

workers' ACTION

No.86

Jan.14-21, 1978

10p

4 KILLED ON SITE

FOUR WORKERS were killed last Monday, 9th, when a lift cage they were in crashed 150 feet down a shaft at a Kent power station. There were also five workers seriously injured.

They were all working for Edmund Nuttal Ltd, a sub-contractor owned by the giant building firm of John Laing. This makes seven workers who have been killed so far on this one site, Littlebrook 'B' power station, near Dartford. The building work was started in 1973 and is due to finish in 1981.

Peter Kavanagh, regional secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, who is leading an investigation into the deaths, called for a complete stoppage of the construction industry in the London region on January 13th.

There will also be a demonstration outside the employers' offices that day. "This is a further indication of the employers' skimping of their obligations under the Health and Safety Act in their pursuit of a quick profit", said Kavanagh.

HOW THE FIREMEN COULD WIN

Solidarity action by other workers can help the firemen beat the 10% rule

IF THE firemen at their recall conference on Thursday 11th accept the deal recommended by their executive, they will be going back to work having gained very little from eight weeks' strike. For now they will get no more than the 10% they were offered before the strike started.

For other workers, especially in the public sector it will also be a defeat if the firemen accept the deal. After the miners' and the council manual workers' unions' avoidance of a battle on pay, it will be another blow to our chances of above-10% increases.

But the firemen need to do more than just reject the deal. If the deal is narrowly rejected, with no decisions made to step up the struggle, then there is a great danger of the strike ending in a disorderly collapse, with country areas drifting back to work.

The strike is biting. Fire losses, and the difficulties of keeping the Army on fire

fighting, are worrying the Government. But to push forward to victory, support action is needed from other workers.

The sympathy is there. But apart from general appeals to everyone and no-one, plus requests to the TUC, the Fire Brigades Union has done nothing to turn sympathy into solidar-

ity action.

The Days of Action have been scattered, local affairs, often without any effort to get support from other unions.

A national strike support committee should be set up and make immediate plans for:

□ National Days of Action, with sympathy strikes

and mass demonstrations.

□ A campaign by every trade union organisation supporting the firemen for its members to refuse to work during the strike on any processes involving a fire risk.

This action could knock a very big hole in the 10% limit.



What the offer means

THE OFFER to be put to the firemen's recall conference on Thursday 11th includes six points plus a formula for fixing firemen's pay in the future.

The firemen's claim — which was nothing more than the recommendation of an official committee headed by Lord McCarthy — was for qualified firemen to be paid average male manual wages plus 10%. In figures, this would be an increase for qualified firemen from £65.71 to £86.

The deal offers to peg firemen's wages in future to the "top quartile" of male manual workers' wages. That means the dividing-line between the top-paid 25% of adult male manual workers and the bottom 75%.

It means no more than 10% now — but at first sight it seems to give firemen a good deal as from November 1979, when it would come into full effect.

But it's not so simple.

□ The Labour Government has promised to exempt the deal from any incomes policy. But between

continued back page

Sack this Judge!



FOLLOWING the acquittal last week of fascist John Kingsley Read on charges brought under the 1965 Race Relations Act, a number of Labour MPs are demanding the removal of the presiding judge, Neil McKinnon.

As Martin Flannery pointed out: "Every racist in this country will be emboldened by what has happened in this court". Read had crowed at the

racist murder of Gurdip Singh Chaggar: "One down, one million to go". McKinnon did not find that was incitement to racial hatred. Read had jeered at "niggers, wogs, and coons". McKinnon accepted the defence case that this was a harmless "joke".

In court McKinnon held forth on how an old school friend, a maharajah (!), had recently greeted him by his old school nickname, 'nigger'. McKinnon

had replied 'Who are you calling nigger?' Nothing offensive on either side, he insisted.

According to this logic, Nazi insults against Jews could be equated with jovial upper-class banter where someone nick-names another 'Yid'.

McKinnon also advanced the view that black immigrants had come to Britain because of their 'affection' for the white men who had colonised and plunder-

Editorial



ed their countries, oppressed them, and often enslaved their ancestors! He went on to explain that it was reasonable to oppose black immigration because immigrants use facilities needed for "ordinary English people". And he concluded by telling fascist Read: "I wish you well".

McKinnon's blessing bestowed upon a man brought to court for rejoicing at

continued page 2

Still no clues on killing of Said Hammami

SAID HAMMAMI, the Palestine Liberation Organisation's London representative, was gunned down in the Organisation's offices on Wednesday January 4th.

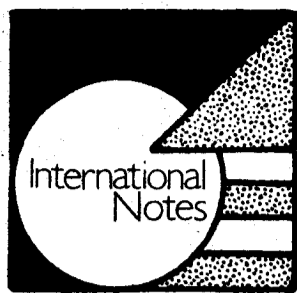
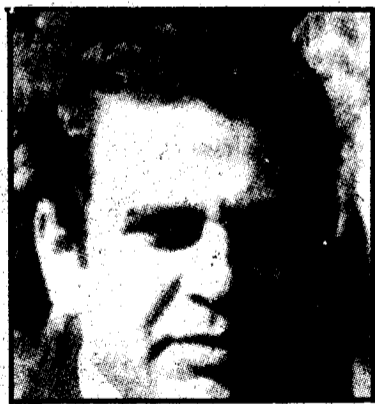
The press suddenly discovered that Mr Hammami was not a "gun-toting terrorist", but a "moderate", and declared that the assassin was "probably an extremist opposed to Mr Hammami because he had had contact with moderate Israelis".

That may be the explanation. But there are no clues leading in that direction, and there is no special reason for such a murder to be likely at the present time. Since the PLO has been temporarily forced into the 'rejectionist' camp by the negotiations of their former closest ally, President Sadat of Egypt, there is every reason for more militant Palestinians — those who are in principle opposed to recognising the state of Israel — to avoid any division.

Hammami was on the far right wing of the Palestinian movement. He was a close supporter of Yasser Arafat, and like Arafat was prepared to recognise the state of Israel in exchange for a Palestine mini-state.

Like Arafat he continued formally to advocate a 'secular democratic state of Palestine', in which Arabs and Jews would live together. Hammami's support for a 'mini-state', however, made this formal position completely worthless; for in fact a Palestine mini-state would be a prison-house for the Palestinian people and a graveyard for the ideal of a secular, democratic Palestine.

PAUL ADAMS



CRIMINAL ON BOTH SIDES

BY RAY SAUNDERS

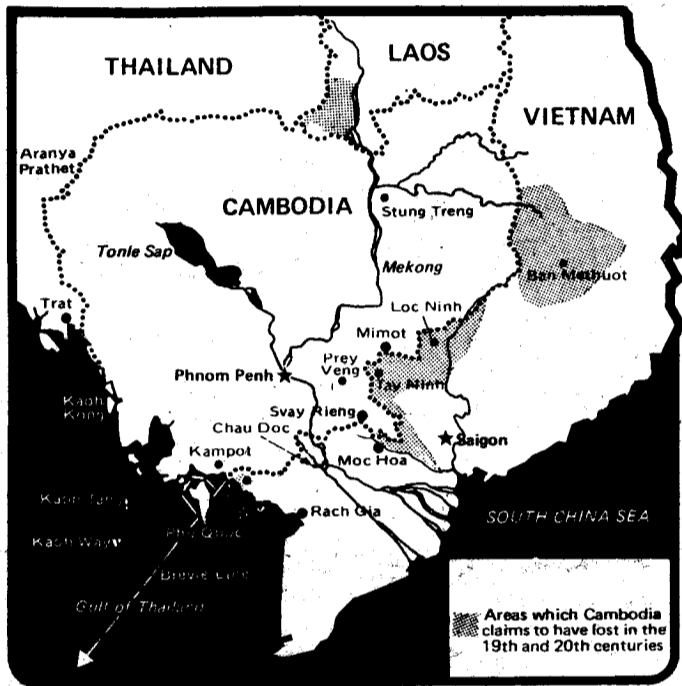
FOR MANY YEARS the peoples of Cambodia and Vietnam fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism. The "Ho Chi Minh" trail through eastern Cambodia enabled troops and supplies from North Vietnam to reach the battle fronts in South Vietnam; and Vietnamese troops helped to repel the US-backed forces of Lon Nol in Cambodia.

