YNF-CATCH YOUNG

WRING TS NECK

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10p

Right: Andrew Fontaine; below: Martin Webster the two wouldbe Führers of the planned British Hitler-Jugend, who will be trying to rally their forces on Saturday.



THE YOUNG National Front are holding their first national rally in Birmingham this Sat-

urday, 18th February.
They claim to be bringing
350 young thugs from different parts of the country to hear
Martin Webster and Andrew

The Trades Council and all the major black organisations in the city lobbled the leadership of the Tory-controlled council on the 10th to protest at the letting of the Digbeth at the letting of the Digbeth Civic Hall to the NF. They pointed out that the council has a standing policy of not allowing meetings which incite racial hatred in its halls.

racial hatred in its halls.
Council leader Neville
Bosworth replied that this
applied only to public meetings, while the YNF rally is
open only to its members.
As the leaflet put out by the
Trades Council anti-fascist
committee and the Anti-Nazi
League points out, "this meeting is about as private as
Hitler's Nuremberg rally".
The Trades Council has now
called a mass picket of the

ralled a mass picket of the rally. A number of unions, including UCATT, are mobilising for it, while both the Indian Workers' Association and the Labour Party Young Soc-

lalists have called for national

mobilisations.
Digbeth Hall caretakers are meeting on 14th February to discuss 'blacking' the fascist rally, and militant firemen are pressing for the fire service to withdraw fire cover from the Digbeth Hall for the time of the rally.

the rally.

But in any case it is necessary to work for the largest possible picket, large enough to stop the fascist meeting going ahead.

It is particularly important for several reasons.

It is the first major antiracist demonstration since the Tories started playing the the lories started playing the race card a couple of weeks ago, and it is one of the first cases of a council going back on a policy of banning the Front from its premises. Above all, this is the first attempt by the fascist youth movement to hold a national rally

rally.
Since it was launched last year it has concentrated on stirring up race hatred in schools and trying to witch hunt socialist teachers. They have also tried to recruit football hooligans and turn them lote fascist thugs.

them into fascist thugs. They must be stopped!



STOP THE FASCISTS Assemble 12 noon, Saturday 18th February, outside St Martin's Church, the Bull Ring, Birmingham





USA Striking miners storm union

US mineworkers' union chief Arnold Miller is now carrying a gun, and President Carter has declared a state of emergency in Ohio because of fuel shortages. 160,000 miners have been out on strike since 6th December.

After nine weeks' strike, the employers made an offer: \$2.35 per hour increase over three years. This comes to about 9.2% increase each year.

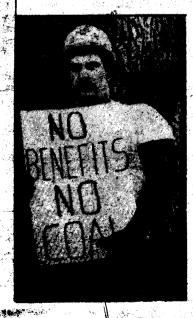
But the employers insisted there should be a penalty clause in the deal against strikes.

Strikers would be forced to

make penalty payments into health and pension funds. The national pensions and welfare scheme would also be broken up.

Miller favoured the deal. But hundreds of miners stormed the union headquarters on 10th February, and under this pressure the union bargaining council voted to reject.

Miller was elected union president as a "reform" candidate, pledged to clean up the gangsterism and corruption of previous union chief Tony Boyle and to make the union represent working miners. Once in office, however, he has rapidly fallen in with the logic of "business unionism". The American trade union movement has yet to find a leadership that will show the same rough determination in battle against the capitalist class as a whole as American workers have shown in struggles against individual employrs or groups of employers.



Bonn Government indicts itself

THE WEST German government is planning to sabotage the Russell Tribunai on human rights. A secret document of the Ministry of the Interior of the Federal Republic has just been published by the Russell Foundation.

The third Bertrand Russell Tribunal was to look into the use in Germany of censorship, the courts and the notoffous Berufsverbote — the laws which were introduced six years ago to ban leftists from employment in the public services.

The secret Interior Ministry document briefly outlines the background to the setting up of the Tribunal and then goes on to suggest possible counter-measures'.

The first suggestion is:
"Steering the proceedings
by infiltration and participation of democratic power
groups (unions, church and cultural bodies — WA) with the aim of achieving the verdict of acquittal, which

would be just and in accordance with the political reality in the Federal Republic." But it is admitted that this

'appears to be impossible''. It might, the document suggests, be possible "to influence personalities and groups of the democratic spectrum not to participate in the Tribunal and not to support (it)... In this appeal not to support the Tribunal, demand shall be included that no public rooms (in Berlin) be made available for the Tribunal nor (in the entire Federal region) for any preparatory events.

And so we come to "pro-hibitions". The plans include "the possibility of prohibiting the Tribunal, or its preparatory meetings". Under a law on meetings the Tribunal could be stopped by claiming it was dealing in criminal

In any case the Tribunal could, the document suggests, be stopped pending 'conclusive evidence' that it was dealing with criminal

Other suggestions include prohibiting non-Germans resident in Germany from engaging in political activity and banning foreign participants from travelling to Germany. "If it can be established that persons in preparing or conducting the Tribunal misuse basic rights ... in the fight against the liberal and democratic basic order (then) the Federal Parliament, Federal Government or Land (Provincial) government can make an application concerning the forfeiture of basic rights" to the Federal Constitutional Court.

After this battery of suggested legal ploys, the document outlines an intensive campaign "inside and outside Germany" to discredit the Tribunal.

The justification for these practices is that the Tribunal might "strengthen anew terrorist extremism as well as sympathy for the terrorists who are fighting the

The terms of reference of the Russell Tribunal are formulated in three quest-

Are citizens of the Federal Republic being denied the right to exercise their professions on account of their political views?

Is censorship being exercised through provisions of the Criminal and Civil Law and through extra-legal measures?

Are constitutional and human rights being eroded or eliminated in the context of Criminal Court proceedings?

With the revelation of this Ministry of the Interior document, the prosecution case seems already in large part proven!

(The document, "For Official Use Only" — Spokesman Pamphlet No.60 — is pub-Spokesman lished by the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, price

SOUTH AFRICA

slave labour laws

FORCED labour for unemproyed blacks is the essence of a new law being introduced in South The Bantu Laws Amendment Bill would define as an "idle

Bantu" any black living outside the "homelands" who was unemployed for more than 122 days in any calendar year. The Government is then entitled at will to send "idle Bantu" to "rehabilitation centres 'prescribed labour' in 'farm

colonies"

Africa.

