

RED WEEKLY

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OCCUPY FOR JOBS



STUDENT TEACHERS SHOW THE WAY

OCCUPATIONS are spreading like a prairie fire through the teacher training colleges of Britain.

As the summer approaches, thousands of newly qualified teachers have discovered the bitter truth: three years or more of training have been for nothing—they have no jobs. While schools remain under-equipped and classes overcrowded, they are being consigned to the dole queues.

Now they are fighting back. It started in Scotland, where all eleven colleges were occupied within days. Now the occupations have spread to England, with more to come following the call of the National Union of Students for the take-over of every teacher training college.

The fight of the student teachers is the fight of all workers for a better education for their children. It is part of the fight of all workers for the right to work in the face of the Labour Government's attack on jobs and the social services.

The occupations have shown that students and workers will fight Labour's policies if given a lead in action. What a contrast to the half-hearted mobilisation by the Communist Party and the official 'lefts' for the day of action against unemployment on 26 May.

Student teachers should make sure that they turn out in force for the lobby of the recall TUC on 16 June, for it has been the TUC's collaboration with the Government's pay deals which has allowed Labour to get away with its attacks on education, housing, health and social spending.

By taking their struggle to the unions not only will they win support for their demands — they will give concrete assistance to all those workers fighting against the Tory policies of the Labour Government.

RACIST MURDERS

'The incident is a direct result of Government failure to take effective measures to check the irresponsible campaign of racial hatred carried out by the media during the recent past, and particularly on the issue of British passport-holder Malawi Asians.' — A. S. Rai, President of the Indian Workers Association.



Dinesh Choudri . . . he was attacked without warning.

TWO BLACK STUDENTS were stabbed to death in London early last Saturday morning, victims of a racist frenzy stirred up by the fascist right and the Labour Government's racist reaction to the expulsion of British passport holders from Malawi.

They were not the first to be attacked. The murder investigation has already brought to light at least four similar attacks on black students in the area in the past few months. Elsewhere in London blacks have been set about by groups of fascists.

The situation is deadly serious. Black people are now prey to savage racist attacks. But the police aren't interested — they at first tried to deny that the murders could have had any racist motive. After all, they themselves are becoming old hands at hounding and harassing black youths.

The organisation of self-defence is the task of the hour. The blacks must patrol their own commu-

nities. The National Union of Students should put out a similar call to all students along with the organisation of a national strike and demonstration to coincide with the funeral of the murdered students.

Local Labour Party and trade union organisations should organise street meetings to spell out the danger of the rising tide of racism, campaign for the repeal of all immigration controls, and organise against the fascists.

They should kick out leaders like Birmingham Trades Council president William Jarvis who try to whip up anti-immigrant prejudices. Local Labour councils must be forced to deny facilities to fascist organisations.

After the death of Kevin Gately at the hands of the police in Red Lion Square in June 1974, the call went up for workers' self-defence. After last Saturday's murders that task is doubly urgent.

AUEW backs deal

On the same day that Callaghan was defending the right of private industry to make unlimited profits, the National Committee of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers (Engineering Section) was voting to back the Healey/TUC wage deal by 29 votes to 22, with one abstention.

The two were not unconnected. Underneath all the flannel about 'halting inflation', the wage deal is designed to boost the rate of profit on investment at the expense of workers' living standards. Indeed, many Broad Left delegates at the National Committee were only too anxious to point this out. The problem is that fine words alone will do nothing to stop the right-wing bureaucrats' collaboration with Labour's Tory policies.

Every trick

Scanlon used every trick in the book to ram through acceptance of the wage deal. This was the only way to beat inflation, he said. If the NC voted it down, he'd have to come off the TUC Negotiating Committee. Those opposing the pay policy were playing the Tories' game by helping to bring down the Government.

Against this the Broad Left had no answer. They failed to point out that it is the policies being pursued by the present right-wing leadership which are leading this Government to disaster; and they failed to put forward the kind of alternative policies - a sliding scale of wages, work-sharing without loss of pay, etc. - around which a challenge to that leadership can be built.

The vote for the Healey deal goes much deeper than simply wages. It represents acceptance of the whole range of anti-working class policies being pursued by this Government, of which the pay deal is the core.

Resolutions passed 'objecting' to unemployment will not in this context make the slightest bit of difference to the overall course of Scanlon and his new-found friends in the right wing of the AUEW. As General Secretary John Boyd wrote in the May

issue of the AUEW Journal: 'Our Government is doing its best to grapple with unemployment and inflation ... let us continue our partnership until victory is secured.'

It is only by organising and mobilising against all aspects of the Government's anti-working class policies in the centres of the AUEW like Manchester, Glasgow, Sheffield, Leeds and Birmingham that the present class collaboration can be broken up. But such an approach is completely foreign to the bureaucratic wheeler-dealers of the Broad Left leadership.

Accepted

For instance, every single leading light meekly accepted Scanlon's attacks on the British Leyland tool-makers' strikes. No attempt was made to campaign for mass support for these first indications of rank-and-file opposition to incomes policy.

CP convenor Len Brindle warned the National Committee that the pay deal would not work, as in practice the membership would throw it out and launch struggles to defend their living standards. This is true - but will the CP now openly advocate such a line of action?

Campaign

Will they lead such struggles against the National Committee's collaboration with the employers? Will they campaign for actions like the 16 June lobby of the special TUC? Will they explain to the membership of the AUEW the real role of erstwhile lefts like Scanlon? Most immediately, will they defy Scanlon's attempts to mandate them in favour of pay policy at the conference of all four sections of the AUEW (where the Engineering Section has 52 delegates out of 69)?

The Broad Left's abject capitulations over the last two years make this highly unlikely. But these are the key tasks facing militants in the AUEW after the National Committee vote.

John Graham (Birmingham AUEW)

On Friday 19 March, 80 Right to Work marchers arrived in London. They had come 300 miles from Manchester, winning support by sending flying pickets into factories on the route, holding public meetings, and joining the picket lines of workers in struggle. Yet on the last day of their march, the marchers were set about by the police. Forty three were arrested, including eight local trade unionists who had come to greet the march, and 68 were injured. The attack - how convenient! - took place outside Hendon police station.

Now 43 marchers face charges, most of police assault, some more serious. Defence lawyers have warned that there could be prison sentences on some of the marchers if they are convicted. Committal proceedings began on 21 May when the 43 appeared at Hendon magistrates court. But the trial is likely to drag on for months and a continuing solidarity campaign will be needed.

Red Weekly spoke to JOHN DEASON, secretary of the National Right to Work Campaign, about the attack on the marchers and how the defence campaign is being built.



JOHN DEASON

'The best defence we've got is what happens outside the court'

What worried the authorities more than anything else about our march was the use of flying pickets. We went into the factories and onto the sites.

At Birmingham New Street railway station, for example, we went onto the platform and into the canteen to win support for the Eastern Region drivers who were on strike against the cuts at the time. The police were unable to stop us because of the sympathetic reaction we got.

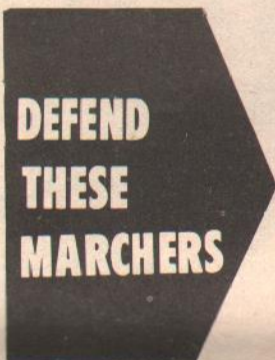
And obviously the flying picket can be used elsewhere. Instead of just protesting about overtime, what if unemployed workers went into the factories and demanded an end to it?

I think this is what the police and courts are worried about. So come Staples Corner, the police wanted to teach us a lesson and intimidate others. It was the first time for generations that the unemployed had done the things we were doing.

What was your reaction to the independent trade union inquiry into the attack set up by Barnet Trades Council?

We welcomed the workers inquiry and gave every co-operation we could. I'm hopeful it will establish the true facts of what happened. It's collected a mass of statements from independent witnesses as well as the marchers.

As Barnet Trades Council were supporting the march at the stage when it was attacked, they were able to get the co-operation of the stewards at Smiths Industries and at the Staples Corner site. Already what the inquiry has done is to raise the whole issue in the labour move-



ment - at least locally.

The idea of a workers inquiry should be used more often. Just compare what happened over the Shrewsbury pickets. The facts weren't got across at the start and the conspiracy of silence of the press remained unbroken.

So after Des Warren was jailed it was an uphill battle for the first year to explain what really had happened and get action. We've got a lot more attention and committed support than was behind the Shrewsbury pickets to start with.

How do you see the campaign being carried forward?

Well obviously we need the usual things - money, commitment, speaking around trade union bodies. But the most important thing is the continuing role of the Right to Work Campaign itself. Unless the defence of the 43 is posed as part of the struggle against unemployment, as part of the struggle against the deal with Healey, then it will become diversionary.

That is why we'll be marching on 26

May and again on 16 June to lobby the recall TUC. And we'll be doing the same at the September TUC, because the best defence we've got is what will be happening outside the court, not inside.

* * * *

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Des Warren was put on parole for a few days recently. One of the first things he did was to support the appeal for the 43. Most of our readers are in a far better position to help by:

*RAISING collections in your workplace;

*MOVING resolutions in your shop stewards committees, trade union and Labour Party branches condemning the police attack and calling on your executive to campaign for the dropping of all charges;

*JOINING the lobby of the TUC on 16 June.

Send donations to Right to Work March Defence Fund, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

-WHAT'S ON-

NEW PAMPHLET produced by Birmingham IMG: 'The IMG - What We Stand For'. Proceeds to Red Weekly Fund Drive. 1-5 copies, 10p each plus 10p p&p; 5-10 copies, 10p each plus 15p p&p. Over 10 copies, post free. Orders to: Martin Tolman, Aston Union, Gosta Green, Birmingham B4 7ES.

FASCISM - the threat in the North of Ireland. Public meeting with speakers from Peoples' Democracy and Revolutionary Struggle, plus guest speaker from Troops Out Movement. Fri 4 June, 7.30pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1. Admission 20p.

TEACH-IN on Southern Africa (with special emphasis on Zimbabwe) - 'Revolution or Neo-colonialism in Zimbabwe'. Participants: Southern African revolutionaries and progressive academics. Sat 29 May, 10.30am-9pm, York University. Morning session - Southern Africa in the context of the revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Afternoon session - Zimbabwe. Evening - two films on Mozambique and SWAPO.

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LONDON - commemorating 20th anniversary publication of Khrushchev's Secret Speech, and celebrating publication by Spokesman Books of Medvedev's 'Let History Judge' and new edition of Khrushchev Speech introduced by Medvedev brothers, a meeting will be held Fri 4 June, 7.30pm, in Holborn Assembly Rooms, Theobalds Rd, WC1. Speakers include: Zhores Medvedev, Eduard Goldstuecker, Audrey Wuse MP, John Seville. Admission: 30p.

REVOLUTIONARY Communist Group - The Marxist theory of crisis. This is the second in a series of fortnightly meetings on the fundamental questions of Marxism from the standpoint of today. Reading: Revolutionary Communist journal N. 3/4. Tues 1 June, 7.30pm, Earl Russell pub, 2 Pancras Rd (Kings X tube).

RAFFLES: winner of the Manchester Red Weekly raffle - No 155, Simon Bunker. Winner of the London Red Weekly raffle - Jon Duveen.
MANCHESTER Revolutionary Communist Group public meeting: Thurs 3 June, 8pm, 'The Capitalist Crisis' - David Yaffe. Mother Mac's pub, Back Piccadilly.

