

RED WEEKLY

18 NOVEMBER 1976

No. 175

PRICE 10p

HOSPITAL OCCUPIED!

Britain's first hospital occupation began on Monday when workers at the threatened Elizabeth Garrett Anderson men's hospital in Camden voted to give a fighting lead to all those fighting cuts and closures in the social services.

The occupation, which has the official support of NUPE and ASTMS, includes a 24-hour picket to ensure that access is denied to those who are trying to close down the hospital—notably members of the Camden Area Health Authority.

A conference is also being planned, provisionally for 11 December, to discuss the extension of the struggle.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

THE IMF HAVE SEEN THEM

NOW OPEN BOOKS TO WORKERS

THEY HAVE HAD A GOOD STAY. When the IMF team fly out this weekend they will have had the advantage of chatting to Treasury officials who disagree with the Labour Government and fourteen leisurely days of looking through the books at the state of the economy.

They will have established that Healey was spinning a yarn to the working class when he promised that:

★ Inflation would be reduced to single figures. Living standards are likely to fall by 10 per cent over the next year unless there is an end to wage control.

★ Unemployment would fall to only 700,000 by 1979. Unless the workers movement fights for workers control over hiring and firing unemployment will continue to top the million mark until 1981 at least.

★ Money saved through cuts would go to investment in industry to provide jobs. It has gone instead to pay off the huge rise in interest due to the financiers.

The IMF team will have absorbed all this and drawn up their plan of action for Britain in Denis Healey's 'Letter of Intent': further cuts, higher housing costs, more wage cuts. The Tories add their postscript of cutting unemployment benefits. The message is 'Back to the Thirties'.

Now's the time for the trade unions to demand that the same privileges accorded to the IMF are given to them. Open the books. Let the working class draw up its own Letter of Intent. Let the message be:

★ Full compensation for the effects of inflation on wages, benefits and social expenditure. No to wage control.

★ For a useful programme of public works to employ the jobless and meet social need. Freeze interest payments. Nationalise the banks. No to the cuts.

★ Work-sharing with no loss of pay. Nationalise all firms and industries unable to guarantee this basic right to work. No to redundancies.

NO RETURN TO THE THIRTIES!



For their eyes only! The IMF private dicks leave 11 Downing Street after examining the Treasury books. Now open them to the workers!

RACISM: FIGHT LABOUR'S HYPOCRISY

THIS WEEKEND the Labour Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, is due to speak at an anti-racist demonstration called by the Labour Party and TUC. This seems a rather peculiar choice of platform speaker.

The official Labour Party policy on racism, as decided at this year's annual conference, is opposition to all immigration controls and support for black self-defence. Merlyn Rees, however, spoke at the same conference in favour of immigration controls.

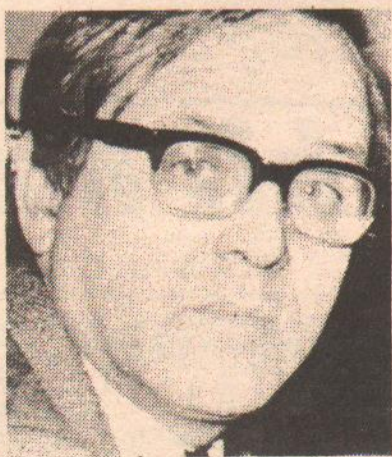
As Minister responsible for 'law and order' he has refused to even censure racist judge Gywn Morris who advocated the setting-up of Ku

Klux Klan type white vigilante groups; refused to act against officers and security guards who last month so terrorised a young Indian woman at Heathrow that her new born baby died.

Now the chances are that he will turn the same blind eye to revelations of the heavy National Front recruitment in the prison service.

The posturing of Merlyn Rees as an anti-racist is a degrading, cynical insult to all black people in this country.