Even official figures say there is 12.4% unemployment among South African blacks - more than twice the rate in Britain. Unofficial estimates put the figure much higher.

Another Bill — the Bantu Citizenship Amendment Bill was introduced at the same time. This Bill would mark a further stage in the development of South Africa's "homelands" policy to the point where (as a Government minister put it) "there will be no more black citizens in South Africa"

The idea is that all black South Africans should become

citizens of one or another of the "homelands" created by the Government in the most desolate areas of South Africa. The "homelands" are then given a fake independence — and all the black workers in the major industrial areas of South Africa become "immigrants", virtually nodegal rights.

Meanwhile there were victory

cheers when Winnie Mandela escaped with only a 12-months suspended sentence for having an argument with more than one person about the price of a chicken. And indeed it was a victory by the standards of South African "justice".

Mandela, a well-known black nationalist leader, is under a banning order. That means that she has to live in a small village far away from her home town of Soweto, is barred from political activity and is forbidden to talk to more than one person as a time. This banning order was not the result of any crime, nor even of her being unemployed: it was a simple government decision.



Refugees in their own land

USSR: AN INDEPENDENT **WORKERS UNION**

LAST December Vladimir Klebanov formed a new "dissident" group in the USSR. Unlike others, this was to be specifically a workers' group, concerned with the defence of workers' rights. Klebanov himself is a former miner, sacked for making a row over safety.

Now the group has announced the formation of an independent unoliici...' union, the

"Union for the Defence of Workers' Rights". It has given statements to the western press and attracted about 200 workers so

Klebanov has already had two spells of imprisonment in psy-chiatric hospitals because of his opposition activity, and the right of workers to form trade unions, or to strike, is certainly not recognised by the Russian bureaucracy. To gain some protection, Klebanov's union has called on International Labour Organisation to recognise it.

Nothing much is to be expected from the ILO, a governmental organisation. But it would be a major boost for worker-opp ttionists in the USSR if the TUC were to give its support to the

Gay News vs. the Dark Ages

LAST JULY Gay News and its editor Denis Lemon were convicted of 'blasphemous libel' and fined £1000 for the paper and £500 for Lemon.

On Monday 13th their appeal hearing opened.

The original conviction was clearly bigoted victimisation

It was based on a poem published in Gay News which described homosexual relations between a Roman centurion and the dead Jesus. One might find the poem distasteful from Christian or other points of view, but that is a different matter from imposing those tastes by legal bans.

Meanwhile "reams of straight commercial pornography circulate, bringing in handsome profits

40 demonstrators from the Gay News Defence Committee were outside the court. On Saturday a demonstration organised by the committee had mobilised several thousand people to protest at the conviction.





LAST YEAR the extreme right wing law-hawks of the 'National Association for Freedom' went to the courts to stop post office workers blacking Grunwicks mail or joining an international trade union boycott of South Africa.

They succeeded to the point where the judges' decisions appeared to imply that any industrial action by post office workers would be illegal.

A bill is now being introduced by Labour MP Norman Buchan to restore post office workers' right to strike. But it will apply only to trade disputes with the Post Office: no blacking, no political strikes.

A circular from post office workers' union general secretary Tom Jackson states: "it should be clearly understood that Norman Buchan's Bill attempts to set the position right in relation to purely Post Office disputes in which we might be involved."

"It will not extend to any entitlement to Post Office workers to indulge in secondary action of the type we engaged in at Grunwicks of the boycott we proposed of South Africa last year".

With these restrictions, the Bill has even got the support of the Conservative Trade Unionists, who point out that the Bill "does no more than restore to Post Office workers the situation that governments of all parties had assumed to be the case prior to the High Court action".

The restriction is justified by the argument that post office workers should not use the power they have over the life of the country for political ends. The same argument could be extended, case by case, to almost every other industry. Where the law never extends this argument is to the political action of the bosses.

The Confederation of British Industry is currently threatening a sort of strike, where it would instruct mem-

ber firms to refuse to sign contracts with the Government imposing penalties if the firm breaks Government pay limits. It is unlikely to go very far with this threat, since the bosses are well aware of the value to them of state controls on wages.

Yet the fact that the bosses can make that sort of threat has been a sufficient argument for Labour Ministers in rejecting the Labour Left's repeated calls for the Government to impose ''planning agreements'' on major firms.

Usually the bosses find threats behind the scenes are enough. Harold Wilson has described pressure on the 1964 Labour Government like this: "a newly-elected government with a mandate from the people was being told, not so much by the Governor of the Bank of England as by international speculators, that the policies on which we had fought the election could not be implemented—that the government was to be forced into the adoption of Tory policies. The Governor confirmed that that was, in fact, the case..."

Or the bosses can exert their political pressure in completely above board ways. That's how the judges; closely fied to the property-owning classes, took away post office workers' right to strike.

Indeed, just running the system as it is now amounts to political action in favour of those who gain wealth and

power from the system — the bosses.

The bosses know that most political decisions have little to do with parliamentary elections — and they know how to apply pressure when elections don't go their way. We should recognise that reality. Industrial action for political ends is the most important weapon of the working class in our struggle against the yoke of Capital. Every attempt to limit it by law is nothing but a legal prop for the bosses' power.

THE Ford Motor Company was convicted last week in a California court of premeditated murder. But it is doubtful ff Henry Ford 3rd and his minions will lose much sleep over the verdict.

Murder in pursuit of profits is an old story, at least as old as the capitalist system. As often as possible, the murderous designs are concealed, leaving the culorits unscathed.

Thus for instance colonial butchery to secure markets and raw materials was shrouded in the mists of patriotism or, more recently, passed off as "peacekeeping". The killing and maiming of people at work is always an "accident" — as often as not, the workers' own fault.

The people responsible for marketing Thalidomide — who suppressed growing evidence of its effects and went on advertising it as particularly suitable for pregnant women — were eventually penalised for "negligence", but never suffered so much as one thousandth the penalites, the odlum or the notoriety which attach to the hijack of an aircraft or the kidnappers of a single "industralist".

And there will undoubtedly be no loss of prestige and respectability for the moguls of Fords after the revelation last week of how they coolly released

Ford Motor Co. Dlays at God

12½ million unsafe vehicles onto the US market, having calculated that the expected deaths and injuries were worth less than the cost of a small design modification.

As it happened, their calculations went wrong. After a court in Santa Anna had seen documentary evidence of Fords murder plans, it awarded \$128 million in punitive damages against the company.