RED BOOKS comprehensive list of titles now available - Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mandel, Lukacs, Novack, Cannon, Deutscher, etc. Send s.a.e for copy to Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

DESMOND TROTTER benefit to raise funds to continue the campaign for his release. Show and dance. Whit-Monday 31 May, 3pm - midnight at Abeng Centre, 7 Gresham Road (off Brixton Rd). £1.25.

BENGALI FRIENDS in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and 'Sani-Dal-Biplab' (Fourth International paper) contact: Bengali, c/o Internationalen, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

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Some of the 1,500 pickets representing around 150 trade union and socialist organisations who gathered outside Henson magistrates court last Friday for the committal proceedings

Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

OCCUPATIONS CAN WIN TEACHING JOBS

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The Scottish students started the wave of occupations now sweeping Britain. Sixty per cent of those leaving Scottish colleges of education this year expect to be unemployed. Students there have realised that they cannot be a special case and that only a campaign which opposes all the aspects of the Government's policies can succeed.

Change

Teacher training college students are not usually considered to be very militant. They are younger than other students in general, and based in their home town in many instances. But I don't think that it's surprising that you get such a tremendous level of militancy when the effects of the economic crisis and the Labour Government's policies are so obvious.

We expect that the same process that has swept Scotland will also pick up in Britain. Students in the Scottish colleges realise that they have to take up the whole range of the Government's policies. The support we have got from students in other sorts of colleges and the trade unions is testimony to this.

Support has come first of all from the unions inside the college. We have set up joint committees on the basis of solidarity with the students. We received a very big welcome when we went

DES TIERNEY, a student at Moray House College, tells how the campaign has spread

around the miners clubs, and we have also leafleted local factories. We were obviously looking for a response from the teachers. The Educational Institute of Scotland is the largest union covering 45,000 teachers. They have been under great pressure from their members and the teacher training students who are associate members to give instructions not to teach any class with more than 33 pupils, operate no cover, and give full union rights to unemployed teachers.

The Executive has now refused to call for strike action in support of the students' demands, but we are quite confident that rank and file action will be well to the fore.

26 May

The occupations had an effect on the actions taken on 26 May. Before the students took action the only initiatives planned were in Glasgow. But they have resulted in further action in Aberdeen and Edinburgh.

We have used the occupation as an organising centre. We make that possible by encouraging democratic running of the occupation, electing an occupation committee, calling mass meetings of all the occupiers to discuss policy, and putting that policy



to the decision of the mass of students in General Meetings.

We have called a meeting of all unemployed and activist teachers in the Lothian region to discuss coordinated action in the East of Scotland. On the all-Scotland level we have an action committee composed of representatives from the various colleges occupying.

Interest

Interest in the NUS has soared since the occupations have started—knocking on the head the argument of the right wing that general meetings are undemocratic. The massive surge of activity has resulted in the resignation of two presidents and one secretary of student unions. These people refused to accept the mass meeting decision to occupy.

The CP dominated Broad Left leadership of the NUS were taken by surprise. Initially the only response they could come up with was a protest day of action. But we were tired of this approach.

The occupations which are going on now are new, because first of all we think we can win our demands, and secondly we know that if we continue to win the sort of support we have been getting from the working class we will win our demands.

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IN FOCUS

Lobby Recall TUC

The wave of occupations sweeping through Britain's teacher training colleges has dramatically highlighted the continuing willingness of workers and students to fight in defence of their living standards and jobs against the policies of the Labour Government — if they are given a lead.

What a splendid contrast it makes to the half-hearted attempts to mobilise action in the weeks leading up to the national day of action against unemployment on 26 May. Because the main instigators of 26 May, the Communist Party, saw all their old 'left' friends in the trade union bureaucracy running to hide behind the coat-tails of Jones and Murray, they refused to carry out any serious mobilisation in the factories and pits in opposition to these misleaders.

The special TUC conference to discuss the Healey deal on 16 June is now only a few weeks away. The right has already scored significant victories in the run up to the vote on the pay deal, with the decision of the National Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union to support the deal. The most important resistance has come from several smaller white collar unions and miners in Scotland, Wales, Yorkshire and Lancashire.

UNITE OPPOSITION

The urgent task is to bring these groups of workers together into united opposition and action against the deal. The first step towards this is a massive campaign for a 'no' vote in the miners' ballot and a lobby of the recall TUC in London on 16 June. Militants should also be preparing for a mass lobby of the annual Trades Union Congress in September.

The danger of allowing the Tory policies of this Government to go unchallenged on the basis of the demagogic argument that to do otherwise is to bring down the Government is having dangerous repercussions. Not only have the Tories swept home in the local elections, but Labour votes have been attracted by the populist rhetoric of the fascist right — which seems to offer a 'radical' solution to the crisis.

In every struggle which breaks out the question of the existing leadership of the working class is posed. Those like the Communist Party who argue that it is possible to change the policies of the present Government without an open fight against Jones and Scanlon, Callaghan and Healey, and their supporters at every level of the labour movement condemn themselves to meaningless protests in advance.

REMOVE RIGHT WING

So long as these leaders retain the whip hand inside the unions and Labour Party, they will continue to be able to force through their right-wing policies. Only by simultaneously fighting against these bureaucrats and for alternative policies can an answer be given to those workers who trail along behind the right wing because they fear the return of Thatcher and the Tories.

It is possible to fight Labour's anti-working class policies and maintain a Labour Government, but only through a systematic fight to remove the bureaucratic misleaders. That is the message to be got across on 16 June and in every sector of the labour movement. No deal with Healey!

'WE STARTED IT HERE'

Students at Southlands College in Wimbledon listened attentively last weekend to speakers from the Moray House occupation in Scotland. The students had occupied two days earlier. Moray House was the first occupation in Scotland—now Southlands was the first in England.

The Southlands students had stuck their necks out, and they knew it. Many of the students at the college had not thought seriously of politics before, let alone become involved in direct action to back up their demands.

However Ruth Martin, the student union president, was confident that their example would spread all over the country. Already at that meeting there were representatives from two of the colleges nearby, who had come to coordinate their efforts.

Des Tierney from Moray House spoke about the fight in Scotland. In the occupied college they had plastered the walls with rejection slips to make students realise that this is not an individual problem—it is connected with the whole crisis in the education system and the cutbacks being implemented in the social services as a whole by the Labour Government.

NOT SPECIAL

He pointed out that if students at Southlands were to build support among teachers and the trade unions, they must not look on themselves as a special case. The cuts and unemployment are hitting everyone.

Valerie Coultas, NUS Executive and IMG member, warned the students that they had to rely on their own struggle and not on the NUS Executive itself to carry it forward. It was likely that the Broad Left majority on the Executive, while supporting them in words, would try to reduce action that could win jobs into a mere protest.

The Southlands students had elected an occupation committee, and as soon as the occupation was firmly settled, they had copied the example of the Scottish students by sending



Students meet to discuss the way forward in occupied Southlands College

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

out flying pickets to get support and action from nearby colleges.

Leafletting in the local High Street had also got a favourable response from those whom they spoke to, as they had stressed that it is not just jobs that are at stake—children's education in crowded classrooms is the other side of the coin of teacher unemployment.

New proposals came after Des and Valerie had spoken: a visit to the

local bus depot to discuss with bus-workers taking action against cuts in schedules; and a meeting in the college of activists from the colleges, teachers, and other trade unionists.

Teachers from seven schools in the area have already been in action on the cuts in South London. Wandsworth NUT called a lobby last Friday of Labour MP Ernest Perry. One of the schools, St. Boniface, has already seen a successful fight against staff reductions involving both pupils and parents.

The leadership of the National Union of Teachers have tried to stamp on local action against the cuts through a new disciplinary code. But teacher training students are now on the move, and teachers' willingness to fight is there.

Their coordinated rank and file action to reduce class sizes and get a guaranteed job for all unemployed teachers (including those still at College) can give the campaign to reverse all the social spending cuts a massive boost.

REJECTED

Southlands College has 270 final year students, but only about 15 or 20 have got jobs. Students at the meeting spoke of having thick wads of rejection slips and finally hearing nothing as the local authorities decided that the number of applications for every post would make even returning a rejection slip too expensive,

OUR STATE OF HEALTH 4

CLASS-WIDE ACTION

We have explained how the 'solutions' of the Socialist Medical Association do not challenge the domination of the capitalist state over the National Health Service. Nor do the simplistic solutions put forward by the International Socialists provide a way out. Retreating into 'pure' trade unionism is no answer — in fact it is the road to disaster.

For the IS, who correctly reject participation schemes, the crucial thing is to build up the trade union strength of health workers. Joint shop stewards committees, rank and file papers, actions against the cuts and private practice in the hospitals — these are the most important tasks and anything else must fit into this framework.

It is very important to build up the trade union strength of health workers, and these tasks are central to doing this — but on their own they are not enough. Even the immediate defence of the health service at this time requires more than the action of health workers alone — it requires the mobilisation of far wider sections of the working class.

The willingness and ability of health workers to struggle will be, and has been seen to be around the nurses and private practice disputes, a major factor in involving other sections of the class in action in defence of the health service. In itself, however, it is inadequate — and the hesitancy of health workers to go into struggle at present for fear of being isolated is testimony to that. It is only class wide action that can bring about workers control of the health service.

Control

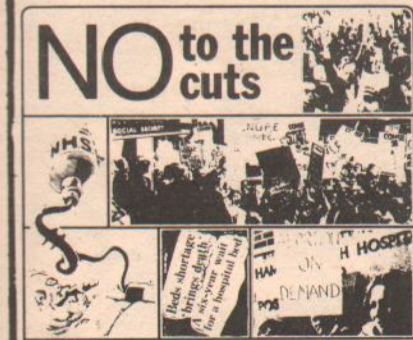
The NHS cannot be democratised without the working class being in control. This cannot be done on the basis of workers participating in cutbacks and giving a veneer of democracy to the attacks of the ruling class. The labour movement has to control the NHS, which means that the state and the medical profession would have to put their plans to the workers movement before any decisions were taken.

The workers movement must have an automatic right of veto over all plans. It must have the right to take all decisions over finance, planning, re-organisation, and methods of running the NHS. Such rights will not be obtained either by the suggestions of the SMA for participation, or by restricting the struggle to trade union militancy as IS propose.

For such control to be effective, an end to all secret plans would be needed.

National Health

THE BULLETIN OF THE NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE AGAINST CUTS IN THE NHS



NO private practice

New issue of NCC Bulletin—price 10p plus 8p p&p (20% off all orders over 10) from: 55 Bridge Lane, NW11.

The plans of the state and the schemes of the medical profession would have to be made available to the labour movement.

The ending of the secrecy of the state and its allies in the medical profession cannot and will not take place without smashing the monopoly of the medical hierarchy. This involves breaking the dependence of the young doctors, the nurses and the technicians on the consultants, and breaking the right of the consultants to determine the promotion prospects of these people.

Furthermore, it involves organising the forces that can break this stifling monopoly. Health workers, the sick, the aged and the entire trade union movement have to be mobilised to fight ag-

ainst the state and the privileged groups such as the consultants and the senior administrators who run and control the NHS.

Reject

The more that these groups begin to reject the right of the state to decide how the NHS should be run, the more a real step forward will have been taken towards the working class taking on the job of actually managing the NHS. The fight to open the books — thus making all the plans and information available to the working class — is a vital demand to start such a process. The call for a workers inquiry prepares the way to challenge the plans of capitalism and to build an alternative to those plans.

This will not happen overnight, of course. It will not simply come about because the 'correct' resolutions are passed at the Labour Party Conference and the Trades Union Congress. The whole of the workers movement has to

NEEDED

be organised for such a struggle.

