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INSIDE:

battle of **ideas**
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THE IMF:



Dr Johannes Witteveen.

hospitals closing, more unemployment, more overcrowded schools.

Such was the nature of Denis Healey's triumph—a triumph which was accompanied by the issuing of dire warnings of rioting in the streets and dictatorship if his policies were not followed.

That in itself was rather sick, for as Healey was speaking *The Economist*—a magazine for the more sophisticated Tories—was reassuring its readers that 'the IMF should give Britain better government than successive Labour and Tory politicians have done'.

So meet your new government, the International Monetary Fund, whose cabinet is composed of 20 international bankers appointed by the richest countries in the world. And meet your new prime minister, one Dr. Johannes Witteveen, head of the IMF and former director of a number of multinational companies.

Dr. Witteveen is also a leading light in an obscure religious sect 'dedicated to mysticism and meditation'. But you don't need much meditation to know what is going to happen now that the IMF are in government.

You will merely have to open your eyes to see the slum houses, young school leavers on the streets, and not the rich, but the poor being squeezed.

That is why you should remember 17 November, when a 'day of action' sponsored by a number of trade unions will take place. This day of action gives the opportunity to show what the average Labour voter thinks of the IMF and Healey's cuts. Organise now, strike then.

YOUR NEXT

GOVERNMENT

■ ■ ■
LAST WEEK Denis Healey raised his hands in a victory salute. He did so as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour Government, at his party's conference in Blackpool and he demanded acclaim.

Two years ago he had said that he was going to 'squeeze the rich until their pips squeak'. This time he wanted his fellow 'socialists' to applaud his negotiations with the International Monetary Fund.

Yet these negotiations will mean there will be further cuts in government expenditure amounting to something in the region of £5 billion—a cut of at least eight per cent in social spending. They mean more

It takes a lot to upstage the racism of the rank and file of the Tory Party. This week Enoch Powell managed to do it. The Ulster Unionist MP renewed his campaign for the repatriation of black people in Croydon on Monday. He put a price on their head—£1,000.

Powell's prophecy of increased violence around race issues is a self-fulfilling one. On the repatriation policy, he stands shoulder to shoulder with the fascists of the National Front and National Party.

Powell's grandiose demagogy seems to elevate him above the petty policy differences of the right-wing Labour leadership and the Tory Party. He gives a justification to the violence which leaves young Asians dying of stab wounds in the streets of Southall and burns a 76-year-old Indian woman to death in Leamington.

Powell feeds on the failure of the leaders of the trade unions and Labour Party to fight against unem-

ployment, cuts and falling living standards. But he does not have solutions himself. Last week in Lancashire, when asked what he would do about mass unemployment, Powell showed what sort of a friend he is to 'ordinary' people. 'Nothing', he replied.

Powell needs his scapegoats like any other bankrupt bourgeois politician. But he chooses black people, not the unions, as the main target. Repatriation of blacks is his solution. £1,000 is the price. Compulsory repatriation is the implication.

Violence will be the result of Powell's blood money offer. That is why black people will be on guard all over Britain after Powell's speech. The labour movement should immediately implement the decision of the Labour Conference at Blackpool to support black self-defence.

The shout that should drown out Powell's rantings should be to repeal all immigration laws. Down with racist agitation!

Powell's Blood Money



ALLOUT NOW

Trial of marchers 'a farce'

A FARCE — that's what the Right to Work Campaign calls the trials of the 43 marchers for alleged police assault. After the police attack on the Right to Work march on 19 March at Staples Corner, Hendon, 42 of the 43 marchers have been charged with offences under the Public Order Act. This means that they have no right to elect for trial by jury.

The trial of the first seven marchers ended last week. Mike Lynch, chairman of Dunfermline Central Labour Party was sentenced to six months imprisonment — although he was later released on bail pending appeal. Two of the other marchers were acquitted, while others received suspended sentences and fines.

The Right to Work Campaign

believes that a jury would have acquitted all the defendants. The magistrates trial is being used to protect the Hendon police, whose role in the Carib case and Notting Hill Carnival has come under public examination.

John Deason, the Campaign Secretary, is the only marcher who is able to elect for trial by jury. At present on £2,500 bail, he is waiting for trial at the Old Bailey.

The question of a national defence campaign to free convicted marchers will be raised at the Conference against Cuts and Unemployment in Manchester on 6 November. Further details from: Right to Work Campaign, 265a Seven Sisters Road, London N4.

Lessons of the Right to Work March

LACK OF DEMOCRACY BAR TO UNITY

TWO MAJOR POINTS have been raised in the correspondence on the Right to Work March. First, that we have no right to criticise because we did nothing to build the campaign. 'You demand the right to speak? Earn it by hard work', wrote Alan Gibbons in last week's issue.

But right from the start, when we knew that the march had been called, we said (and still say) that the march was one way to fight back, and should be supported and built. *Red Weekly* argued for that on its front page and its supporters fought for support for the march up and down the country in labour movement bodies.

The second and more honest argument is that we are wrong in our criticisms of democracy on the march, and that those criticisms are just nit-picking.

Attempting to refute the argument that contingents for the right of women and gays to work should have been allowed on the march, Eunice Sharples (*Red Weekly*, 16 September) wrote: 'They are workers aren't they, no different from all of us? So why a separate banner or contingent?'

Unity

Unfortunately the vast majority of male workers are not yet convinced of this — women are seen as working for 'pin-money', and gays as not being 'normal'. That backwardness must be confronted and fought politically — it is not enough to say 'we are all members of one class'. That is why, within a united march against unemployment, it is necessary to draw out the specific problems of women and gays (and blacks, for that matter).

David Widgery offers us an excuse for the general lack of democracy on the march — that 'co-ordinated and tight organisation is essential' if arrests and other attacks are to be avoided. But there is no reason why separate contingents should weaken the organisation of the march, and maximum involvement and democracy is the best way to get effective organisation.

Far from being 'nit-picking' to 'score points', our criticisms have been aimed at pointing out that the lack of democracy in the campaign will become a barrier to building a successful *united front* against

and Stalinist misleaders will require more than saying 'we are the only ones organising a fight back', and denouncing them with slogans of 'we are angry' and 'out of work with Labour'. It will be done by first of all being the best fighters for united action, consistently trying to force the 'lefts' to involve themselves and their base in action; and secondly, by conducting a political fight in the course of that united action with the reformists about how to take that action forward.

In practice the Right to Work Campaign moved away from this. It excluded Labour Party delegates from the Right to Work Council (see letter in *Red Weekly*, 22 July), has made no attempts to force left leaders who sponsored the marches to mobilise their supporters for those marches, and largely limited its campaign for trade union support to getting financial contributions rather than ongoing action.

The IS have led the campaign away from confronting the bureaucracy, allowing the CP to keep silent whilst the marchers are attacked for 'political thuggery'. It is because they see no need for creating a genuine united front that the democracy of the campaign can be so lightly discarded.

Change

The forthcoming conference of the campaign will not be taking resolutions from delegates — yet the IS consistently fought in the LCDTU and the Assembly on Unemployment for the right to put resolutions. Why this sudden change? Because if you do not see the need to fight to build a real united front in order to mount a political challenge to the reformists and Stalinists, there is no need for democratic debate. Democracy is essential for organising real united action, and for genuine political debate within that united

LETTERS

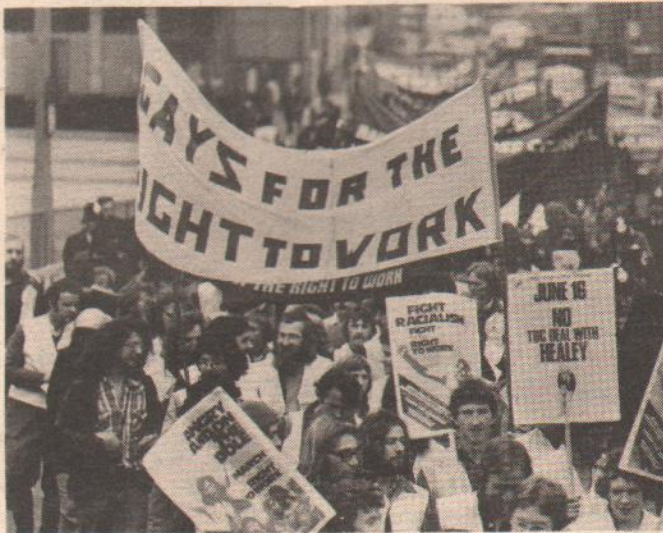
Gay Contingent - Some Facts

As the person probably most involved in the negotiations with the National Office of the Right to Work Campaign, perhaps I can fill in a few of the facts which might not be known to your readers.

Several weeks before the London to Brighton march, I wrote to John Deason, National Secretary, on the subject of there being a gay banner on the march. He replied that there would be no sectarian banners and that gays would not be permitted to have their own. This letter was considered by a meeting of the London Gay Workers and Trade Unionists, and as a result a strongly worded resolution was sent to the National Council of the Right to Work Campaign.

On 31 August at the North London Gay Centre there was a meeting of over 40 political activists from the broad left of the gay movement. One of the subjects on the agenda was the participation of gays on the London to Brighton march. I sent a reminder to Deason about the resolution and asked for a reply. None was received, but we found that a very strong group of their members and supporters turned up to the Gay Socialist meeting — some who to my certain knowledge had never been members or attended IS Gay Group meetings.

There was an attempt to have the right to work item placed on the back of a very full agenda, but this was foiled. People from the Right to Work Campaign then gave us a limited and conditional idea that we would be able to carry a gay workers and trade unionist banner. However, it was difficult to pin them down to specifics. Their supporters attempted to confuse the issue, and through lack of political experience many of the people at the meeting were satisfied with the vague promises



made by the IS group and its supporters.

However, the meeting did not consider such facts as:

*That the decision about the banners had been made by Deason and his co-workers in the National Office of the Right to Work Campaign — not by the National Council of that Campaign. This was admitted to me by one of the workers in the office in the absence of Deason.

*That I had been invited to attend a meeting of the National Council, but when it was obvious that I would raise the women's and gay issue, the hall that had been booked was too small and I would not be able to attend (Deason).

Because of the on/off attitude of the National Office of the Campaign and Deason's sexist attitude, gay support for the march and the Campaign dropped from at least 40 to a mere handful. Certainly, no-one could in all honesty support a campaign which has no elected committee; where supporters are seen merely as the tools of a small group; and where that small group encourages attacks on members of the broad labour movement. We need a Right to Work Campaign especially at this time. We need to challenge the right wing of the Labour Party, but we also need to fight to ensure that this campaign is democratic and not merely the plaything of one man or a small group of men.

In passing, I should say that I am not a member of IMG and indeed do not agree with their analysis of the world today. But I do agree that they are firmly based within the labour movement and work hard for unity — something that I am afraid IS have little idea about. If IS came down to earth they would realise how far they are from the working class and its needs. — JOHN CLARENCE (*Gays Against Fascism*).

That's Capitalism

ESTHER RANCID

Dundee District Council is considering opening an insurance scheme to cover its members. Under it, councillors will be able to insure themselves against prosecution for corruption.

It's little wonder that the Labour-controlled Council is concerned. Six of its members have been involved in corruption cases over the last few months.

The vote to investigate the scheme further was unanimous.

You'd have thought that the Tories at least would be all in favour of clean living. But no. The Tory candidate in Walsall North, Mr. Robin Hodgson, is upset that too many people may be having hot baths on Social Security.

According to a statement he put out last week, families getting special help with their fuel bills are inviting their relations around for a quick dip as well. Big problem this. Seen any tell-tale rinse-marks lately?

Incidentally, Mr. Hodgson objects because it is offensive to find hard working people having to pay taxes to subsidise scroungers. I don't suppose he was referring to that lot in Parliament, though.

Criticism 'mostly fair'

As a member of the International Socialists, I would like to answer the letter from Eunice Sharples [IS] in *Red Weekly*, 23 September. Any organisation should be prepared to listen to criticism, and I think that most of *Red Weekly's* coverage on the Right to Work march was fair.

I didn't agree with the rule for no banners, particularly for the Working Women's Charter Campaign. Far from women not having the right to march separately — which you [Eunice Sharples] take as an insult — we have a double right. We should have the right to be free to work.

Haven't you noticed that women are being made redundant first? What happened to the Child Benefit Scheme the Government threw out? Why aren't we allowed the 'privilege' to decide how many kids we want, if we want any? How many women are too damn dog tired to even have time to think about their position, let alone politics?