The 1972 model Ford Pinto had its petrol tank placed so near the back bumper that a minor knock from behind could send it, the car and its occupants up in flames. Ford bosses knew all about it: in crash tests done while the car was in the early stages of production, cars with the same petrol tank design leaked petrol every time. And a study a bit later by Miami University described the effects of three accidents in a 6-month period to Pintos owned by one

rental agency: "In each case the gas tank was buckled and gas [i.e. petrol] spewed out. In each case the interior of the vehicle was totally gutted."

So Fords experts set to work on a report on "Fatalities associated with crash induced fuel leakages and fires".

They made a conservative estimate that this fault in their car would kill 180 people a year, and that a similar number would be severely burned but

survive. They added up what this would cost "society" in medical and legal costs, loss of production and "victim's pain and suffering", and it all came to \$49 million (\$200,000 per death, \$67,000 for non-fatal burns, and \$700 for each vehicle destroyed).

To make the car safe, on the other hand, would cost \$139 million. It just wasn't cost-effective

To add the extra \$11 per car to the price would lose sales. In

addition, as a Ford engineer told a US magazine "Do you realise that if we put a Capri-style tank in the Pinto you could only get one set of golf "dubs in there?" (the Capri had a tank set safely away from the area of impact).

The court that found Fouls guilty was trying a case bround by just one of its victim Richard Grinshaw suffered 90% burns. His nose, left ear anifour fingers were burned off, and even after 52 operations his face is still "a mass of twiated scar tissue". Unlike the men paid to guard the interests of Fords shareholders, he reckons that dollars — even 128 million of them — can't be set against suffering like that.

Karl Marx commented 130 years ago that capitalism reduced all human relationships to cash. It's just as true today: so much for an eye, so much for leg, so much for 90% burns, a much for a life.

It's only through sheer blathat these people are present as the best, the most trustworthing the constant one inserts. Yet can anyone inserts who will be the constant of production, sitting downward enfault in the car behavior.

BENEFITS:

Savings - 180 burn deaths, 180 serious burn injuries, 2100 burned vehicles.

Unit Cost - \$200,000 per death, \$67,000 per injury, \$700 per vehicle.

Total
Benefit - 180x(\$200,000) +180x(\$67,000) +2100x(\$700) = \$49.5 million.

COSTS:

Sales - 11 million cars, 1.5 million light trucks.

Unit Cost - \$11 per car, \$11 per truck.

Total Cost - 11,000,000x(\$11)+1,500,000x(\$11) = \$137 million.

7.1



THE RACIST CAMPAIGN: DIALOGUE IN AN ECHO CHAMBER

The DAILY MAIL has added its weight to making racialism democratic.

This is the way it is done. Tory leader Margaret Thatcher says immigration must be cut or "our culture" will be "swamped". The Daily Mail National Opinion Poll goes round asking people "do you think there are too many immigrants?"

The facts are kept quiet or blurred over. The Mail constantly uses "immigrants" as another word for "black people" — though many black people (about 40%) in Britain are not immigrants at all, and a good portion of immigrants are white.

The Mail asks black people what issues they think are important. If they're concerned about racism, about discrimination, about police and fascist violence against blacks, that all counts as the issue the Mail designates as "immigration", and up goes the total of those "concerned about immigration".

Of the people asked by NOP, 43% have no idea of the number of immigrants coming in each year, and only 13% estimate the number "with some accuracy".

Not surprisingly, the majority come out in favour of further restrictions on immigration. After all, big politicians like Thatcher say it's a problem that everybody is worried about.

Then the Daily Mail trumpets "Maggie's Got It Right" and the cycle starts again.



Faced with the pollster demanding "Are there too many immigrants?" the alternatives seem to be answering 'Yes' or saying 'everything's fine, there's no problem', though it's obvious that everything is not fine if gangs are going out "Pakibashing" in Bradford or East andon and dressing up in KK hoods in Wolver-

mpton.
t's possible to reply to the lister: You've got the stion wrong. Immigration t a problem. Race isn't a

problem. The colour of people's skin is no more a problem than the colour of their eyes. The problem is racism. There aren't too many immigrants. There are too many racists.

But to challenge the pollsters' questions like that you have to be aware of the antiracist point of view. And the "balanced", "reasonable" debates in the press and on television cut out that point of view altogether.

The press opens its columns to those who say there are "too many" black people—and also to those who say the situation is "not so bad", by which they mean that black people are a problem but not a bad one because the controls are as tight as they can be. It allows those who say "the country will be swamped" by four million black inhabitants by the year 2000 to argue with those who say it will be all right with three million. As if they were debating whether or not 100 cases of measles constitutes an epidemic!

It allows the supporters of tighter immigration controls to debate with those who say it is impossible to make the controls any tighter.

But left out of this "democratic" debate are the antiracists who challenge its basic assumption — that black people are "a problem".

Many of the black people questioned in the Daily Mail poll favoured stricter immigration controls. The Mail calls this a 'surprise'. But it's no surprise if many black people feel that the only way to silence the bigots' clamour is to give the racists a few sops. Probably many of the less racially-prejudiced white people questioned thought the same way.

It is a wrong, short-sighted view. The more sops the racists get, the more they are able to fasten on black people as scapegoats, the more aggressive they will become.

The racist outcry does not come out of high immigration figures and loose im-

migration controls. It comes out of low immigration figures and tight controls. It should be countered by demanding an end to all immigration controls.

As far as the Daily Mail poll allowed them to express it, many people showed that they saw through the hypocrisy of Thatcher's cryi cut immigration to improve race relations. 66% said yes when asked whether it would harm race relations if immigration were made a major election issue.

The Tory campaign can only 'harm race relations'—that is, encourage the racist bigots. Labour Ministers' futile pleadings about immigration controls already being as strict as possible only add further encouragement.

Only a loud and clear campaign by socialists against all immigration controls can stop this "democratic" bludgeoning of the black minority in Britain.

Only the workers ca throw out bureaucrat say Polish Communications and the communications and the communications are polish communications.

FOR THE present opposition, the possibility of a radical struggle against the bureaucratic system is above all linked to the ability of the industrial workers to free themselves from their reformist illusions of the 'defensive' type, and to the ability of the intelligentsia, which has been rather literary up to now, to help the workers in this task.