It cannot be won by relying on 'left' MPs and subordinating that struggle to parliamentary manoeuvres. Nor can it be won by militancy in the hospitals alone, because every fight against the closure of a particular hospital always raises the question of how do we keep it open.

It means local councils refusing to pay interest rates to the moneylenders so that cash is available to pay wages to staff and buy new equipment. It means local authorities requisitioning private hospitals in the area and requisitioning building materials and scientific equipment from firms who are no longer making these available because they are not making enough money by producing or selling them.

Any defence of the NHS brings out into the open the stark question — who

rules, who decides. The defence of the NHS is not possible without an unremitting fight against the interests of capitalism and a fight to remove the rotten leadership of the labour movement that collaborates in cuts and acts as an obstacle to any fight back.

At national as well as local level the issue of control dominates every consideration. An alternative solution cannot be realistic unless it challenges the right of the ruling class to decide in whose interests the NHS shall be run.

This is why the IMG says:

- For a sliding scale of social expenditure.
- For the opening of the books.
- For the nationalisation under workers control of the drugs industry.
- For the abolition of all private practice inside and outside the NHS.
- For a workers inquiry into the NHS.

CRISIS IN THE HEALTH SERVICE

THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION



'STRUGGLE FOR HEALTH' PAMPHLET No. 4
IMG PUBLICATIONS 15p

New IMG pamphlet, price 15p plus 8p p&p from Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

● For action committees to work for all forms of working class action such as pickets, demonstrations, strikes, etc. to defend and extend the NHS.

LETTERS

NUJ CONFERENCE - WHY LEFT LOST ON WAGES, TECHNOLOGY

There is much to criticise in the International Socialists' approach to rank-and-file work in the trade unions. However the methods displayed in your report of the National Union of Journalists annual conference are no improvement.

The reason the left was defeated on technology and the pay policy was simply that delegates did not agree with the basis of the left's position. They did not vote down the Journalists Charter supporters' motion on technology because it 'failed' to call for opening the books and the imposition of workers control, but because they believed the right wing who told them what a good thing the new methods would be for journalists.

Nor did they, contrary to your report, vote the motion down because it called for a freeze on new machinery pending more negotiations. The

motion called for no such thing; what it wanted was a freeze while a committee of inquiry — elected from the conference — made its own assessment of the new techniques.

Nor was the motion on the pay policy defeated because it not mention the sliding scale of wages. It was defeated because the majority of delegates believed that a further cut in real pay would safeguard their members' jobs.

The defeat of the left on these questions had nothing to do with its non-application of the IMG's pet nostrums — it was because most of the delegates and membership still support the reformist case. The appeal of the IMG's standard formulas, incidentally, is shown by the fact that they did not appear in any motion or amendment dealing with these issues at the conference. — JULIAN WELLS, Secretary, Hemel Hempstead NUJ.

RED WEEKLY REPLIES

To say that the left's resolutions on technology and wages were defeated at the NUJ conference because the majority of delegates supported the right wing is to state the obvious and ignore the inadequacy of the proposals put forward by Journalists Charter supporters.

The resolution on technology effectively disarmed the left in the debate. The employers' project of permanently eliminating tens of thousands of jobs in the print, press, and publishing industry is already underway with the open cooperation of the union bureaucracies.

But instead of posing a fight for demands that could put workers on the offensive, the resolution's supporters were constrained to argue: 'There is a big threat so hang on for a year until we examine it more closely.'

As Carl Gardner has argued in *The Journalist*: 'To those who say the unions are not ready for such advanced demands, unfortunately the situation is.'

The same applies to the debate on wages policy. Delegates voted for wage restraint not so much because they thought it would save jobs, but because they believed the Government's lies about 'halting inflation' — whose ravages they feel daily. The demand for a sliding scale of wages would have allowed the left to put forward a way of coping with the effects of inflation without making the workers

bear the expense.

Comrade Wells does not refer to the major criticisms of Journalists Charter, made in *Red Weekly's* report of the conference: its consistent refusal to take up the overriding issue confronting revolutionaries in the NUJ — that of press freedom.

This is not surprising, since comrade Wells has been among those who have argued that the present fight for NUJ closed shops has nothing whatever to do with freedom of the press. Journalists like those in Barnsley, who are now being forced to question the mass media's treatment of the trade unionists on whom they depend for support, are presumably following a blind alley.

What a splendid way of breaking down the sectoralism and elitism reflected in the vote on technology and other issues!

While it is true that resolutions on technology and incomes policy supported by the IMG did not reach the conference agenda — supporters of Journalists Charter were to the fore in voting them down — other resolutions inspired by IMG members on support for 26 May, the calling of a labour movement press freedom conference, abortion, and the Working Women's Charter Campaign were carried at the conference.

LETTERS



Barnsley delegate Phil Williams asked NUJ conference: 'Do we, and you, deserve support from the trade unionists we as journalists smear every day in our newspapers?' Yet Journalists Charter has argued that press freedom has nothing to do with the closed shop issue.

LIBRARIES AND THE CUTS

Under any circumstances a high rate of inflation bites into the services which libraries can supply; when the Government decides to combat inflation by reducing funds available to social services then our standards of living are doubly threatened. And as the President of the Library Association recently pointed out, not only is service threatened, but democracy is, for democracy depends on a knowledgeable citizen with access to information.

At a recent conference on 'Libraries and social change' held at the North London Polytechnic School of Librarianship, the opinion was expressed that while the Library Association might have the influence to minimise damage in some areas, only the trade unions have the power to prevent these cuts in the first place. This in turn calls into question whether senior librarians actually oppose the cuts or are concerned with administering them as painlessly as possible.

It is necessary for the Association to take a stand in principle and to negotiate with all other concerned bodies, professional and union, before we have another Buckinghamshire, not apply first aid

afterwards. How this can be done is not always clear.

Librarians for Social Change (LfSC) is going to organise a short course for all those involved in librarianship and information work who want to involve themselves in an active campaign. Briefly it will consist of sessions on 'Why the crisis?', 'Why the cuts?', 'How to fight them', and 'Organising the fight'. All those interested please write to LfSC, 19 Redman's Road, London E1 3AQ. The length will be either one day or a weekend, the cost probably £1, but these details will depend on how many people are interested.

It is not property speculators' profits or shareholders' dividends which are being threatened by the failure of industry to invest in the future during the boom, it is the social services we are committed to providing. It is a figure out of the past which says 'Agitate, educate and organise', but it is a ghost we must pay heed to if we are not to repeat the mistakes of the past. — JOHN LINDSAY, Librarians for Social Change.

Next Tuesday's local council by-election at Darnley in the south of Glasgow would normally have passed unnoticed under a combination of working class gut loyalty to the Labour Party and cynicism towards the inhabitants of the City Chambers. But the present disarray of the traditional Scottish political parties has changed all this.

Disgust with the policies of the Labour Government and local councils has produced massive victories for the Scottish National Party in working class areas which have seen Labour majorities for literally decades — Bo'ness and Maddison in central Scotland are just two examples. It is clear that the right-wing march of the Government and the complicity of the so-called 'lefts' is leading the Labour Party — and the labour movement with it — to political disaster at the hands of the petty-bourgeois nationalists.

It is in this situation that the newly formed Scottish Labour Party will contest its first election at Darnley, standing against the 'official' Labour candidate. (The previous Labour incumbent, ex-Bailey Kane, was one of the increasing number of Labour councillors in Scotland unfortunate enough to be caught with his hands in the till, and is now serving six months for corruption.)

Origins

The SLP is still very much stamped by its origins as a split essentially confined to the bureaucracy of the old Labour Party. Despite the fact that many socialists welcomed its formation as a potentially positive step forward in challenging the disastrous policies of the Government, its leadership around Jim Sillars and Alex Neil have attempted to project the SLP as merely a 'new' and 'modern' Scottish social democratic organisation aimed at winning 'workers going from Labour to the SNP' in the

SLP CONTESTS FIRST ELECTIONS

words of one of its leading members.

This belief that the SLP can somehow combine the 'best' policies of the SNP and the Labour Party means that its leadership turn their face away from a fight against the very Government policies which are driving workers towards the reactionary nationalists.

The SLP is finding it difficult to avoid being ground down by the much larger and more powerful forces of the Labour Party and the SNP. The deal done at the Troon conference of the Labour Party, where a resolution giving 'economic powers' to the Assembly was supported by the STUC, the Labour Party in Scotland, and representatives of the Cabinet, means that the SLP's policy on devolution is now virtually indistinguishable from the old Labour

Party.

The same inability to spell out a clear alternative to the anti-working class policies of the Labour leaders can be seen in the SLP's 'Jobs and Industry' policy statement, which argues against nationalisation and for the encouragement of entrepreneurial initiative. As Jim Sillars put it: 'When we talk about harnessing the skills of the Scottish people, the skills of management are at least as important as those of a centre-lathe turner.' Presumably he means different 'managerial skills' from those which turned Glasgow into the biggest industrial slum in Europe.

Such policies only open the door for the type of statement which SLP leader John Robertson, MP for Pais-

ley, is reported to have made last week to *The Scotsman*: 'I feel it is nonsense that there should be two parties with the same ideologies contesting elections.' Many workers who see the SLP as an opportunity actually to fight that same pro-capitalist 'ideology' can only angrily share that feeling.

But despite the downright opportunism of the SLP leadership, it cannot be forgotten that Sillars and Robertson were the only labour movement MPs to vote against the White Paper on the cuts, the only ones to support the recent conference on Scottish housing, and the first ones to support the occupations of teacher training colleges against teacher unemployment. In a situation where the workers of Darnley have a choice between voting for the SLP or for a Labour candidate who supports and votes for the cuts, they have only one choice: *vote SLP*.

Vote SLP

So long as there is no challenge from official Labour candidates to the policies of the Government, a vote for the SLP can only strengthen and encourage workers to fight back against the closure of Educational TV, against teacher unemployment, and against the selling of council houses — all policies spearheaded by the local Labour council.

The so-called principle of voting for Labour under all circumstances to preserve the 'unity of the labour movement' is the same bureaucratic argument used against unofficial strikes, against unofficial action by tenants, in fact against any dissent inside the labour movement which challenges the line of the leadership. Without a fight against the latter's policies, 'unity' is no more than the unity of the graveyard for the labour movement at the hands of the SNP.

A vote for the SLP at Darnley on 1 June provides at least one limited step forward in warding off that threat.

Healey's tax deal fraud

By a member of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation

Commenting on the annual conference of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation last week, an editorial in the *Daily Mail* warned: 'There is a strong whiff of class warfare about some of the rabble-rousing at Scarborough.'

Regrettably, there was in fact very little indication of class struggle as the General Secretary of the tax officers' union, Cyril Plant, steamrollered through the pay deal agreed between the Government and the TUC — of which Plant is this year's chairman. The conference also voted to accept voluntary redundancies.

What upsets the *Mail*, however, is the fact that the union has been highlighting the phenomenal sums lost in tax avoidance by the self-employed and company directors, whilst workers are currently having more tax than ever before being deducted from their wages under PAYE.



The press has launched a massive campaign against two measures introduced in the last Budget: powers for tax inspectors to obtain a warrant to see directors' bank books and accounts where criminal evasion is suspected, and the tightening up of taxation of directors' 'perks' — especially company cars.

The majority of new cars bought in Britain are now purchased by companies, not individuals, and are given to directors who normally enjoy unlimited private use and pay little or no tax on this benefit. These, of course, are the same class of people who are calling for ever greater sacrifices from their workers 'in the national interest'.