You asked 'have we got leprosy' and

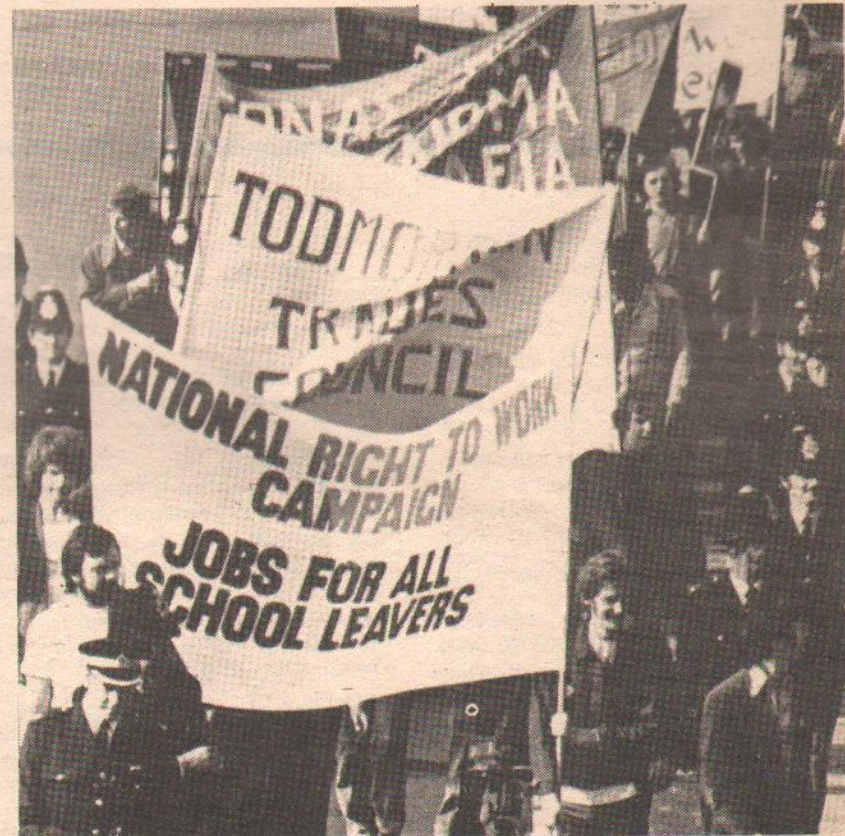
'don't we have the same rights'. We do! We have the right to a better life.

The capitalist system has conditioned us as women to feel inferior. It's very useful for them in times of economic crisis. We, amongst other oppressed groups, can be thrown on the dung heap with a clear conscience. We 'inferior' people always go first.

If the Working Women's Charter Campaign had been allowed to carry their banner, it would have shown a great number of women that there is an alternative to what for some [I believe a great many] is a miserable existence. The banners would have provided identification and a starting point for discussion, leading to action.

Yes, 'we are all members of one class, the working class'. But as we fight racism we must fight sexism. Yes to banners. No to sectarianism — as far as possible. Unity is strength. Now is the time! — CHRIS PARKER (Watford).

With the publication of these letters, our correspondence on the Right to Work march is now closed — with one exception. Our offer to John



unemployment. It is because we are for united action and a united march that we criticise its mistakes.

In fact the lack of democracy in the campaign is a result of much bigger political errors. As we said in the build up to the march, the major problem with 'rank and fileism' is that 'it does not confront the basic question of how to win those workers who still take a lead from the reformists and Stalinists to a fight against those leaders the only way in which this can be done is through the

action.

Only a genuinely democratic campaign, where differing views can be expressed clearly and publicly, can draw in those thousands of workers who want to fight the cuts and unemployment, but who still have illusion in their reformist and Stalinist leaders.

Red Weekly will campaign for support for the conference, as it did for the march, but will continue to criticise the lack of democracy which prevents that

Students-all out for 17 November

'A RAY OF HOPE for doomed colleges' — that's the appointment of Shirley Williams as the new Minister of Education. Who says so? National Student — the monthly paper of the NUS. The fact that Ms Williams is an enthusiastic supporter of the Government's cuts strategy is apparently outweighed by the 'interest' which she has in education.

But the NUS's attitude towards Williams is all of a piece with its Week of Action being called against the education cuts from 8-13 November and its support for the demonstration by public service workers on 17 November. The message is to pressure the Labour Government into changing their policies on education.

The situation is indeed gloomy. The first introduction that 10,000 students will have to college life is homelessness. Those lucky enough to get a place in a hall of residence will find fees increased by anything up to 15-25 per cent.

Absence

The absence of a student policy for automatic compensation for the effects of inflation has meant no perspective for a fight against price rises, which are even further eroding the level of the grant. Inflation will also hammer home the cuts outlined in the Healey White Paper — and that is without the demands of the International Monetary Fund.

An extra twist has been introduced by Dyfed and Avon local authorities, who have decided that students should pay their own affiliation fee — cutting student living standards at a stroke and limiting their ability to fight against it.

The NUS leaders should draw the lessons of last year's wave of occupations against teacher unemployment.

In the interests of cementing an alliance with the trade union bureaucracy to pressure the Government, the NUS leadership refused to confront the leadership of the National Union of Teachers directly with the demand that they should implement their policy for a reduction of class sizes to 30 through direct action in the schools.

Rights

Similarly, on the campaign for full trade union rights for unemployed teachers, the NUS pronounced itself content with the minimal right of attendance at NUT meetings — without vote. This is despite the enthusiasm of the NUT membership for a fight against the impact of the cuts in the schools — graphically demonstrated by the half-day strike in Oxfordshire three weeks ago.

The Broad Left leadership of the NUS consider such an intransigent stand would be 'very dangerous to our continued good relations with the trade union movement', according to the latest issue of the Broad Left Journal. For trade union movement, read trade union bureaucracy.

The right wing in the NUS suffered a blow as a result of the student teacher occupations. Their claim that their ideas are now winning support lost credibility. Nevertheless, the Federation of Conservative Students have announced a campaign to increase their membership by five times before the end of the year.

The answer to the right wing given by the Broad Left is to tag behind the trade union bureaucracy. This policy, given that the most powerful sections of the bureaucracy support the social contract to the hilt, can only fail and lend further credence to the Tory students' arguments that cuts are inevitable, necessary and

that it is a waste of energy to fight.

There is a clear alternative, however. Liaison committees to mobilise for the 17 November action have already been set up in many areas. Students should ally themselves with the base of the labour movement through their commitment to fight in the liaison committees for strike action on the day. These committees, in alliance with those already existing, can elaborate local actions and demands against the cuts.

The decision of the Labour Party Conference to support local councils refusing to implement the cuts can be the basis for action. Councils who protest lack of money should be met with the demand to cancel loan repayments to the finance houses and lend their support to the campaign for the nationalisation of the banks, by opening their books to show the full amount of indebtedness to which they are committed by the City.

The brave and determined fight by the student teachers last year should smash the arguments of the Broad Left sceptics who pour cold water on a strategy for students based on an alliance with those fighting the cuts combined with direct action in the colleges. Instead of chasing sunbeams among the Labour right wing, the Broad Left leadership should break with their bankrupt strategy of bureaucratic alliances and get down to organising such a fighting alternative.

Paul Brooke (IMG Student Organiser).

TEESSIDE Polytechnic Students Union last week passed overwhelmingly an amendment to a Trico support motion moved by a Red Weekly supporter, backing the idea of a national demonstration in support of the equal pay strike. Middlesex Polytechnic Students Union, meanwhile, has voted £250 to the strike fund.

FATAL FLAWS IN BY-ELECTION CAMPAIGN

THE FIRST MEETING to launch the International Socialists' election campaign in Walsall North took place last Thursday. About 70 militants from the Black Country and Birmingham turned up to hear Paul Foot and Jimmy McCallum argue the case for a Socialist Worker candidate. The meeting was actively supported by members of the International Marxist Group, who brought about a third of the audience along.

Foot and McCallum spoke at length about the corruption of British capitalism — the Stonehouses and Slaters of this world. Paul Foot stated that Stonehouse showed what was wrong with the Labour Party 'in a nutshell'. He emphasised the hopelessness of trying to bring about socialism through Parliament — only the mobilisation of the working class could do that.

Pathetic

McCallum pointed to the collaboration of the union officials with the Labour Government and to the pathetic record of the Communist Party as it tried to cover up for the defection of its 'left' friends like Scanlon and Jones. The key task, he stated, was to start the fight back now against the cuts and unemployment.

However, it was on precisely how that should be done that IS had no answers. Foot and McCallum constantly harked back to the days of the 1972 miners' strike and the Pentonville Five. What they failed to explain is that the situation is different under the Labour Government, and that different policies and demands are necessary to take the struggle forward.

McCallum's claim that 'only the organisation is missing' simply serves to mislead militants as to the real nature of the

join the Socialist Worker election campaign. Not once did they raise any socialist demands that militants should take up. Nor did they mention the importance of supporting the already existing campaigns in Walsall against the cuts and racism.

Thousands

When a member of the International Marxist Group called for the setting up of a joint election committee of all those who supported McCallum — revolutionaries, Labour Party members, trade unionists — McCallum declared that by the end of the first few weeks of the campaign there would be 'too many supporters' for a committee. Foot talked of 'the thousands of people in Walsall who will support us'.

IS's intentions became clear towards the end of the meeting when they twice had to be reminded that a resolution had been moved and submitted in writing for a vote. Despite the obvious support for a vote being taken, the IS chairperson refused to put the resolution on the grounds that the meeting was not a delegate meeting! Anyway, said Jimmy, he'd be in Walsall every day just down the road, and anyone who wanted to help could just drop in.

Accountable

Despite their long attacks on Stonehouse for his bureaucratic attitudes, despite pointing out that Labour Party MP's are not accountable to their supporters, the IS leadership

Such attitudes are fatal. Many workers are disillusioned with Labour and can be won to a fight against their policies. But the forces required to wage that struggle are enormous, and neither the IS, the IMG or any other group can adopt the ludicrous pretension that they alone can mobilise the working class.

Furthermore, many militants — precisely because they have been through the experience of the John Stonehouses — are very wary of self-proclaimed leaders of the working class. IS's anti-democratic practices simply put a bar in front of winning these workers to the fight for socialism. United campaign committees, democratically run, responsible to regular supporters' meetings — that's what is needed in Walsall North. Instead the IS have chosen the path of sectarian glory.

The IMG will continue to support the Socialist Worker candidate, but will argue for a campaign with clear politics and democratic practices — against McCallum and the IS.

John Graham.

Meanwhile Walsall Labour Party, which refused to support the 25 September anti-racist demonstration but claimed to be organising its own demo on 9 October, has now called it off — ostensibly because it fears 'trouble'. It is clear that the original call was just a manoeuvre to pacify rank-and-file Labour members who wanted real opposition to the National Front, and that there was never any intention of holding this demonstration.

This comes as no surprise. Walsall Labour Party would have been incapable of mobilising more than a handful of its own members because of the deep-rooted racism in its own ranks. Furthermore, Labour candidate Winnick's campaign in the Walsall by-election is based

IN FOCUS

One year on from the Sex Discrimination Act

Last week the Under Secretary of State for Employment condemned criticism of equal pay tribunals as 'misguided'. 'Such criticism', he said, 'by giving the impression that the Act was a failure could deter claimants and undermine the tribunal's process'.

Mr. Grant's criticism will come as news to the women who have seen 72 per cent of all equal pay claims fall foul of the tribunals.

*Like the women at Kraft in Liverpool, who were told they couldn't have equal pay because they could not be asked to walk over an elevated catwalk as production would be impeded by men looking up their skirts.

*Like Susan Waddington, who found that 'the same or broadly similar work' meant just that; so although she did a more responsible job than the man she appointed she wasn't entitled to equal pay.

*Like Yvonne Wilson and her colleagues, who did heavier work than their male co-workers — and still didn't win equal pay.

Management Happy

Management is quite happy about this situation. After all, a recent survey by the Department of Employment showed that two thirds of senior management are opposed to equal pay — and management do form one third of the representation at tribunals. It's a case of heads they win, tails you lose. But perhaps the best example of the inadequacy of the Equal Pay Act is the continuing strike at Trico-Folberth in Brentford. After 20 weeks, management has still not backed down from their attempts to bring about equal pay by reducing the men's rate to the women's level.

First they offered £2.50. Then they took the case to a tribunal which the union boycotted. When the tribunal supported their case, they claimed this meant there was already equal pay at the factory. But then they changed their mind and offered the women 50p and the 4½ per cent pay deal — and the men nothing. Last week they generously added another 50p, bringing the grand total to £3.50. The strikers, who want £6.50, tore this 'offer' up.

And it's not just the Equal Pay Act. Labour's sex discrimination legislation is almost a year old, but as Jo Richardson MP told a mass meeting of Trico strikers, there are loopholes galore for the bosses to crawl through. Anti-discrimination legislation has left social security and tax regulations intact, while things like nursery provision are the first victims of the Government's cuts. Abortion rights are also under attack, while mounting unemployment and cuts in public spending are strengthening the grip of family responsibilities which deny women independence and equality.

Charter Rally

For these reasons Red Weekly welcomes the rally launched by the Working Women's Charter Campaign — 'One Year on from the Sex Discrimination Act — A Rally for Women's Rights'. Its aim is to bring together trade unionists, women's groups, labour movement bodies and every campaign fighting for women's rights. Through speakers, theatre groups, exhibitions and much more it wants militants to exchange their experiences on the fight for women's rights in light of the Government's legislation — what progress has been made, where legislation is inadequate, what needs to be done to make equality a reality.

The rally has already received support from a number of Labour MP's and dozens of delegates to the recent TUC and Labour Party conferences. On 16 October the first planning meeting for the rally takes place with representatives from all women's and labour movement organisations invited to attend, irrespective of present attitudes to the Charter Campaign. Red Weekly calls on its supporters to give the fullest possible support to this rally. By making it an important event in the life of the labour and women's movement, we can begin to stem the tide of attacks on women's rights.

RALLY: One Year on from the SDA — A Rally for Women's Rights, Saturday, 26 February 1977, Alexandra Palace, London.

PLANNING MEETING: Saturday, 16 October, 2pm, Architectural Association, Bedford Square, London — in the Planning Lecture Theatre.

For information and sponsorship forms, write to: Liz Hambleton, 49, Lowther Hill, London SE23 1PZ.



