed the IMG had never done a thing right in all its existence; but God forbid such a fusion should include anyone who is impolite, sharp of tongue or given a clear if ruthless political characterisation.

For us, the first task is to make clear and objective assessments of all political currents. If the assessment shows adequate programmatic agreement, it is a duty to seek fusion. But John Marshall's approach is back-to-front. Political assessment is subordinated to organisational needs. An unctuous style in political criticism is derived from the project of an 'all-inclusive party'.

Finally, we must take issue with the hypocrisy of comrade Marshall. Recently the IMG has published a long series of articles devoted to the idea that splits on the left are only justified in the most extreme cases. If John Marshall took his own ideas seriously, he would be obliged to start his analysis of the WP split by saying that the split was not justified, that the comrades involved should have stayed in the I-CL to fight for their ideas.

But no. While making some criticisms of the new WP, he never doubts the correctness of their split. All this is based on the casual insinuation — not proved, not even itemised openly and clearly — that the I-CL is 'suppressing internal democracy' to an extent that forced the WP comrades to get out come what may.

So much for false politeness. The I-CL prefers plain speaking any day. MAXINE LANDIS [For the Political Committee of the I-CL].

The Split in the



Familiar Ring

The arguments and language of the statements from the I-CL and Workers Power [Red Weekly, 30 September], had a very familiar ring for us. We were once members of Workers Fight, and, although our politics appear to be significantly different from those of Workers Power, like them we found ourselves opposing many of the policies of the leadership. Also like them, we expected the differences to be debated properly and thoroughly within the framework of democratic centralism. But we soon found that democratic centralism did not exist; in its place we found ourselves facing an endless tirade of slander and distortion, the political content of which was almost nil.

In the spring of 1975, the leadership summarily expelled three of our comrades within weeks of our faction, the Democratic Centralist Faction, being declared. All the charges of 'unprincipled combinationism', 'cliquism', 'circle politics', 'a-political factionalism', 'catastrophism', 'vendetta against S. Matgama', 'disloyalty', were levelled against us, just as they have been against Workers Power. The language has barely changed.

In the sectarian world of the I-CL there is no opposition, only heresy; no difference of opinion, only 'disloyalty'; no debate, only 'circle politics against party spirit!'. The ex-WF leadership see themselves as uncompromising and resolute J.P. Cannons facing hordes of Burnhams and Shachtmans. They alone possess the principles of Marxism — all the rest of us being bent on 'political suicide'.

Perhaps the Workers Power comrades should have formed a

faction. However, the I-CL (ex-WF) now has the proud record of never having tolerated a single opposition grouping within its ranks. Yet it still claims to be working towards regroupment on the far left. It must now be clear to many that regroupment as far as Matgama and Co. are concerned means 'join us and shut up'.

This much was apparent to ourselves some time ago. Yet only a few weeks back, Red Weekly was speaking in terms of the I-CL being the closest to the IMG, and calling on the I-CL to think in terms of regrouping with the IMG. Now Red Weekly [30 September] announces: 'The split casts doubt on... the whole project of regroupment of the scattered forces of the far left.' Why the sudden change? And in what new light does the IMG now regard regroupment?

As for the I-CL, we appeal to those members who remember our faction in Workers Fight and who are capable of drawing the parallels with the treatment of the WP comrades to think seriously about the nature of the organisation to which they belong, and to begin to challenge its direction. — THE MARXIST WORKER GROUP (Bolton).

The statement in Red Weekly [30 September] referred to the impression that the split will make in the vanguard, not to any new conclusion Red Weekly draws from the split. On the contrary, our position on regroupment advanced in the 'Faction and Party' series emerges strengthened by the experience of the Workers Power/I-CL split. — EDS.

Regroupment - IMG Hypocrisy

As an I-CL member formerly part of the IS Left Faction/Workers Power, I have been following your commentary on the split in the I-CL with interest. Sadly, it seems that your 'analysis' of the split is based on the same premise as your 'Party and Faction' series: that the USFI is the revolutionary International, and that to place oneself outside its British section on any grounds other than a crossing of class lines by the IMG is to condemn oneself to existence as a nationalist sect.

Obviously it is impossible to detail all the criticisms that the I-CL makes of the USFI and IMG in a letter of this sort — suffice it to say that we do not accept that the USFI is such an International either organisationally [e.g. the Leninist Trotskyist Faction minority's ability to breach democratic centralism with impunity] or politically [the failure of the USFI to clarify fundamental differences on Stalinism and the colonial revolution that existed at re-unification].

However, even if one were to adopt a position of 'critical support' for the USFI as the 'mainstream' of world Trotskyism [a position once held by Workers Fight], membership of the British section is still not a matter of principle — the early history of the International Group/IMG itself, when the Grantites were the British section, demonstrates the hypocrisy of your thesis at this point. Thus the 'necessity' of remaining within 'the International' at all costs may be sufficient to quell the IMG's oppositions, but it cannot be taken seriously as a reason for becoming yet another tendency inside the IMG — particularly as our differences with the IMG go far beyond mere tactics.

For instance, I believe that the IMG is now in the process of codifying an approach which reduces the Trotskyists' role to servicing the existing left currents within social democracy, even when these currents are peddling objectively reactionary policies. Red Weekly's 'Plan to Beat the Crisis' was a classic example of this tendency, rewriting the Tribunes' import controls demand into 'Trotskyesque'...

Healy's Socialist Outlook of the same period. Clearly our differences on this question go far beyond tactics, and involve a difference over programmatic independence [as opposed to organisational flexibility] vis-à-vis left reformism.