It seems likely, however, that Healey will back down on these measures under pressure from his mentors in big business. The Engineering Employers Federation has already sent a confidential memo to the Chancellor claiming that 'several prominent and successful industrialists' could be bankrupted if the Government goes ahead with its proposals to tax fringe benefits.



There is no doubt that the one part of the Budget which Healey has no intention of altering is the so-called tax 'concessions', which trade union leaders have been falling over themselves to accept in return for cutting their members' real wages. These, however, were denounced as a 'total fraud' by a group of tax officers at the IRSF conference.

In their daily conference bulletin, the Revenue Rank and File Group exposed the propaganda surrounding the deal. For example, have you noticed how the publicity always highlights how well-off a married man with two children is supposed to be under the deal? Yet the increase in child allowance was automatic, not conditional on acceptance of the pay curbs.



That only leaves the miserly increase in personal allowances, which could have been gained by a wage rise as low as £0.68 per week for a single person or £1.48 for a married couple (figures from the Treasury's *Economic Progress Report* No. 73, April 1976).

The ability to manipulate taxation levels is just another weapon in the ruling class's armoury. The trend in personal taxation since 1945 has been to incorporate more and more of the lower paid into the taxable field, whilst the proportion paid by the richest 1 per cent of the population has declined significantly. There is nothing novel in Healey's use of so-called tax concessions to curb our pay. Nor, unfortunately, in our leaders' willingness to swallow them.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



No jobs for youth

The unemployment rate among workers under 25 is running at 11½ per cent — double the national average. One sixth of all college graduates are still unemployed six months after completing their courses. Nearly half of all students of architecture, planners and engineers are unable to get jobs in their field after completing training. Nearly half of those leaving school in 1975 were unable to find jobs — and the figures for 1976 are expected to be even worse.

This was the situation which the recent Manchester conference of the Campaign Against Youth Unemployment (CAYU) was called to tackle. There is a real danger that unemployment could cut off this section of the working class from the trade union movement altogether. Unfortunately the policies put forward at the conference by the Communist Party, which established and controls the Campaign, will do little to alter this situation.

The Declaration and other proposals adopted by the conference made no mention of activity on the question of wage restraint and cuts in public spending — the main pillars of the capitalist attack on workers' living standards. Nor did they call for creation of jobs through a programme of public works, or draw attention to the particular plight of young blacks and women.

When militants attending the conference attempted to put amendments along these lines, the CP proposed to refer them

to a sub-committee elected by its own unelected committee, on the grounds that there was no time to discuss them — although the conference finished an hour ahead of schedule! It succeeded in this manoeuvre only by denying voting rights to delegates from branches of the Labour Party Young Socialists.

While militants should support any initiatives that may come from CAYU, it would be illusory to think that the CP will allow it to escape from the tight restrictions imposed by the scabbing policies of its 'left' allies like Scanlon. They should meanwhile campaign for independent action around the following demands:

No to incomes policy; restore the cuts in public spending; for a programme of useful public works; the right to work for all — especially women and blacks; for the trade unions to organise the unemployed; form youth committees in every union; form a TUC Youth Committee; no redundancies — including voluntary; maintain manning levels — not overtime; maintain apprenticeships; extend day and block release programmes; increase government training programmes at union rates; guaranteed jobs for all school leavers and trainees.

This especially means organising large contingents on the 26 May Day of Action and the 16 June lobby of the special TUC conference, not just to protest against unemployment but to highlight the fighting policies needed to throw back the Government's anti-working class offensive.

Linda Simon (Birmingham Trades Council delegate)

LABOUR'S RACISM...

'In a few years, we will be faced with a shortage of labour — not with a shortage of jobs. We ought to become a country where immigrants are welcomed. We should break away from this artificial segregation of nation from nation.'

So spoke the newly elected James Callaghan. He was leading the opposition in Parliament to the restrictive immigration policy of the 1945 Labour Government. He had some strange fellow-travellers, among them Peter Thorneycroft, later a Tory minister — 'I find something a little contemptible about a party which preaches internationalism abroad and yet takes every step to prevent free men from coming here to work.'

Thorneycroft's role as the conscience of the Labour Party did not last long. Fifteen years later he was one of the leaders of the right-wing campaign against immigration. Callaghan also was to introduce the most vicious legislation twenty two years later against black immigration — not *immigration* as such, but *black* immigration.

RELAXATION

Immediately after the war, the demand for labour in Britain was met by the relaxation of the stringent controls on immigration, and the introduction of Polish workers and others from Southern Europe, known as 'European voluntary workers'. But this supply dried up. The net had to be cast wider.

In the summer of 1948 the *Empire Windrush* sailed from Kingston, Jamaica. On board were 400 workers looking for a job in Britain. But their arrival was not met with any planned housing provision. Half of the passengers were housed in an underground air-raid shelter in Clapham.

The major responsibility fell on the Labour councils who ran the inner city areas. It was from this base that the two trends arose that characterise Labour thinking and action over immigration and race — *integration and control*.

RIGHT WING

In the 1950s the pace in the Parliamentary Labour Party was set by the advocates of control. A right-wing caucus was formed, one of whose leaders was Frank Tomney, the MP for Hammersmith North — who is currently under fire from his constituency party.

The movement in the ranks provoked a response from the leadership under Gaitskell. As late as 1961, Gaitskell could comment: 'The Labour Party is opposed to the restriction of immigration as every Commonwealth citizen has the right as a British subject to enter this country at will. This has been the right of the subjects of the Crown for many centuries, and the Labour Party has always maintained it should be unconditional.'

This attitude had been held more or less consistently by the leadership of the Labour Party, particularly those under the influence of the Fabian wing. Imperialism had been seen by this section as an essentially civilising process. Contempt for the cultures of those oppressed by the British imperialists expressed itself through the automatic 'concession' of British citizenship.

For the Fabians this was not incompatible with international brotherhood, but only *after* the oppressed of the earth had been subjected to 'civilisation' — preferably of the British variety. This goes some way to explaining the 'principled stand' taken by Gaitskell right up till his death.

RALLY

The election of Harold Wilson as Labour Party leader in 1963 was followed by a mass rally held by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Trafalgar Square. There he went out of his way to praise the struggle against the Commonwealth Immigration Act passed by the Tories in 1962. But none of Wilson's speeches inside or outside the House of Commons gave any credence in this curtsy in the direction of the departed.



BOB MELLISH, ex-Labour Chief Whip who has given the racist pot another stir with his 'enough is enough' speech on the Malawi Asians

The Labour Party in opposition had successfully amended the Act to require its renewal in 1963. The heat was on for the Labour leadership. And Wilson ended up telling the House: 'We do not contest the need for control of Commonwealth immigration into the country.'

Gaitskell's policy of 'free entry' was dead and buried in a race between the Tories and Labour to outdo each other in proving their effectiveness in controlling black immigration. The current in the Labour Party which favoured 'control' had the bit between its teeth.

This did not immediately reflect itself in the party's formal position. In fact, orders went out from Transport House that on no account was the question of immigration to be raised in the parliamentary addresses of prospective Labour candidates. This did not dissuade the 14 per cent of Labour candidates who did mention it as compared with eight per cent of Tory candidates.

Listen, for example, to the leaflet issued by David Kerr, Labour MP in Wandsworth Central: 'Large scale immigration has occurred only under this Tory Government. The Tory Immigration Act has failed to control it — immigrants of all colours and races continue to arrive here.'

In 1964 the Labour Government was returned to office. But the prospective Foreign Secretary, Patrick Gordon Walker, was dramatically defeated in Smethwick by a Tory who ran under the slogan, 'If you want a nigger for your neighbour, vote Labour'.

The Smethwick election campaign was accompanied by a number of racist actions such as the burning of crosses. Among those taking part in such practices was Robert Relf, current hero of the National Front. Petitions against black residents were also circulated.

Wilson gave enormous ground to the racists with the publication of the Government's White Paper on 'Immigration from the Commonwealth'. For the first time a definite limit was put on the number of Commonwealth workers entering the country. The 'problem' was defined as black immigrants.

INTEGRATION

At the same time, however, a large number of black workers were already in Britain. The task of integrating their leadership could not be delayed any longer. Maurice Foley was sent off to Holland to study how the 'Dutch had done it'. The product was the Race Relations Act.

The White Paper temporarily took the wind out of the sails of the Tory Party and their extra-parliamentary friends by the simple measure of giving them what they wanted. But the tide would begin to rise again two years later.

Almost as soon as James Callaghan was demoted to Home Secretary after the devaluation fiasco, he introduced an Immigration Bill to control the entry of those British passport holders who for some reason or other were not covered by the provisions of the amended 1962 Act. Most of these were Kenyan Asians.

All pretence of not making colour the deciding question was dropped with the introduction of a clause disallowing those who could not prove that they had a father or grandfather born in Britain. The 'grandfather clause' has a long pedigree. It was first used in the United States in the nineteenth century to deny blacks the vote.

The response of the Labour opposition to the Tories' 1971 Commonwealth Immigration Act was predictable. According to Roy Jenkins, the Bill was 'objectionable', and 'if the Government has any self-respect they will withdraw the Bill and start again.'

COLOUR BAR

The Act put the last touches to the colour bar legislation which had been built on since 1962. It divided Commonwealth immigrants into patrials and non-patrials — that is to say, black and white. All controls on the immigration of patrials were removed. Non-patrials were effectively reduced to the position of aliens.

Permission to change jobs became conditional on application to the Department of Employment. The non-patrial immigrant has no rights to settle or bring dependants. A work permit is required for entry for a specific job for a specific period.

In order to apply to stay on after the specific period or for citizenship,

A racist frenzy stirred and detonated in North London early in the year of two overseas students. They but the were the first to die.

Fascists have been attacking months. And they are also steady.

Over the weekend a 600-strong Party through Blackburn—where elections—won an hysterical rally on the pavements—with one even chanting 'I want to be a nigger'. It was organised by the Blackburn Action Group and was greeted with abuse.

The frenzy has been fuelled against a homeless immigrant family at Gatwick Airport Hotel and the passport-holders expelled from the rising racist tide, Labour MPs and Labour chief whip Robert Mellish are not a racist. But enough is enough.

Below we look at how Labour has tried to create the current situation, especially the youth—are beginning to back against racist policies, the

Photo: News Line



ABOVE and RIGHT: the battle of Winson Green, Birmingham on 15 May

applicants have to prove that they are of good character. They do, however, retain their vote to decide which Government will implement these racist laws.

When Labour was elected in February 1974 it did not repeal this 'objectionable' Act. On the contrary, it has started to polish it up and restrict immigration still further.

The TUC has called for the complete abolition of the quota of work permits allowed to foreign nationals. The Government has already responded by cutting the annual quota of work permits in the hotel and catering industry from 8,500 in 1975 to 6,000 in 1976 and for domestic and hospital workers from 8,000 in 1975 to 2,500 this year.

Callaghan is now clearing the decks for further measures. Alex Lyon, the Minister of State at the Home Office, who had continued the tradition of protesting against the grosser measures taken against immigrants, was removed in the Government reshuffle. He thus paid the price for, as he put it, 'trying to get justice for the blacks in this country. Jim has never had much time for those who espouse this cause.'

Another former Cabinet member, ex-Chief Whip Bob Mellish, has meanwhile opened up on the Government from the right along the old, old lines: 'I'm not a racist, but' Mellish's London constituency was one of the two which put down motions to the 1961 Labour Conference demanding immigration controls.

CLEAN OUT

Right-wingers like Mellish are sustained by the endless chatter of the 'lefts' on the need for British jobs for British workers in a new partnership with the British bosses — combined with a deafening silence on the policies which the party has initiated on immigration.