But almost immediately after the victory, in 1975, Cambodia and Vietnam were engaged in a territorial dispute over a coastal island, Kaoh Wai. Border disputes have continued on and off since then. At the end of 1977 they reached the level of actual war, and Cambodia broke off diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

The Vietnamese say that Cambodia has been conducting large-scale attacks since April 1977, accompanied by pillage and atrocities. Vietnamese forces, they say, are fighting only in self defence and have not invaded Cambodia; the dispute should be solved by immediate negotiations.

According to Cambodia, Vietnam has launched an attack with the aim of integrating Cambodia into an "Indochinese federation" dominated by Hanoi. It is also seizing Cambodian rice; and there can be no negotiations until the Vietnamese

If Vietnam really were trying to conquer Cambodia (for what motive?), it would have done so by now. It has an enormous military superiority. Against Cambodia's 80,000-strong army and tiny air force, it can deploy an army of 615,000, backed up by a 1,500,000-strong militia. It has \$5,000 million-worth of US arms captured in 1975, and a strong airforce.



'Where is Cambodia going?': see discussion article, page 6.

from Thailand, according to which the Vietnamese are about to seize the Cambodian capital Phnom Penh.

Most recent reports (especially in the Paris daily *Le Monde*, which has a better record on reporting from Indochina than any other Western newspaper) suggest that the fighting is in fact confined to the border areas. And — despite all the right-wing hullabaloo — the hostilities are tiny compared to the USA's war in Indochina.

Neither side proposes a ceasefire in place to be supervised by an international commission elected by workers' organisations. Neither side says that the border should be decided by the wishes of the people in the border areas. (Though, admittedly, given the tremendous population movements in both countries over the last decade, that criterion would be difficult to apply in practice.)

FALSE

Probabilities suggest the initiative in the fighting was Cambodia's. Although the Vietnamese accounts of Cambodian atrocities ring false, the Cambodian stories (which compare Vietnam's action to that of Hitler invading Czechoslovakia) are still less credible.

Throughout the history of the border disputes, Vietnam has been more conciliatory than Cambodia. After negotiations in the 1960s, Vietnam agreed in 1967 to recognise the "Brievé line", the frontier drawn by the French Governor-General in 1939 — though that meant conceding some offshore islands then controlled by Saigon.

In line with that agreement, Vietnam has returned to Cambodia the Kaoh Wai

island, captured in the June 1975 dispute.

Now Vietnam calls for negotiations and insists "We do not consider the Cambodians as enemies". Cambodia is relentlessly belligerent in its statements. Its demand that Vietnamese troops leave Cambodian territory may not be as simple as it seems, since Cambodia apparently considers certain areas to the east of the "Brievé line" to be Cambodian.

Regardless of this or that possibility, however, the only attitude we can take, given present information, is utterly to condemn the war on both sides.

SETTLE

Neither side proposes a ceasefire in place to be supervised by an international commission elected by workers' organisations. Neither side says that the border should be decided by the wishes of the people in the border areas. (Though, admittedly, given the tremendous population movements in both countries over the last decade, that criterion would be difficult to apply in practice.)

Neither side proposed arbitration by an international workers' commission. Neither side gives serious, detailed information on the war, even to its own people; and neither side allows journalists to visit the battle front to see for themselves.

The war shows the reactionary results of nationalism and the doctrines of "socialism in one country".

There is no excuse, however, for any intervention by foreign powers. Such intervention is not likely after the beating that the French and the Americans took in Indochina. But the role of imperialism in Indochina has never been to settle conflicts peacefully, but to murder, to brutalise and to oppress.

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forces quit Cambodian territory.

On the scale of the fighting, only Cambodia has issued figures, claiming that 30,000 Vietnamese have been killed since last September, while Cambodian casualties are 460 killed and 1120 wounded. These figures are clearly not believable, and nor are the more lurid stories of Western reporters

KLEBANOV FREED

Vladimir Klebanov, leader of a Russian "worker-dissident" group [see WA 85], has recently been released from the psychiatric hospital where he has been held since announcing the existence of the group to Western journalists last

November. His liberation was made known on 3rd January.

Previous to that Klebanov, an ex-miner, had already spent four and a half years in psychiatric hospital for oppositional activity.

SETTLEMENTS IN SINAI

THE EFFORTS by Egypt's President Sadat to get a settlement with Israel face difficulties. Israel refuses to give concessions which would pull other important Arab states into the bargaining.

Sadat is trying to put pressure on Israel. Last week he spoke to President Carter, who made an unscheduled stop in Egypt, about the Israelis' attitude and the US government's apparent support for it.

This week he is talking to Callaghan; and he has also been lobbying West Germany's Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt.

So far, no sign of success. Indeed, the opposite. The Israeli Cabinet has decided to expand the present Israeli settlements in Sinai — though not to build new ones.

TROOPS

These settlements have become the latest issue in the Egypt-Israel 'peace-deal' game. Sadat has insisted that all Jewish settlements must be removed when the Sinai is returned to Egypt, and all troops withdrawn.

But Israel's Prime Minister Begin has declared: "Israel does not burn Jewish settlements. We build them and defend them".

Sadat says all settlements must be removed, whether they are military or 'purely civilian'. To treat 'purely civilian' settlements in the same way as military bases is wrong — but in this case the distinction is not an easy one to make. Begin has insisted on the right of permanent Israeli defence of these settlements, thus converting them all into semi-military bases.



Press witch-hunts lesbian mothers

A WITCH-HUNT has been whipped up by the press against lesbians who have been having children by AID [Artificial Insemination Device]. It began with a front page in the Evening News, sensationalising the allegedly unnatural and immoral act of allowing lesbians to have children.

The Evening News' main premise was that lesbianism and homosexuality is something evil and nasty, to be flushed out of society at every opportunity. David Sopher, the doctor involved, also gave credence to this view when he said "the chances of producing a homosexual child in these circumstances is high", and emphasised that he had asked semen donors for confirmation that they were not homosexual themselves before using them.

The ethics committee of the British Medical Association, said Dr Sopher, had reacted with horror to the very thought of allowing lesbians to conceive. Mr Raymond Booth, honorary secretary of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, also lined up against lesbians and doctors who might be sympathetic to them.

"I find it difficult to say that they are providing a secure family unity when they have this sort of relationship. Who is the child going to turn to? I envisage an identity problem."

Dr Mia Kellmer Pringle of the National Childrens Bureau echoed these sentiments. "There is some evidence that some boys brought up without a father figure have some difficulty in establishing normal heterosexual relationships".

Already there have been

calls in the House of Commons to discontinue the service. Tory MP Jill Knight says that she can't imagine how children could be born in such circumstances.