MORALE is very high at the Grunwick strike for union recognition. The north-west London strike has received the support of two local Labour MPs - Reg Freeson and Laurie Pavitt. However despite Tom Jackson pledge at the TUC to black the factory, mail has started to

NOT JUST ANOTHER 'EXCESS'

DEMAGOGY comes cheap. Nevertheless, many militants fighting against racism must have rubbed their eyes in disbelief at the news that the Labour Party Conference had called for the repeal of the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts, for labour movement support for black self-defence, a ban on the use of council facilities by fascists, and the formation of anti-racist and anti-fascist committees up and down the country.

The basis for the present Labour Party 'campaign' against racialism, in contrast, is the strengthening of the Race Relations Act, the 'humane use' of existing immigration laws, and explanation of the contribution that black people make to the economy. The NEC has advised local Labour Parties not to become involved in demonstrations against the fascists. Meanwhile the Labour Government is

intent on passing the Nationalities Bill through the next session of Parliament, to tighten the screws on immigrants and their dependants and increase the tendency towards blaming black people for the problems of capitalist crisis.

The first steps which militants should take is to ensure that the demonstration against racism called by the Labour Party and the TUC for 21 November has as one of its main demands the dropping of this racist legislation and the repeal of the other Immigration Acts. All the existing literature for the present Labour campaign should be scrapped, and new campaigning material on the basis of the Conference decisions should replace it.

Immediate action is needed if the correct and principled policy contained in the resolution below is not to be dismissed and buried as another 'excess in Blackpool'.

This conference calls upon the Labour Government to repeal the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts and all legislation that discriminates against immigrants and obstructs their integration into the trade union and labour movement. Conference reaffirms its opposition to racialism in any form and recognises that the National Front and other right wing groups are playing a key role in the propagation of racist ideas. However it recognises that a legal ban would not have a lasting effect.

Conference condemns the racist propaganda emanating from the press and television and condemns the implicit racial statements made by members of the Parliamentary Labour Party which in demanding an end to all immigration have given credence to the racists, and resolves to campaign vigorously on a local and national basis to show working people that our immigrant community are not to blame for the unemployment problem and housing difficulties.

Conference calls on all Constituency Labour Parties to fully support the formation of local labour movement anti-racist committees, and calls on Labour Councils to ban the use of council property by the fascist National Front and National Party.

Conference recognises that to end

the threat of racialism once and for all requires an end to the system that creates and nurtures it and that the system will use immigrant workers as scapegoats for its inadequacies. Conference believes that full unity and the mobilisation of the labour movement are essential to secure this end.

A campaign against racialism is fundamental. Conference calls on the National Executive Committee to launch a campaign for the following:

[a] a conference on racialism;
[b] full support to the black community in defending themselves against racist attack — while recognising the responsibility of the labour movement to defend the livelihoods and lives of all workers;
[c] public meetings locally and nationally;

[d] propaganda and recruitment leaflets to be published in all immigrant languages;

[e] support for the stamping out of any discrimination in the Labour and trade union movement including the expulsion of members of racist organisations;

[f] an appeal to all sections of the labour movement for finance for the campaign.

Moved by
SALFORD EAST CLP
Seconded by
NORWOOD CLP



GERRY LERNER of Salford East CLP moving Composite 40 against racism at the Labour Conference

Import and immigration controls 'both racist'

'NEITHER IMPORT NOR IMMIGRATION CONTROLS can solve the problems of this society. All those who call for such controls in one way or another, I'm sorry to say, have to be labelled as racist. In practice they blame foreign workers, not British employers, for the crisis.'

That was the message that Assan Raghieb, IMG speaker, had for the 300 marchers at the latest focus of anti-racist activity in the Midlands — last Saturday's demonstration in Wolverhampton. Assan is a shop steward at the Rover car factory in Solihull. Pointing out that none of the trade union leaders came to speak against racism when factory petitions were circulating in support of Robert Relf, he called for the formation of 'our own groups, in the unions, as black people, to tell these leaders that these are our problems and if they are not going to fight, we will fight. It's very important we organise in the unions, because they are the might of this country.'

The demonstration was called by the local Anti-Racist Committee and supported by the Communist Party, International Socialists, IMG and Indian Workers Association, as well as other anti-racist organisations. Wolverhampton Harambee Association provided part of the West Indian representation on the march. Stan

Faulkner, a member, told *Red Weekly*: 'Black people should call a strike, a black people's strike to drive it home to the people that we have to get equal employment and housing.'

Fears of attacks on the black community in the area have been heightened by the barbarous burning of a 76-year-old Indian woman in Leamington. Jit Singh, a T&GWU steward at Birmid Qualcast, emphasised to *Red Weekly*: 'I don't think that black people can rely on the police to defend them. We have to defend ourselves every way we can.'

The *Socialist Worker* candidature in Walsall North and that of Tariq Ali in Stechford met with approval from N.S. Noor, national vice-president of the Indian Workers Association (Marxist) and president of the Wolverhampton IWA. He explained his own experience with elections to *Red Weekly*:

'The IWA in Wolverhampton has been able on two occasions to put up our own candidates in local elections, to give a jerk to the Labour Party and put them on the right lines. If we find that the Labour Party is as racist as the Tories then we don't vote for either of them, we must put up our own candidates. In this so-called democracy, this is the only alternative left for us. I would like to see this pattern up and down the country, so that we can build a campaign to rectify the ills of society.'

BLACK AND BLUE

Movement grows to defend black youth

A MEETING in North London called by the Black Parents' Movement last week highlighted the need to mobilise support for the struggle against police harassment and brutalising of blacks, particularly the youth.

The meeting dealt specifically with four cases in which the BPM has involved itself.

1. The Wood Green battle between the police and 200 black youth after an inter-school sports meeting in Tottenham;
2. The arrest of four black kids in Oxford Street on the charge of suspicion, which in this, as in many other cases, means simply being there;
3. The brutal beating up by the police of six women, including a young girl, by the police in Harlesden;
4. The arrests at the Notting Hill confrontation with the police.

The Black Parents' Movement was formed in June 1975 around the case of Cliff McDaniel, a schoolboy charged with assaulting the police although he had in fact been the victim of a physical attack by PC Ryan David. Both the BPM and the Black Students' Movement (formed at the same time) organised meetings, pickets and a successful demonstration.

In introducing the meeting, the chairperson John LaRose talked of 'this capitalist system of oppression which we have begun to understand'. He said that the movement is now planning a conference to be held either at the end of this year or the start of next, in which they will introduce and elaborate to the public their political philosophy and programme.

He said that the BPM stands for 'independent black radical revolutionary organisation... fighting our struggle with

State which profess to seek the advancement of the black community. 'The community relations industry', said LaRose, 'is a kind of colonial office for undermining the independent organisation of black people.'

Speakers at the meeting included Claude Hilliman, one of the members of the BSM arrested at the Notting Hill confrontation. Claude said that 'the significant thing that has emerged is that all the defendants are split up... the thing that is necessary in mobilising some kind of campaign is that some links be made between the defendants.' He called for community mobilisation. 'It was clear from the magistrate's attitude that he is out to convict as many as possible', said Claude.

Barbara Beese, a member of both the BPM and the *Race Today* Collective, explained what is the normal experience of blacks who find themselves in the web of the British legal system. She impressed upon the audience that 'the collaboration between the police, barristers and courts can be fought', and outlined the procedure by which the BPM and the BSM handle cases involving the victimisation of black people.

What is important is that the community is made aware of and is involved in the case, and that the organisation ensures that they get and keep on top of the case until they are satisfied with the conclusion. She told of the common practice of solicitors who confuse their clients to the point where the defendants place their fate completely in the hands of the legal system — a system which in reality finds it much easier to persecute blacks than bestow justice. It is because of the nature of the system that it is necessary to establish an organizational structure that



NOTTING HILL CARNIVAL

During the discussion that followed, one black youth in particular made an impressive intervention, speaking with defiance and confidence. He asked: 'Is it not time that blacks started to defend themselves, with guns if necessary? The older blacks have been brainwashed, he said, — they do not understand their youth, they don't understand why the youth are resisting.

'When the youth wear the red, green and gold hat... parents say don't wear it to avoid trouble... a lot of young blacks

resist 'they keep you down in the lower forms... the teachers hate you.'

The BPM and the BSM emerging out of a particular struggle against State oppression, have shown the possibilities of community based politics (as opposed to community politics) by their very survival. The usual experience in the black communities is that defence campaigns emerging out of specific cases have tended to wither away once the case is over. And while we do not necessarily endorse the

support the following pickets (the Wood Green one was held on Monday).

★ Harlesden — Willesden Magistrate's Court, St. Mary's Lane — Tuesday 12 October, 10am.

★ The dates and locations of the Notting Hill confrontation trials are known, but no pickets have been organised as yet. It is certain, however, that they will be:

1. Marlborough Street Court — Wednesday 27 October.

Fight Harassment Of Scottish Gays

A Government Bill now wending its way through Parliament reaffirms that acts of 'gross indecency' between men, and a whole range of so-called 'offences' including sodomy, are still criminal offences in Scotland.

The 1967 Act [which permitted males over 21 to have sexual relations in private] did not apply to Scotland. The Government claim that their Sexual Offences Bill [Scotland] simply repeats existing laws, and that they don't intend to bring any prosecutions under the new measures. Such promises, easily made, are just as easily broken; and if the recent attitude of the authorities towards those who campaign for the rights of homosexuals is anything to go by, the future for gays in Scotland is dim.

The Scottish Minorities Group, which campaigns for law reform and acts as a welfare body for gays, is campaigning against the Bill—and is being harassed as a result. When the group opened its new office in Edinburgh, the District Council

refused permission for a small plaque containing the dreaded word 'homosexuality' to be erected outside the office.

That particular prohibition was successfully fought, but the Council's campaign against the SMG continues. The Planning Committee have now ruled that the office can only be used between 9 am and 5 pm. As Ian Christie, a member of the SMG's executive committee and the Gay Labour Group, points out: 'The office's work, such as counselling and advising Scotland's 250,000 homosexual men and women, can only be done in the evening. No other organisation or business in Edinburgh has been subject to such limitations.'

Such harassment must be fought by a campaign against all legislation which makes homosexuality illegal. The trade unions, SLP and Labour Party must be made to defend any members facing prosecution, and a fight waged to commit Labour MPs to vote against the new Bill and for the scrapping of all anti-gay legislation — CHRIS BAMBERY (Edinburgh).



SUPPORT REPUBLICAN PRISONERS

Shane Paul O'Doherty is the son of well-known and highly respected parents. He was educated at St. Eugene's Primary, the Brow of the Hill and St. Columba's college. Shane was an exceptional student, with above average intelligence. It was while he was still at St. Columba's that the cauldron of the 'Northern' conflict began to bubble and Shane, with his sharp wit, was quick to draw his own conclusions and to decide what part he should play in the struggle which was to follow.

It is known to everyone now exactly what part the smartly-dressed, auburn-headed lad did play. On Friday 10 September, at the Old Bailey, Shane O'Doherty was gaoled for twenty years on one charge and life on thirty others of causing explosions in England. His behaviour at the Old Bailey was typical of a person who was prepared to stand over his politically-motivated actions. Before sentence was passed, he addressed the court as follows:

'... I am a Republican and a Socialist and proud of it. Like many Irishmen, I believe there is a simple and moral justification for the armed freedom str-

uggle in Ireland. Like them, I would like to see a just and enduring peace established there.

'This cannot be achieved until the British Government declares its intention to withdraw its army from Ireland. I would like to see all Irishmen decide the future of Ireland. I wish only to say that I regret any injuries accidentally caused to innocent people of Britain's working class which may have been caused by my acts.

'I was kidnapped in Northern Ireland by members of the British Army and brought forcibly to England. Justice means Britain getting out of Ireland and I shall never consider any of the verdicts of your courts binding on me. I don't like violence, but this was forced on us by the British Government. I would do it again. I can meet my God with a clear conscience...

Like many other Republicans, Shane O'Doherty is incarcerated in an English prison. He is forced to co-exist with men who are totally out of character with himself — the robbers, rapists, perverts, con-men and other 'unfortunates' of Britain. It is blatantly obvious that he is

not criminally inclined. Shane O'Doherty is too well-read and influenced by his parents to dishonour them in any way. He is a young man who recognised injustices, experienced them, and endeavoured to free his country of them.

If his British gaolers are hoping to 'reform' Shane O'Doherty, even in twenty years they will not succeed! The roots of his political philosophy are too deeply sunk. It is out of nothing but spite that he is forced to suffer in an English gaol. He, like so many others, is being denied repatriation and the political status which he deserves. Attempts to treat men like Shane O'Doherty as criminals are feeble and hollow efforts to break their spirit, and are doomed to failure.

The people who know Shane O'Doherty will know what I mean. The people who know other Republican prisoners in England will also know what I mean. Voices must be raised in support of these men. — TERRY CROSSAY [Cage 10, Long Kesh Prison Camp].

P.S. I am not attempting in any way to degrade the 'ordinary' prisoners in English gaols. They too are suffering at the hands of so-called British justice.

Fighting the Cuts

EDINBURGH

In Edinburgh it is the bus services which are threatened by the Government's cuts. Over the last few years the number of workers on the buses has dropped from 3,000 to 1,700 as a result of various 'rationalisations'. Women workers have been especially hit through the loss of conductor's jobs by the introduction of 'one-man operated' buses.

Now the Labour-controlled Lothian Region Council are planning further cut-backs which will mean higher fares and reduced services. But the bus workers are having none of it. In the words of local union official Terry Weir:

'The busmen will refuse to take the buses out of the depots if they are presented with new operating schedules involving reductions. The crews appreciate that in the long run this could lead to a lock-out situation.'