The present anti-bureaucratic opposition, in its theoretical writings, has not opposed the bureaucratic system as such, but rather the abuses of power by the bureaucracy. The opposition has condemned the totalitarian and despotic character of this regime, and it has demanded the enforcement of the liberties guaranteed by the constitution.

ENDS

Thus it has not opposed itself to the basic goals of the regime, but to the means that it uses for those ends. The opposition has accepted the official definition of the existing relations of production ('the socialist foundation') and has only demanded improvements at the level of the superstructure, like the introduction of a multiparty system.

The opposition has even

For some years the opposition movement in Poland has shown greater political maturity than in the other Stalinist states. The text we publish here — an extract from a document, 'For a Socialist Democracy', by a group of Polish communists' — is remarkable for its absolute clarity on two basic points. It pinpoints the centrality of the working class in the struggle against the bureaucracy, and it rejects both the model of western democracy and the idea of a mere reform of the bureaucratic system. It must be a struggle for the direct rule of the working class, through workers' councils

The text is in our view unclear on the relation between a workers' party, workers' councils, and strike committees. It does however outline very clearly the internationalist dimension of the struggle in Poland.

is south

The extract is translated from the French revolutionary daily 'Rouge'.

shown itself incapable of indicating how and by whom such a democratisation of the political life of Poland could be realised.

EINSTEIN, Heisenberg, Bohr... the great names in science are relatively well-known. Yet Kurt Gödel, who died last week aged 71 with far less fame, was responsible for a discovery as epoch-making as any of them, in the field of mathematical logic.

mathematical logic.
In essence, what Gödel did, in 1931, was to prove, within the limits of formal mathematics, that mathematics could not be completely formal; in other words, that mathematics could never be completely abstracted from the material world,

To understand the importance of Godel's discovery, we have to look at the history of mathematics. Early mathematics was simply a special branch of the natural sciences, concerned with measuring and counting. 'Geometry' just means 'measuring the earth'.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries mathematics, in the wake of the natural

sciences, began to deal systematically with matter in motion rather than just static measurement and counting. This was the origin of the infinitesimal calculus.

For about 200 years the methods of deduction and proof in this area of mathematics were highly pragmatic and informal, in sharp contrast to the precise formality of the geometry of the ancient Greeks (Euclid). "Keep going and faith will come to you", was the advice of one major eighteenth-century mathematician, Jean le Rond d'Alembert.

That philosophy would do for the eighteenth-century bourgeoisie, ousily engaged in clearing the way and laying the foundations for the new bourgeois world. But in the second half of the 19th century, the bourgeoisie, now solidly entrenched in power, demanded more "finished"

theories.

Indeed, the progress of mathematical science had made possible a more rigorous and formal theoretical structure. In the 1870s the basic theory of the calculus was systematised. After further progress in the new study of "foundations of mathematics", Bertrand Russell and Alfred North Whitehead set out to reduce mathematics, once and for all, to a logical system based on self-evident

Failure

Their monumental work, Principle Mathematica (1910-1913), was a landmark in the history of mathematics — as a failure. One of the axiomathey had to use — the "axiomof reducibility" — was less than logically self-evident and Russell had to write: "The reason for accepting an axiomathat many propositions."

The intellectual opposition nly represents an antithesis the ruling ideology, and us finds itself linked to its dversary.

Its understanding of the stem is in accordance with at of the bucreaucracy, in e sense that it is based on e superficial opposition etween this system and pitalism, along the Eastest line of world politics, stead of explaining it on a storical level. Only such a storical approach can allow to see both the historic periority and the serious nitations of the system of oduction in the so-called cialist countries.

For us, it is not a question inventing entirely new cial systems, in a purely eoretical way: it is a matter discovering in the history this system the embryos of possible emancipation,

nbryos which are in the ocess of being formed. The fundamental problem

sed to the renascent Polworkers' movement. hich arises simultaneously ith this movement, is reuced to this question: hat should replace the burucratic apparatus of the rty and the State?

We should take our arting point in practice om all the links forged ithin the working class in e course of the strikes and

struggles. For moment these links have the form of a network of unstructured contacts, but it is only thanks to these contacts that exchange of

ideas will become possible. Thanks to these links. strikes in the present period will be able to lead on to conscious political struggle.

At the same time, this network of contacts can be the starting point for creating an autonomous workers' organisation, which will offer ever-increasing possibilities of coordination.

Such an organisation would not be an opposition to the regime, but would be both its antithesis and its transcendence. Its function will not be the external representation of the interests

of the workers (still linked to a division between representatives and represented which could be the basis for bureaucratisation) but it will be the embryo of a future organisation society.

PODWORKO

Basing themselves on such an organisation, strike committees could transform themselves, once the struggle is ended, into workers councils. The councils councils, by taking into their hands the management of a factory or of an industrial centre, would become the basis of workers' self-management, of the workers' taking over of production — thus liquidating the separate managerial bureaucratic apparatus, and consequently eliminating the class antagonism.

The struggle for the abol-

ition of the bureaucratic system is the struggle for so ialist democracy. The revolutionary workers' movement has always organised around these principles, from the Paris Commune of 1871 to the activity of the workers' councils in Russia in 1917.

☐ The right to strike. Everyone who stops work in an organised fashion cannot be prosecuted and has the right to defend their strike.

☐ All officials to be democratically elected and recallable: abolition of the practice of nomination and co-option, and of elections with preestablished lists.

Those who are elected to leading positions should return to their workplace once their term of office is up. This also means that the

management of a factory is elected by the workers of that factory and can be recalled by them, which comes. down to abolishing the function of 'professional' managers.

☐ Equality of wages for all the officials of the State apparatus and the party, brought down to the level of an average worker's wage. Abolition of all the privileges which today are linked to the exercise of power.

Equality and social justice do not mean that all wages are exactly the same, but simply that fulfilling a management function does not give rise to the possibility of accumulating privileges.

☐ Freedom of activity for all the organisations which accept the rules of socialist democracy. No political organisation can usurp the right to exclusive representation of the workers. From the point of view of socialist democracy, all organisations are legal which accept the power of the workers' councils as the sole authority.

WORLD

The class antagonism between the bureaucracy and the proletariat which manifests itself so clearly in our country is the foundation of the whole 'world socialist system'. That is why the perspective of the struggle of the proletariat in Poland depends on the struggle of the proletariat in the other countries of the 'socialist bloc'...