One of the main tasks in fighting racism is the fight to eradicate it in the mass organisations of the working class. The Labour Party must be flushed clean of the racists who act as a constant source of fuel for the fascist groups, and this must be combined with a fight against the programme of the lefts, which opens the door wide for their colleagues with less delicate sensibilities.

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Photo: News Line

... AND BLACK RESISTANCE

'Send us back, who'll drive your buses, send us back, who'll sweep your streets' was the mocking counter-chant sent up by blacks on the 3,000-strong anti-fascist march in Bradford a few weeks back. The open black challenge to fascism was repeated in Birmingham, when Asian and particularly West Indian youth fought street battles with police protecting the fascists.

The roots of the new black resistance have been growing for some time. Behind the mocking chants lies the experience of immigrant workers brought in as a source of cheap labour for unskilled, menial and service jobs, only to be discarded when there is no longer a labour shortage. And behind the anger of the youth is the experience of daily confrontations with the police from the school upward and throughout the community.

The deepening economic and social crisis has had a particularly sharp edge in the black community, where the Labour and TUC policies of cuts in wages, jobs and services have meant greater deprivation and

suffering for black workers. Unemployment amongst black workers is already over 10 per cent — twice the white rate. And among black women the unemployment rate is three times that for white women.

Tightening

The tightening of immigration controls has not only fed white racism but has been accompanied by tougher policing of the immigrant communities. Work permit quotas have been slashed, intimi-

dating blacks from taking action to organise at work, and the TUC is calling for the complete abolition of the quota.

But an all-out offensive against the black community is not about to be launched. Along with the stick of greater surveillance goes the carrot. Although the Race Relations Act — along with the Immigrant Assimilation Officers, the Community Relations Officers and so on — has done little to confront any of the real problems confronting blacks, it has provided a suitable liberal facade to the real aim of the ruling class: to control and contain the two million strong black population of Britain.

But if some get the carrot, a lot get more of the stick. The 'Bonfire Night' battle in Leeds and more recently the confrontation between 200 black youths and police in Tottenham are only the tip of the

iceberg. Black youth are constantly running up against the police. It is they who are singled out for special hatred by Powell and the racists.

It's not hard to see what lies behind their revolt. Unemployment amongst black youth in the cities is as high as 40-50 per cent in some areas. In schools black children, especially West Indians, are downgraded to make their job prospects even bleaker.

No jobs

Increasing numbers of young blacks are growing up to find that even if they get a job it doesn't have any security, or the pay and conditions are so bad that they are not prepared to accept it. But more and more of them have been brought up in Britain to expect equal rights and opportunities. They are not prepared to accept the second class jobs and rights forced on their parents as immigrants.

Discontent and alienation amongst black youth are thus growing apace. The ever-lengthening list of provocations, harassment and arrests by the police, from the Carib Club to Chapel-town, has fanned this discontent into open hostility — finally leading to battles between hundreds of black youths and the police.

Given the explosiveness of the situation, it's but a short step to organised resistance in the black communities. Already organisations like the West Indian Standing Conference keep watch outside popular black clubs in North London like the Noreik, which are a prime target for police attacks. Likewise the Government is redoubling its efforts to control the youth.

We've had the 'soft touch' — with numerous community projects, police/community relations officers, and even an unsuccessful attempt to recruit blacks themselves into the police force. But black youth in particular are only too aware that 'integration' is just another word

for heading off their own self-organisation and buying off the black leadership in the communities. So now the tough line is returning: young blacks, facing all the problems of a ghetto situation, are becoming a permanent target for racist harassment by the police.

The black upsurge against the police and the fascists in Bradford and Birmingham reveals the potential for organised self-defence of the black community. In the wake of the London murders it is the task of the hour.

Defence campaigns against racist attacks and police brutality have long been a part of life for blacks here. The need now is to link up this defence. A step in that direction was the call put out this week by the Asian Socialist Forum in London for a meeting of all black and left organisations following the London murders.

Oppression

Organisation around self-defence cannot be seen as separate from all forms of racial oppression. The right to work and decent accommodation are crucial demands in the black community. Alongside community action, this involves the right and the means for black workers to organise special caucuses inside the trade unions and the labour movement to ensure that their demands are taken up despite the racism that exists within these bodies.

Solidarity with anti-imperialist struggles — particularly with those fighting the white racist regimes of southern Africa, like the two SWAPO militants now under sentence of death — can also help to undermine the racist ideas bred on centuries of British imperialist domination. But in the long hot summer ahead it will be the organisation of self-defence which will be the key to defending black youth and the black community as a whole.

SHEILA MALONE



Anti-fascist march through Blackburn last weekend met with hysterical abuse from bystanders

Photo: DAVE EVANS (IFL)

RISES, RISES ALL THE WAY FOR THE BOSSES

One of the great virtues of capitalism — so we are told from the cot to the grave — is its competitiveness. Firms compete against each other to deliver the goods at a competitive price to the consumer. The consumer is meant to be king; potentially changing the fortunes of firms by a casual toss of one brand of baked beans and not another into a shopping basket.

EXCEPT THAT IT DOESN'T WORK LIKE THAT.

As we showed in last week's *Red Weekly*, the growth of monopolies allows the giant firms to maintain or increase prices with little regard to demand. In a period of soaring inflation, combined with manipulation of the accounting and taxation system, this has enabled them to make huge profits.

Profits up

Unilever has increased its profits to an annual rate of £500 million from £328m. last year. Shell's profits are up to £284 m. in the first three months of 1976 compared with £268m. in 1975. Taylor Woodrow's profits in the first quarter were up 41 per cent to £15 million. After all, capitalist firms are in business to make profits — so it's not surprising to see them organising inflation to reap the dividends.

Reformists, however, believe that it is possible to collaborate with the institutions of the State to tackle inflation. But 'the battle against inflation' is in fact the ideological eyewash of incomes policy and every attack on the living standards and jobs of the working class.

Last week Scanlon deliberately stressed that 'pay restraint and price control, in the eyes of the ordinary people of this country, go together'. What he didn't add was the rub: while it's only too easy to control wages, it's virtually impossible to control prices — even if the Government wanted to.

Hand in hand

But far from the Government and the State institutions acting as a 'neutral' referee with whom 'fair deals' can be made, they work hand in hand with the monopolies to raise prices. Concrete proof of this is provided by the experience of the Labour Government's attempt to 'control prices' through such bodies as the Prices Commission.

The Prices Commission and the various bodies of the civil service which draw up information on prices have one thing in common: none have any interest in keeping down prices. On the contrary, in general they argue for price increases. On 17 May *The Times* was able to report:

'The apparent acceptance by the Department of Prices and Consumer Protection of many of the arguments in favour of substantial relaxation (in price controls) would appear to dictate the next move by Mrs Williams.'

Favours

Some 'consumer-protection' this, when the Department actively favours allowing firms more scope to put up prices.

But more pertinent still, given the way in which the right wing in the trade unions and Labour Party have rammed through wage restraint on the promise of lower prices, is whether such bodies ever have or even were capable of controlling prices. Each year an estimated *three million* price alterations take place. To follow these changes through the civil service machinery would take a staff of tens of thousands.

In fact the Prices Commission had precisely the following in 1974:

CAN PRICES BE CONTROLLED?

Yes, they can be! The first thing to understand about the Government's anti-inflation policies is that they don't use the *only* means by which prices can be checked: the organised working class.

Every month the trade magazine *The Grocer* notifies an average of 5-600 major price increases. The total number of price alterations a year is believed by the Department of Economic Affairs to be around *three million*.

To keep a check on this number of prices quite literally demands putting control in the hands of those who have a direct interest in keeping

down prices — the trade unionists who handle the goods and see every increase, and the working class housewives who buy the goods and suffer every increase.

In 1965, for example, the Bakers Union exposed the profiteering of the baking companies; and in 1974 the workers at Allied Suppliers in Glasgow revealed the profits being made through hoarding of lentils by their employers. The only price freeze which could work would be one placed in the control of committees of trade unionists and housewives.

By John Marshall

Over the last year they didn't make too much fuss about it, because price increases were 'fixed' according to the size of profits, and profits were depressed because of the slump in the economy. But things are different now, as falling living standards begin to boost profits.

If the Government actually applied the Code, this would mean restrictions on the price increases firms would be allowed. Consequently the companies are not prepared to tolerate even the Government's minimum controls. Furthermore, in contrast with the timidity of the trade union bureaucrats over wage controls, the bosses have no qualms about threatening direct action to get their aims.

On 12 May *The Times* reported on the militant stand of the bosses' union, the Confederation of British Industry: 'Lord Watkinson, who led the CBI team, is known to take a particularly hawkish view and to be prepared to threaten non-cooperation on other fronts.'

What Watkinson wanted was also made clear a week later in *The Times* (19 May): 'Companies will be able to retain the rewards of improvements in efficiency rather than automatically passing them on in lower prices.'

In other words: 'efficiency' is forcing fewer people to work harder and provide larger profits as a result. Wage restraint is also a big help. But don't you dare touch our profits, even if you did sell the pay deal by telling the unions a lot of lies about controlling prices.

The Labour Government has been only too willing to oblige: 'At meetings last Tuesday Mrs Williams told representatives of the CBI and the retailers that no specific promises had been made to the TUC on what changes would be

made in the Price Code' (*The Times*, 17 May). So much for so-called 'agreements' with the trade unions.

The careful chroniclers of *The Times* were also able to write two days later under the headline 'Price Code changes please industry' that the Government would go further than even the bosses expected:

'Industrialists were clearly very pleased and not a little surprised last night by the extent of the concessions which the Government now appears to be offering on the Price Code. A view being widely expressed after the Prime Minister's remarks at last night's Confederation of British Industry annual dinner was that the Government had gone about as far as it could on prices short of abolishing the Code altogether' (*The Times*, 19 May).

Watkinson commented on the Government's statement that it is 'a piece of elastic. It is our job to stretch that piece of elastic as far as we can' (*The Times*, 20 May). It won't be difficult.

Capitulate

Why does the Labour Government capitulate so completely even on the pathetic Price Code? Prime Minister Callaghan, who has a certain simple-mindedness which leads him sometimes to express the logic of the Government's policies with a clarity avoided by other right-wing Labour leaders, spelt it out in Parliament on the eve of the imposition of the second round of wage controls:

'I do not believe that one can force a large private sector to invest. Therefore one has a choice between a wholly controlled economy and a mixed economy.'

'As for that part of the sector in the mixed economy which is private, one can lead a horse to water but one cannot make it drink. Therefore, one has to apply the necessary incentives to compel it to drink. As this party has always stood for a mixed economy and not for a totally controlled economy, that must be the basis upon which our economic policy proceeds' (quoted in *Tribune*, 14 May).

It's the old, old story of the ship of reformism. As soon as it runs onto the rocks of the capitalist crisis it sinks without a trace. In its place come standard Tory policies. The only alternative, the socialist alternative, would mean mounting a fundamental challenge to the capitalist system — rocks and all.

Wilson

As even Harold Wilson was forced to write of a visit paid to him by the Governor of the Bank of England in November 1964, during the middle of one of those conventional crises of the pound:

'Claiming that our failure to act in accordance with his advice had precipitated the crisis, he was now demanding all round cuts in expenditure, regardless of social or even economic priorities ...'

'I asked him if this meant that it was impossible for any government, whatever its party label, whatever its manifesto or the policies on which it fought an election, to continue, unless it immediately reverted to full scale Tory policies. He had to admit that that was what his argument meant, because of the sheer compulsion of the economic dictation of those who exercised decisive economic power.'