HIGHLANDS

In the Scottish Highlands, just such a lock-out situation has developed after more than 300 school cleaners went on strike over council plans to reduce their working hours and pay by a third. Last

support of the cleaners. In this instance it was the students who taught their teachers a lesson, because the teachers have so far limited their protest to 'non-cooperation' with any scab cleaners. This policy must be changed — the best way to win the fight back against the cuts is to ensure that those fighting do not stand alone.

BURY

For nearly a month, residents of Hillcrest Hostel rehabilitation centre and supporters of the Bury Action Group Against the Cuts have been occupying the hostel against threatened closure. This magnificent stand has now borne fruit in the calling of a conference against the cuts in Bury.

Radcliffe Trades Council have agreed to organise the conference in response to a resolution from Prestwich Labour Party. Other labour movement bodies are already being approached, including Bury Trades Council, whose executive were discussing the question on Tuesday.

Radcliffe Trades Council is calling for the formation of an organising committee representing all those forces in the area prepared to monitor and take action against the cuts. Its first meeting takes

Union Democracy - Medium Rare

I would like to bring to your attention a dispute at the Steak & Kebab Restaurant in Lancaster which has raised important questions about union democracy.

The workers at this restaurant have been on strike for nearly eight weeks now. They came out when head waitress Maggie Clappen was sacked — the day after five of six full-time staff voted to join the Transport & General Workers Union, and elected Ms Clappen as their shop steward. The catering industry is traditionally poorly unionised — and the attitude of the T&G bureaucracy to this dispute shows one of the reasons why.

For a start, it has taken a long time for the T&G to make the strike official — let alone build support for it. T&G district official Bob Wills has failed to raise the dispute at meeting after meeting. But when the strikers investigated the union's structures in the North West to see if they could get Wills replaced, they found that it was so undemocratic that a group of only six people controlled the union's entire affairs in the region — and one of them was Wills.

Maggie Clappen commented after this discovery: 'Jack Jones is supposedly very keen on industrial democracy. It's a pity he doesn't practice what he preaches, and start by democratising his own union structures.'

Another example of the bureaucrats' attitude: after Lancaster Trades Council had passed a motion of full support for the strike, its Vice-President then went off for a meal at the restaurant! When members of the Trades Council tried to put a motion demanding his resignation, it was ruled out of order —

RED WEEKLY

23 September 1976

Pr. 106

Price 10p

EQUAL PAY for TRICO WOMEN!
Demonstrate —
Saturday 2 October, assemble 2.00 p.m.
Boston Manor Park, Boston Manor Road,
Brentford (under M4 flyover)
Called by Working Women's Charter Campaign

LABOUR-ARM AFRICAN WORKERS!

WHILE HENRY KISSINGER was busy 'shuttling' across Southern Africa in a desperate effort to find 'the last chance of a negotiated solution', the struggles of the black people continue to spread. Huge strikes have swept the black townships of South Africa, while in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) the armed struggle has pushed ahead.

Kissinger's sudden interest in the well-being of the African people stems not from any feeling for the blacks. He is American imperialism in southern Africa following the victory of the guerrilla fighters in Angola and Mozambique.

ULTRA-LEFT?

I was rather disturbed by the headline in Red Weekly of 23 September; 'Labour' [in relatively small capitals], 'Arm African Workers' [large capitals], 'not white racists' [in smaller capitals].

To my mind this 'ultra-left' headline expresses a dangerous reliance on the spontaneity of the present upsurge of the oppressed black people in South Africa, and is born of a lack of analysis of South African society — something which has been notably absent from Red Weekly. Granted that Red Weekly is an interventionist paper and immediate solidarity with the blacks in South Africa is imperative, but it is necessary to explain that South Africa is not just any capitalist society.

It is, for example, disastrous to underestimate the importance of any fight to win democratic rights and overthrow national oppression in South Africa. In that field it is a grave mistake to side-step the impact the South African Communist Party and their African National Congress collaborators have had, especially on the subjective consciousness, the demands, and the aspirations of the masses. This Red Weekly has not so far done.

Also, it will be disastrous to underplay the proletarian nature of the revolution in

South Africa. Therefore the 'national democratic' programmes of the CP/ANC alliance must be rigorously criticised, especially from the point of view of their utopianism [i.e., national and democratic freedoms cannot be won unless the capitalist state is overthrown].

The necessity of organising the urban black working class to lead the fight must be emphasised. Any attempt to raise the peasantry [many of whom are actually rural labourers] by infiltrating commandos from abroad to start a Vietnamese-style 'national liberation' war can only end in tragedy unless the black working class is consciously aroused, organised and fighting.

Even then, rural guerrillas will at best play a subsidiary role. Neglect of the black urban workers will leave them prey to black nationalism in its most chauvinistic aspects, spontaneity, repression and eventual demoralisation.

Since the 1973 black workers' upsurge around pay and conditions, the ANC have been talking of building illegal trade unions, presumably something like the Spanish workers commissions. Revolutionaries must take up any such initiatives in order to build a revolutionary party in South Africa — LIONEL HOLLEY.

Unlucky White Heather?

Us? Against all cuts? What nonsense! The laundry situation in Avon's hospitals was recently discussed by the Avon Health Services Joint Union Council — and savings could definitely be made by the management in laundry services.

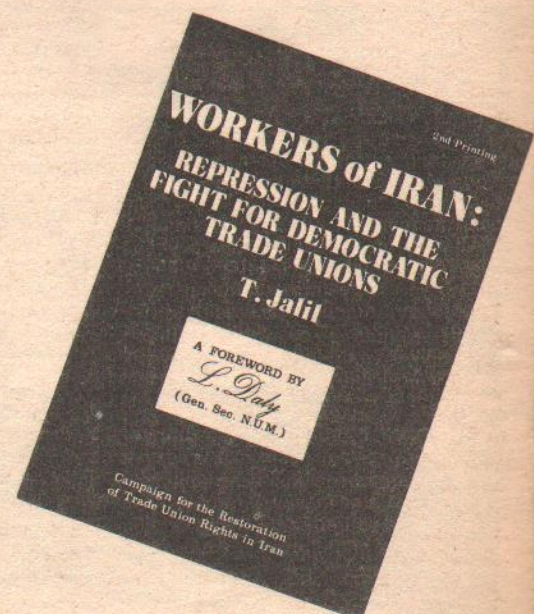
To explain. Some years ago, a fine new area laundry was built at Brentry, with the capacity to wash all of Avon's four health districts' linen. District laundries were run down — and the area was saving money by centralising its laundry. Part of the state's project of administrative efficiency at the expense of workers' jobs.

However, about 12 months ago the Area Health Authority had second thoughts. A confidential document recalled

the chaos caused by the Brentry Laundry TGWU members during the ancillary strike — and recommended that Brentry should not be developed to its full capacity.

So, at present Brentry deals with 110,000 pieces a week; and 50,000 pieces from the Southmead District are contracted out to the 'White Heather' private laundry. Brentry washes at 9.2p a piece... and White Heather at 16.3 pence a piece! A clear cut case for economy! The Joint Union Council decided to write to the Authority suggesting that White Heather be cut out... you see we're reasonable people, we're not opposed to all cuts — JOHN SMITH [Bristol].

JUST OUT



Second printing of a new booklet with foreword by Laurence Daly, General Secretary of the NUM. Published by the Campaign for the Restoration of Trade

LEFTS - THE PAPER TIGERS

When 'Sunny Jim' Callaghan arrived at the eve-of-Conference reception at Tiffany's on Sunday, the band stopped playing. Callaghan took over. After telling delegates who had never previously attended a Party Conference that it would be an experience never to be forgotten, he proceeded to fulfill his prophecy by explaining that the theme of this year's Conference (he had decided, no doubt) was to be 'loyalty to the Government'.

Callaghan's hour-long report to Conference on behalf of the PLP was undoubtedly crude in the way it stressed the indivisibility of Labour's industrial strategy as he put it, and the defence of the social contract. But though crude it was effective, as were the tactics of the right-wing leadership in general. For whilst a number of resolutions of which they would disapprove were passed, sometimes against the recommendation of the 'left-wing' NEC, they remain only pieces of paper as long as they are located in the

framework of loyalty to the Callaghan-Healey Government.

A delegate at the *Tribune* 'Any Questions' meeting on Sunday summed it up. Interrupting Stan Orme, who was engaged in a pathetic self-justification of his role as a member of the Government, the delegate said that whilst he was loyal to the Labour Government, he was first of all loyal to the working class, and that meant a fight against the policies of the Labour Government.

Plan

The right were able to win the Conference precisely because the left leaders had a plan for everything at Blackpool — except how to fight the Government's anti-working class policies.

Benn, speaking at an Institute of Workers Control meeting, sang the obligatory paeans of praise for alternative socialist policies. He then eulogised over the concord between the



1,000 NCC and NUPE lobbyists against the cuts link their protest to that of Rolls Royce workers fighting closure.



TONY BENN speaks at the *Tribune* Rally accompanied by the architects of the Social Contract - Jack Jones and Michael Foot.

trade unions and the Labour Party. But it is this concord which cements the foundations of the Government's right-wing policies.

At last year's *Tribune* meeting, the sparks flew between Mikardo and Jones. This year the *Tribune* platform was decorated with the presence of former Minister for Unemployment, Michael Foot, and the architect of the social contract, Jack Jones!

The Tribunites alternatively grumbled and pleaded. At the Conference they made left speeches. But in the face of the demands of Callaghan to 'back the Government and keep the Tories out', they floundered and wilted. Because they can only see change through the prism of parliamentary reformism, they are reduced to nothing more potent than calling on the Government to mend the error of its ways.

Challenge

The supporters of *Militant* were in a position to launch a challenge to the Tribunites. One of their candidates for the NEC received 57,000 votes, equivalent to the support of some 60 CLP's. They reject the nationalist and class collaborationist solutions to the crisis of the Tribunites, such as import controls, reflation of the economy, etc.

But in reality the supporters of *Militant* were able only to up the stake over the Tribunites. Their proposals

for more nationalisation, less compensation, more radical policies — all praiseworthy objectives — were lengthier than those of the traditional 'left leaders, their proposals on how to achieve them were, however, just as short on suggested action.

Unorganised

By failing to recognise the need to involve the Labour Party in the mass struggle, *Militant* reduce themselves to passive commentators unable to provide a strategy for fighting the right-wing leaders.

The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy — given impetus by the bureaucratic practices of the platform — undoubtedly did make big strides forward. But if that campaign is to increase its support and strengthen its influence it has to organise against the leadership.

Nor can the campaign dodge the issue of policy linked to mass action. The right-wing leaders are against democracy because they have to impose their pro-ruling class policies on the labour movement. They elevate parliamentary 'democracy' above the democratic rights of the labour movement because they serve the interests of the capitalist state.

Failing

The campaign, as yet, does not offer a way forward for the opposition that is beginning to grow within both the CLP's and the unions. Neither have *Tribune* or *Militant*. As a result, the left wing still remains uncoordinated and unorganised.

Nevertheless, the first tentative of an organised opposition are beginning to appear. The lobby called the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS and NUPE attracted 1,000 people. The next day the NCC along with Labour Against Cuts (LAC) and the Socialist Medical Association (SMA) held a joint rally which called for a campaign in the Labour Parties and the unions to build massive support for the proposed sector demonstration on 17 November.

Stressed

Speakers at the meeting, like Knight (LAC), prospective parliamentary candidate for Hornsey, stressed the importance of involving all forces inside the trade unions and Labour Parties in building that demonstration and turning it into an ongoing campaign against all cuts in the social services.

Such policies and initiatives should go forward. Bodies like the NCC and the SMA should now make every effort to unite with all organisations that are pledged to fight cuts. Rank-and-file supporters of *Tribune*, the IWC and Clause 4 should also put all their strength behind a working class struggle that can challenge the policies of the Government. A united campaign can smash divisive policies of the Government and unite the workers movement around alternative socialist policies.

The lesson of Blackpool 1976 was stark and brutal. Either a fight be organised and the Callaghan/Healey leadership is challenged at every turn or the Tories will ride back into office. Bob Pennington.



Callaghan's reference to the 'Trots' and the continual statements from right-wing bureaucrats about 'subversive' literature circulating in the conference were well-justified.

Red Weekly supporters were active not only on the Conference floor, but in most fringe meetings. They played a major role in building the lobby against health cuts called by NUPE and the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS — both before the conference, and in winning delegates and visitors to support the lobby.

They distributed 9,000 leaflets, including a daily Red Weekly Conference bulletin; the Red Weekly leaflet on devolution was

The Red Weekly supporters' meeting on racism, addressed by Tait and Norwood CLP delegate and CLP supporter Paul More, was attended by delegates and visitors.

Red Weekly supporters were also in winning support for many of the campaigns which organised a number of meetings — such as the Tribunal organised by the National Abortion Campaign; the rally on the Sex Discrimination Act organised by the Working Women's Charter Campaign; the Troops Out Campaign; Spain in Struggle; and many others.

Three hundred copies of a Red Weekly pamphlet, 'The Fight for Democracy', were distributed.



CUTS: Leaders paper over cracks

BOOS greeted Denis Healey's ultimatum to Conference that support for the Government in its fight against the run on the pound meant support for all the Government's policies.

This came only two days after Conference had passed Composite 26, moved by the National Union of Public Employees, which rejected the 'reactionary view that public spending on houses, schools, hospitals and health centres has to be cut back in order to finance higher profits in the public sector'.