How ironic, then, that Red Weekly should welcome a split from the I-CL that was not even motivated by coherent tactical differences within the group's majority. I attended the Workers Power split meeting and none of those present [with the exception of D. Stocking, who talked vaguely of unspecified 'differences of method'] were able to articulate any political differences of tactics or principle with the I-CL. Most of the splitters from outside London had had no inkling of the possibility of a split as late as a fortnight previously.

Your article also contains a number of specific charges against the I-CL leadership that demand answers. You claim,

for instance, that the I-CL leadership suppresses internal democracy: when, where and how? All the documents submitted to the Internal Bulletin by the split group were published. Their resolutions and amendments were discussed and voted on at conference even after the split.

What saddens me most about the split is that a group of comrades who fought so long and hard inside an undemocratic centrist group like IS, simply walked out of the I-CL, and thus allow Red Weekly to write off the possibility of a principled, internationalist regroupment outside the USFI. — JIM ELSTREE (Birmingham).

Contrary to comrade Elstree's assertion, Red Weekly did not 'welcome a split' from the I-CL. We welcomed the original regroupment in that it could have been a step in overcoming the fragmentation of the vanguard. We have noted the setback in this process and now are trying to draw the necessary conclusions. — EDS.

WHAT'S ON

THE FINAL DEADLINE for notices for 'What's On' is 10am on the Monday before publication. Adverts are only accepted over the phone in exceptional circumstances. Rate: 2p per word.

INTERNATIONAL Spartacist Tendency Forum, Friday 29 October: 'Toward Rebirth of the Fourth International'. Various organisations claim to be the Trotskyist Fourth International. An examination of their claims and why the working class vitally and urgently needs its own international party. Speaker: James Robertson, an American Trotskyist. 7.30pm at the Roebuck pub, 108a Tottenham Court Road, W1.

PORTUGAL: 'Soares Government on the attack — what is the workers' response?' Hear first hand account from Alvaro Miranda (PWCC), recently returned. Questions, discussion. Monday 1 November, 7.30pm, Conway Hall. Send s.a.e. (foolscap) to CSPWC, 12 Little Newport Street, London WC2 for latest solidarity campaign newsletter.

CAMPAIGN to Repeal the Immigration Act invites you to a benefit social on Sat. 23 October at the Tabernacle, off Powis Sq. Featuring the Derelicts together with Galician folk group from Spain and other supporting artists. Adm. 50p.

MANCHESTER Health Workers Meeting: for all those who want to fight for the policies of Red Weekly against cuts in the health sector. Sun 24 October. For details contact: Vicky Anderson, c/o 1 Palatine Road, Withington, Manchester 20.

WOMEN in Eastern Europe: Conference at Birmingham University Students Union, Saturday 30 October, 10.30 am-5.30 pm. WORKERS VANGUARD, weekly paper of the Spartacist League/US, carries international news, hard-hitting polemics, in depth political analysis. Special introductory offer: 12 air-speeded issues for £1. Cheques payable to C. Reid. Mail to IST-B, BCM Box 4272, London WC1.

battle of **ideas**
Monthly supplement to Red Weekly



By Willie Mae Reid

The fifth anniversary of the Attica massacre brought with it new headlines of prison conditions and rebellions by inmates.

When the Attica rebellion ended five years ago with government troops killing forty-three people, all kinds of studies were done and changes in prison conditions recommended. Yet nothing changed, forcing inmates once again to protest.

At the end of August, prisoners of Attica organized a strike. Their demands included the right to shower daily instead of twice a week; an end to overcrowding; more telephone privileges; an end to strip and rectal searches; the right to kiss, hug, and touch visiting relatives and friends; and an end to brutal and racist treatment.

The Socialist Workers party wholeheartedly supports their struggles and demands. But the ultimate aim of socialists is not to have some prettified version of these dehumanizing institutions. As Eugene Victor Debs, that great pioneer of American socialism, put it fifty years ago, "Socialism and prison are antagonistic terms."

At first the idea that there will be no prisons in the socialist future sounds wild and utopian. But not all human societies in the past have had them, and under socialism there will be no need for them either.

It is not only a matter of prisons, but of the whole "law enforcement" machine. The function of this machine—to oppress, brutalize, and terrorize—is best symbolized by the recent legalization of the death penalty in the United States. The whole machine will be swept away.

Product of class society

Prisons and the rest of the machine are products of a specific kind of society—a society that is internally divided into different classes.

As long as there has been master and slave, lord and serf, capitalist and worker, there have been cops, courts, and prisons. But before class society—in the communities of American Indians before the Europeans came, for example—there were no repressive institutions of this kind.

Class society needs prisons, cops, and courts to keep the oppressed majority of the population from overthrowing the rule of the exploiting minority.

The kind of class society that has brought repression to its highest pitch is modern capitalism, especially American capitalism. But it is not crime in general that is punished in the United States. It is the poor who get victimized. Especially if they happen to be young Blacks, Puerto Ricans, or

WILL THERE BE PRISONS UNDER SOCIALISM?

FROM *THE MILITANT*, PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY.

Willie Mae Reid is the SWP's Vice Presidential candidate in the Presidential elections.

Chicanos

If the major function of law enforcement in this country were to combat crime, by now even the capitalists would have admitted its failure and sought new approaches.

Virtually every time the government releases crime statistics, previous records are broken.

Capitalism breeds crime.

At one end of the social spectrum we have the tiny clique of organized and legalized criminals. That's the bankers and big businessmen who own our factories, farms, mines, and government.

They make all their decisions on the basis of one factor: profit. They poison our environment, kill millions in their wars, and make life miserable for working people—all in search of a buck.

At the other end of the social spectrum are the outcasts, the drug addicts, the unemployed. There are thousands who have been spit out of the social system as if it were a testing machine rejecting defective parts.