1970-71 the shipyard workers of Szczecin rebelled. Right: workers outside the sacked local Party building.

which are nearly indubitable can be derived from it"

Meanwhile, on the basis of the axiomatic method developed by Russell and Whitehead among others, new branches of mathematics, outside the scope of Principia, were developing apace. New mathematical systems were worked out for many different purposes, in many different direct-

Most of them did not correspond in any direct way at all to anything in material reality. The study of mathematical systems became a new branch of mathematics in itself, which has been closely linked with computer science.

The outlook of the bourgeoisie in the early 20th cent-ury, faced with the actual threat of working-class revolution, demanded the squeezing-out of all critical and speculative philosophies, ideologists tried to show that there

was room only for formal logic and undeniable facts. Values, hopes, ideals could exist only as private dreams and aspirations

In line with this outlook. the formalist view of mathematics developed. Paul Cohen has described this view and the effect of Gödel's discoveries on it.

'According to the Formalist point of view, mathematics should be regarded as a purely formal game played with marks on paper, and the only requirement this game need fulfill is that it does not lead to an inconsistency. To completely describe the game required setting down the rules of mathematical logic with much greater precision than had been previously done. "This was done, and the Formalists turned their attent-

ion to showing the various systems were consistent... this hope was destroyed by Gödel's discovery of the in-

completeness theorem, which implies that the consistency of a mathematical system cannot be proved except by methods more powerful than those of the system themselves".

Another striking result proved by Gödel — with the most strict formal methods was that the mathematical systems used to formalise the elementary theory of counting, adding, subtract-ing etc. with whole numbers (number theory) were not capable of proving all the truths of elementary number theory.

Intinite

Gödel's follow-up to work was provided by Paul Cohen's discoveries in 1964. The 'Axiom of Choice' says. roughly speaking, that if have a collection of sets of things, I can form a new collection consisting of one thing from each set in the collection. For a long time

mathematicians had been dubious about whether or not this axiom could be considered true for infinite collections. They hoped to find some way of proving it true or false.

Cohen showed that there was no way to decide the truth or falsity of the 'Axiom of Choice', or another, more technical, axiom called the Continuum Hypothesis, starting from the most basic axioms of mathematics.

Since 1931 no established philosophy of mathematics has developed to replace formalism. Yet this debacle for the philosophical system-builders has not left mathematics stymied and stagnating. On the contrary. The methods developed and used by Russell, by Godel, and by Cohen, have helped mathematics, and mathematical logic, to expand more widely and

more rapidly than ever before. The essential problem be-

hind Cohen's and Gödel's discoveries is this. To deal with the science of matter in motion we need the mathematics of the infinite (or, more precisely, of what mathematicians call the uncountably infinite). Yet the formal systems and methods of proof are essentially finite.

Mathematics as a formal science (and by its nature it is essentially formal) thus has to proceed through successive approximations. It can never be a finished system, or a finished system of systems and thus it can never break free from reference back to

material reality. in this way, the formal systems of mathematical reasoning which the bourgeoisle at one time hoped would expel dialectics from science, have in fact produced a proof, with-in their own terms and within their own limits, of the nec-essity of dialectical thinking.

MARTIN THOMAS

THE AIM of the conference organisers was to collect some of the scattered hundreds of militants who have left the SWP/IS over recent years, around the IMG and Big Flame's electoral bloc 'Socialist Unity'.

Although the organisers were willing to allow observers from IMG and Big Flame on the grounds that they were what "revolutionary unity" was all about, they wanted to exclude observers from the International - Communist League and Workers' Power, groups with roots in IS which have a serious critique of the IS tradition. The conference, however, felt that debate should not be restricted in such an arbitrary manner, and voted to admit the observers.

The first session discussed the "IS tradition". There was little agreement on which parts of the tradition could be retained.

THEORY

Stephen Marks of the Workers League argued that the value of IS's theory on the "shifting locus of reformism" was that "it put the organisation in the right place at the right time, saying the right things".

The theory said that traditional parliamentary reformism was being replaced by the 'do-it-yourself' reformism of wages militancy. Marks admitted that it had underestimated the importance of political argument about the way the whole of society is run — but it 'did everything that a perspective should' in the late '60s. Now, he argued, it needed supplementing by what he called 'transitional politics'.

Julian Harber showed a similarly cavalier attitude to ideas in his document for the conference.

"The theory of the permanent arms economy, whether correct or not, was adequate to support the organisation through a period of boom. But once the boom came to an end its validity became crucial"... and it proved "virtually without predictive powers" (our emphasis).



IS leader Tony Cliff. The conference was divided on whether the SWP's course showed basic errors in Cliff's theories.

Neither IMG nor SWP, but International Socialism?

Over 100 people attended a conference last Saturday, 11th, "of International Socialists on Revolutionary Unity". The conference rejected a call to join the "Socialist Unity" electoral bloc immediately, but decided to set up a "coordinating committee" to organise another conference in June, for further discussions on unity. BRUCE ROBINSON reports.

These assessments make sense—as long as theories and perspectives are more decorations for political activity, to be adopted or not depending on whether they have the currently suitable "emphasis". That is, indeed, the 'IS traditional' attitude to theory. Yet it is an attitude which is bound to leave militants disorientated in any complex, difficult, or rapidly-changing situation.

On where IS had 'gone wrong', there were broadly two assessments.

One, shared by a significant minority, was that IS had gone on the rocks because it had adopted democratic centralism, which had led somehow to bureaucratism. The solution was to have a 'revised' form of democratic centralism in a new organisation—including the right not to argue the organisation's policy in public.

The other view was that for various reasons IS's practice had failed to match up to the best of its theory on the party. Martin Shaw commented on "how little he [SWP/IS leader Tony Cliff] now understands the message of his own theory".)

PARTY

The observer from the I-CL put a different view. The SWP IS has had a fundamentally organisational view of the party. This is continuous from the period when the rôle of the revolutionary party was seen as "linking up the fragments" of a shop stewards' movement, through IS's "conversion" to Leninism in 1968, and through the waves of expulsions, up to the present.

Even after 1968, the party was not seen as a group which

combats bourgeois ideology in all spheres (including on issues such as women's oppression or Ireland) and within which active participation of the membership is guaranteed by their all having a certain level of political commitment and education.