What is really disturbing all these establishment figures is not that women are using artificial insemination. It is not even that they are lesbians. Statistically it is certain



that a large proportion of lesbians get railroaded by social pressures into hiding their lesbianism, getting married, and having children in the usual way. There is no outcry about that.

What horrifies the bigots is that these lesbians are unashamed and will not be bringing up their children in the traditional nuclear family.

Counterposed to these women's life is the normal, idyllic, happy, stable nuclear family. Here the children will be able to learn their proper roles within society.

Jill Knight and her ilk forget about the rising numbers of 'battered' women and children, and the consumption of alcohol and drugs by mothers unable to cope with the day-to-day drudgery and strains of

life in capitalist Britain.

These are the same people who would deprive women of the right to have an abortion, even if they lived in the most squalid conditions. They are the first to shout about the 'squandering' of money on social security, nursery schools, school meals, and other things which affect children most directly.

Artificial insemination is bad enough for anti-feminists. The thought that women can conceive without the direct interference of men is enough to throw them into a fit of apoplexy.

However, what is really bugging them is the idea of children being brought up by people who don't conform to the traditional sex roles within society.

The family is a vital institution for the bourgeoisie in transmitting ideas to the next generation according to their class and sex. Boys are prepared to be 'breadwinners', girls are brought up to be housewives. The bigots' fear — probably exaggerated through superstition — is that this will be disrupted.

Soon after the Evening News article appeared, 50 men and women invaded the offices of the paper. The reaction of the journalists was — according to the protesters — that "some members of the staff were abusive. Others treated it as a joke, or said 'no comment'".

The article also made a mockery of the National Union of Journalists Code of Conduct, which says that members should not originate material which encourages discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation.

CLARE RUSSELL



'ACAS again' says APEX

THE GRUNWICK strikers where honoured last Friday by a personal visit from the general secretary of their union, APEX, Roy Grantham. Grantham came to tell the strikers that the dispute was still on, and that the next step is to refer it again to the government arbitration service ACAS.

Grunwicks recently won their attempt to have the previous ACAS ballot legally declared invalid on the grounds that ACAS had not balloted those inside working for the firm, even though Grunwicks refused to provide ACAS with the names and addresses of these workers.

Grantham believes the pressure will be on Ward this time to provide ACAS with names and addresses. If he does not, the workers could be leafleted going into the factory and called to

vote in a local hall.

The first time tragedy, the second time farce! It is said that the ACAS procedure will take two months. Even then Ward could challenge ACAS's procedure in the courts again, dragging it out a lot longer. If ACAS does recommend recognition again, Ward can still refuse, just like he refused to accept the Scarman Inquiry. And what if ACAS does not recommend recognition?

For Grantham and the trade union bureaucracy the whole thing is obviously a face-saver.

The tragedy is that after the non-activity of the TUC and the pressure of Grantham and the Union of Post Office Workers against militant action, the strikers see themselves as having no choice but to go along with Grantham.

PETE FIRMIN

Sack McKinnon!



Gurdip Singh Chaggar

from page 1

murder — and a man who is devoting his life to building a fascist movement — was an obscenity which should not be let pass. McKinnon must not be allowed any longer to exercise power over the lives of men and women for whom he obviously has nothing but contempt.

But the removal of one judge will change little. Black defendants would find little comfort, for example, in finding themselves hauled in front of ex-Blackshirt Lord Justice Lawton rather than McKinnon.

If Flannery and the other MPs are serious, why don't they campaign for the election of all judges? McKinnon's statements should have finished off the idea that the present system guarantees judgments free of political bias.

Election of judges would make it slightly more difficult for the ruling class to wreak its vengeance on its opponents. It would strip away some of the veils hiding the truth that the law is political.

For the reformists, however, the primary aim of their campaign to oust McKinnon is to prevent the Race Relations Acts from becoming totally discredited in the eyes of blacks. For the Government and its supporters, the Race Relations Act is a crucial part of their overall strategy for the 'management' of race relations.

The Government crudely discriminates against blacks through immigration controls, but at the same time tries to defuse potential revolt by the oppressed minorities. In the words of the White Paper 'Racial Discrimination', published in support of the 1976 Race Relations Act: "It is no long-



The audience to which Read made his 'jokes'.

er necessary to recite the immense damage, material as well as moral, which ensues when a minority loses faith in the capacity of social institutions to be impartial and fair."

The slogan of the Communist Party, 'Mobilise to enforce the Race Relations Act', leads nowhere. By all means lock up Kingsley Read and others like him. But it would be folly to believe that the State, racist

as it is at all levels — the police and army, as well as the judiciary — will defend the interests of blacks in Britain.

Such faith serves only to disarm blacks, to dissuade them from organising in their own defence.

Racism — both Read's variety and McKinnon's — can be stopped only by the mass action of the working class and the black community.

More ironies of history

THE CURRENT edition of 'New Left Review' presents a translation of part of the Brandler-Deutscher correspondence soon to be published in Germany.

These letters, a selection from between 1953 and 1959, deal mainly with the revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923 together with its relationship to the developments within the Communist International, and the workers' rising in East Berlin in June 1953. They also touch on the Hungarian events of 1956.

Heinrich Brandler, one-time leader of the Right Opposition (the supporters of Bukharin expelled from the Communist International in 1928 and 1929), was the leader of the German Communist Party in 1923. Isaac Deutscher, of course, was the great biographer of Trotsky. Before world war 2 Deutscher was himself a member of the Polish section of the Left Opposition which Trotsky led.

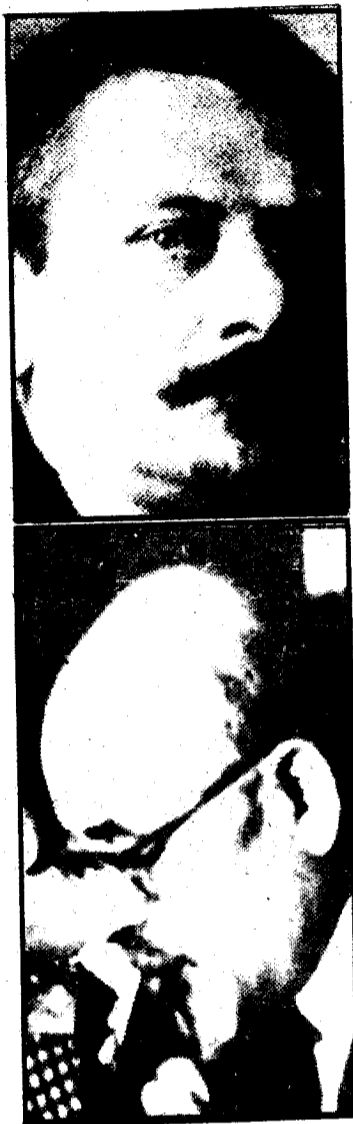
One might expect this correspondence between the old one-time left oppositionist and the old right oppositionist to represent a violent confrontation between, on the one hand, an intransigent and principled opposition to Stalinist bureaucratism, and, on the other hand, an inconsistent line of tactical opposition combined with a consistent line of compromise in principle with that bureaucracy. The picture is not so neat.

Deutscher, in a letter of July 1953, declares that he "was more than a little taken aback by the attitude Arpo (Arbeiterpolitik — the name of the journal published in Germany by the Brandler group) adopted to the events of June 16-17... It goes without saying that the workers of Berlin had very good grievances and that the Russians and their marionettes have done everything to prevent the storm. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the effect of the Berlin revolt has been objectively counter-revolutionary and not revolutionary."