Racism and sexism

There are other ways capitalism breeds crime. The continual depiction of women as sex objects and submissive servants encourages crimes against women, such as rape.

The racist structure and ideology of this society—including the law-and-order and antibusing campaigns of capitalist politicians—leads to vigilante attacks on Blacks and other minorities.

The frustrations, uncertainties, and pressures of day-to-day life under capitalism are often too much for people to bear. The results are the crimes of passion, the parents who beat their children, the mentally deranged who shoot passersby at random.

And finally the dog-eat-dog principle under which this society operates, coupled with the fact that money—and only money—buys power and comfort, sets the stage for all kinds of crime. This goes from the bribed politician to the landlord who burns his

building to collect the insurance.

And what do prisons and the criminal justice system do to end crime?

Nothing. Absolutely nothing.

First, they do nothing to attack the source of crime—the poverty, unemployment, racism, sexism, and irrationality of capitalism.

Second, the idea that a prison is somehow going to "rehabilitate" someone is nonsense. Prisons are designed not to reform human beings, but to break them. Every single hour of every day of every week for months or years is totally controlled by brutal guards. Prisoners are caged like beasts, driven like beasts, beaten like beasts.

Prisons are designed to torture and terrorize. Dungeons like Attica are American capitalism's answer to the torture racks of the Spanish inquisition.

How to end crime

A socialist America will have no need for this kind of barbarism. Crime will be eliminated by eliminating its root causes.

Under socialism, no one will want for food, clothes, shelter, or any other necessity. That will be the absolute right of every single person—something to be taken for granted as we take for granted the air we breathe.

With an end to the systematic propagation and practice of racism and sexism by the government and the ruling class, such sentiments will begin to fade away. This will be aided by the impact of massive affirmative-action programs to eradicate the second-class status of oppressed minorities and women, and by systematic education against racist and sexist ideas.

Ending frustrations and uncertainties of daily life under capitalism will lay the basis for eliminating crimes of passion, alcoholism, drug addiction, and similar social evils.

What then to do with the prisons?

Raze the prisons

I would raze them to the ground. Except for one or maybe a couple to be kept as museums.

There will, of course, still be antisocial behavior in the years immediately following a socialist revolution.

But torturing people in prisons will not solve that problem—if nothing else, the experience of capitalist societies has taught us that. We will have to devise more effective and humane methods for overcoming this problem.

Finally, we will have to decide what to do with the small minority of unrepentant capitalists and their hangers-on. Some aren't likely to accept the new social order.

What do we do about them? Lock them into Attica and let them rot? No. That's not the answer.

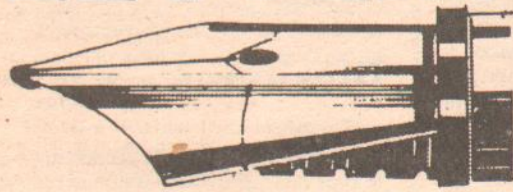
A socialist revolution will be made, in part, to do away with such sadistic revenge, not to change the name or class of its victims.

Trotsky's view

Russian revolutionist Leon Trotsky wrote about this in a popular American magazine in 1935. "If America Should Go Communist" was the name of the article in which Trotsky wrote:

"As to the comparatively few opponents of the [socialist] revolution, one can trust to American inventive genius. It may well be that you will take your unconvinced millionaires and send them to some picturesque island, rent-free for life, where they can do as they please."

LETTERS



YEVGENI YEVTUSHENKO

'self-management in struggle'?

Congratulations on your last few issues. It seems to me that apart from our Anarchist Workers Association paper, Red Weekly is almost alone in actually encouraging political debate among the left.

In this context, I would like to make a few points. While recognising that the Right to Work Campaign has had a tremendous resonance in the working class, our position is that it is not simply IS's sectarianism that will ultimately keep the campaign in a minority position within the class. It seems to us that there is a severe poverty of analysis about the nature of a united class campaign that does not question the fundamentals of the type of work that millions of workers are forced into.

When revolutionary groups call for the Right to Work, what they should be saying is not the right to a boring, repetitive, socially useless job, but the right to a decent standard of living—work or no work.

In this context, when the International Socialists call on the

about this.

What we must be calling for when workers occupy, surely, is 'self-management in struggle'—that the occupied plant has to be turned over for the use of the labour movement to debate and use the plant for goods that are either directly beneficial to the class or to further the struggle. It is in this context that when the workers of the IMRO printing works in France occupied, they used the machinery to print an entire range of literature that the class in struggle needed; and they also initiated a debate on new and effective format, etc.

My second criticism of Red Weekly is on an entirely different point. It is phrased as a simple question. Since everyone on the left now knows the strong state of the South of Ireland to be even stronger than that of West Germany, why has the IMG not taken up the case of the Murrays? Their imprisonment, torture, frame-up and proposed hanging highlights all that is symptomatic of the high-tech, high-tech, high-tech and cold-war

Yevtushenko's attack on gays

On 6 October Yevgeni Yevtushenko spoke to a packed audience at Manchester's Free Trade Hall. He was acclaimed by the chair as one of the three greatest poets the workers movement has produced this century, along with Neruda and Brecht. Yevgeni's own recitations in Russian were startlingly dramatic, and his use of internal rhymes still had a powerful impact on an audience that did not for the most part speak Russian.

Unfortunately, much of the work was marred by one particular facet: the use of images related to motherhood. The poems constantly glorified the experience of a mother and depicted women in a constantly loving and giving role. In one poem in which Yevtushenko lamented the fate of America and in particular the death of Bobby Kennedy, this image became the central pivot of extreme liberalism in which the concept of nation was very much to the fore.