The Composite went on to support 'those Labour Councils which have refused to implement the cuts, and calls on other Labour Groups to follow suit', and ended

by urging the Labour Party to 'conduct an active campaign against cuts in public expenditure, and calls on the National Executive Committee to support trade unions opposing the cuts.'

Barbara Castle was hauled over the coals at the meeting organised by the Socialist Medical Association by speaker after speaker for the role she had played in the Government in betraying every aspect of last year's Composite 30 on the health service. The 80-strong meeting, organised jointly by the SMA, Labour Against Cuts and the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS discussed a militant campaign against the cuts both in the Labour Party itself and throughout the labour movement.

But the strong anti-cuts sentiment was double-edged. Healey was able to withstand the booing and heckling and come out tops. The NEC emergency statement on the pound asked Conference 'to give its wholehearted support to the Government in resisting the present attack on the pound'. The statement, drafted by Judith Hart, was overwhelmingly passed.

The cracks between Healey and the anti-cuts opposition were papered over by a paragraph which drew attention to 'the crucial importance of the positive cooperation between the Government and the trade

union movement, which has resulted in the voluntary wage policies of the Social Contract in the past and forthcoming years'.

The left-wing leaders' commitment to the social contract is the strongest feather in the Government's cap. There can be more expenditure on health, the Trico women can have equal pay, the seamen can have wage rises — just as long as the settlements don't go beyond the limits of the social contract. In other words, they can have nothing.

A militant campaign for the implementation of the NUPE Composite on the cuts can only be successful if the class-collaborationist social contract is rejected. This means rejecting loyalty to the wage-cutting policies of the present Government as a solution to the problems of the working class. Above all, it means building a campaign of mass action against the Government's policies.

The day of action called by NUPE, NALGO and the CPSA for 17 November can become a real launching pad for such a campaign. But to be such a launching pad, it must not be restricted to a day of protest to exert pressure on the Government not to introduce further cuts. It must be turned into a day of national strike action against the social contract and for the restoration of all cuts.



LABOUR MPs jostle to speak against the unemployment policies that they voted for in Parliament. Double standards were the rule.

Party Democracy Another Struggle

'... The NEC must remember that while they are rightly responsible only for their words and their resolutions, the Government is accountable for its actions. And accountable in a Parliamentary democracy to Parliament.'

With these well-chosen words, as well as the usual warning about 'those who seek to infiltrate our Party and use it for their own ends', Callaghan sought to answer the thorny problem of democracy.

At least 43 CLP's had submitted resolutions calling for mandatory reselection of MP's. A further 16 and NUPE put down resolutions calling for those resolutions to be published and debated after the Conference Arrangements Committee had suppressed debate on the issue. The Committee has used the infamous three-year rule, by which resolutions are ruled out of order on the grounds that a topic cannot be debated a second time within three years unless it is of 'immediate importance'.

Two-and-a-quarter million votes were cast against the recommended timetable at the opening of Conference. But the major unions understood well the implications of this vote for their relations with the Government as embodied in the social contract, and led by the Transport and General Workers Union they voted against.

Change sides

The strategy of the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, who announced that they had decided to 'concentrate on persuading delegates from these unions to change sides next year', is however doomed to failure. Far too much is at stake for a strategy based on 'persuasion' to work.

the election of the Labour Party leader by Conference cannot be won unless this question is answered.

The whole idea of Parliament is that it is an institution 'above' the various 'interest groups' in society. Above the interests of particular sections of society, Parliament must represent the interests of 'Britain as a whole'. But Britain is a society in which there are two irreconcilable class interests. Any suggestion that workers and bosses have a common interest is a sham, a cover for anti-working class measures. And Parliament is the institution which is the authoritative expression of this sham.

Party democracy

In our fight for the extension of party democracy, we must campaign for a Labour Government which is responsible to the organisations of the working class, and not to the capitalist institution of Parliament. We must take up the challenge laid down by Prentice and Callaghan. We must say that the fight for party democracy is also the fight against the class collaborationist Healey-Callaghan leadership, who are so closely tied to the interests of the ruling class through the parliamentary system. And we must say that a fight for a Labour Government responsible to the organisations of the working class is, above all, a fight for alternative policies.

Such a fight needs organising. The Campaign for Labour Party Democracy should immediately take up the suggestion made by Arthur Scargill at the CDLP fringe meeting at the Conference to organise a conference of Labour Party members, delegates from branches, GMC's and trade union organisations to work out the next stage

Why they sank the pound

LAST WEEK's plunging pound effectively nailed the myth that sacrifices by workers could save the ailing fortunes of British capitalism. The truth is brutally simple. The cost of the £2.3 billion loan from the International Monetary Fund will be:

- *£5 billion worth of cuts in government expenditure — 8 per cent off at a stroke;

- *attempts to enforce a 10 per cent cut in jobs in central and local government;

- *large curbs in monetary supply;

- *direct wage-cuts and an increase in unemployment to the two million mark.

Already the Tories have enthusiastically accepted these proposals, and it will be the ransom paid by the working class if the abject collaboration of the trade union leaders with the Labour Government is allowed to continue. The utopian nonsense of an export-led boom — how can all capitalist countries achieve an export-led boom at the same time? — has been similarly exploded. This week's news from the USA and West Germany shows that the long-heralded world boom is being strangled at birth.

In the USA, the index of leading economic indicators fell for the first time since early 1975 (and the cost of the brief 'upturn' was another 2.5 million Americans forced below the poverty line last year).

In West Germany, business confidence is deteriorating as consumer demand levels off. The crude August trade surplus was down to \$475m from \$1,030m in July.

Inflation

In a situation where Britain's 13 per cent price inflation is twice the US's 6½ per cent, despite cuts in real wages, the 'disappearing boom' means hopes of export-led recovery are so much eye-wash.

After all the talk that wages cause inflation, *The Economist* (2 October) revealed that 'although labour unit costs in industrial countries were indeed virtually stable in the nine months from mid-1975 to spring

external developments in food prices, the rapid pass through of a surge in industrial material prices and a rekindling of inflationary expectations'.

Every one per cent fall in the value of the pound brought about by the speculators will add another ½ per cent to the rate of inflation. Remember that the next time someone asks you to take a wage cut to beat inflation.

The real crisis of British capitalism lies in the lack of productive investment. Despite the rapacious greed of the bosses, which has seen trading profits leap from £1,365 millions in the third quarter of 1975 to £1,690 millions in the first quarter of 1976, it's only the decline in gross trading profits that has been halted.

Profits

The Bank of England Quarterly Bulletin for September 1976 reveals that whereas gross trading profits as a percentage of total domestic income were 11.6 per cent at the end of 1974, in the first quarter of 1976 they were only 10.6 per cent.

The steady decline in the profitability of British industry was underlined by Walter Eltis, writing in the 6 June *Sunday Times*: the real, post-tax rate of return earned by British companies has fallen from between 7 and 9 per cent in the early 1960's to between 3 and 4 per cent in 1973 and 1974. The 1 October *Financial Times* reported a marked deterioration in trading profits in building materials, electricals and engineering — core sections of the economy.

The only good news came from consumer non-durables. Breweries clocked up a gain of 44.3 per cent in trading profits over the previous year, with hotels, food manufacturing and retailing and tobacco also improving. It is true that Napoleon once described Britain as a nation of shopkeepers (and brewery owners perhaps) — that was, however, 170 years ago.

On 1 September, Clive Jenkins, general secretary of the Association of Scientific Technical and Managerial Staffs, said that he expected unemployment to reach two million. Last week's events make that expectation a certainty. The other certainty is a massive onslaught on all the social gains made by the working class since

PRINCIPLES OF FUSIONS

JOHN MARSHALL
DRAWS SOME
LESSONS FROM
THE SPLIT IN THE
INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNIST
LEAGUE



THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE SPLIT in the International Communist League are a setback in the task of regroupment of the revolutionary left in Britain. When the ICL was formed in December 1975 from the fusion of Workers Power and Workers Fight, it was to be hoped that it would be a step towards further fusions to create a powerful Trotskyist organisation in Britain. Unfortunately, far from leading to a further process of fusions, the creation of the ICL led to a further split and to undemocratic suppression and slanders against the Workers Power group by the Workers Fight leadership of the ICL. It is important therefore that the revolutionary left draws the lessons of this experience and understands why the ICL failed to play a positive role in regroupment and instead split.

It was not lack of goodwill on the part of Workers Power that led to the failure of the regroupment into the ICL. These comrades had already stated in the first issue of their paper: 'We shall fuse our organisation with any grouping sharing the same fundamental political principles.' [1]

Goal

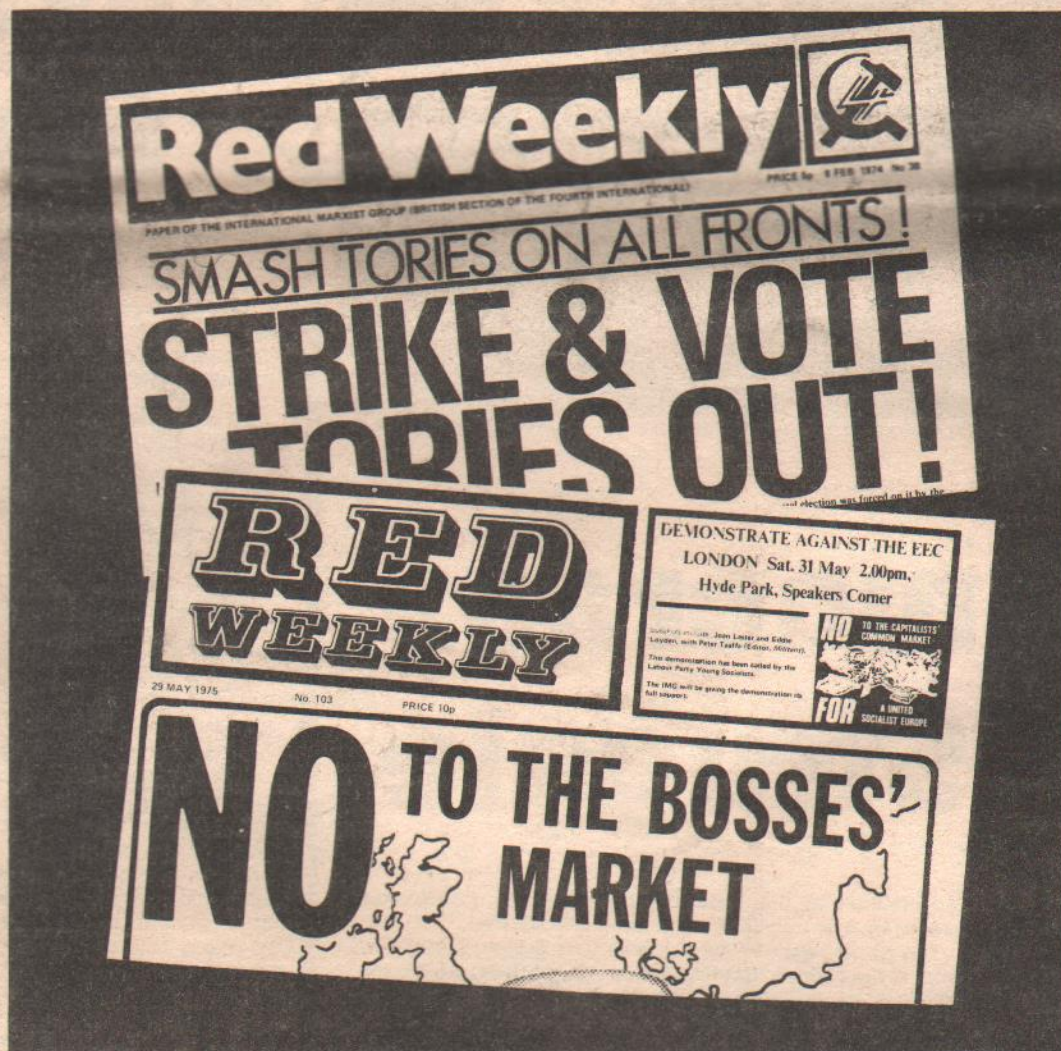
The comrades fully maintain their position on fusions even after their split with the Workers Fight leadership of the ICL: 'We are committed to debate, polemic, and discussion with other tendencies in a genuine attempt to aid the breaking of the log-jam (on the left).' [2]

There is not the slightest reason to doubt that this was the real line and goal of Workers Power. On the contrary, their action in fusing with Workers Fight to form the ICL shows the seriousness of that intention. The reason why the ICL failed to play a serious role in regroupment lay not in the intentions of the comrades but in a sectarian political error — in the fact that the comrades of Workers Power had not worked out a serious principled position on the question of the basis of splits and fusions. This comes across clearly both in the reasons that they gave for the decision to fuse with Workers Fight and in the practical attitude they took on discussions with the IMG.

In relation to the IMG, Workers Power explained to Workers Fight before the fusion: 'The LF (Left Faction — precursor of Workers Power) are having formal discussions with the IMG leadership — these should be short and sharp, more with the aim of making clear to the LF membership the LF's differences with the IMG than of reaching agreement with the IMG.' [3]

Principle

This is a sectarian approach in itself, but it is even worse when coupled with the statement the comrades of Workers Power make even now on why they decided to fuse with Workers Fight: 'The decision to open discussions with them (Workers Fight) was not a casual or a chance one. In fact we had both independently adopted positions on key points of principle which divided us from the rest of the left (the general strike, abstention on the Common Market, and solidarity with all those fighting British imperialism in Ireland).' [4]



with the IMG, for example. But questions such as the particular use of the general strike slogan or whether or not to oppose British entry into the EEC are not questions of principle which divide revolutionaries from reformists or centrists.