Aware of the irony of pointing this out to Brandler, he adds: "I have sometimes been in a position where I had to write to you that I thought you went a little too far in justifying Stalin's policies. This time I am afraid you went a little too far in the opposite direction, in associating yourself with the anti-Russian movement."

Deutscher concludes the letter by analysing the developments in Russia since the death of Stalin four months earlier, so as to explain in part his attitude. "The whole trend of events in Russia from Stalin's death until the East German earthquake went consistently in the direction of a socialist democratisation of the regime. This trend has suffered a very severe setback because of Berlin."

Brandler, whose organisation at that time had a base in East Germany, refutes Deutscher's arguments. The "decisive strata" that rose in June, he explains, "would not dream of reversing the genuinely progressive achievements [in East Germany]



Brandler [top] and Deutscher

such as the removal of power from the bourgeoisie, the nationalisation of the most important means of production, and the planned economy... The workers rose against the mismanagement of the SED [ruling party] bureaucrats, the transfer of Russian methods to Germany, and the spoliation of the country through reparations. All these things formed an obstacle to the preservation of the measures taken in the direction of the development of socialism... For Germany itself, the rising means that the workers have demonstrated for the first time since 1945 that they can be the decisive force if they fight"

Deutscher's formal adherence to Trotskyism does not put him any closer to the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism than Brandler. He is far more guilty of that fatalism with which Trotsky characterised Brandler when the latter headed the German CP. Deutscher's line is 100% "Brandlerite". It is fatalistic, and vulgarly reformist in its attitude towards Stalinism.

Of course Brandler and Deutscher had not "swapped sides". The Brandler group, despite its support for the rising, also had a reformist perspective, which went no further than a call for the overthrow of Pieck-Ulbricht leadership. "Weg mit dem Spitzbart" was its slogan aimed at

Ulbricht: "the goatee must go!"

Three years later, Brandler broke with his own organisation over its position on the Hungarian rising. Against Arpo's support of the insurgents Brandler wrote: "I think the Russians were wrong to withdraw when Nagy asked them to. When the enraged masses reached for weapons, they had to be confronted not with words but with weapons in turn. The number of victims was increased by the temporary retreat". Deutscher had opposed the Russian intervention.

On both occasions the two writers use basically similar arguments: Deutscher in 1953 and Brandler in 1956 claim that the rising must lead objectively to capitalist restoration if it is successful because there is no revolutionary party.

In 1953 Deutscher rejected Brandler's optimism as to the nature of the leadership of the Berlin revolt: "You, yourself have so often written about the absence of any revolutionary party in Germany that I do not see how you can forget your own words... As long as this is so the German working class is paralysed as an independent revolutionary factor". In 1956 the same point was central to Brandler's position in the internal debates that led to the split in the Arbeiterpolitik group.

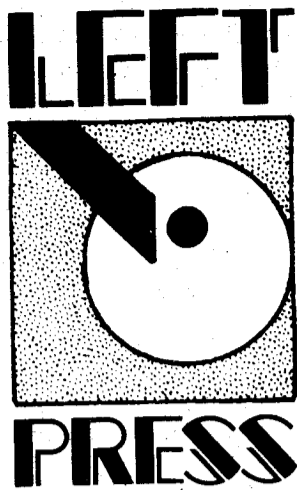
Although Brandler and Deutscher had opposite positions on each of these events, the letters show a remarkable similarity of approach. Is it possible that a trend calling itself Trotskyist and a trend from the Right Opposition could converge in their political method?

No other conclusion seems possible. But this is not the first time such a development has been remarked on. We, for our part, have always taken the view that a group's calling itself Trotskyist in no way guarantees anything about its politics.

There are trends emanating from Trotskyism, trends like those associated with the names of Deutscher, Pablo, Mandel and others, which in their vulgar evolutionism, in particular in their attitudes towards the bureaucracies in the workers' states, tend in differing degrees towards the methods of the 1930s Right Opposition rather than the Left.

Of course Deutscher cannot be set up as a "fall guy" for all those trends claiming to be Trotskyist, a claim which this paper makes too. And the position he took on the events of 1953 was not adopted by any of the major trends calling themselves Trotskyist. Nevertheless, the equivocal and in the final analysis opportunist attitude towards the bureaucracies in the workers' states visible in his writings has been a marked tendency in the analyses of the largest tendency claiming to be in the Trotskyist tradition, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

['New Left Review' no. 105 — price £1 from 7 Carlisle St, London W1v 6NL].



WOMEN under the JACK BO

FASCISM in Germany in the 1930s totally crushed the workers' movement, and the women's movement. The trade unions were smashed and the Nazi party organised the workers and the employers into the same organisation, the 'Labour Front'.

Particularly from 1941 onwards, workers could buy less and less for their wages, working hours grew longer, consumer goods were hard to come by, there was a chronic shortage of housing, and more and more workers suffered from accidents and illnesses.

Along with the theft of working class political freedoms went the theft of women's few hard-won social, economic, and political freedoms, which existed under the reformist Weimar Republic. Hitler's totalitarian state did its utmost to turn women into mindless breeding-machines.

Pure racial nucleus

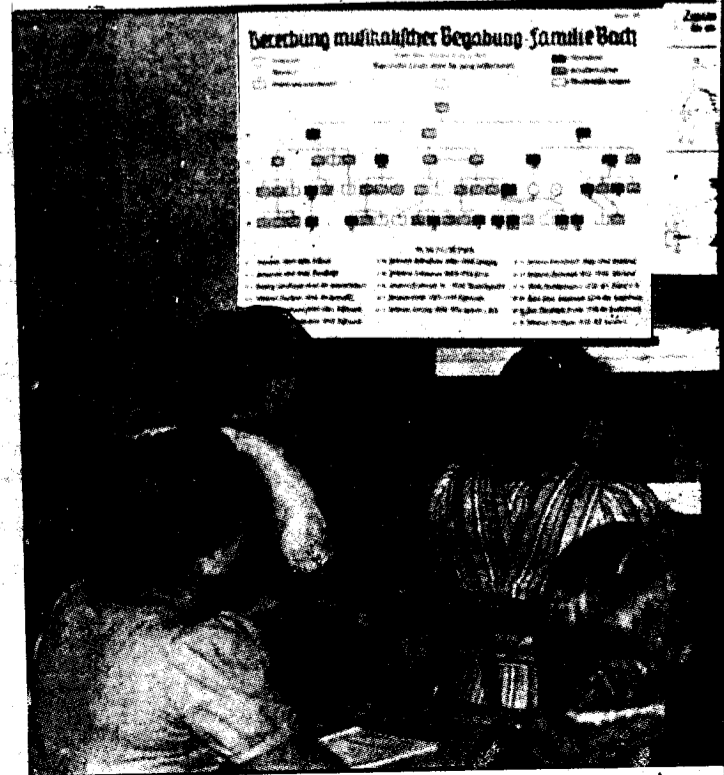
The monolithism of 1984, complete unquestioning and unthinking bowing to authority, was Hitler's fascist Germany. It was to be the nation of "superior, intelligent, strong, industrious, public-spirited and conscientious" persons, according to Professor von Gruber, Hitler's authority on sexual hygiene and selective breeding... and it was a society built on the blood of others.