Despite the weaknesses of this poem, we were certainly unprepared for what was to come. Yevtushenko then read in English a poem which he had written more recently, called 'What I Want'. The poem attempts to criticise elitism and bureaucracy, but is characterised by extreme romanticism: 'I would rather be a starving child in Bangladesh' than have any privileges. This is scarcely materialist!

But the most offensive part of the poem was yet to come: 'I would not like to be a limp pansy, in either sense of the word...' This attack on gays is more than a little ironic when one considers that the British Communist Party a few weeks

expression of one's sexuality'.

Worse was still to come. When challenged from the floor, the comrade responded with what the Morning Star of 9 October chose to refer to as 'witty comments'. These 'witticisms' involved a statement that 'such trivial matters' were not discussed in the Soviet Union.

He told us that while he admired the work of Tennessee Williams, he was surprised that he was so obsessed with homosexuality. He stated that although he knew many writers, poets and artists in the USSR, none of them were homosexual. Thus he clearly implied his acceptance of the myth that homosexuality is a bourgeois deviation which will drift into the mist in a pure socialist society. He consistently refused to discuss in any real way the repression in the Soviet Union.

The final insult came when he told us that he did understand lesbianism a little more. After all, we all had the same taste in liking women. This total trivialisation of the subject and insulting approach to all women was greeted with thunderous applause by large sections of the audience.

The education of the British CP and the audience in general left much to be desired, despite the fact that some sections of the audience did show solidarity with those of us who were critical of Yevtushenko. Sexism and anti-gay sentiments cannot be rooted out by paper resolutions but must be fought consistently, every inch of the way, especially within organisations such as the CP who claim a superficially correct

Apres Mao - The Deluge

By Greg Benton



IN RECENT WEEKS revolutionaries throughout the world have paid tribute to the achievements of Mao's life. Sadly, his death immediately and dramatically revealed the limits of that achievement.

The events of the last few days have resembled not the burial of a great revolutionary but the macabre re-enactment of a Ching dynasty succession crisis. The emperor's will is said to be forged. His widow, his nephew and some of his closest associates and proteges are arrested or killed, after a reported attempt to assassinate his successor. The purge extends to the provinces. Peking runs with rumours. Powerful military men take up positions under the anxious eye of the capital.

It is hard to believe that these events are happening in a nation which under the leadership of Mao's party carried out

national unification, became a world power, and achieved results qualitatively superior to those of comparable poor and backward countries in the transformation of society and the economy.

Earlier articles in *Red Weekly* explaining the inevitability of increased polarisation between the two leadership factions have been strikingly confirmed by recent events. Writing shortly after Mao's death, Shuang Shan argued that both the factions involved in the disputes are essentially Stalinist, combining a policy of 'socialism in one country' with hostility to socialist democracy, and that their rival programmes simply emphasised different aspects within this identical political framework.

Whereas the Shanghai group (the misnamed 'radicals') stress crude egalitarianism and all-round dictatorship, the so-

called 'moderates' (or 'conservatives') favour a widening of differentials and a limited liberalisation. But each of these 'lines' contains the seeds of its own defeat, since it is objectively impossible to resolve the problems of socialist development within the limits of a poor and backward country like China.

Bureaucratic

Following Shuang Shan's analysis, the resolution of the dispute at the expense of the Shanghai group should be interpreted as a defeat not for the left, but for a bureaucratic current analogous in many ways to the Malenkov group ousted in the mid-1950s by Khrushchev. The victors in the

present round of struggle are an alliance of the old central bureaucracy, apparently with Li Hsien-nien (veteran Communist, able administrator, and long-standing colleague of Chou En-lai and Teng Hsiao-ping) as its moving force.

The speed and violence with which the leadership clash climaxed took most observers by surprise. Whereas after Stalin's fall the factional struggles took some three years to mature, in China Mao's widow was ousted before the embalmers had even put the finishing touches to his corpse. There are a number of reasons for this:

1. For reasons explained below, the 'radicals' are weak and isolated. This is clear above all from the course of events in their former power base of Shanghai, where hundreds of thousands of jubilant Chinese took to the streets to welcome their arrest.

2. The central bureaucracy is better organised and more determined than ever before, adamant that the experience of the Cultural Revolution should never be repeated.

3. The pressing nature of the various economic problems facing the regime, especially in the wake of the Tang Shan earthquake, require a speedy resolution of the deadlock at the top.

4. Many ordinary Chinese are restive and anxious for political change, as the unprecedented riots in Tien-An-Men square showed.

Isolation

The evident isolation of the Shanghai group has its roots in the Cultural Revolution, when Chiang Ching betrayed and brutally repressed those sections of her 'beloved' Red Guard movement who refused to toe the Maoist line. After purging huge numbers of older cadres in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, and antagonising the conservative military establishment, the 'radicals' were forced to seek the aid of both these groups in the course of crushing Red Guard dissent and rebuilding the shattered bureaucracy.

In a desperate attempt to hold back the political tide that this wave of rehabilitations created, the 'radicals' launched a series of political campaigns whose sole achievement was the further alienation not only of the bureaucracy but of public opinion at large.

The 'cultural' policy of Chiang Ching and co. angered and demoralised cultural and intellectual workers. In the name of 'reform' they in fact erected a crude cultural dictatorship, reducing China's rich and varied theatrical heritage to a mere handful of 'model operas'.

The 'egalitarian wages policy', which favoured a downward compression of wage scales and exaggerated opposition to 'material incentives', earned them the hostility of large sections of the working class. Compared with so-called 'capitalist roaders' like Teng Hsiao-ping, Li Hsien-nien and others, Mao's 'radical' proteges had no significant history of revolutionary struggle to back up their claims to power. The 'moderate' leaders made skilful use of the 40th anniversary of the Long March in 1975 to underline this difference in background between the two factions.