The situation is no different on prices today. Those like Scanlon who propose to bargain wage controls against price controls are either absurdly naive or cynical traitors to the working class — for both of which they deserve to be kicked out of their present positions.

The State and the monopolies work hand in hand to create price increases, and it is the working class which carries the burden of them every time. Only the organised working class has the power and the interest to control prices.

NEXT WEEK: More on the mechanisms of inflation — and how the working class can begin to fight back against it.

Dr K's NEW POLICY

At a banquet in Lusaka, Zambia, on 27 April, Henry Kissinger made what *The Times* described as 'probably the most important statement of policy on Africa ever made by an American leader'.

At the conclusion of his speech, Kissinger was embraced by Zambia's President, Kenneth Kaunda. 'Some of us were emotionally charged while you were speaking', swooned Kaunda. 'We could not believe this was a Secretary of State from Washington DC.'

Just what is the United States' new 'Africa policy'?

Declaring that America was committed to 'a rapid, just and African solution to the issue of Rhodesia', Kissinger made the following pledges:

- The US would give strong support to proposals made by Callaghan on 22 March for a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia leading to majority rule and independence in two years.

- 'The Salisbury regime must understand that it cannot expect United States support either in diplomacy or in material help at any stage in its conflict with African states or African liberation movements. On the contrary, it will face our unrelenting opposition until a negotiated settlement is achieved.'

- The US will take steps to uphold United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia. 'We will urge the Congress this year to repeal the Byrd Amendment, which authorises Rhodesian chrome imports to the United States.'

- The US is to provide \$12.5m in aid to Mozambique to help compensate for the closure of the border with Rhodesia, and the US 'is ready to alleviate economic hardship for any countries neighbouring Rhodesia which decide to enforce sanctions by closing their frontiers'.

NAMIBIA

Turning to South African-occupied Namibia, Kissinger called for a 'definite timetable acceptable to the world community for the achievement of self-determination'.

However, when it came to South Africa, Kissinger carefully avoided any reference to majority rule. Nevertheless, Kissinger's speech represented a turn in US policy.

The old policy had been set out in Option 2 (code-named *Tar Baby*) of National Security Study Memorandum 39, adopted by the Nixon administration in February 1970. ¹ Based on the premise that the 'whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them', *Tar Baby* tilted Washington more in favour of the white minority regimes in southern Africa. *Tar Baby's* policy was to:

'maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states Without openly taking a position undermining the UK and the UN on Rhodesia, we would be more flexible in our attitude toward the Smith regime. We would take present Portuguese policies as suggesting further changes in the Portuguese territories.'

'At the same time we would take diplomatic steps to convince the black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence, and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with white-dominated states.'



Kissinger with neo-colonial ally Kenyatta

Under the *Tar Baby* policy, the US stepped up its support for Rhodesia and for Portuguese colonialism under the Caetano dictatorship. In 1971, for example, the US granted Portugal a huge \$436m export credit and passed the Byrd Amendment in violation of UN sanctions against Rhodesia.

But the US's assumption that the African masses could be safely ignored began to crumble in 1974 — along with the Portuguese colonial empire. The collapse of the imperialist military intervention in Angola was decisive in showing the US ruling class that a turn in policy was required.

The calculations behind the new US policy were noted by David Frankel in the 10 May issue of *Intercontinental Press*: 'In Rhodesia the white racist regime of Prime Minister Ian Smith faces massive opposition from the Zimbabwean masses and a widening guerrilla war. Moreover, the rise of the class struggle in southern Africa, epitomised by the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire, is putting increased pressure on the apartheid regime in Pretoria.'

CLOSER TIES

Under these conditions, Frankel continued, 'the Ford administration has decided to establish closer ties with black leaders in southern Africa while publicly dissociating itself from the Smith regime in Rhodesia and from the most vicious aspects of the apartheid system in South Africa.' Above all, 'both the British and the American imperialists badly want a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia. They fear that the stubbornness of the Smith regime may provoke a mass movement that could prove fatal to imperialist domination in all of southern Africa.'

For it is in South Africa, rather than Rhodesia, that the imperialists' real interests lie — which is why Kissinger took care in his 27 April

speech to avoid any pledges of US action against the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

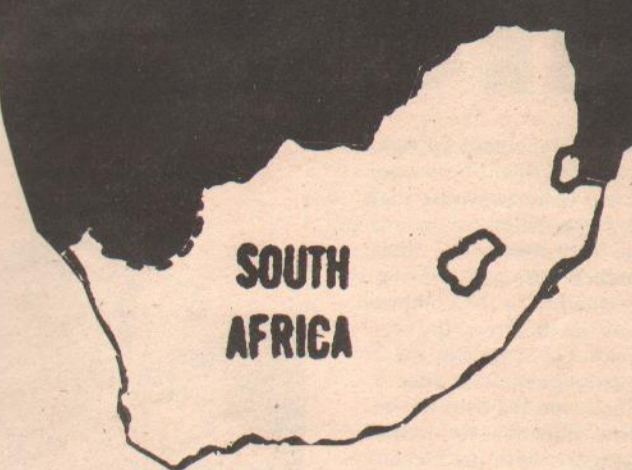
A transition to neo-colonial forms of rule in Rhodesia, as urged by Kissinger and Callaghan, is now seen as the most effective way of preserving class stability throughout southern Africa and thereby defending white rule and the vast imperialist holdings in the bastion of South Africa.

So *Tar Baby's* key axis of strong US support for the South African racists remains unchanged. The US will continue to export arms to South Africa in line with *Tar Baby's* formula of 'liberal treatment of equipment which could serve either military or civilian purposes' (a ploy designed to get around the arms embargo imposed against South Africa by the UN in 1963).

American policy is, in *Tar Baby's* words, 'to protect economic, scientific and strategic interests and opportunities in the region, including the orderly marketing of South Africa's gold.'

South Africa's strategic importance to the NATO powers is due partly to the fact that much of the world's trade is shipped past the Cape of Good Hope. This includes about 7 million barrels of Middle

HOW NATO ARMS APARTHEID



A three-part series by TONY HODGES

East oil a day (roughly half of the oil consumption of the European NATO powers).

Furthermore, South Africa has some of the largest naval bases bordering on the Indian Ocean. 'South African port facilities are of long-term strategic importance', *Tar Baby* noted. 'Their availability to the Navy would be useful in peacetime and essential in time of war.'

The imperialist powers are also increasingly reliant on South Africa's mineral wealth. A staggering 26 per cent of the world's reserves of uranium — essential for both nuclear weapons and nuclear power stations — are located in South Africa and Namibia.

A report submitted to the US State Department in 1971 by the African Affairs Advisory Council noted: 'Africa contains a major proportion of the world's reserves of a few commodities important to US strategic or economic needs. In the future, the US will probably have to look to Africa for, among other products, its chromite, platinum group metals, tantalite, petalite, gold, and phosphate rock (in 20-30 years) most of these key minerals are found in southern Africa.'

INVESTMENT

In addition, according to the October 1975 issue of *South African Scope*, 'three hundred and sixty US enterprises have direct investment of over \$1.2 billion in South Africa — an increase of 100 per cent over the past ten years'. US investment in South Africa continues to increase by 12.8 per cent a year.

British imperialism's stake is even greater. Five hundred British companies have subsidiaries or associates in South Africa. And British investment in the country totals over £2,000m. (60 per cent of total foreign investment in South Africa). ²

Profit rates in South Africa are among the highest in the world — since black unions are severely repressed, strikes are illegal, wages are at or below a bare subsistence level, and African labour is controlled by a battery of apartheid laws and restrictions.

The NATO powers also see South Africa — the most powerful economic and military force on the African continent — as a guardian of imperialist interests throughout southern Africa. Pretoria's invasion of Angola was a telling warning in this regard. As hinted by South Africa's Defence Minister, Piet Botha, on 3 February, South Africa's invasion was coordinated with the US.

WHITE RULE

Above all, the NATO powers are committed to the defence of white rule in South Africa, since a transition to a black neo-colonial regime — as elsewhere in Africa — would be a highly risky venture. The rigid apartheid system has prevented the development of a black bourgeoisie; centuries of white domination and land seizure have greatly weakened the peasantry; and South Africa's rapid industrialisation has created the most powerful proletariat on the continent.

A social revolution in South Africa, moreover, would have a tremendous liberating effect on the African masses in the neo-colonial African regimes, spurring forward the struggle for real independence from foreign control.

NEXT WEEK: How the NATO powers arm South Africa in violation of the UN arms embargo.

NOTES

1. The full text of NSSM 39 is available in *The Kissinger Study on Southern Africa* (Spokesman Books, 1975).

2. See *The South African Connection: Western Investment in Apartheid* by Ruth First, Jonathan Steele and Christabel Gurney (Temple Smith, 1972).

AFRICA IN STRUGGLE

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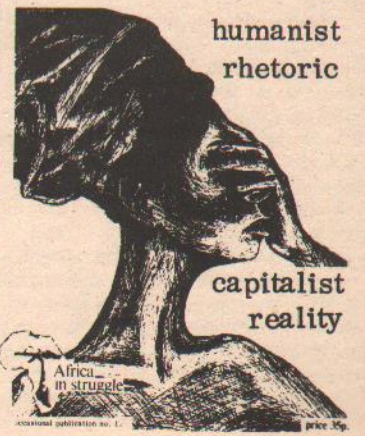
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SPANISH RIGHT SHOWS ITS HAND

Last week 3,000 die-hard far right supporters of the Spanish dictatorship gathered to demonstrate their determined opposition to any change in its basic institutions. The numbers assembled were pathetic — a striking testimony to the complete isolation of the dictatorship from the population at large. For these erstwhile strongmen, who once wielded their iron fist over the entire country, were able to marshal fewer supporters with the blessing of the regime than the far left can today call onto the streets in the teeth of ferocious repression.

But if the far right has no capacity to mobilise large numbers, it still occupies powerful and important positions within the dictatorship that allow it to carry on a long and potentially bloody campaign of resistance. The real object of their demonstration was to serve notice of their intentions to do just that.

TURMOIL

Already the power of the right has thrown the present Government into a political turmoil. It came to power with the aim of gradually introducing a number of political reforms which would give the ruling class greater flexibility in dealing with the workers movement and smooth the road for Spain's entry into the Common Market — but without either destroying the repressive machinery of the dictatorship or opening the door to a massive leap forward for the working class organisations.

But its efforts at 'reform' were systematically blocked by the far right, while at the same time the working class was able to seize on this confusion in the camp of the ruling class to strengthen and extend its own struggles — both in defence



Murdered Carlist worker is carried away. INSET: military cartridges found on scene.

of its economic interests and to further democratic demands.

This challenge forced the 'reformers' in the Government (headed by Home Secretary Fraga) to hold back on their schemes and resume the tried-and-true weapon of the dictatorship — repression. The wave of brutality that the dictatorship resorted to in response to the working class upsurge — capped off by the butchery in Vitoria, where five workers were murdered in cold blood — brought the scale of repression back to the level it had reached before the death of Franco.

DIVISIONS

But the divisions in the regime persist. Last month the Prime Minister, Arias Navarro, outlined his long-awaited 'reform' programme.

It was a real anti-climax: reorganisation of the Cortes (Spanish Parliament) so that the lower house could be elected, but with the Francoist die-hards organised into an upper house with veto power; no legalisation of the Communist Party or far left groups; and no mention of trade union rights or amnesty.