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"Most of you must know what it means when: hundred dead bodies a lying side by side, or 50 or a thousand. To have e dured this and at the same time, discounting exceptions attributable to human frailty, to have preserved one's decency — that it wh has made us hard. This is glorious page in our history which has never been written nor ever will be." So said Himmler, the Reich SS, to his SS generals, Posen on 4 October 1943.

The fascist state set to exterminate all "subhuman, racially inferior elements"... and to breed "perfect pure racial nucleus" of the German people, and if this meant wholesale murder, the chambers for six million Jews, so be it.

The job of women in a 'racially pure' nation was



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breed racially pure Aryans. This was not only women's most useful role, it was their only purpose in life. Hitler defined the importance of the German girl as the future mother, "the most important woman citizen!"

Alfred Rosenberg, the National Socialists' quack philosopher, preached that history was a series of racial struggles in which the better blood always came out best. "Either we ascend through the rejuvenation and selective breeding of age-old blood, coupled with intensified fighting-spirit, to an act of purification, or the last German-Occidental values of civilisation and political discipline will sink into the filthy mire of the great cities".

Hitler demanded that marriage must serve the one great goal of the multiplication and preservation of



the species. He believed that the sick or disabled should be prevented from reproducing by sterilisation or segregation.

Women must be protected from the world of labour, meaning work outside the home, according to the programme of the Nazis. Women were also robbed of their political rights. Hitler announced that "the woman who engages in parliamentary activity will be violated by that activity": her equality supposedly lay in being given the esteem due to her "in those spheres of life allotted her by nature". In other words, she could be equal — as long as she knew her place!

A gold for eight

When the Nazi party won power women were thrown out of all senior party positions. While there were 30 women in the Reichstag before the Nazis came to power, by 1938 there were none. Women were only allowed to make up 10% of the student population, and the new civil service law excluded them from government jobs. Women were also excluded from jury service... on the grounds that "they cannot think logically or reason objectively, since they are ruled only by emotion".

The Nazis' Women's Association had no political influence. It taught its members about "feminine tasks", such as babycare and substitute foodstuffs. And Darre, the Nazi Minister of Agriculture, said the desire for female emancipation was due to malfunctioning sex glands!

The image of German womanhood pushed by some of the authorities was of a broad-hipped female, blonde, with a bun or a coronet of plaits. She should

not paint her face or smoke in public, otherwise she could be called a "whore" or a "traitress".

At the same time the women of the idle rich seized the loads of dresses, stockings, furs and perfumes that arrived from occupied Europe.

To persuade women to have as many children as possible, they were given interest-free marriage loans from 1933 onwards. The authorities would check the couple's Aryan descent and hereditary fitness before the money was handed over. Men and women were encouraged to marry young, in the hope they would then have more children.

If a family was "worthy of support, hereditarily fit and in need of assistance", they would be given welfare benefits. Himmler announced that the most important decoration that could be bestowed on the citizens of the future Greater German Reich was the "German Mother's Cross".

A bronze was given for four children, silver for six, and gold for eight. The inscription on the Cross, "The child ennobles the mother", was sickening in its reduction of a woman to a biological slave.

Birth control centres were closed. Abortion, of course, was totally forbidden. The criminal law of May 1933 made even the act of assisting in obtaining an abortion a penal offense. An exception was made for "foreign" women — unless they were pregnant by a German male. Himmler stated, "Either we acquire any good blood we can use for ourselves and give it a place in our nation, or we destroy it".

The reduction of women to breeding machines fitted in with the Nazis' racism, and also with their concern to build up the family as a pillar of support for the state. "The importance of the family cannot be overestimated", said Goebbels in

1933. As Wilhelm Reich, a pupil of Freud, saw, the authoritarian family is a fortress of social conservatism.

Reich taught that a reactionary social order has to repress the natural sexual impulses of people. The family is the prison in which this takes place. "Morality" demands sexual abstinence for children and adolescents, and monogamous, life-long marriage with compulsory marital fidelity. This demands repression of the natural sexual instincts and gives rise to the very chaos it professes to control.

"Compulsory morality as exemplified in marital duty and familial authority is the morality of cowardly and impotent individuals who are incapable of experiencing through natural love capacity what they try to obtain in vain with the aid of the police and marriage", wrote Reich in his book "The Sexual Revolution".

The family forces the man and the woman into a life-

long relationship and the tendency is to kill off the natural sexual impulses. The moral regulation of the compulsive family represses the natural biological needs, and this results in secondary, pathological anti-social impulses.

The average mass individual, according to Reich, has a lack of confidence in his or her own strength and judgment, with a consequent longing for an omniscient guiding father-figure. Hitler understood this feeling of social impotence when he said, "Mass demonstrations must burn into the little man's soul the proud conviction that, though a little worm, he is nevertheless part of a great dragon".

The woman, of course, was no part of this great dragon.

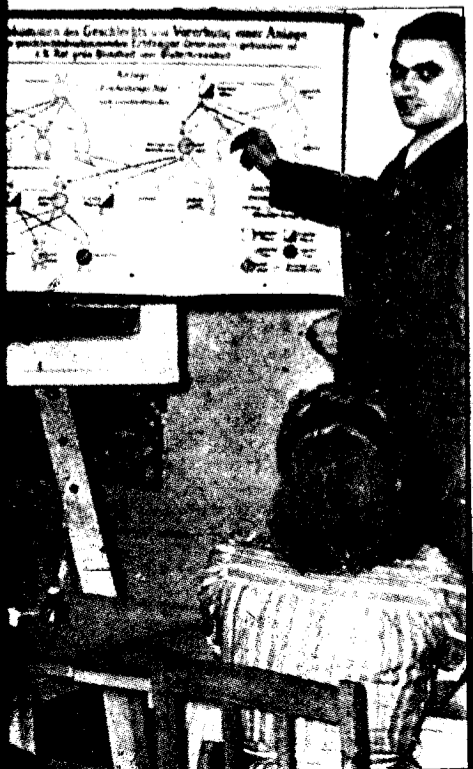
A beast of prey

If Reich is right, the more authoritarian the social order, the more it will demand a strict sexual morality — in order to create the personality which is capable of adjusting to that order. That is, a personality who worships the Führer and accepts a social order where the masses are never allowed to make democratic decisions or exercise any control over their own lives.

In fact Reich claimed the strict sexual morality produces the opposite of what it intends. Hand in hand with monogamous marriage goes adultery. With the chastity of women and girls goes prostitution, sexual perversion, and sadistic acts of rape, murder, and so on. Under the Nazis there was a terrific cult of violence and masculinity. Hitler stated that he wanted to raise a younger generation that would be "violent, masterful, dauntless and cruel. There must be nothing weak and tender about it. Its eyes must glow once more with the freedom and splendour of the beast of prey".

The Nazis also strongly condemned homosexuality. There were many purges of homosexuals, although in fact homosexuality continued to be widespread in the SA and the SS.

TO BE CONCLUDED
NEXT WEEK



Left: Girls being given a lesson in racist heredity theory at a Nazi school. Top: Medals being given out to women with more than four children. Above: women at Nazi athletics display.

TO UNDERSTAND the Vietnam/Cambodia conflict — so far as that is possible in the present state of information — the most important factor is not who invaded first, but the nature of the two states.

Vietnam falls quite clearly within the spectrum of the Stalinist states.

In North Vietnam, after the eviction of French colonialism in 1954, the major capitalists were expropriated. During the war with the French, the old administrative structures had been replaced by new ones, highly bureaucratized but based on the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants. The landowners had been expropriated. From 1958, agricultural cooperatives were gradually introduced.