Regroupment critically depends on fundamental class issues of programme. Such issues as the EEC and the general strike — while important practical issues — do not fall into this category. The comparison can be drawn out by comparing these issues to the differences which existed within revolutionary Marxism in the debates between Lenin, Trotsky, Luxemburg and Liebknecht, or the disputes inside the Bolshevik Party. It is quite wrong to think that differences on issues such as the EEC or the general strike can be the basis for separation of organisations. This position means that every major practical disagreement leads to a split.

No revolutionary party functioning on the basis of democratic centralism could be built in such a way. Agreement with Workers Fight on certain important practical issues may have made it easier to fuse with Workers Fight, but it was a sectarian mistake to use differences on such issues as a reason for not entering a serious discussion with the IMG and other revolutionary organisations — evidently a fusion of

revolutionaries always pay a price for errors, it was one which could have been rapidly corrected if the ICL itself had adopted political positions leading towards a serious orientation to revolutionary regroupment. Unfortunately, however, the sectarian error was made much worse by the fact that the resolution on which the ICL was formed excluded any other organisation as being considered revolutionary. The founding resolution of the ICL stated, for example, that the RCG were a 'contemplative sect', the IMG a 'rotten bloc' (later developed as 'Brandlerite centrist'), the Fourth International as a 'centrist obstacle', etc.. (5)

Attitude

This type of characterisation of a political organisation is not just words but a question of practical attitude. It only makes sense to orient towards regroupment with an organisation if you consider that it is a revolutionary organisation — or at least it is an organisation which can be won to revolutionary politics. If, however, an organisation is considered not

By declaring that all other organisations on the left except the ICL were not revolutionary but centrist, the comrades of Workers Power were in fact cutting themselves off from the very possibility of regroupment on the left to which they had committed themselves.

Abuse

This fundamentally wrong basis on which the fusion of Workers Fight and Workers Power had been carried out inevitably had its effect on other aspects of the ICL's work as well, and the whole tactical way it related to regroupment. In particular, it gravely affected the way in which Workers Action, the newspaper which supports the policies of the ICL, took up debates on the left.

From the very fact that it considered that other groups were not revolutionary but 'centrist obstacles', 'rotten blocs' and so forth, Workers Action was inevitably led to take the very worst type of approach in debates. Its expression of differences with other groups were the height of sectarianism, and could be absolutely guaranteed to be a barrier and not an aid to regroupment. The type of totally dishonest attack by the ICL on Workers Power after the split — accusations of 'desertion', 'political suicides', 'circle politics', 'could not and did not go forward' — were all of a piece with the type of attacks Workers Action made on other groups.

The comrades of Workers Power may not have been conscious of the sectarianism of Workers Action at the time, but surely by now they should realise that the types of attacks made on other groups — for example, the absurd charge that the IMG, by calling for a class struggle left wing in the unions, were attempting to create a 'murky stream' with the Tribunites in which they could 'dabble their fingers' [7], or that anyone who called for a 'NO' vote in the EEC referendum had 'hit rock bottom' and was 'adapting to the nationalistic policies of the Tribune left' [8] — merely opened up the way to the torrent of abuse which the ICL is now unleashing against Workers Power itself.

Sectarian

The wrong position which the ICL took on the rest of the left, the failure to see that a whole series of disagreements can exist and yet remain within the framework of revolutionary Marxism, inevitably had its effect on preventing any real democracy within the ICL. A serious Marxist analysis leads to the conclusion that the development of the revolutionary movement will always be accompanied by tendency fights. These tendency fights can occur within the framework of Marxism. As Trotsky put it:

'The entire history of Bolshevism was one of the free struggle of tendencies and factions ... The Bolshevik Central Committee never dreamed of demanding that an opponent "abandon factional methods", if the opponent held that the policy of the Central Committee was false. Patience and loyalty toward the opposition were among the most important traits of Lenin's leadership.' (9)

However, if you conclude, on the method of the Workers Fight leadership of the ICL, that any political difference (or at least the type of political differences which exist on the British left) are not differences among revolutionaries but differences between revolutionaries and 'centrist obstacles' or 'political suicides', then very different methods of internal regime flow. Lenin wasn't for 'patience' or 'loyalty' with 'centrist obstacles' or 'political suicides' but for their smashing. If anyone who disagrees with you is seen not as a revolutionary but a 'Brandlerite centrist', a 'political suicide', a 'deserter' or whatever, then obviously the appropriate organisational methods flow. No one is going to treat a revolutionary in the same way as a 'political suicide'! The ICL leadership's sectarianism towards other groups is completely and logically linked to its suppression of internal democracy.

Results

Unfortunately Workers Power, instead of combating the thoroughly wrong political premises which led to the ICL leadership's suppression of internal democracy, actually lent their agreement to these sectarian methods. Not merely did they agree to the resolutions which defined all other organisations on the left as non-revolutionary, but they accepted the organisational conclusions of this — agreeing in the founding resolution of the ICL that the fact that the IMG allowed a serious discussion and struggle of tendencies made it 'a rotten bloc'. We hope that the comrades of Workers Power, after their experience of the organisational conclusions of sectarian politics, will understand why the IMG is determined that there will continue to be serious democracy and the right of tendency inside its own organisation.

What the split in the ICL demonstrates is that a rejection of sectarianism, principled politics, and internal democracy are inseparable. Once a concession is made on any of these, inevitable results follow. What the split in the ICL demonstrates in real life is not the futility of regroupment but the futility of sectarianism which regards all forces with which disagreements exist not as revolutionaries but as centrists or reformists. If Workers Power draws this conclusion, and enters into serious rather than 'short and sharp' discussion with the IMG and the other organisations of the revolutionary left on general regroupment, then it can play a really important role in bringing about a much needed strengthening of revolutionary forces.

(1) Workers Power, 25 November 1975; (2) Statement in Red Weekly, 30 September 1976; (3) Minutes of the meeting between Workers Fight and Workers Power, 9 November 1975;

MOST TOTAL SHUTDOWN YET IN BASQUE COUNTRY

First Spanish worker: 'Have you seen "Sovereignty"? They say it now resides with the people.'

Second Spanish worker: 'In that case, don't bother looking any further. They'll have shot it down already.'

This cartoon appeared after the recent discourse by Prime Minister Suarez on 'democracy' and 'reform'. Its grim realism has since been confirmed twice more with the murders of a worker in Tenerife and a 21-year-old student in Madrid. They bring to 33 the number of militants

shot down in the streets of Spain since the death of Franco and the installation of his successor.

But the example of the workers and people of Euskadi (the Basque country) is there for the mass movement throughout the Spanish state to follow. On 13 September the killing of one young worker and the maiming of three others set off a general strike.

Impact

In some places — notably the province

of Vizcaya, whose capital is Bilbao — its impact was so deep that the gap was almost imperceptible before the seventh and most total general strike since December 1974 shut down Euskadi on 27 September — the first anniversary of the murder by firing squad of five revolutionary militants.

For the workers of Euskadi — and their comrades throughout the Spanish state — don't forget. Following the shooting of five workers and maiming of 73 others during the general strike in Vitoria in March, the whole of Euskadi and thousands of workers in other regions rose in outrage. From then on the cry of 'Vitoria,

DISOLUCION DE CUERPOS REPRESIVOS

- DISOLUCION DEL APARATO JUDICIAL FRANQUISTA (T.O.P. Tribunales Militares...)
- ANULACION DE TODAS LAS LEYES REPRESIVAS
- RESPONSABILIDADES A LOS CRIMINALES FRANQUISTAS

LCR ETA VI



our brothers, we shall not forget you' was to be heard in every major demonstration throughout the Spanish state, with only the name of the town changing as the list of crimes against the mass movement grows.

The workers are showing implacable opposition to the fascist armoury of repression, and in the process are imposing their own 'Sovereignty'. In Bilbao, more than 70,000 workers stayed out to fight for the release of five strike leaders arrested on 14 September. In doing so they ignored a plea to return to work issued through the daily papers by the COS, the 'unified' trade union body bureaucratically set up in July by a pact between the leaderships of the UGT and USO (the two Socialist trade unions) and the national secretariat of the Workers' Commissions, which has a disproportionately high number of Communist Party members.

Shutdown

The general strike of 27 September achieved total shutdown, characterised in many areas of Euskadi by flying and defence pickets set up by factory assemblies, and the reappearance of the barricades over an even wider area. But Tenerife was not to be outdone. Here the capital of Santa Cruz was effectively taken over by the workers, with police entry to all working class neighbourhoods impeded by manned barricades, which stayed up late into the following day.

Later last week, on 1 October, tens of thousands of workers and students went on strike in Madrid following the death of a student shot down by the fascist 'Guerillas of Christ the King' in full view of the police at a 125,000 strong demonstration against the rise in the cost of living and unemployment.

The response of the mass movement to attacks and provocations is growing more and more automatic, its aim more accu-

rate as this final assault on the dictatorship begins to take shape. The demand for the dissolution of the Francoist repressive forces, for the annulment of fascist legislation and the dismantling of fascist tribunals, and for the bringing to justice of the fascist criminals — these are now taking their place at the head of the mass movement's objectives, inseparable from the struggle for amnesty, for a labour amnesty, and for full democratic rights.

Bold

This bold self-assertion by the mass movement — with the prodigious weight of the industrial proletariat at its head — has had its repercussions within the class-collaborationist Coordinacion Democratica (a pact between the Communist and Socialist Parties and a number of bourgeois politicians). The CD's rejection of the Suarez terms cannot disguise the emphasis placed by the bourgeois fractions within it on the speech's 'positive aspects', while the CP reiterates the 'absolute necessity' of a 'national pact' with the 'democratic sectors' of the regime, and the centrists naively call for a general strike to force the regime into a 'democratic pact' with the opposition.

The general strike that will smash the dictatorship is, now more than ever, within reach of the Spanish working class. Its success will depend on unity in the factories and work places, in university assemblies, and in the neighbourhoods — a unity which poses a clear choice to the reformist workers' leaderships: prepare the final push against the crumbling edifice of the dictatorship, or else make way for those who will.

David Gardner

NEXT WEEK: LCR/ETA VI, Spanish sympathising organisation of the Fourth International, 'goes public' with conference report.



RIOT POLICE, carrying machine guns and tear-gas rifles, on the streets of Madrid in preparation for the general strike of 27 September protesting the killing of a 21 year old student.

What is the Agrarian Reform?

These figures alone show that while the sector still owned and controlled by the bosses has seeded [and harvested] declining quantities of cereals, the workers of the co-operatives using more human and mechanical resources have greatly increased production.

Many misconceptions about the Agrarian Reform have arisen as a result of the slanders and lies of the bourgeois press. It is of crucial importance to smash these misconceptions in order to clear the way for the building of a movement of support in this country for the Portuguese workers.

The following statistics show that the Agrarian Reform is not failing.

The Alentejo region of Portugal used to be rife with unemployment, and the land was farmed very poorly. Now there is no unemployment [the Co-op Agro-Pecirasia Maria Machado, for instance, has expanded its workforce from 50 to 210], and the efficiency of the farming is constantly increasing.

Men who previously earned 100 escudos a day [£2] now earn 180 escudos [£3.50], while women's daily earnings have gone up from 80 escudos [£1.50] to 130 escudos [£2.50]. Living standards have improved, and the creation of new schools and creches has eased the work of women while increasing the care and education of children.

AREAS SEEDED IN 1975/76

	1975/76	Difference with 1966/75 [avg]	
WHEAT			
Co-operative areas	515,700	+ 108,800	+ 27%
Other areas	51,000	- 25,000	- 33%
Total	566,700	+ 83,800	+ 17%
OATS			
Co-operative areas	168,800	+ 18,600	+ 12%
Other areas	20,500	- 1,300	- 6%
Total	189,300	+ 17,300	+ 10%
BARLEY			
Co-operative areas	105,700	+ 26,700	+ 34%
Other areas	13,000	- 3,100	- 19%
Total	118,700	+ 23,600	+ 25%

CP fails to fight Portuguese land grab

Portuguese prime minister Mario Soares has ordered that 101 farm properties taken over by agricultural workers should be handed back to their former owners. Meanwhile 520,000 hectares of land in the Alentejo which are eligible for immediate expropriation according to the terms of the Agrarian Reform still remain in the hands of private owners.

The reoccupation of the land taken over by the workers coincides with the second anniversary of 28 September 1974, when the mass mobilisations of the workers and peasants throughout the country prevented the attempted coup by Spínola. Today, two years later, the Socialist Party Government is kicking the peasants off the land and justifying their action by the law.

More importantly, the actions of the Government have so far met without the slightest resistance on the part of the peasants. The press talks about the 'gentlemen's agreement' that has been reached between the Communist Party-led Agricultural Workers Union and the authorities. The Stalinist papers praise the 'clarity and political maturity' of the agricultural workers.

Defeat

However, what is taking place is a defeat for thousands and thousands of

loudly to defend it — namely the Socialist and Communist Parties.

The SP in the Government is dancing to the tune of the CAP (Confederation of Portuguese Landowners) who, apart from opposing the Agrarian Reform lock, stock and barrel, have recently launched a big attack on the present Minister of Agriculture, Lopes Cardoso. This gentleman, who lies on the left wing of the SP, solemnly announced only a few days ago that there was no need for further occupations to complete the Agrarian Reform.