This package, not surprisingly, was greeted with total hostility by all the anti-Franco opposition groups. So a few days later the Government offered more detailed and extensive proposals — the upper house to be primarily elected, and workers to be allowed to form trade union bodies outside of the state-run 'union', CNS. These proposals have, for the first time, a little meat in them; and this bait seems to be working, attracting some cautious interest from the middle class groupings in the anti-Franco opposition.

Such promises have been made before, and it remains to be seen just what sort of proposals the Government will actually be able to steer through the present right-wing dominated Cortes. But of one thing we can be sure — the far right will be doing everything in its power to severely limit them, and in the event of moves going ahead which they oppose, they will use their power to strike blows at the mass movement in order to prevent it taking advantage of any concessions.

ARMED

The sort of action they will resort to was displayed just two weeks ago. On 9 May thousands of members of the anti-Francoist Carlists (supporters of a rival king) gathered for their annual celebration

on the mountain of Montejuorra. But they found their path blocked by a band of fifty heavily-armed right-wingers who started to harangue them.

When the crowd refused to pay attention the fascists opened fire, killing one young man, severely wounding another, and injuring seven more.

This outrage was perpetrated in full view of the police, who made no move to intervene, and the identity of a number of the attackers is well known (the band had openly announced that they were headed by the fascist Sixto de Borbon). But the Government has made no move to bring these individuals to trial.

BLOOD

The Spanish workers can expect nothing from the 'reform' projects of the dictatorship except the spilling of more of their blood. As the workers of the Babcock Wilcox firm recently proclaimed: 'In order that the workers and people can live, it is necessary that the dictatorship dies'. The task facing the Spanish workers movement, and revolutionary militants in particular, is the organisation and preparation of those measures that can bring about the death of the dictatorship.

That is what the Trotskyist forces in Spain are fighting to do, by propagating those political demands and forms of organisation (in particular self-defence against the right-wing bands and the Francoist police) that can unify and strengthen the workers' struggles, laying the basis for a general strike to bring down the dictatorship.



Hundreds of police stood by as fascists attacked Carlist celebration

ARGENTINA-repression increasing

Recent information received from Argentina indicates that the anti-worker repression unleashed by the military junta is daily getting worse. It is urgent to tear off the mask of moderation which the junta has deliberately donned for foreign consumption, a mask that has been accepted as corresponding to reality not only by a part of the western press, but even by Pravda.

The number of worker and political militants in prison now exceeds 14,000, among them 150 members of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers Party), sympathising organisation of the Fourth International in Argentina. Summary executions carried out by the parallel police of the Argentine Anti-communist Alliance type are going full stream ahead.

They are increasingly also being carried out by the army itself. For example, three political prisoners were executed in Cordoba and four in Bahia Blanca at the beginning of May. The dictatorship relies on its censorship to present these summary executions as the results of escape attempts or clashes among armed

groups; but most of the time it is a matter of cold-blooded murder of unarmed prisoners.

On 29 April General Benjamin Menendez, military commander of Cordoba, ordered the burning of thousands of Marxist books confiscated from the book stores of that city. The bonfire took place in the base of the fourteenth paratrooper regiment. A communique of the third army corps openly justified it, claiming that it is necessary 'to prevent this literature from continuing to lead our youth astray'.

At the same time, a first important strike has taken place in the motor industry in solidarity against the arrest of trade union delegates. In spite of an army intervention in the factory, the workers held firm and managed to win the release of their comrades. Some smaller strikes have also been reported.

The economic situation of the workers has worsened considerably. It is estimated that the average real wage has dropped 35 per cent since the military junta came to power.



Thousands hear Mandel speak in Madrid

Three thousand cheering students — with a generous sprinkling of radical workers jammed a lecture hall at the School of Philosophy and Letters campus in Madrid on 5 May to hear Ernest Mandel, noted Belgian Marxist economist and a leader of the Fourth International. Mandel spoke on the topic, 'The Class Nature of the State'.

This was the second of two meetings organised for Mandel's visit to Madrid. The previous evening more than 2,000 persons packed a hall at the university's School of Economics campus to hear Mandel present a Marxist analysis of the current worldwide economic slump.

In the course of his speech, Mandel explained how the capitalist class, although a tiny minority of the population, controlled the state apparatus in capitalist countries, whether their governments were democratic or dictatorial.

Reformist

Referring to some historical examples of the disastrous consequences of attempting to reform the capitalist state and government in an effort to slowly bring about a new socialist society, Mandel made it clear that he meant it would be disastrous for the Spanish proletariat to place faith in reformist illusions about the existing capitalist state and fail to take power into their own hands.

He was interrupted by vigorous and spontaneous applause throughout his speech — but the applause after the latter point was especially prolonged and loud.

The Fourth International leader said he would accept the ovation, not for himself, but for his organisation in Spain which could not yet speak for itself, and for the many members of the Fourth International still being held in Spanish prisons. The crowd then responded with: 'Am-ni-stia, Am-ni-stia, Am-ni-stia'.

During questions one CP supporter asked how Mandel could speak for the Fourth International and Trotskyism without being prohibited by the dictatorship.

Answered

Mandel answered the veiled charge by pointing out that the Spanish Government, for reasons of its own, was at the moment treating visiting members of foreign left organisations differently than members of the Spanish illegal organisations themselves. This was proven, he said, by the fact that even a leader of the French Communist Party had just recently held a public meeting in Spain without interference from the police.

'But', shouted the CP supporter, 'he didn't talk about politics.' Mandel won the audience by countering with: 'That's your fault, not mine!'

At the end of the question period the floor was turned over to two leaders of the recent telephone workers' strike, who appealed for support against severe sanctions and the firing of the most active strike leaders, despite a Government promise that there would be no retaliations.

Although the police surrounded the campus where the 5 May meeting was held, with special anti-riot detachments stationed at strategic spots, there was no police interference with the meeting, nor with the crowd as it left the area at its conclusion. However, the Government did step in afterwards to ban a third meeting planned for Mandel.

LET US RUN CAPITALISM ITALIAN CP

Recent opinion polls in Italy show that the swing to the Communist Party (PCI) in the 20-21 June general election is likely to be as large as in the regional elections last year, when the PCI gained an extra 2½ million votes.

The PCI will probably take the place of the Christian Democrats as the largest single party in terms of votes, and the parties of the working class together — the PCI plus the Socialist Party and the far left slate — could win a majority. But the latter prospect doesn't interest the PCI. Its eyes are firmly fixed on a 'government of national unity' in which its major partner would be the right-wing Christian Democrats.

With this in mind, the PCI is busy stressing that it has no intention of meddling with the roots of the capitalist system — it is only interested in making it more efficient. The PCI's search for bourgeois respectability and the image of a 'serious governmental party' has led it so far as to invite seven prominent Catholic intellectuals to stand on its electoral list.

COALITION

These individuals in no sense identify with the aspirations of the working class. They told *L'Unita*, the paper of the PCI, that their acceptance of the party's invitation 'did not imply any allegiance to Marxist ideology, or the programme or the methodology of the PCI'.

This is just one of a series of gestures to make the right 'see reason' and accept a coalition. In the pages of *L'Unita*, the PCI's betrayal of the independent interests of the working class becomes dressed up in the demagogy of building a new Italy and the 'prospect of a democratic renaissance'.

The PCI has also made heavy use of its 'law and order' campaign. It correctly attacks the corruption of the decadent Christian Democrat regime and the growth of fascist violence, but it never attacks the bourgeois institutions which lie at the root of that corruption and violence. On the contrary, one of the themes taken up at a recent meeting of the PCI's Central Committee was the importance of regaining the confidence of the masses in the state institutions:

What does the Communist Party offer in policies? It promises prosperity, to cut inflation and help industry, but for the working class it offers only wordy and shallow demagogy. Commented the *Daily Mirror*: 'The Communist Party campaign leaflet reads like a Tory Party manifesto... "law and order, wage restraint, and a cut in government expenditure".'

PANIC

Why, then, are the international capitalists so panic-stricken at the prospect of the PCI emerging as the largest party in the elections?

The right says that the PCI will destroy parliamentary democracy,



yet their chosen road lies via the institutions of bourgeois democracy. As the *Morning Star* recently put it: 'To allay the people's fears, the Communist Party is stressing its adherence to the democratic way to socialism, with guarantees of maintaining and extending democratic freedoms.' The 'freedom' of capital to exploit its workforce is something the PCI certainly intends to uphold.

NATO

The right says that the PCI will endanger NATO, the Common Market, and the 'safety' of western Europe. Again the accusation is ridiculous. Not only have two other NATO countries — Iceland and Portugal — had Communist ministers in their government, but the PCI has been going overboard to prove its allegiance to this reactionary military alliance and its intention to remain in the Common Market. Not only has it invited Catholic intellectuals to stand; other candidates on its list include a retired airforce general and an EEC Commissioner, Altiero Spinelli.

So why is the right scared of a PCI victory? It knows that the party leadership are sincere in their promises. Only it is not the PCI leadership that they are afraid of — it is the expectations of millions of workers if and when the PCI enters the government.

The last few years have seen a

tremendous upsurge of mass struggles in Italy. The time old-oppressor of the Italian people, the Catholic Church, sees the influence which it exerted so effectively against the Communist 'unholiness' in 1948 now being chipped away. Its defeat in the 1974 divorce referendum has been followed by the mobilisation of tens of thousands of women for free abortion on demand — embarrassing the PCI, which still favours restrictions in order not to harm its prospects of a coalition with the



right.

At the same time, inspired by Portugal, Italian soldiers are challenging the authority relations and discipline typical of any bourgeois army. The slogan of workers control is being increasingly raised in the factories, challenging the fundamental bourgeois concept of private property. Against fascist sabotage, workers are organising their own self-defence squads. On top of all this, the far left is expected to poll at least a million votes.

That explains the fears in NATO, the panic in the multinationals, and the anxiety of the Italian ruling class (an anxiety which extends to the PCI leadership). Demands for a CP-SP government following gains for the left in the elections would find a rapid and widespread response inside broad sections of the working class, and would put the leaders of both reformist parties firmly on the spot.

THREATS

What has been the reaction of the PCI to the threats of American imperialism and the bribery of the multinationals like Lockheed and the oil companies? The PCI has not criticised the imperialist role of the multinationals but has only attacked their lack of respect for 'democracy'.

One of the PCI leadership put it this way: 'One of the most danger-

ous arguments is that of economic blackmail, which we must answer by stressing our position on foreign capital that we are not against the presence of multinationals in Italy as long as they don't interfere in our politics.' It's rather like asking a tiger to be good and then going for a ride on its back. All the protests in the world won't do you much good when it turns to bite off your head.

UNCERTAINTIES

Nevertheless, the uncertainties of the post-Vietnam, post-Angola period mean that imperialism is far from united on how to deal with the danger of a PCI victory. Kissinger seems to prefer threats, but Democratic contender Jimmy Carter prefers a more delicate approach. On Italian television he said that he 'didn't think that it was for America to advise the Italians how to vote', and he added that he would be in 'direct or indirect' contact with the PCI.

The Italian ruling class is equally divided on its tactics. Fiat boss Giovanni Agnelli appeared to have decided — along with organs of British bourgeois opinion like *The Times* and *The Economist* — that the time had come to adopt the Republican Party as the 'new party of the bourgeoisie'. The Republicans have not been so implicated in the corruption scandals as the Christian Democrats, and they are more disposed to accept the 'historic compromise'.