The domination of capitalist production for profit had been broken; but a bureaucracy barred the advance to socialism.

A similar social structure has been extended to the southern part of the now-unified "Socialist Republic of Vietnam", though a number of small capitalist enterprises continue in the south.

Vietnam has its special features: but the basic structural similarity to the bureaucratically deformed workers' states, and to the degenerated workers' state of the USSR, is clear, as is the political conclusion — the need for a workers' political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy.

FORCED

Cambodia is different.

Since the country closed its doors after April 1975, precise information on social and economic developments is not available. But the following facts seem to be established:

■ After the guerrilla forces' victory, the population of the cities was evacuated to the countryside. The capital, Phnom Penh, had 2 million people in 1975 and now has 20,000.

■ Many people suspected of being agents of the old regime were shot, and many others died in the forced evacuation of the cities.

■ There have been book-burnings, and the regime's propaganda heavily stresses the 'evil' nature of cities.

Many refugees have fled from Cambodia — though they are not necessarily fleeing 'communism': 60,000 of them went to Vietnam.

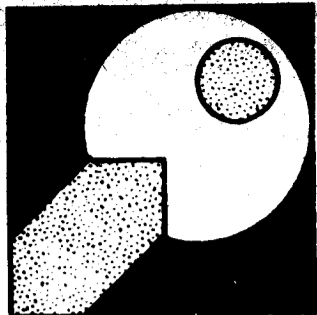
These atrocities — and they are atrocities — have, of course, been exploited and embellished upon by right wing propaganda. It must be remembered, therefore, that US imperialism was guilty of atrocities on a far larger scale. It was an American general, not a Cambodian guerrilla leader, who declared "To save the city [of Hue, in Vietnam] we had to destroy it."

In Cambodia, about as many people had been made refugees by the war as were made refugees by the evacuation of the cities. Over three quarters of Phnom Penh's population had entered it since 1970; 90% of the population were unemployed. The city was rotting as fast as the Lon Nol regime: in the hospitals, patients could be found sharing beds with corpses that had been dead for several days.

ECHOES

Cambodia's policy echoes elements from the Stalinist states, but the overall picture is different. In South Vietnam, for example, the cities — especially Saigon/Ho Chi Minh City — are also being partially evacuated. It is necessary because they had become so grossly swollen. But by all accounts this is being done far, far less brusquely than in Cambodia.

In Cambodia, also, the land has been nationalised and the peasantry organised into co-



Discussion

COLIN FOSTER
asks

WHERE IS CAMBODIA GOING?



Sihanouk with Khieu Samphan [left], and, above, Ieng Sary.

operatives or communes (previously, Cambodian peasants mostly owned the land they cultivated; there was no large landowner class). The population has been mobilised on a large scale to build dykes and other hydraulic works, mostly using only hand tools. And — most startlingly — money is no longer being used, according to both the regime's pronouncements and reports from travellers.

There are parallels with China: but the proportions are different.

Politically, Cambodia has been described as a "communist state" by the Western press since April 1975. The ruling party, however, has called itself simply "The Organisation". Cambodian leader Ieng Sary, visiting Malaysia last year, said bluntly "We are not communists" (Far Eastern Economic Review, 29.4.77).

Not until 25th September last year was it publicly announced that "The Organisation" was the "Cambodian Communist Party". And then the Party secretary Pol Pot said it had been founded in September 1960 — whereas all other accounts say it was founded in 1951!

Before 1951 there was an Indochinese Communist Party, mostly Vietnam-based. During the war against the French, separate Vietnamese,

Lao and Cambodian CPs were set up. At the 1954 Geneva Conference the Cambodian CP and radical nationalists got nothing. They were persuaded by the USSR, China and North Vietnam to submit to the regime of King Sihanouk.

After 1954, Son Ngoc Minh and other main leaders of the Cambodian CP — mostly, like him, of Vietnamese origin — went to North Vietnam. The CP did not exist openly after 1954, but it appears that it was at this time that the present leadership took over: people like Pol Pot (then called Saloth Sar), Ieng Sary, Hou Youn and Khieu Samphan.

They had come into politics as students in France around the CP in the early 1950s, and mostly had not been in Cambodia during the war against the French. (Pol Pot returned to Cambodia in 1953, Ieng Sary in 1957).

BITTER

In his speech last September, Pol Pot referred to the 1954 settlement in the most bitter terms. Perhaps the 1960 date was when the old pro-Vietnamese CP leadership, who had accepted the 1954 settlement, were finally replaced by the more militantly nationalist ex-French group.

In 1962 Sihanouk started a



against city life. That sort of reaction might explain individual incidents. It does not explain what is clearly a calculated policy, directed by highly educated townsmen. (Hou Youn wrote a French university thesis on the Cambodian peasantry, Khieu Samphan one on the industrialisation of Cambodia.)

But the Cambodian CP leaders are not like the Vietnamese or Chinese CP leaders. Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse-tung and their close colleagues were formed politically in the Communist International when it was a revolutionary workers' movement. They prostituted themselves to Stalinism. Yet they had some political reference points which the Cambodian CP leaders will never have had. Their model of "socialism" was clearly defined as the degenerated workers' state of the USSR, and at the time of their revolutionary victories they had close relations with the USSR. The Cambodians, on the contrary, after taking Phnom Penh, expelled the Russian diplomats, sacked the East German embassy and cut off communications even with China.

ROOTS

The anti-Vietnamese chauvinism presently being used by the Cambodians has, as the press has noted, deep historical roots. The hostility created by many wars between the two ethnically distinct peoples was sharpened by France's use of Vietnamese to run its colonial administration in Cambodia.

More recently, however, anti-Vietnamese chauvinism was used by Sihanouk and Lon Nol against the "communists". Its present use by those same "communists" shows their virulent, overriding nationalism.

Not the least important question about the current conflict is, what has happened to the rubber plantation workers in Cambodia, most of them Vietnamese, who were the only real proletarian force in Cambodia, and who solidly supported the Khmers Rouges? Reports from Hong Kong that rubber which Cambodia is trying to sell there is of very poor quality reflect, of course, war damage to the industry, but also suggest that the skilled workers may have fallen victim to the Cambodian regime's denunciations of Vietnamese 'infiltration'.

Karl Wittfogel, in his book "Oriental Despotism", has argued that the regimes in China and Russia are new editions of the ancient "Asiatic mode of production". This system was characterised by a strong bureaucratic state resting on peasant communes. The state extracted taxes from the peasants, and mobilised mass peasant labour for public works; and it undertook the irrigation projects vital for agriculture.

An extremely high level of



LAST WEDNESDAY, 4th January, Leyland chairman Michael Edwardes told a group of journalists in London of his plans for the future of Leyland Cars.

Edwardes' proposals, contained in a business review, including postponing and re-designing the new Mini programme, breaking down the cars division into two separate companies (Austin-Morris for the volume cars and Rover-Jaguar-Triumph for quality models) and what he euphemistically refers to as 'reviewing the future' of loss-making plants, Speke and Cowley being the most obvious candidates.

Most importantly, Edwardes wants to shed 12,000 jobs [some estimates put the figure as high as 30,000] from the Cars Division during 1978.

For the last two years, the union leadership in Leyland has said that the success of the 10-year expansion Plan, of which the new Mini project was the centre piece, must be the overriding concern of every Leyland worker. Thus the convenors' commitment to 'continuous production', their backing

Leyland threatens bust up the participation show

for strike penalty clauses on lay-off pay, and their willingness to negotiate manning cuts, speed-up and increased mobility.