Dictatorship



CHIANG CHING - Mao's widow, ousted before embalmer's finishing touches put to his body.

'all-round dictatorship' prompted rank-and-file currents such as the Li I-tse in Canton to raise the cry for a return to socialist democracy and legality, and was a major target of attack during the April riots in Peking.

After thoroughly devaluing the institutional life of China (with Mao's obvious consent) by rigging, postponing and simply ignoring established political procedures, the 'radical' leaders finally themselves ended up victims of a classic palace coup. Having expended their mass base, they had no forces to call on in their defence.

Does this therefore mean that the so-called 'moderates' enjoy real support in the country? Many of the issues that they raise, in particular their stress on the need for a partial and limited liberalisation of certain aspects of national political life, are capable of evoking a powerful response among the masses. In this sense, the present political upheaval represents a continuation — at the level of the bureaucracy and in the cynical interests of its major section — of the events in Tien-An-Men square analysed previously in these pages.

Illusion

The fact that 'moderate' leaders appear to bear none of the responsibility for the series of political crises which have brought such discredit on Mao and his supporters in the leadership in recent years is another strong plus in their favour.

But to the degree that the Chinese masses look to the 'moderates' for fulfilment of their hopes, they are under an illusion. The real power bases of the 'moderate' leaders are the army (which reportedly played an important role in the preparation of the recent purge) and the bureaucracy. Teng's use of troops to suppress the Hangchow general strike of 1975, the immediate closing of ranks in the bureaucracy during the recent Tien-An-Men riots, and the classically bureaucratic way in which the present crisis was resolved all demonstrate the limits of the 'moderates'.

Nevertheless, the obvious close connection between the mass struggles of recent months and the present turmoil in the leadership is the best guarantee that

THE OTHER CINEMA



'All the continents of the world, while in transition from tribal organisation to industrial capitalism, have thrown up the phenomenon of social banditry: the cangaieiros of Brazil, the Haiduks of the Balkans, the Chinese bandits of Liang Shan P'o and the Robin Hood outlaws of Northern Europe.' Salvatore Giuliano shows at 7pm, 21, 24, 30 October.

THE OTHER CINEMA has been a distribution group since 1970, known for its Third World films, its Godard, Coup pour Coup (Blow for Blow), and agitprop documentaries used by labour movement campaigns — such as An Egg is Not a Chicken, used by the National Abortion Campaign.

The group has mainly serviced college clubs, community organisations, political campaigns and film societies. It also managed, despite having no cinema of its own, to screen films which would otherwise have had no showing in this country. In 1971 the Other Cinema premiered *The Battle of Algiers* — a film about the early stages of the struggle against French colonialism in Algeria — at the Kings Cross Cinema.

For two years they also screened films on Sundays at the Collegiate Theatre: films such as *When the People Awake* [about the struggle in Chile, completed just before AI-

But they needed a cinema of their own — to extend this task of showing previously unscreened films in London, and to use the consequent increase in turnover to make more such films available to all parts of the country. And now they've got it! Sixty per cent of the money they needed came from grants from arts bodies, and the rest from supporters who recognised the crucial need for such a cinema.

Why crucial? It is crucial because the ABC and Rank chains have an almost total grip over distribution-exhibition channels in this country. This has two major effects. It makes it almost impossible for socialist film workers to make films; and even if they do manage to do this, it means that their films are not available to a wide audience in the normal way. The Other Cinema will make political films accessible in a West End cinema.

Both as a cinema and as a

equal wages, and major policy decisions are decided democratically.

The cinema will screen three programmes a night, and more at weekends. At the end of this month they will be opening their clubroom so that discussions, lectures and political meetings can be held after screenings. This is an important feature of the Other Cinema's intervention in British film culture — they aim to contest the cinema as a one-way process.

Most cinema — and television — works to produce a passive audience. The Other Cinema wants to create the space for a critical audience, an audience which engages with its situation. Apart from instituting the clubroom, they have programmed the films with the conscious perspective of re-examining the history of the cinema from a socialist position.

This means not just the screening of socialist films (giving them a place in history) but also the programming of bourgeois (dominant) cinema in such a way as to illuminate social and political themes. The Other Cinema will not bypass popular cinema precisely because it is necessary to ask — why is this cinema popular?

Thus there will be programmes like *The Honest Men* which is running this month. This is a season on 'social banditry' as represented in the cinema — Salvatore Giuliano, Viva Zapata, *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. It draws on the ideas of the Marxist historian E.J. Hobsbawm, who will be present at the 4pm showing of *Salvatore Giuliano* on Sunday to lead a discussion on this concept.

Bourgeois cinema stresses the individual content of the phenomenon — the bandit as hero. By programming a season of films on bandits — and by organising a discussion on the season — the Other Cinema is seeking to generate some understanding of the historical forces which produced this phenomenon.

The Other Cinema is thus an important new venture, and one which deserves the support of all socialists.

JANE CLARKE

The Other Cinema itself is at 25 Tottenham Street [off Charlotte Street].

PEACE MOVEMENT EXPOSED

THE SELF-STYLED 'peace people' of Belfast now stand fully exposed as unequivocal supporters of the British presence in Ireland. Within the last ten days three developments have occurred which once and for all destroy the myth that the 'peace' movement is non-partisan — rather it is an unashamed ally of the British Government and its troops.