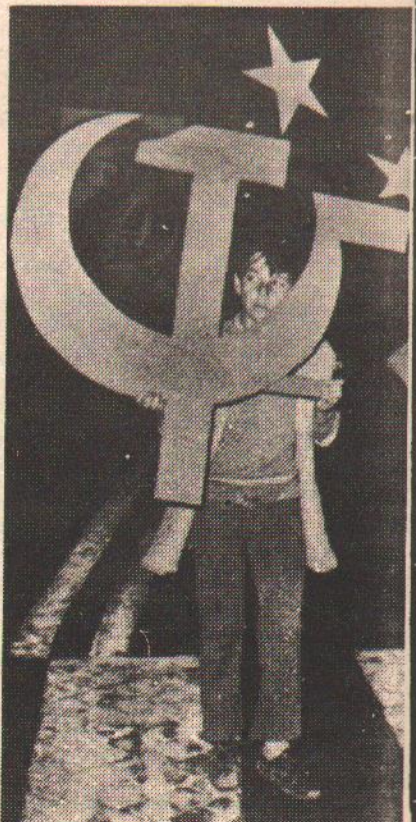
But at the last moment Agnelli withdrew because, it seems, of a family feud which reflected the divisions inside the Italian ruling class. Now his ultra-right brother Umberto will be standing as a Christian Democrat, his sister Susana as a Republican, and Giovanni himself will remain above the fray for the time being.

DILEMMA

The *Daily Telegraph* reflected the dilemma of the imperialists when it lamented: 'The Russians just invade a defecting ally. The West must mount a tough campaign of persuasion, moral force and realism.'

It is not, of course, that Western imperialism has not considered armed intervention — but it is restricted by detente and a changing international situation. It could adopt economic sanctions, but this would only tend to increase the independent activity of the working class. In fact the entrance of the PCI into government will pose a whole new series of problems for imperialism — and a whole new series of tasks for the international workers movement in helping the Italian working class to develop their struggle towards victory.

ALAN HUDSON



Dealing with the far left

The announcement of a joint slate of all the major far left groups in Italy is causing the PCI considerable concern.

Ten days ago, the PCI's section in Fiat called a meeting of its militants to organise the party's election campaign in the factory. Of the party's claimed membership of 1,700 in Fiat, only 100 workers (including just one woman) turned up to hear A. Minucci from the party's national leadership. Minucci concentrated on two points: first, it would be wrong to say in the campaign that 'we're going to finish with the Christian Democrats'; secondly, that there was a need to step up the attack against the extra-parliamentary groups and chase them out of the factory.

The far left groups together account for about a hundred militants in Fiat, who are consistently active and influence much wider layers. That represents a force which, during and after the campaign, will be able to

drive home to the PCI that any left government which attempts to compromise on the demands of the workers will find itself in trouble.

The PCI fears this even more than the possible loss of 3 or 4 per cent of the vote to the far left. How to deal with this threat? Very soon the Fiat discussion took a turn more commonly seen in the French Communist Party: 'We control the factory gates, we must prevent these groups from distributing their leaflets' (loud applause). Only one worker said that it was necessary to put forward political arguments against those of the far left.

Thus was launched the campaign of the party which 'doesn't talk abstractly of the crisis but puts forward credible solutions which can lead the country out of the crisis'.

Anna Libera

A LONG HOT SUMMER IN IRELAND?

RED WEEKLY

Viscount Brookeborough once declared that 'the RUC are the finest police force in Europe'. Undoubtedly from his point of view, this was and is still true.

Look how 'fine' they were in October 1968, when Lord Cameron had to report that they broke ranks and batoned their way through a Catholic demonstration in Derry. Or look at the march in Armagh in November 1968, when Unionist extremists armed with cudgels attacked, and again in Lord Cameron's words 'the RUC failed to guarantee the physical safety of the marchers'.

Even Mr Justice Scarman joined in the chorus of condemnation of the brutal, thuggish behaviour of these RUC bully boys. He commented that the invasion of the Catholic Fairmount estate in Dungannon in August 1969 'was wholly unjustified'.

This is the true story of this 'fine' police force, and it is a story written in blood over the whole period from 1968. It is a story that includes the burning of Catholic homes in Bombay Street; the August 1969 shooting of four Catholics (one a nine year old child) in Belfast; the Hooker Street burnings; and the Conway Street arson attacks.

That is the record of Lord Brookeborough's 'fine' police force. The most sickening incident of all, widely publicised at the time even in the Fleet Street kept press, was the murder of Samuel Devenney, a sick man in Derry. He died after being bludgeoned by police in his own home in front of his horrified family.

Despite all the appeals of Chichester Clark, then Prime Minister, the guilty RUC men were never turned in. Those senior officers who had been present at the killing did not even bother to attend the identification

parades in the search for the culprits. This is the background to the attacks that have occurred against RUC personnel throughout this month. But why have the attacks come just now? The answer is the new role which Rees wanted to carve out for the RUC.

He has been busying himself with a plan to increase the weight of the RUC. The plan was called 'RUC primacy'. That is why the RUC were to get armoured personnel carriers and new 7.62mm self loading rifles. In fact on the day these new toys were announced, the British army pulled out of its bunker in the Lenadoon Flats and the following weekend they were pulled out of East Belfast and replaced by patrols of RUC and red caps.

Rees was keen for the local forces to take on a bigger commitment. At the same time plans were afoot to establish full-time units of the infamous Ulster Defence Regiment. To this end they were given special training in Cumbria. Just to tidy things up, it was also proposed that the UDR be given the same amount of English top brass to hold the reins as the RUC already has.

It is precisely the recent attacks against these uniformed bother boys that has shaken their morale and with it the morale of the British Government. Rees has bleated that he did not really intend to make a para-military force of the RUC. His intention was still to process political opponents through the courts and call them 'criminals'.

Meanwhile the Ulster Defence Association has threatened that a continuation of assaults on the RUC will lead to retaliation against Republicans (as with all UDA statements, for Republicans you should read 'Catholics'). They take this position



Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

Picket of Paddington Green police station last week against arrest of Irishmen under Prevention of Terrorism Act. On the right: four Special Branch operatives who threatened to bust the head of our photographer and push the camera up his nose!

because since their 'Third Force' campaign of 1974, many members of the UDA have found their way into the RUC reserve. This has been proved in a whole series of recent arms trials.

What are British workers to make of all this? First, we leave the hypo-

crites of Fleet Street to weep their own tears. They have supported the governments and policies which are responsible for this situation. These same gentlemen wept no tears at the brutality meted out against Irish Catholic families.

But British workers may be concerned that men and women from the Protestant community only join the RUC because of the scourge of unemployment. We say that even if this were true it is no excuse. They have to join the fight for an Ireland that is free of British repression and able to decide its own future. That is the real answer for those Protestants.

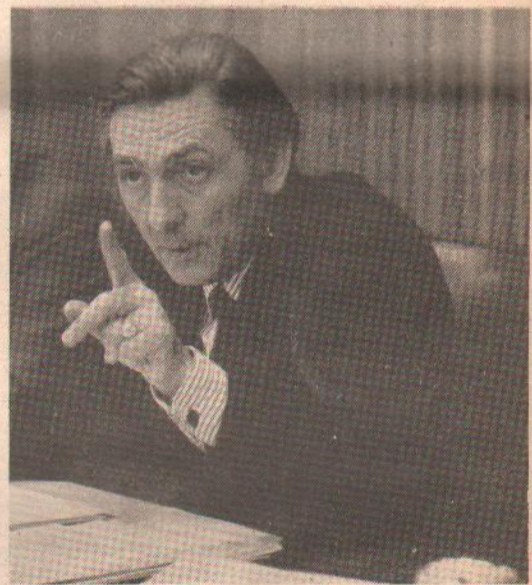
But in the British labour movement we have to understand that it is not just the stick of unemployment that recruits Protestants to forces such as the RUC. The fact is that the decisive sections of the Protestant working class have looked to union with Britain against the Irish Catholic population as the way to solve their problems. This union entails doing the dirty work for British imperialism.

So what can we do about it? It is a fact that Protestant murder gangs and Loyalist sectarian violence have flowered under the protective wing of the British Army and their stooges of the RUC. The greatest service the British working class can do the Irish people and the most dramatic reply to the quacks of Fleet Street is to build a movement that will force the British Government to pull its troops out of Ireland and pull them out now.

When they go and British domination of Ireland ends, then the murder gangs of the Loyalists and their police force will crumble too. If Rees is worried about the prospect of a 'long hot summer' for the RUC, then workers in Britain must give him the answer. Get the troops out and let the Irish people decide their own future.

TED COXHEAD

TUC COPS LAY DOWN LAW



Last weekend's annual conference of trades councils in Swansea showed the determination of the TUC bureaucrats to ram through the pay deal no matter what the cost in workers democracy.

They had already banned the Conference from discussing the new TUC Rule 14, which prevents trades councils from supporting activities contrary to TUC policy. The reason—it's against Rule 14 to oppose Rule 14! Catch 22 with a vengeance.

The clash, however, went deeper than simply Rule 14. Bethnal Green and Stepney Trades Council had submitted an emergency motion to the conference calling for complete rejection of the Healey deal. But they reckoned without the antics of 'left' Terry Parry, the TUC General Council member chairing the conference.

Parry ruled that this resolution too could not be discussed because it was against TUC policy. But delegates were quick to point out this only applied to motions which conflicted with 'declared congress policy or decisions of a special conference of executive committees'.

Too bad, said Parry: 'If this con-

ference decides it is going to put this motion before it, I am wrapping this up.' So much for democracy. But then anything goes now in the bureaucrats' fight to smash resistance to the pay deal.

Even so, the 350 delegates overwhelmingly carried a watered down motion calling on the TUC to 're-examine its commitments to the social contract' in the light of rising unemployment. Luton delegate George Slessor pointed out that the conference was the most representative rank-and-file gathering in the country: 'If the TUC doesn't recognise what we are saying about the present policy, it will be to its detriment.'

But it will be to the detriment of the workers movement as a whole unless a challenge is organised to the hold of the right-wing leaders. Rule 14 can be used to prevent trades councils from supporting any group of workers taking action for a claim above the 4½ per

cent 'norm'. In other words, it is clause one in the TUC's charter for wage cuts.

The campaign launched by the Camden Trades Council Defence Committee against Rule 14 must now be broadened out. The lobby of the TUC on 6 September will be the main focus. Militants in every union must fight to get their delegation to the TUC committed to repeal Rule 14.

What is at stake is nothing less than the right to organise independently of the bureaucrats' say-so. Without that, the fight against Labour's right-wing policies will be even longer and harder than it is already.

The Camden Defence Committee has called a meeting for all London trade unionists on 10 July in Caxton Hall. Further details of the campaign, and copies of a petition to be circulated against Rule 14, can be obtained from: Defence Committee, c/o 164b Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3.

BURNING NEED

A lot has happened in the two weeks since we last printed our total. The racist menace in British society has split wide open, exposed through the brutal murder of two young overseas students. Next week we will be looking at the racist threat in East London.

The students have taken mass action against the cuts. The response to them from teachers and other sections of the working class proves the willingness to fight. 26 May, despite lack of leadership from its organisers, is nevertheless the widest response of the working class against this Labour Government. Let's see a new determination in the fight for your paper.

Our thanks to those who have done so: £20 from a Birmingham Trades Council delegate 'to aid the struggle against fascism'; £2 from a Southampton healthworker; £5 from a Manchester student; £1 from a Manchester United supporter; £10 from a West London teacher; £5 from G Riley 'to celebrate the release of George Davis'; £1 from JK; £1 from Teeside IMG; £2 from Durham IMG; £4 from South West London IMG; £8 from Bristol IMG; £8 from North London IMG.

That makes a total of £539 towards our target of £1,500 by the end of June. But we need double our present weekly total to make our target. Please rush contributions to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.



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