UNITY

Instead for IS the role of the party was just to gather militants and give a little extra to their trade union militancy. Thus at the 'Rank and File Conference' of 1974, policies on racism, women's rights and workers' control, proposed by Workers' Fight, were seen as "too political" for the trade unionists IS thought they would attract.

Given this conception of the party, raw recruits will be fodder for manipulation by the leadership against anyone raising political or theoretical criticisms.

Thus IS's bureaucratism is due to its organisational and non-Leninist view of the party, rather than a misapplication of, or an inherent failure in, the Leninist theory of the party.

The afternoon session dealt with proposals for the future of the heterogeneous group of ex-IS members at the conference. Martin Shaw presented a series of proposals which amounted to getting as many people as possible into 'Socialist Unity' as quickly as possible.

This would be a half-way house which "offers an opportunity of moving to a new revolutionary organisation within a year". With an eye to 'IS traditional' mistrust of the IMG, Shaw spoke throughout in terms of 'Socialist Unity' rather than the IMG; but if there is to be a 'new organisation', it can only be a fusion with the IMG.

(Shaw had, however, said during the morning that IS had been wrong to fuse with Workers Fight in 1968 on the basis of 'four points').

Shaw's document for the conference was excellently titled, 'Politics and Party are the key questions', but neither the document nor his speech lived up to that promise. There was not one word about the political basis for unity. The speech came down to this: we've got nowhere to go, no future as an independent organisation; Socialist Unity is the only place we can find a home now we are in the cold outside IS.

We were told that "people we want to talk to will come into contact with them [SU]" and that "those uneasy should put forward alternatives".

To any comrades who were unhappy about Socialist Unity being just an electoral consortium, he replied that "it is where in practice cooperation between IMG, Big Flame, some of us, and other independents is actually taking place", and that it could be changed.

JUNE

Shaw also proposed the setting up of an organisation called the 'I.S. Alliance', which would serve as an intermediate stage between limbo and fusion with the IMG and Big Flame. The political basis of this 'Alliance' was left vague, although the morning discussion nad snown disagreements on the 'IS tradition' in important areas such as the analysis of reformism, the nature of the party, and transitional demands.

Maybe membership would be based on approval of fusion with the IMG within a year!

Workers League leaders Stephen Marks and Richard Kirkwood felt this was taking things a bit too lightly and too quickly for their liking. They instead proposed "working towards" an 'IS Alliance' and "testing out" within Socialist Unity what agreement there was.

They therefore proposed an "IS Coordinating Committee" to call another conference in June which would re-examine the possibility of unity. Marks, being more candid than most, said that no basis for political agreement existed on a number of important questions, but that nonetheless, with the exception of "a few details such as the sliding scale of wages", he could agree with the Socialist Unity election programme.

Despite Martin Shaw's warning that "Those against are not facing their political responsibilities", the conference voted for the more equivocal position of the WL—mostly out of an inbred IS mistrust of the IMG rather than political disagreement with Socialist Unity. The statement that "Socialist Challenge is the best paper to be produced on the British left for years" was also voted down, after many speakers had commented that they would be unable to sell it to workers.

But there were good reasons for the distrust — and good reasons for discussing further rather than immediately melting into 'Socialist Unity'.

For what would the project of unity through 'Socialist Unity' mean?

Never mind, if the conference could not decide what the IS tradition was. Never mind, if there were any number of political disagreements



Martin Shaw

with serious consequences for an intervention in the class struggle here and now. When the magic wand of unity is waved these problems disappear 'within a year'.

If the project of unity with the IMG should come off on the lines proposed, it would only add to the IMG a new dose of the worst opportunist. sides of the 'IS tradition'. But it is difficult to see how it will come off. The people at the conference were willing to look kindly on the consoling thought of a future new united revolutionary organisation but not on the idea of accepting a common democraticcentralist discipline with the IMG.

It is to be hoped that the further discussion period will be used to look more seriously at the questions raised:

the lessons of the IS tradition;

ways and means of building a solidly-based united revolutionary organisation, oriented to the working class;

and the difference between real revolutionary unity and the combination of electoralism and organisational patchwork proposed by Martin Shaw and the IMG.

DEFENDIA THORNET

LAST DECEMBER Alan Thornett was elected TGWU deputy senior steward at the Leyland car assembly plant at Cowley, but the management refused to recognise him.

They have refused to recognise him in any union capacity for the last three years, other than as steward

for his section.

What is the TGWU going to do about it? The union seems set for a hatchet job to expel Thornett from membership of the union.

The six-man Finance and General Purposes Committee of Oxford District TGWU - which has power to draw up charges, hear their own

complaints, and then pass summary judgment! - have recommended to the regional TGWU that Thornett be expelled and that Bro. Corti, secretary of the TGWU 5/293 branch at Cowley. should be banned from holding union office for life. Regional officials of the TGWU will visit Oxford over 27-28 February to con-

sider the recommendation Thornett insists that the original 'disciplinary' hear-ing last October was nothing

but "a kangaroo court", and completely outside the TGWU rulebook. The visit of the district officials to 'consider' the 'recommendations' of that court is an attempt to 'square' the work of railroading him out of the union with the rules of the TGWU.

The district officials are at one with the bosses in wishing to be rid of Thornett. A top-level union-bosses meeting is due on 14th February to 'consider' the Thornett situation.

The union is conniving with the bosses to deprive the Cowley workers of the

representative union their choice. Both the bosses and the union leader thus show how little respect they in fact have for the 'democracy' they are always prating about. Not only was Thornett elected by a majority in his works, he got over 11,000 votes nationally in the elections for Jack Jones' successor last May.

TGWU branches should demand that their union support the right of the Cowley workers to elect representatives whatever they like, and fight for Thornett's recognition by British Leyland. A strong protest must be raised against this attempt to railroad the Cowley militants out of the TGWU.

'Racial equality' means treble unemployment for blacks

WHEN questioned during his recent tour of India, James Callaghan insisted that Britain is a haven of racial equality. Let him tell that to the thousands of young blacks unemployed in London.

A report from the Inner London Education Authority's principal careers advisor states that in some London boroughs unemployment among West Indians is as high as 50%. There has been a 350% rise in unemployment among blacks in the London area since 1974 as against a 120% rise among whites.

The worst area for black unemployment, says the report, is the borough of Lambeth, where 42% of the unemployed register are black teenagers!