FIRST was the statement made on 13 October by prominent 'peace people' Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan in which they gave full support to the Royal Ulster Constabulary and the British Army. They declared: 'Our attitude to the security forces is this: we fully support the rule of law and until the Northern Ireland community themselves evolve their own community constitutions and form of government, then the RUC and other security forces are the only legitimate upholders of law and order.' As the *Daily Mirror* put it, the meaning of this statement was 'Ulster Peace Brigade Back Army'.

SECOND was the news that the British Government will probably allow the 'peace people' to rally in Trafalgar Square. The right to meet there is a right which can only be supported, but the fact that since 1972 all meetings concerned with Ireland have been banned from the square, and that the Government is now considering lifting the ban for the benefit of the 'peace people', shows as clearly as possible the attitude of British imperialism towards Williams, Corrigan and friends.

THIRD is the disclosure of who represents the 'peace people' in Britain. When *Red Weekly* phoned the Belfast headquarters of this supposedly neutral force, we were informed by a spokesperson that the London organisers were Lord Longford and Mrs. Ewart-Biggs.

Record

The reactionary record of Lord Longford on such issues as censorship and abortion does not need restating. As for Mrs. Ewart-Biggs, the fact that she has

recently applied to work in the Foreign Office indicates her association with the politics of her dead husband — who was the direct representative of British imperialism in Ireland.

Sooner or later the mask of the 'peace people' had to fall, and the way in which it has fallen is an object lesson for all those who think that peace can come in Ireland through wishful thinking.

Events

The events which led to Williams' and Corrigan's declaration of support for the Army began on Sunday in the Turf Lodge district of Belfast. Williams and Corrigan gatecrashed a meeting of residents being held to discuss the killing by a plastic bullet of a 13-year-old boy. When the media heroines arrived they were spontaneously chased out of the hall by an audience which saw them as supporters of the British Army responsible for the boy's death.

Shocked by this rejection by the Catholic working class in Turf Lodge, Williams and Corrigan issued a statement criticising the Army. But as soon as this statement was made, Loyalist supporters of the 'peace people' indicated that they were considering withdrawing their backing from Williams and Corrigan.

Such threats were enough to send Corrigan and Williams back-tracking all the way to the Lisburn Army barracks. They said that their previous criticism was an 'over-reaction', and made the statement greeted with such enthusiasm by the *Daily Mirror*.

The moral does not need spelling out — the possibility of uniting the Protestant and Catholic working class on the basis of some undefined wish for 'peace' is a non-starter. In the end the 'peace people' conceded to the Loyalists. They now stand with those Loyalists in backing the British Army and the RUC. And as such they stand against the nationalist population. The previous support they have received from working class Catholics can now only decline.



Youths stone the cars of the three peace leaders after the Turf Lodge meeting.

...and the army they support

'The O'Donnell Gaelic Club in Rathmore Road was burnt down early this morning [Tuesday] by a patrol of military stationed at the MacRory Park on the Whiterock Road. This patrol was seen by at least five witnesses, all of whom are currently making statements to the appropriate investigating body.'

'This incident, well supported by hard facts, compounds the Army's behaviour in the Turf Lodge and Lenadoon areas recently. Mr Mason has been told repeatedly by me and others of this behaviour; if he does nothing about it, it must be assumed that he has given a specific instruction to the military to increase aggro against that part of the population that live in "minority [Republican] areas".'

This is the full text of a statement issued to the press by Paddy Devlin, a Social Democratic & Labour Party member of the former Northern Ireland Convention. He is just one of the many thousands in Republican areas who have been forced to recognise the stepping-up of repression by the British Army in these districts. Anyone who strolls around Belfast at this time cannot fail to be impressed by the saturation of the minority ghettos with British troops of the King's Own Borderers, 2nd Light Infantry, and the King's Own Scottish Borderers.

The raised military profile has been evident for many months, but it became particularly marked with the appointment of former Defence Secretary Roy Mason to the Northern Ireland Office, and the appearance of the 'peace people'.

In the Catholic areas of Belfast, the fruits of Mason's appointment are only too evident. In the ghettos which flank the Falls Road in Belfast, at least six people have been injured in the past couple of weeks as a result of indiscriminate firing

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

by British soldiers. One of these, 13-year-old Brian Stewart, was hit at point blank range by a plastic bullet. It fractured his skull and a fortnight later he died.

As in all these cases, the Army issued a quick statement distorting the facts of the incident. They claimed that Brian was one of 400 youths who attacked a foot patrol in Turf Lodge. The local people denied that any such riot took place. Anyone who has watched television reports of Belfast riots will know that a riot is not easily disguised, nor can you just throw a blanket over the aftermath, the glass and stone littered streets. No such evidence was produced in the case of Brian Stewart — the Army was lying.

It lied as well over the burning down of the Gaelic Club, saying the following day: 'These allegations are yet another example of the exploitation of recent incidents in West Belfast as part of a deliberate propaganda campaign to discredit the army.' That was on the Tuesday, but on the Wednesday the Army were forced to retract and admit that soldiers were involved in the burning down of the club — and that these troops were being questioned by the RUC.

But the residents of Turf Lodge know that there is little chance of redress through the 'courts of justice'. Not one day in prison has ever been spent by a British soldier convicted of having been responsible for the death of an Irish civilian. Very few have even been brought before the courts. No wonder the people of Turf Lodge have decided that the only solution is 'British Army Out Now'.

JOHN MAGEE

Students Spotlight Repression

The army patrol was on a routine check of a club in Cyprus Street, off the Falls Road in Belfast — a well-known meeting place for Official Sinn Fein supporters. They halted students leaving the club. They were stood against the wall and their van searched for literature. On finding a document on army torture, 'The Case of the Portadown Three', the students were subjected to a torrent of abuse from the officer in charge on their supposed level of intelligence.