The implementation of the 10-year plan would have been held up as the crowning vindication of union support for 'participation' schemes. Now, with the 10 year plan cancelled at a stroke of Michael Edwardes' pen, and thousands of redundancies looming, what has been the response of the union leadership in Leyland?

Some far they have had very little to say about the coming redundancies, although senior stewards have

been in possession of management's speed-up and manning cuts proposals since before Christmas. And even if the full ten year plan had gone ahead, they knew it would have meant 9,000 jobs lost.

Derek Robinson, Longbridge convenor and senior union representation on the Joint Management Council, appears to be much more concerned about the resignation of managing director Derek Whittaker. Robinson said he was 'dismayed' by Whittaker's resignation, and added that, "Since participation became

a feature in British Leyland, Mr Whittaker has been completely open in his style of management. For the first time trade union representatives have been taken into the confidence of management and have been involved in the development of the long term plans of the company" — and this on the day after Edwardes' plans, supported by Whittaker, were revealed!

Union leaders' other chief complaint has been that the 'participation' charade has been shown up by the fact that the bosses brush it aside as soon as they come to deal with essential questions. Why didn't you tell us before about these plans, whine the union leaders.

The kind of treatment Leyland workers can expect this year is shown by the two month old Speke strike. Disregarding existing agreements, management are attempting unilaterally to impose speed-up and manning cuts. This follows similar attacks on the Longbridge sheet metal workers, the Cowley paint shop, and Radford Axles last year.

In addition, the incentive scheme now being negot-

iated on the national negotiating committee would take away all mutuality on track speeds and manning levels.

With the Allegro due to be transferred from Longbridge to Senneff (in Belgium) in 1979, and the revised super-Mini replacement not entering production until autumn 1980 at the earliest, the demand for work-sharing on full pay will become essential if jobs are to be maintained.

Discussions should be held with the Belgian unions to ensure that neither British nor Belgian workers lose their jobs. Similarly liaison between Longbridge and Cowley is necessary to prevent the two workforces being played off against each other over the siting of the LC 10 (Marina replacement) production. Originally allocated to Cowley, the LC 10 could be transferred to Longbridge in place of the new Mini.

The need is for a democratically elected, recallable combine committee to unite all Leyland workers in defence of jobs and conditions. We must start building those links now.

JIM DENHAM

U.S. MINERS FIGHT AGAINST '1930 CONTRACT'

ON DECEMBER 6th, 1977, the contract between the Bituminous Coal Operators Association and the United Mineworkers of America expired and a strike involving about 130,000 US miners began.

The agreement that has just expired was the first negotiated by the UMWA since the Miners for Democracy reform movement swept the corrupt Tony Boyle regime out of union office in 1972. Since 1974 the employers have made a mockery of this agreement, using the courts and arbitration machinery. The growth in the number of unofficial strikes and the increase in miners' militancy over the last few years has made the employers determined to weaken the miners' organisation.

The employers want a 'no

strike' guarantee written into the contract, and incentives to be paid for miners scabbing on unofficial strikes. They are proposing that strikers should be fined, and should have to make the employers' contribution to the health and pension funds for the period of the strike. Further, they want to end the system whereby the mines close for two weeks in the summer, and replace it with 'staggered holidays' and continuous production.

The BCOA refuse to discuss any wage increases or changes in the present 'cost of living' formula. They are also trying to change the powers of the union-run safety committees so that they can no longer order the closure of mines which do not meet the safety regulations. This is in an industry where 150 miners were



killed in 1976. Only South African mines have a worse safety record.

Arnold Millers, the UMWA president, says the bosses are offering a '1930 contract', and the miners won't accept it without a hard struggle. The UMWA are demanding that the right to strike be written into the new contract, and the restoration of cuts which have

taken place in the medical aid pension funds since 1974.

President Carter's new energy plans will mean a shift from oil and natural gas to nuclear power and coal. The coal industry, according to BCOA chairman Joseph Brennan, is now going for 'unparalleled growth', which they intend to achieve at the cost of miners' lives and limbs by smashing the organised resistance of the miners.

"The question", Brennan says, "is whether or not a proud labour union will meet in good faith bargaining with an industry, and forge a contract that will permit us to grow together, or whether we fail and therefore see the decline and possible extinction of the United Mineworkers of America as a force in the national collective bargaining".

The coal companies built up large stockpiles before the strike and reckon that the strike can go on for over two months before there is a 'national crisis'. They believe that the UMWA, with virtually no strike funds, cannot last out that long.

The employers can count on the support of the State, as the Carter administration aims to triple coal output by 1985. The state police in Kentucky have already been used against miners in Stearns who have been striking for recognition of the UMWA for

nearly 18 months now. In November, eleven Stearns strikers received 6-month jail sentences for defying court orders limiting numbers of pickets.

The BCOA, in an attempt to turn retired miners against the strikers, are not contributing to pension funds during the strike. The media have been trying to convince the miners that they cannot win, and have launched a 'red scare' claiming communist infiltration of the strike committees. This has been echoed by UMWA president Miller. Miller may be planning a deal whereby the employers drop their 'no strike' demand and the union drops the demand for the right to strike to be written into the new contract.

This would be disastrous for the miners, as the US Supreme Court has recently decided that where there is a grievance procedure laid down in the agreement, it is an implied term of the contract that there should be no strike! So, unless the right to strike is incorporated into the contracts, any strike will be illegal.

The employers are determined to bring the UMWA to heel and to increase productivity and profitability at the expense of the miners. The rank-and-file miners, however, are prepared for a long strike that they know they cannot afford to lose.

JOHN COSBY

WHERE IS CAMBODIA GOING?



culture developed within the state bureaucracies. But the system was static. Time and again peasant revolts would overthrow the ruling bureaucracy — only to form a new bureaucracy on the same economic basis.

Modern China and Russia are not static. They are industrialising rapidly, rather than relying on mass labour with primitive technology, as the ancient Asiatic system did. They utilise money for exchange and distribution. Wittfogel's theory in the end comes down to the superficial observation that there is a strong state in both systems.

Cambodia, however, really seems to be attempting a return to the ancient Asiatic system. Cambodia (Kampuchea) was one of the great empires of that system, and

the present leaders constantly evoke the ancient glories: "If our people built Angkor Wat, they can build anything". Radio Phnom Penh, on 21st February 1976, declared "If we have dykes, we will have water. If we have water, we will have rice. If we have rice, we will be able to have everything".

Such an option would make sense to the Cambodian leaders, seeking a course for national development, and mistrusting the Russians, Chinese and Vietnamese. It may well make sense to many Cambodian peasants too. The ancient system was only finished off by French colonialism a hundred years ago; and outside the cities the French impact in Cambodia was relatively shallow. Folk-memories of the ancient system must still be alive in the countryside.

In this perspective the pres-

ent war is not an unthinking, elemental nationalist reaction, but the modest first step in building a Greater Cambodia.

Such a project, however, is bound to fail. The pressure of today's highly-developed world market will quickly break down Cambodia's attempts at economic isolation. Indeed trade, after being cut down almost to nothing in 1975, was already increasing markedly in 1977. Trade means money, it means producing for the market, it means industrial development.

Thus either the present Cambodian leadership will fall from power, or it will in fact take a state capitalist course.