According to the careers advisor, "although young blacks' aspirations are often perfectly suitable, they are simply unrealistic in terms of numbers of opportunities available in certain oversubscribed occupations'

For "over-subscribed occupations" read "decent jobs". Put simply, black youths are not ready to put up with the crap...

Anderton's police turn out again for NF

LAST Friday, [10th], the National Front once again turned for protection to Manchester's Chief Constable James Anderton. And once again Anderton obliged.

A police turn-out estimated at between 1200 and 2000 guarded the entrance to a NF meeting at Bolton Town Hall. Anderton also arranged the press passes for the fascist meeting.

The cost of the exercise, not officially disclosed, is reckoned to be about £50,000 to £100,000.

About 100 fascists were able to creep in as police held back over 3,000 anti-fascist demonstrators. There were 21 arrests, including, as far as we could see, a very high proportion of Asians.

The anti-NF protest, organised by the Trades Council's anti-racist sub-committee, drew support from a wide spectrum of the labour movement, including many

Labour Party members.

Many 'middle of the road' people at the protest were angered by the behaviour of the police and by the press reports of "violent demonstrators": at 7.45pm, shortly before the fascists were due to arrive, the police launched an unprovoked attack on the demonstration, splitting us into two sections. Two antifascists were hospitalised.

19 of the arrests were under the Public Order Act the same Act as was used last year to ban all marches and rallies in nearby Tame-Last Friday was another confirmation of the lesson that fascism will never be stopped by State bans.

well over 500 delegates attended the Anti-Apartheid Emerg-ency Action Conference in London on Saturday 11th. Representatives from SWAPO, the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, and the African National Congress of South Africa described the situation in their countries and stressed the need for solidarity action from the British working class. Unfortunately, the Conference was not practically focused

WITH the international week of trade union action against Apartheid only a month away,

on the tasks of solidarity action in Britain. As a result, an important opportunity to coordinate activity against apartheid during the forthcoming International Week of Action, sched-uled for 13-20 March, was completely missed.

A large part of the conference was given over to the likes of Lawrence Daly of the NUM and Joan Lestor MP, who churned out a volume of fine words but failed entirely to face up to the key political questions.

For example, a delegate from Cardiff North CLP, Pete Keenlyside, referred to the split in the Labour Party between the policy passed at the Labour Party conference and the complete disregard shown for this by David Owen in pursuing a quite contrary policy. There should, he said, be a campaign to remove those who refused to carry out party policy on Southern Africa and replace them with people who would carry out party policy. Keenlyside then asked Joan Lestor to comment on this.

ANTI-APARTHEID START PLANNING NOW FOR WEEK OF ACTION!

She replied that it wasn't enough to rely on the leader-- the pressure had to be kept up at a local level, and it was no good using the faults of the Labour leaders as an excuse for lack of activity.

On top of this sort of evasion, the conference was lectured by leading Leyland trade unionist Peter Nicholas on the theme that investment should be withdrawn from South Africa because 'if there is any spare capital going, we need it in Britain'. That was the focus, rather than the organisation of rank-and-file solidarity action with the super-exploited workers of British Leyland South

The conference organisers suggested that trade union activists should distribute AAM leaflets, hold meetings, and 'ensure that your trade union, at national and local level, is already considering what action it can take'.

Midlands area Anti-Apartheid Action conference to organise for week of action: 2pm.

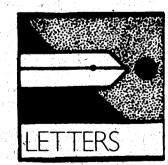
However, only a few delegates stressed the need to impose blacking on goods and services to and from South Africa — in a conference that should have been given over to serious plans

for such action.

This was, after all, something that had to be worked and campaigned for, argued Tottenham CLP delegate Neil Cobbett. Local Labour Parties and LPYS organisations should be helping to stimulate industrial actions in their areas. Preparations had to be made together with rank and file workers, as on the evidence so far, despite Conference resolutions and official union policies, nothing was being done by the union leaderships to call forth the necessary action.

Militants in their local organisations will now have to utilise all the time available to make up for the shortcomings of this Conference and ensure that next month workers' action hit South African capitalism where it

Saturday 18th February, 'F' Block, Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry.



Dan Comrades

At present, though the Nazis are growing, the bosses are still content with their old refrain: Democracy, they say, is the best form of government ... the spirit of free enterprise can flower only in the climate of liberty ... the political rights which democracy grants to the masses act as a sort of safetyvalve and prevent violent clashes between rulers and ruled ... Democracy enlarges the capitalist market by encouraging the masses to want more goods and by giving them, to some extent, the means of satisfying their needs.

All true enough when the feast is abundant and the masses may safely be allowed to

After the feast

pick up the crumbs.

However, when the feast is finished, the rulers are impelled to put democracy into the scales, carefully weighing its advantages and its drawbacks. When faced with violent proletarian revolution, the bosses will back and finance the Nazi gangs
— who just happened to be

waiting to enforce their "anti-Bolshevism" in the factories and the streets.

We should not forget that the industrialists and big business are the chief and one might say the only beneficiaries of a fascist dictatorship. But their path is made easier when workers are divided and disillusioned by Stalinist and reformist policies of the trade union bureaucrats.

These policies must be fought if the workers of this country are not to follow in the wake of the German and Italian workers of the 1920s and '30s.

> MUBARAK ALI Dudley, West Midlands

Kolkets.

supporters' groups

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WORKERS IN ACTION

LEYLAND TRY TO SCARE SPEKE STRIKERS BACK TO WORK | State of the state

FOR THE past 15 weeks, 2,000 assembly workers at Leyland's Triumph plant in Speke have been on unofficial strike. The strike was deliberately provoked by the management in an obvious attempt to get rid of a local agreement ['PEP'] which guarantees the unions a certain amount of say in manning and productivity levels.

The provocation came when management tried to implement new manning and productivity levels without consulting the unions. Since the strike decision was taken, threats to close the Speke plant have been flying thick and fast

The most recent 'hint' at closure was in a letter from the cempany's Personnel Director, Patrick Lowry. He has written to the national officials of the unions involved in the strike (which include the T&G, AUEW, EETPU and APEX) inviting them to a meeting next Tuesday 14th. According to the 'Liverpool Daily Post', it is said' that the letter raised doubts about the future of the plant, with its high fixed costs, when the TR7 could be built

Laid off

Obviously the management is using scare tacties to get the strikers back on their terms. The 'PEP' does' give the unions at Speke a certain say in what goes on. The agreement does not go far enough—it does not give total control to the shop floor over hiring and firing—but it obviously goes too far for management.