Presumably the owners of the outstanding 520,000 hectares (1,284,920 acres) will show the same 'political maturity' as the peasants who are currently being thrown off the land. Doubtless the expropriation of all this land will be peacefully carried out following a 'gentlemen's agreement' between the owners and the exploited agricultural workers.

Or perhaps the army will be mobilised and standing by to prevent any 'trouble' from breaking out, just as it has been put on the alert today to ensure that the peasants (who of course are not gentlemen) observe the directives of the Government.

The success of this operation is extremely important for the Government, for it is the first major attack on the conquests made by the peasants and workers following 25 April 1974. The fact that they have been allowed to carry it out

the factories once again. And to those bosses who still own their own businesses, he announced that a law would shortly be passed allowing them to sack workers if they so wished.

Package

In addition to these measures, the full austerity package includes the freezing of certain wages, the separation of public employees from the rest of the working population, an attack on absenteeism, a para-military operation against 'arms, drugs and contraband', the outlawing of unofficial strikes, and the payment of the annual Christmas bonus (the thirteenth month) in government stocks instead of cash.

So far the reaction from the workers movement to these proposals has been small. In fact there is a general demobilisation, a lull of which the Government is anxious to take full advantage. However prospects for a peaceful winter are slim, for the Government's economic measures will do nothing to stop inflation or ease unemployment.

The major questions still lie in the balance. Very important here will be the outcome of the forthcoming trade union conference, and whether or not there will be a split over the question of workers democracy. The Government is doing its best to encourage such a development,

Government Pushes Sell-out Deal



Evidence of British collaboration with racism: a British Ferret armoured car captured from the Rhodesian army following its raid on the Nhazonia refugee camp in Mozambique on 9 August. Apparently such equipment is manufactured under licence in South Africa and then supplied to the Smith regime, thus circumventing sanctions. So much for the Government's 'arms embargo'.

THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT, with the encouragement of US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, is now taking the centre of the stage in the imperialist powers' drive to impose a neo-colonial 'settlement' of the crisis in Zimbabwe.

The Labour Foreign Secretary, Tony Crosland, announced in London on 29 September that Britain would soon convene a round-table conference on Zimbabwe's future. According to the 30 September *Guardian*, the objective of the conference (expected to open around 12 October) will be 'to set up an interim administration of white and black Rhodesians to lead the country through its two-year timetable to majority rule.'

Chairing the talks will be Britain's UN ambassador, Ivor Richard — described by the *Guardian* as 'a right-wing member of the Labour Party, a former minister who served at the Ministry of Defence, with a reputation for strong hostility to the Soviet Union'.

Within hours of Crosland's statement, Kissinger announced his support for the British initiative. Meanwhile, Ted Rowlands, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office, has been touring southern Africa since 28 September to win support for the conference from both the African 'front-line' governments (Zambia, Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique and Angola) and the Smith regime.

But will the Zimbabwean nationalists accept this new British attempt to interfere in their country's affairs? One Zimbabwean leader, Dzinashe Machingura, the deputy political commissar of the Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA), has already responded with a forthright 'no'. Addressing a press conference in Maputo, the Mozambican capital, on 30 September, Machingura said:

'As far as we are concerned, we do not accept British responsibility for convening a conference because they are, in our opinion, a colonial power and what we are fighting inside Zimbabwe is British colonialism. And now they again are part and parcel of a scheme which is aimed at depriving the Zimbabwe people of their sovereign right to genuine and complete independence, and as such we do not accept British responsibility.'

Intensify

Machingura announced ZIPA's plans 'to intensify the armed struggle so as to create the necessary conditions for Ian Smith and the imperialist powers that back him to unconditionally surrender power to the Zimbabwe people.'

British socialists are duty-bound to oppose the Labour Government's projected conference on Zimbabwe. The British Government has no business convening a conference to work out the political future of Zimbabwe. That is a matter for the people of Zimbabwe — and no-one else — to determine.

Nor does Britain (or the United States) have any right to foist a two-year 'transition period' on the Zimbabwean people. The black majority has the right to run its own country now.

this will defuse the explosive developments in southern Africa and thus protect the imperialists' massive economic and strategic interests in industrialised South Africa itself.

The recent wave of black uprisings in South Africa's cities have made a neo-colonial settlement in Zimbabwe an even more pressing matter for the NATO powers. As Crosland put it in a speech to the Labour Party conference on 30 September: 'The stakes in this matter are awesomely high.'

Delegates to the Labour Party conference failed to challenge the British Government's manoeuvres over Zimbabwe. In fact, delegates (including *Tribune* and *Militant* supporters) lined up with Crosland to give overwhelming support to a National Executive Committee (NEC) 'Emergency Statement on Rhodesia' which backed the Government's convening of a 'Constitutional Conference outside Rhodesia to form an interim Government'.

Nonetheless, the conference also voted (nearly unanimously) in support of another resolution (Composite 44) which criticised the Government sharply for its continued economic and military collaboration with the racist regime in Pretoria. Composite 44 expressed 'its deep concern at the reported breaches of the arms embargo of South Africa and the continued military collaboration with the apartheid regime in violation of United Nations resolutions and Labour Party policy'.

The resolution called for 'the strict application of the British arms em-

Repression Exposed

THE BRUTAL REPRESSION of workers and students in South Africa was exposed at a press conference on Monday by three student leaders from Soweto.

According to Tsietsi Mashinini, the President of the Soweto Student Representative Council, 353 blacks were killed by the racist Vorster regime in three days in June. Tsietsi went on to explain how peaceful demonstrations were viciously attacked; how any group of more than three people would be shot as 'agitators'; how a price of 500 Rands had been put on his head; how since he went on the run his family have been continually harassed; how other student and black leaders have been detained; how when in prison they were beaten and tortured, then forced to sign statements of confession.

While not commenting on the situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe, Tsietsi insisted that they in Soweto would only settle for immediate majority rule. At the

same time he spoke of British complicity in supporting the racists of the Vorster regime — how it was British firms who supplied the weapons; how British parts were shipped out and made up in South Africa; and how British Leyland Landrovers were used in Soweto. Tsietsi went on to say that the black people had begun to identify British and world imperialism as being at the root of the attacks they suffered, because that imperialist system has vital economic interests to defend in South Africa.

The three student leaders were certain that the struggle would continue. As Tsietsi said: 'There are thousands more Tsietsi Mashinini.' They were forced to flee South Africa and upon arriving in Britain found themselves in the custody of the police for two days. Tsietsi, upon being asked if he had been imprisoned, replied: 'No, only in Britain.'

bargo including all equipment that enhances its (South Africa's) military capability'; 'British Government support for a mandatory United Nations arms embargo'; and 'an end to all forms of military collaboration with South Africa.'

These demands, explained the resolution's mover, Alex Erwin of Knutsford Constituency Labour Party, were prompted by the disclosures earlier this year that millions

of pounds of military hardware had been legally exported to South Africa from Britain despite the Labour Government's much-touted 'arms ban'. In fact, Labour's 'ban' is more like a sieve — with such wide holes that even sophisticated military communications systems, aero-engines and Centurion tanks have been legally exported to the apartheid regime.

Several dozen categories of military equipment can be exported to

South Africa without even the formality of an export licence under the 1970 Customs and Excise Export of Goods (Control) Order.

Composite 44 also noted that 'the Labour Government has so far failed to take decisive steps to reduce British investment in and trade with South Africa'. The resolution went on to call for 'an immediate freeze on all new investment in South Africa'; 'no Government financed trade missions and an end to export credit guarantees'; 'withdrawal of all nationalised or Government controlled industries operating in South Africa'; and 'withdrawal of British banks operating in South Africa.'

Together, these measures would strike a hard blow against the apartheid regime. At present, over 500 British companies have associates or subsidiaries in South Africa; and British investment in South Africa accounts for over half of the imperialist countries' £4,000m of investments there.

But the Labour Government has consistently placed the interests of British multinational companies over those of the oppressed black population of South Africa. A striking illustration of Government attitudes was given on 18 September when British Petroleum (in which the British Government has a majority share-holding) announced a £250m investment programme in South Africa.

The Labour Government's record shows clearly that Callaghan and Crosland will seek to evade the clear commitments in Composite 44. Militants in the Labour Party and trade unions should respond by mounting a mass campaign to demand the immediate implementation of the conference's decisions. End all collaboration with the white racists in southern Africa NOW!

FREEDOM MARCH

on SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE

Sun 10 Oct, assemble 1pm Manerose



Despite the half-hearted nature of his opposition to the Kissinger deal, Zimbabwean ANC leader Abel Muzorewa was greeted by a

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

WE HAVE HAD some real VIP visitors from Britain in Belfast recently. Not that they were given Army escorts or downed sherry in crystal glasses at Stormont Castle — these VIPs were members of two delegations on fact-finding visits organised by the Troops Out Movement and the National Union of Students.

Such delegations have a very important role to play in assisting the struggle of the Irish people for self-determination. They can see at first hand the repressive role of the British Army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary; they can talk to local people and make on-the-spot assessments of where the responsibility lies. Such meetings go a long way to debunking many of the myths that are rampant amongst British workers and students. It soon becomes clear that the violence in the north of Ireland is not some tribal or religious war but the product of British imperialist rule.

Such delegations also have the opportunity to see just how

widespread the misery of British imperialist domination actually is. Of course, to do that requires a programme that extends beyond meetings with the anti-imperialist and Catholic organisations. Take the situation of women in the North of Ireland. It is well known (and attention has been drawn in this column) that the Republican and left organisations have a very bad record in recognising the specific oppression and needs of women, and they therefore are not best placed to act as spokespersons for them.

But this is only one aspect. Irish revolutionaries do expect that the British working class will take a stand against British involvement in Ireland as a matter of principle. But we do not for a minute expect it to dot all the 'i's and cross all the 't's of our analysis. We accept that many workers will themselves want to investigate the role played by trade unions in the Six Counties, the position of Protestant workers.

In doing so, they pose no threat to the revolutionary movement in Ireland. We know that the bankruptcy of the trade union leadership is self-evident; we know that the Loyalist paramilitaries are incapable of covering over their reactionary character. We fully recognise that if we are serious about winning the support of the British working class in our struggle, then we cannot afford to place any obstacles in the way of it gaining the widest knowledge possible of the situation in our country.

Regrettably, neither of the delegations that have just visited Ireland took this approach. The National Labour Movement delegation not only did not meet any Loyalists, but on a tour of Belfast avoided all Protestant districts. Furthermore, it had no meeting with the official trade union movement, despite the fact that the recent TUC Congress gave overwhelming support to the

'Better Life for All' campaign. Even within the Republican community the delegation met a very narrow section of opinion.

Much of this was not the fault of the delegation. It is no use avoiding the naming of names. The Communist Party in both Britain and Ireland pulled out all the stops to prevent the delegation from meeting such bodies as the Official Republican movement and Belfast Trades Council. But at the same time the delegation organisers seemed to have a blinkered approach. Paddy Prendiville, the delegation's press officer, told a press conference that the delegation was not meeting any Loyalists because the latter had no contribution to make to Irish self-determination. Now Paddy is undoubtedly confident in holding that position, but it is hardly true of the whole of the delegation — never mind the British working class.

The NUS delegation, however, will return to Britain with the credibility of having met a wide cross-section of the political forces operating in Ireland — including the Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish section of the Fourth International) and the Northern Ireland Gay Rights Organisation, as well as the peace movement and the UDA. The jaundiced politics of the Broad Left notwithstanding, its report should serve as a better basis for opening up a debate within the British labour movement than that of the TOM delegation.

British socialists should be clear that support which will crumble at the first contact with Loyalism has not really been won at all.

The views expressed above on the delegations are those of our Belfast correspondent. Red Weekly's views on the delegations were reported in last week's paper and will be expanded on in a future issue.

Peace Movement - Why We Say No Support

THE EXPORTATION of the 'peace' movement in the north of Ireland continues. The three women popularly held to be the leaders of the campaign are now off to America. They say that they want to stop the flow of money from there to 'paramilitaries' in the Six Counties. Such initiatives have been attempted before. Leading figures in both the Irish and British governments have been to America recently with the same purpose in mind.

In Britain the peace movement continues its weekly round of prayers and hymns. It also continues to attract widespread support — among its latest fans are the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, who backed the recent demonstration in Glasgow.

There have been other, more respectable recruits. A number of trades councils, leading trade union figures and trade union branches have also given their backing. Many workers in this country see no harm in lending this support — especially when it is promoted by many, such as the Communist Party, who are normally associated with the 'left' of the labour movement.

Despite this, it is a mistake for socialists to give any support to the marches of the peace movement.

But in the last seven years British troops have enforced imprisonment without trial, indiscriminately murdered people — most brutally on Bloody Sunday — and tortured prisoners. This illustrates their real role. That it was internment and then Bloody Sunday which directly led to an increase in violence by Republicans illustrates the source of that violence.

Orange

But the peace movement denies this, and its view of events is that of the *Daily Mirror*, Merlyn Rees and the Orange Order. In white-washing the role of Britain and its troops, the 'peace people' are playing Britain's tune.

1. What is Its Role?

That the leaders of the peace movement are off to America to stop funds going to either side says a lot. They pose as 'neutrals', saying violence from all sides should stop. But this is only a pose.

The biggest armed force in the North of Ireland is the 15,000 strong British Army. The peace leaders have said that they have 'no position' on that armed force, but when they seek at the same time to cut off funds to other 'armed bodies', then they are taking a position. They are saying that those troops are not a source of violence, that they are 'peace-keepers' in a sectarian conflict.