Cambodia testifies to the havoc which Stalinism has wrought in the minds of millions of militants seeking a path to liberation from imperialism.

WORKERS IN ACTION



Bosses try to smother Cowley election result

A STORM has blown up after the election of revolutionary militant Alan Thornett as one of the deputy senior stewards in the Cowley Assembly Plant of British Leyland. In the same ballot leading right winger Reg Parsons was ousted as Assembly Plant convenor by militant Bob Fryer.

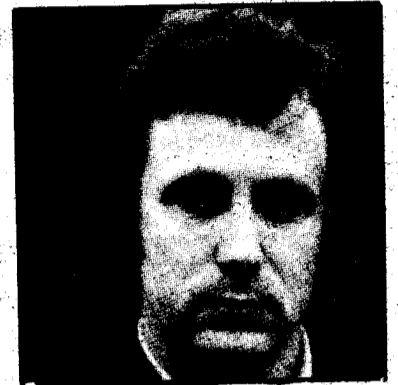
The Cowley management insist they will not recognise Thornett as a deputy senior steward.

Meanwhile the local district and regional Transport and General Workers' Union bureaucrats are attempting to witch hunt Thornett, Fryer, and eight other militant Cowley car workers.

The ten are charged with 'disrupting' a District Committee meeting. The same six-man committee that named the charges will also act as judge and jury!

The local management's refusal to recognise the results of a plant-wide ballot is now being dealt with by the national officers of the T&G.

The bureaucrats are well aware of the support for Thornett and Fryer, and also the need to show that they run the union, not British Leyland



Alan Thornett

management. But under pressure they could well bend and look for some solution within the union to declare the election null and void.

The Assembly Plant stewards will meet to hear a report from the national officers in one month's time.

Leyland workers in other plants must defend Cowley workers' right to choose their own representatives, and condemn the Oxford T&G district committee's kangaroo court.

STEPHEN CORBISHLEY

What the offer means

from page 1

now and November 1979 there is bound to be a General Election. The Tories may get in. And they haven't made the same promise.

The offer applies to average firemen's wages, not the basic qualified firemen's rate. The average includes London and other local weightings, as well as upper ranks in the fire service. At present it is £69.80 — £4 more than the qualified firemen's rate of £65.71.

It is claimed that the offer would put average firemen's wages over £100 by November 1979, assuming that wages rise 10% a year between now and then.

But if wages rise 10% a year, then £100 in November 1979 is equivalent to £82.64 in November 1977. So if the "top quartile" formula was implemented now (the whole offer is backdated to Novem-

ber 1977), these would be the increases:

Average firemen's wages: £69.80 now. After the 10% increase offered before the strike, £76.80. After pegging it to the top quartile, £82.64.

Qualified firemen: £65.71 now. After the 10% increase, £72.28. After average pay is pegged to the top quartile, £77.78.

So even if the formula was implemented now, it would be worth only £5.50, as compared to the £14 needed to raise firemen's wages from the level of the 10% offer to the £86 they claimed.

The formula comes into full effect in two years' time. In November 1979, if wages rise 10% a year, it will give firemen average pay over £100.

But suppose the cost of living rises 15% a year between now and then. Then £100 in November 1979

will be equivalent in buying power to £75.61 in November 1977 — that is, £1.19 less than firemen's present wages plus 10%! So the formula may be worth nothing!

And the "top quartile" formula is the best part of the offer. The other six points are:

★1. "... Resumption of full normal working without any victimisation or discrimination". This bars refusing to work with scabs. So the scabs will get the money the strikers have fought for — scot free.

In theory, this point also protects militants from victimisation by management; but in practice, the management can find ways of getting round it.

★2. A 10% rise — offered before the strike started.

★3. London and other local allowances remain to be negotiated separately.

★4. A 42 hour week from November 1978. But there's no guarantee that this won't be done at the cost of manning cuts and station closures.

★5. "That the rate of pay for the qualified fireman shall embrace all the duties included in the National Joint Council's Handbook, 'The Qualified Fireman's Job' inclusive of Appendices". That means no extra pay for extra duties, like fire prevention, recently added to the fireman's job.

★6. Similar job descriptions will be formulated for other grades.

Mersey dockers all out

LIVERPOOL docks ground to a standstill on Monday 9th January after 2,000 more men walked out to make the strike total.

The dispute started over the Christmas period, when 60 men had their pay docked for being absent. Shop stewards chairman Dennis Kelly said that the pay of two gangs was stopped when they left their shift half an hour early because of transport problems.

The management then made up new gangs without following the procedure agreed with the unions. 450 dockers struck at first.

Last week the strike spread to all the dockers employed by the Mersey Docks and Harbour Company, and from the 9th to the rest of the dockers in the port.

The port employers are saying the dispute should go to 'independent' arbitration, but the dockers have refused. Hull, Manchester, and Glasgow docks are giving support by blacking any cargoes transferred from Liverpool.

□ □ □

Meanwhile dockers at three major ports have accepted the Government 10% limit.

Bristol have settled for 10% but are also negotiating a 'self-financing productivity deal'. Southampton have accepted 10% in principle, but still have to settle a container manning dispute.

At Hull, on 5th January, the dockers voted to accept a pay offer within Government guidelines rather than launch industrial action for their claim for a 65% rise to give a basic £105 a week.

Toolmakers decide to wait

THE 60-strong Leyland national toolmakers' committee met in Birmingham last Saturday, 7th, to discuss their claim for differentials and separate negotiating rights, and the same wages for all toolmakers in the group. They decided to register a formal dispute for their claim, but to put off any action until Edwardes' plan has been made clearer. They may well also be waiting until the other 14,000 skilled workers in Leyland define their attitude.

EVENTS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Paid ads (including ads for publications) 8p per word, £5 per column inch — payment in advance. Send copy to *Events*, 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's paper.

MONDAY 16 JANUARY. March and lobby of Parliament in support of the firemen. Backed by FBU Executive. Leave Speakers Corner 2pm.

FRIDAY 20 JANUARY. Revolutionary Communist Tendency meeting: Fascism, Racism, and the Labour Movement. Speaker: Frank Richards. 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, Holborn tube. Admission 20p.

SUNDAY 22 JANUARY. Merseyside Workers Action meeting on 'The Labour Government'. Speaker Dave Spencer (secretary, Coventry Trades Council, in personal capacity). 8pm, County Hotel, Islington, Liverpool.

SATURDAY-SUNDAY 28-29 JANUARY. National Socialist-Feminist Conference, in Manchester. For details, contact Karen Margolis, 85 Regents Park Rd, London NW1

SUNDAY 29 JANUARY. Britain out of Ireland! Self Determination for the Irish people! Demonstration organised by the Bloody Sunday Commemoration Demonstration Committee. Assemble 1.30pm, Shepherds Bush Green.

SATURDAY 11 FEBRUARY. Anti-Apartheid Emergency Action Conference. 10am, Friends Meeting House, Euston Road, London NW1. Open to delegates from all organisations supporting the aims of the AAM. Further details: AAM, 89 Charlotte St, London W1p 2DQ.

SATURDAY 4 MARCH. Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference. Credentials for trade union delegates 75p from J.Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park Road, Ilford, Essex.

SATURDAY-SUNDAY 15-16 APRIL. Institute for Workers Control conference on "Workers' Control and Full Employment", at Sheffield University. Residential delegates £13, non-residential delegates £2.50. Credentials from IWC, Bertrand Russell House, Gamble St, Nottingham NG7 4ET.

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