Out of the total workforce of 6,000 at Speke, 2,000 are directly involved in the strike and a further 2,000 have been laid off. 2,000 workers at Leyland's Canley plant in Coventry have also been laid off. The unions at Canley have given their support to the Speke strikers.

The T&G have decided this week to make the strike official, while trying, through Moss Evans, to get a return to work as soon as possible. If Evans is sticking to the ideas put about by his mentor Jack Jones, this will probably mean a sell-out.

When interviewed recently by the 'Liverpool Daily Post' Jones

said, "We need to work out the philosophy of talking in rather than walking out", obviously suggesting that the stewards and the shop floor should have stayed in and talked to management no matter what. He went on to say, "There are two sides to that and there is a need for management to be as accommodating as the trade unions".

No hope

Now we all know what Jack Jones' 'accommodation' has meant to the working class over the past few years. It has meant a reduction of our real wages, and therefore our living standards, through his brainchild, the Social contract, and the wage limits agreed to by Jones and the rest of our so-called 'leaders' in the TUC.

To trust Jones, or his understudy Moss Evans, is to give up the strike now with no hope of winning. Jones' response to the recent 'rationalisation' and 'decentralisation' plans announced by Leyland nationally are another indication of where his real interests lie.

"If Mr Edwardes" plans are designed to get a more efficient and viable organisation to really bring the British home motor car industry into the forefront again, we are behind him".

He makes no mention of the fact that if these plans go through it will mean massive redundancies — 13,000 even if Leyland gains a 27% share of the home market, which is not likely.

Whether these jobs go through redundancies or natural wastage' they are still jobs lost never to be recovered. The Speke dispute is just one part of the Leyland bosses' offensive.

All the strikers are under a constant barrage of stories from the media about closures, 'strike rebels', and 'wives on the warpath'.

The 'strike rebels' appear to be a number of the strikers who want a mass meeting called immediately and a vote on a return to work, something which the stew-

ards have put off until after talks with management and union officials

The 'wives on the warpath' turned out to be one woman whose husband works in Speke. She had got together with a number of other women who seem to have little or no connection with Speke to go down to London and protest over the strike.

Links

Both stories do however show the need for the active involvement of the strikers and their families in the running of the dispute

of the strike is to win, links need to be built in Leyland, and throughout the car industry, to give support to the strikers, refusing to do their work and refusing to accept any redundancies in the industry. The shop floor must decide on the manning and productivity levels, not management.

LOL DUFFY



'Divided you have got a job. United no job. I want to be the George Ward of catering'. These are the words of Cyril Margolis, the managing director of the Garner Steak House chain.

Over half the 188 workers are on strike demanding union recognition and the reinstatement of those sacked for holding a demonstration in support of unionisation at Garners.

Above, pickets at the Oxford Circus branch of Garners, where striking kitchen workers have been the victims of attacks by racist gangs.

The strike is now in its third week and like the Grunwick strike involves a large number of immigrant workers.

SELL-OUT!

THE LEADERS of the miners' union have swallowed the employers' offer without a hiccup.

They marched into the negotiations with the National Coal Board mandated to demand a 92% increase in wages and an eight month time limit to bring them back to the tradition of a November claim.

They marched out a few hours later with 10% and a 12 month limit. The NUM national conference rejected the 10% limit, but now the right wing on the Executive is imposing it; they rejected the NCB's area incentive

schemes, but now they are being introduced; and they rejected the 12-month rule and they are being told to put up with that, too.

Certainly no-one expected as high a settlement as 92% after the introduction of the incentive schemes, but this 10% settlement is a really shameless sell-out.

Pay code

The miners' decision torpedoed the tanker drivers' effort to break the government's pay code. Ot course, for people like Len Murray this is good news. The day before the miners' negotiations he made a speech welcoming the extension of the 12 month rule into a firm phase three as this would "help an orderly return to free collective bargaining"!

In the same week the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions was being asked by the AUEW to drop its demand for a £70 basic minimum wage for skilled engineers in favour of £60.

P OWEN



Arthur Scargill, whose motion to consider some form of industrial action to secure the £135 claim was turned down by the NUM Executive by 8 votes to 5. 'It is very disappointing. The vote is a sell-out of the miners' conference decision on the claim'.

Shell drivers settle in wake of miners' deal

WITH THE Shell drivers accepting the employers' new offer, the tanker drivers' battle for a 30% wage rise seems to have foundered in the wake of the miners accepting 10%.

The overtime ban had been biting. In Scotland about 100 schools were closed last week as they ran out of heating oil, while petrol supplies dried up in many areas. The Singer factory in Glasgow laid off 4,500 workers.

The government made detailed plans to break the strike, dividing Britain into five regions, with one of the major oil companies assigned to organise fuel distribution in sech

Troops were trained in Germany to drive tankers under the oil companies' direction; if brought into action they were to drive the companies' own tankers.

The fatal problem for the drivers has been the TaGW U leadership. Jack Ashwell, national secretary of the commercial transport group of the union, had long made it clear that he would settle for far less than the 30% claim.

SIMON TEMPLE

EATALS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Paid ads (including ads for publications) 8p per word, 25 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.

SATURDAY 18 FEBRUARY. Midlands Anti-Apartheid Action Conference. 2pm, 'F' block, Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry. Details: D.Spencer, 17 Winifred Ave, Earlsdon, Coventry.

WEDNESDAY 22 FEBRUARY.
NUT Executive elections — ExtraMetropolitan area. Meeting with
all left wing candidates invited.
7.30pm, 'Eagle and Child', Woodgrange Rd, near Forest Gate
BR station (trains from Liverpool
Street).

THURSDAY 23 FEBRUARY. Middlesex Poly Students Union Irish Society and Troops Out Society present Pirate Jenny Theatre group performing Eamonn McCann's play, "Mad Micks and Englishmen". 8pm, Old Refectory, Middlesex Poly, Queensway, Enfield. Buses: 149,191,279,107,135. British Rail: Southbury. Admission 50p.

SATURDAY 4 MARCH. Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions conference. 11am to 3pm, Beaver Hall, Garlick Hill, London EC4. Credentials for trade union delegates 75p from J.Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park Rd, Ilford, Essex.

THURSDAY 16 MARCH. All London Teachers against Racism and Fascism' rally. 5:45pm at Central Hall, Westminster. Adm. 50p.