But these were not Irish students. They were members of a National Union of Students fact-finding delegation. The change of attitude from the Army was pronounced. 'Anyone here from Manchester University' enquired the officer, 'that's where I took my degree!' But it was too late. The continued harassment that is part of everyday life in Republican areas in the North was part of the delega-

tion's actual experience.

In their examination of possible solutions, many discussions were held with 'peace movement' activists. The Northern Ireland Congress of Trade Unions told the delegation how they had agreed to affiliate to the peace movement.

But Loyalist organisations maintained that no NICTU banner could accompany peace marches through their areas, as they saw this sort of action as condoning a communist organisation. Midge Davidson of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association made the point that 'NICRA couldn't openly support the peace movement' as it would be like giving it 'the kiss of death'.

Despite these massive problems with the peace movement, and despite the fact that the delegation was one to investigate the facts, the NUS leadership sees the delegation as being the first step in a joint

campaign with the Union of Students of Ireland around the themes of 'peace and progress'. The major components of this campaign were explained as support for a Bill of Rights, the 'Better Life for All' Campaign, and the women's peace movement.

Despite this wrong starting point for activity on Ireland, the decision of the delegation to offer help to the panel of speakers building the Kent Conference against Britain's Repressive Policies in Ireland will be a boost to the discussion on the delegation's findings and the report back to the NUS Conference this winter.

The Kent Conference, at the University in Canterbury on 13 November, is committed to a real and open debate on how best to build a mass united campaign of peaceful and legal action in this country to end Britain's repressive role in Ireland. The organisers believe that students have a great responsibility for the development of such a campaign, given their tradition of taking anti-imperialist stands in solidarity with struggles in almost every corner of the globe. Students also played a major role in the demonstrations against internment in 1971 and 1972.

A speaking tour of colleges to build for the conference will be held between 26 October and 12 November. Delegates from both the NUS and recent Labour Movement delegations to Ireland have agreed to take part.

Supporters of the aims of the Conference should fight in their student unions for joint report backs from the two delegations with the aim of starting the debate straight away. Details of the conference from: Pamela Holmes, Convenor of the Planning Committee, Kent University Student Union, Canterbury.

CORRECTION

DEFEND SOVIET DISSIDENTS!

THE SOVIET bureaucracy deals with its most determined opponents by declaring them insane and having them shut up in mental hospitals, where the presence of genuinely disturbed people and a variety of forms of 'treatment' may really send them mad. Among those who are suffering from this particularly barbaric and sinister form of repression is Mykola Plakhotnyuk.

His crime was to speak up in defence of Ukrainian dissidents during the wave of repression that swept the Ukraine during the late 1960s. At that time he wrote in a *samizdat* (underground) essay: 'You were frightened by a handful of people, thrown behind bars, without the possibility of defending themselves. You have resorted to concealment, terror and slander. This means there is a truth which you dislike, which you fear, which you want to destroy. In order to frighten others you deal harshly with honest people. But you have not vanquished them, because right is on their side.'

The bureaucracy were frightened also by Plakhotnyuk's determination to continue to speak out, and after a police provocation, he was sent in 1972 to the notorious Serbsky Psychiatric Institute, which is run by the KGB. There he was diagnosed as suffering from 'schizophrenia with persecution mania'. To prove his persecution mania, the doctors used the evidence of a complaint that Plakhotnyuk wrote after being attacked by a KGB agent in 1971. Four years after his arrest, he is still in the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital, and genuine fears have been expressed about his mental health.

News of Plakhotnyuk's situation was brought to the west by Leonid Plyushch, who was himself released from the Dnipropetrovsk Psychiatric Hospital and



LEONID PLYUSHCH

on behalf of Plakhotnyuk, recalling how, when news of Plyushch's impending release spread around the Hospital, Plakhotnyuk reminded him of the responsibility that he now had to work for the release of others.

In this country, Plyushch's appeal has been taken up by a new committee formed to defend Soviet political prisoners. While the Committee will defend the democratic rights of all Soviet political prisoners, whatever their views, it 'will seek support only from those individuals and sectors of British society which have a clear record of supporting democratic rights. We will not align ourselves with any activity by any group or individual who, while working on the defence of political prisoners in the USSR, is supporting political repression in other countries.'

For further details on the work of this committee, and in particular for further details on the case of Mykola Plakhotnyuk, write to: Committee



ZIMBABWE-BOYCOTT THE GENEVA CONFERENCE!

The announcement of the details of the forthcoming Geneva conference on Zimbabwe has led to a flurry of rival claims from the leaders of the nationalist factions. Common to all has been the demand that the British Labour Government, the so-called 'legal' colonial power, should chair the conference in the person of Foreign Secretary Antony Crosland.

This common demand, however, reflects a common dilemma: how to win positions for themselves in an independent neo-colonial Zimbabwe — which is what Kissinger is offering — while maintaining the support of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA).

Kissinger and Smith optimistically hope that the nationalist leaders will move to defuse the armed struggle. At the moment, however, these leaders are the prisoners of that struggle. A recent ZIPA statement broadcast over Mozambique radio indicates no intention to surrender for the sake of a two year 'interim' government:

"We hereby reiterate our unwavering commitment to the total liberation of Zimbabwe through armed struggle... We, following the footsteps of our revolutionary predecessors, are not fighting for political and economic reform, but for the resolute and thorough smashing of the reactionary Smith regime, complete and total seizure of political power and the complete and thorough transformation of Zimbabwean

society.'

This present mood of the guerillas indicates why Joshua Nkomo of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), darling of Kissinger and the British Government, wishes to build an alliance with Robert Mugabe, the leader of the rival Zimbabwe African National Union, who is most in tune with ZIPA policy. Nkomo wants to establish his militant credentials prior to his participation in a future government.