Stable

Similarly, Ciaran McKeown, described by the *Financial Times* as 'the man behind the peace people', has said that his aim is to work out 'how a stable democracy can develop in Northern Ireland'. But the whole history of the Six Counties has shown the impossibility of developing it into a democratic state. And this is because the nature of the state itself is undemocratic, in that it was artificially created by Britain to appease a privileged minority in the north-east of Ireland.

In saying that the state can be reformed, McKeown is putting over the Loyalist view that the state is a natural one; and although Britain itself hasn't a clue how to enact this wonderful 're-

2. Is it not 'non-partisan'?

At least, so it is argued, the peace movement is non-partisan, non-sectarian, standing apart from the 'madmen' of both sides. And it is true that they have protested and acted against both the UDA and the IRA — although, as we have said, they do not blow their whistles when the troops raid homes, as they do when others hijack buses.

But to speak of them being 'non-partisan' is a wrong way of looking at things, because socialists in this country should not be 'non-partisan'. Whatever mistakes the Provisional Republican movement have made (and they have made many) what they are fighting for — the right of the Irish people, as a whole, to rule themselves — is a right all socialists should support.

And in their war against British imperialism — whatever its tactical tragedies — no socialist should be neutral, because it is a war of liberation against an imperialist occupying force. The fight of the Republicans cannot be compared with that of the Loyalists. Even in terms of death counts this is the case. The indiscriminate murder of civilians is something in the order of three to one in favour of dead Catholics.

Divided

Where the Loyalists and Republicans also differ is in what they are fighting for: the Loyalist cause seeks to maintain Protestant privileges, and maintain a divi-



From An Phoblacht

posed of 'madmen' — one is a thoroughly reactionary force, the other a force fighting a liberation struggle.

3. Could It be Changed?

Given the lack of speeches at the peace meetings, the ban on 'political' banners, and indeed the general anti-Republican way in which the media treat the 'peace people', there is no way a progressive impact can be made by participating in the marches.

Slogans

If, say, 500 troops out supporters joined the marches, what would come over would not be the slogans they chanted, but the fact that an extra 500 people were marching behind Lord Longford, the churches, the Orange Order and the rest. And they would be marching behind a movement which is being used by the lie machine of British imperialism to demoralise and confuse the militants in the Catholic ghettos.

4. Where Will It End?

One consequence of the peace movement is already apparent. According to both the British Army and ex-Unionist boss Brian Faulkner, the British Army has stepped up its arrests of Republicans as a direct result of the peace people's antics. As a direct result of this campaign there are now more Irish political prisoners, the Army have made more raids, beaten up more people.

If you support this, support the peace people; but in doing so realise

WHAT'S ON

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

FIGHT RACISM badge available again, 25p inc. p&p from Jo-Ann, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1. Bulk rates on application.

RACISM, Imperialism and Apartheid in South Africa—weekend educational conference at the University of East Anglia, 29-31 October. For details contact Students Union, University of East Anglia, Norwich.

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

RED WEEKLY Fund-raising party Saturday 9 October, in Golden Eagle, Hill St., Birmingham. Starts 7.30 pm. Booze, disco, etc.

NATIONAL Abortion Campaign day school, Saturday 9 October, to discuss fundamental issues of the campaign, including: positive legislation, ethical questions, facilities, etc. Also discussion on mobilisation for 'National Tribunal on Women's Abortion Rights' (to be held 29 Jan.). At Architectural Association, Bedford Square, London WC1.

CAMPAIGN for Democracy in the Labour Movement: Central London rally, Fri 8 October in NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, London WC1. Speakers: Alan Thornett, Keith Veness, Tony Kelly.

WORKING Women's Charter Campaign: National Co-ordinating Group meeting, Sat 9 Oct., 10.30am - 5pm at Baptist Mills Community

'UNEMPLOYMENT & the Cuts in Southampton — The Fight Back': new 'Red Weekly' pamphlet price 10p (plus 8p p&p) from: John Fisher, 26 Cambridge Rd., Portsmouth, Southampton.

LONDON Working Women's Charter Campaign special general meeting to discuss perspectives and set up London Co-ordinating Committee. Sun 10 Oct., 2pm at the Old Fire Station, Mayton St., N7.

GLASGOW Socialist Forums: every Thursday night at 7.30pm in the Iona Community Centre.

DAILY JANG—benefit for workers, Fri 8 Oct, 8pm at The Club, St Hilda's East Club Row, Shoreditch, E.1. Adm. £1, union cards.

HACKNEY Trades Council public meeting on 'Health in Hackney', Weds 13 Oct, 7.30pm, Hackney Town Hall, Mare St, E.8.

HULL Socialist Forums: Tues 12 Oct, Tariq Ali will speak on 'Problems of Socialist Democracy' at 1.15pm in the University Union; then at 7.30pm on 'The Struggle Against Racism' at the Stevedores & Dockers, Posterngate.

LABOUR MOVEMENT Delegation to Ireland public meeting, Mon 11 Oct, 7.30pm in Conway Hall. Members of a 65-strong delegation representing 50 labour movement bodies which recently spent three days in Ireland will report on what they found. LMDI, 1 North End Rd, W14.

ANARCHIST Workers Association open day school: 'Marxist and anarchist theories of State, and revolutions of this century'. 23 October, 10am-6pm, Trades Councils Club, Savile Mount, Leeds 7. Creche. Enquiries, ring Leeds 757961.

URGENT: Two comrades seek room/rooms within easy reach of Holloway up to £10 p.w. each. Phone Anne 607 2789 ex 2148 or leave message with Cath at IMG Centre.

NATIONAL Tribunal on Abortion Rights —



The night they taught Henry Ford a lesson

WHEN 700 WORKERS build barricades, light bonfires, turn hose-pipes on police and smash up a management canteen, the ruling class takes fright. Last week's Dagenham 'riot' at the premises of Henry Ford was described as 'terrorism' in the *Evening News*.

Ford's press officer described it as 'a very unfortunate and rather sinister aberration', and claimed that the trouble was 'caused by a group of about 50 men, 10 per cent of whom were ringleaders'. That was one of the many lies which management issued. It was not 50, it was over 700 men. There were no ringleaders, no conspiracy; the events at Dagenham were a spontaneous angry outburst by workers who, quite simply, had had enough.

They had had enough of the guerilla war of lay-offs, speed-ups and undermining which management had been waging for weeks. There was the example of a

couple of weeks ago, when those working as hood setters had been reduced from eight to six men. The six refused to do the work of the other two, and were disciplined and sent home by the management.

Frustration

Management then brought in six new men, but they too refused to co-operate. Fords then decided to 'punish' the rest of the workforce, laying it off for the rest of the day.

In the welding booth the workforce had been reduced from four to two. When the output was consequently cut, the foreman approached the workers and politely asked: 'Is anything the matter?' 'No, nothing's the matter' was the reply. And so it went on, without any formal dispute being declared by either side, without the

company formally giving up its aims of getting higher production with less men.

During the five weeks leading up to the outburst, the workers in the body plant had been repeatedly laid off. Week after week they had been sent home in the middle of the night and denied their full wage. The final straw came on Tuesday 28 September when 12 door setters went on strike in protest at yet another attempt by management to worsen conditions. Then at 11.30pm, the men at the body plant were told to go home.

The body plant workers gathered in their canteen and listened to their shop stewards. But what they did not hear were plans for organised resistance to the lay-offs. The frustration and anger against management tactics in previous weeks found no active outlet from the meeting's platform. It was then that sections of the workers left the canteen.

Police

In no time at all an impressive barricade was built at the main factory gates. Other barricades followed, and about 200 police arrived at all the gates. By then there was no going back. The management canteen was invaded and wrecked and the security guards' premises received the same treatment.

Soon the whole body plant was in the hands of the occupiers. The deputy plant manager at the other side of the main barricade shouted to the men: 'Trotskyists, Trotskyists, you're all Trotskyists'. A



shower of cups greeted that comment. A shower of water, directed from the hose-pipes, greeted the police.

The anger was directed against the management, the security guards and the police. In no sense was it a protest at the action of the door setters, because the workers knew from their own experience that it was with management that the source of their problems lay.

Throughout the night, that management made regular attempts to divide the workforce. Those who were working in the press shop were told they could not go to their canteen as the actions of the body workers meant there were no meals available. That was another lie, for it was the executive and not the workers' canteen which was wrecked.

Leadership

And although the day shift workers did not strike in sympathy with the night workers, this did not indicate lack of support but only the lack of militant, aggressive leadership given to the occupiers by the convenor Dan Conners.

This 'passive' leadership was evident at the mass meeting held the next morning. By then many of the men had gone home, but the most militant, largely young and inexperienced workers had stayed.

They were told by Dan Conners that although they were a 'leadership' and a

'vanguard', they had no authority to take any decisions or independent initiatives. They were told to go home and wait until a mass meeting that night; advice which cut across the possibility of extending the struggle.

The same caution was shown at the Wednesday evening meeting. While not stating his own position, Dan Conners in reporting the management's offer spoke favourably of the 'concessions' which had been offered. These amounted to a promise that instead of laying men off at midnight, the management would, in future, do so at 11pm (giving them an extra hour to get home) and would also pay the men for four hours of the previous night.

This offer was decisively rejected by the workers, but Conner's insistence that the strikers should not meet for a week denied the chance of a fighting self-organisation, and is a recipe for defeat.

Be that as it may, the events at Fords on that Tuesday night say much. They were followed by Denis Healey's warning to the Labour Party Conference that if his policies were not followed there would be rioting on the streets.

But what happened at Fords was a direct consequence of those policies of wage cuts, redundancies and demands to boost productivity. They were also the consequence of an official trade union leadership which refuses to fight those policies.

IMG Cell, Dagenham

IMF TURNED DOWN LOAN!

Sad news. The International Monetary Fund has turned down an application from Red Weekly for a bridging loan. While agreeing that we had excellent prospects, the international bankers explained that such a loan was 'not in accordance with the normal operative practices which guide our work'.

This is a sad blow for all of us at these offices. With the fall in the pound, it means it is costing us more to send out the paper to our international subscribers. We feel a special appeal to our friends all over the world is therefore in order. And we make a promise: any money received over £500 will be used to buy Enoch Powell a bus ticket to the South Armagh resort of Crossmaglen. Which is our line on repatriation.

Last week we received £48.31. Our thanks to 'Bay City Roller fan, Brighton', £5; N. London IMG, £20; Anon £15; W. London health worker, £3; Watford IMG, £1.85; Southampton IMG, £3.50; Crewe IMG, 96p. They, as you should, sent it to: Red Weekly, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.



... and not just Ford

While frustration at continual lay-offs boiled over into anti-management violence at Dagenham, similar provocations by Leyland management at Jaguar's Brown's Lane plant in Coventry were being met with occupation.

Trouble broke out on 28 September when the company issued an ultimatum to paint-shop workers: lift restrictions by noon or 4,000 are locked out. The stewards' response was immediate and unanimous. The overtime ban decided by a mass meeting stayed.

The ban has been in operation for several weeks and was imposed in protest at Leyland's decision to replace the paint-shop at Brown's Lane with one at Castle Bromwich. It is currently cutting production by about 20 per cent.

The same afternoon, management action provoked another dispute with internal drivers on the final line. The agreed terms for the trial period for a new method of work were unilaterally changed. When management refused to return to the status quo, the drivers struck.

Occupied

At 3 p.m., final line workers were taken off the clock. Fifteen minutes later main assembly workers were similarly laid off with no reasons given. With an hour left to the end of the day-shift, section meetings

home and return for a mass meeting in the morning.

Trouble escalated during the night. Night-shift workers were laid off at 3.45 a.m. after rectifiers in the paint-shop refused to move a number of cars — work they would not normally do. It was then that the plant was in effect occupied. The night-shift voted to stay in until normal finishing time. Management's attempt to slam the paint-shop workers by turning the rest of the plant against them through lay-offs was effectively thwarted.

Night-shift stewards returned for a joint shop stewards meeting at 8 a.m. and were joined by day-shift stewards from section meetings. Ten minutes later they returned to the section meetings to say that the company intended to stop payment from 8.30 a.m. The recommendation was to stay on site while stewards demanded that the company withdraw the lock-out threat and resume production.

But little attempt was made to organise the workers while the stewards met. The union leadership in the plant was half-hearted about the 'occupation', while feeling was running high on the shop floor.

After two hours of the stewards' meeting, some workers began to drift home. But eventually, final line workers marched through the factory to the canteen and burst into the stewards' meeting to demand action. By then everyone knew about

Minutes later, stewards returned to section meetings to report that the paint-shop overtime ban would continue — and that the tracks would run from 11.30. When production resumed, 87 per cent of the workforce were on site.

With the car delivery drivers' strike settled — Leyland would have had to cough up full pay in the event of lay-offs — management are likely to ease off the paint-shop. But the lessons of the rebellions at Dagenham and Brown's Lane are plain to see.

Answer

After the Chrysler fiasco, after the co-option of the plant leaderships in Leyland through the Ryder Report, after the slow bleeding of the car industry through voluntary redundancies, the basis for building a new leadership in the plants is beginning to emerge. Militants calling for the full investigation of management plans offer the road by which car workers can begin to control future developments in the industry and guarantee jobs and conditions.

Work-sharing with no loss of pay under the democratic control of the workers is the answer to arbitrary lay-offs and management attempts to turn section against section. Such policies are finding an increasing response among car workers. Let the



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