Control

But Mugabe himself has no control over the armed struggle. It has been suggested that he has allied himself with Nkomo for the Geneva conference in order to get his hands on the Russian aid which Nkomo is allegedly receiving. Whatever the truth of this, Mugabe clearly recognises that a compromise is not possible at present — hence his readiness to be much harder than Nkomo and the other leaders on the question of black control of the state apparatus, so as not to sever his slender links with ZIPA.

For international capitalism, the conference is the latest tactic in its strategy of imposing a neo-colonial solution in Zimbabwe which would put the present nationalist leaders in government. It is no coincidence

that Garfield Todd, the traditional representative of international capitalism in Rhodesia, is a member of the Nkomo delegation.

Regime

As the Smith regime has got further into a dead end, sections of Rhodesian white settler capitalism have been drawn to support the neo-colonial project. The orientation of the economy towards South Africa after UDI in 1965 has not proved very successful, while the increasing political and social crises in South Africa are in any case threatening its continuation.

But the ruling bloc is still only prepared to make limited concessions. To allow full enfranchisement, the right to assembly, the right to form political parties and trade unions, etc. would rapidly lead to a situation that could go out of the control of the nationalist leadership. Hence the desire of the Smith regime to hold on to the ministries of Defence and Law and Order. The two year period of transition is aimed at inflicting defeats on the mass movement to demoralise it before 'majority rule' is attained.

It is therefore necessary to call for a total boycott of the Geneva conference, since its aims are purely to buy time for the Smith regime and its international allies. Revolution-

ary Marxists should fight for a current to emerge which will struggle for demands which are in the direct interests of the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe.

Focus

At the moment this must focus around the demands for the release of all political prisoners; an end to the state of emergency and an end to all political trials; for immediate majority rule based on a constituent assembly; one person one vote; disarm the Rhodesian army; the right of assembly and the right to form political parties and trade unions.



JOHN KANI AND WINSTON NTSHONA are only the two most prominent political detainees in the racist puppet state of Transkei in South Africa. Prominent Equity members drew attention to the jailings in a picket of South Africa House last week. The regime of Chief Matanzima celebrates its 'independence' on 26 October. Mark it with the demand that Kani and Ntshona are released!

We expose racists' madness machine

by Richard Carver

Red Weekly has received anonymous — and unconfirmed — information that the South African police are using a weapon called the Programmed Photoc Driver in riot control and interrogation. This information is said to originate from B.F. Kotze, a police officer in Pretoria.

This machine is a development of the simple strobe light used in discotheques, flashing at a frequency which is banned in Britain and which is capable of inducing nausea and sickness in large numbers of people.

Our source suggests that the South African model was developed in the USA and operated by US personnel. It is known that the US Air Force did commission research on this weapon in 1964 in Denver, Colorado, but the main impetus for its development has been British.

It was Churchill's technical advisor who first suggested the idea for use against enemy infantry in World War II. The idea was taken up later by Charles Bovill, the chief engineer of a company called Allen International. His main line of business was bugging devices, with sales to the British government, but mainly for export.

Bovill's photic driver operated at a frequency of up to 11Hz. The GLC-prescribed upper limit for strobe lights is 8Hz. The South African machine is claimed to operate up to 24Hz. The photic driver operates by coming into phase with the regular alpha and beta rhythms of the brain, inducing nausea.

Our South African source suggests that the effects of this can be male impotence, miscarriage in pregnant women, and in cases of prolonged exposure, death. It seems unlikely that the effects are in fact so drastic.

The photic driver can however cause nausea and sickness in a large proportion of the population, perhaps 25 per cent, and will cause fits in epileptics. It can also induce fits in people suffering from a latent condition known as photo-sensitive epilepsy. It is unknown how many people fall into this category — estimates vary from .01 to 5 per cent of the population. What is clear is that it is potentially an effective and debilitating weapon.

When the first details of the photic

'The communists are always trying to get at me. What I do is assist countries against infiltration and subversion, and the people doing that are communists. The vocal and written attacks on our type of business all emanate from communists and communist-inspired sources.'

Is Mr Tracey perhaps now helping his South African friends against 'communist subversion'?

We do not have many details of the South African models, though we do know that British companies have been consistently involved with supplying the sophisticated South African security forces with the latest hardware. We are told that one of the South African machines is

called the P.122S, and can operate at a range of 1,000 feet.

If this is true, the implication is that this must be an infra-red, and therefore invisible, beam since a normal light source that strong would be likely to cause blindness. There is some dispute, however, as to whether infra-red light can have that effect. But if our source is genuine it implies important new developments in this weapon.

Happily, though, this secret weapon, like most, has a fatal flaw. It is ineffective if one eye is covered. So we offer this advice to our South African brothers and sisters: when you demonstrate, wear an eyepatch!

JOSÉ TORRES, a member of the national secretariat of the Spanish Workers Commissions, has had his passport application refused by the Spanish authorities.

Torres was due to come to Britain this week as part of a delegation from the Workers Commissions and USO [a socialist union] to win support for their activities. It was Torres who, earlier this week, announced the Workers Commissions' decision to mount a one-day general strike against the Government's austerity measures.

Other members of the delegation due to travel with Torres refused to leave in solidarity with his plight. Montes, another member of the Workers Commissions secretariat, travelled from a different part of Spain and so has arrived in Britain.

Most of the delegation's meetings have been cancelled, but Montes will be speaking at a public meeting at the LSE Old Theatre, Houghton St., London WC2, at 1.00pm on Thursday 21 October. Red Weekly also hopes to publish an interview with comrade Montes next week.

PASSPORT DENIED TO SPANISH WORKERS' LEADER



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