But it is not surprising. Rees



MERLYN REES

speaks at the behest of the TUC, which recently called upon the Government to cut down work permits for immigrant workers. He speaks in the name of a Government whose policies of unemployment, cuts, and attacks on living standards breeds racism.

Rees has the power to act against racist judges, prison screws and immigration officials. He refuses to do so. He avoids the policies decided at his party's conference with as much fear as white racists avoid black workers. No wonder Enoch

Powell sings the praises of Labour.

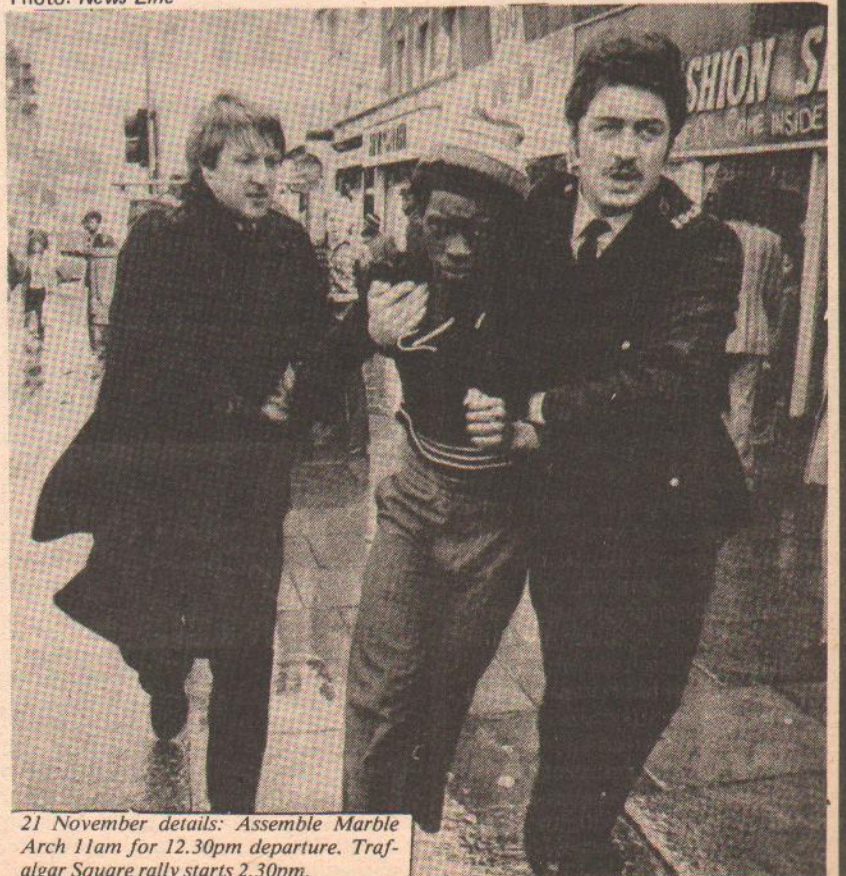
No reliance can be placed on this Labour Government in acting against the racists. No reliance can be placed on the bureaucrats of the TUC in driving out racists from the trade union movement.

It is up to the labour movement itself — a movement which has the power to stand up and fight for the demands of the Labour Party Conference:

**REPEAL ALL IMMIGRATION LAWS!
LABOUR SUPPORT FOR BLACK SELF-DEFENCE!
NO PLATFORM FOR FASCISTS!**



Photo: News Line



21 November details: Assemble Marble Arch 11am for 12.30pm departure. Trafalgar Square rally starts 2.30pm.

Open Conference can unite left-wing teachers

The 'Open Conference of Left-Wing Teachers' this Saturday is the culmination of a long process of open debate which has been going on amongst militant teachers for nearly two years.

The left in the National Union of Teachers has in the past been dominated by two components: the Communist Party 'Broad Left'; and the International Socialists' front organisation, Rank & File. The CP, which has several members on the National Executive of the union, is characterised by a tendency to fall to its knees whenever the right wing sneeze.

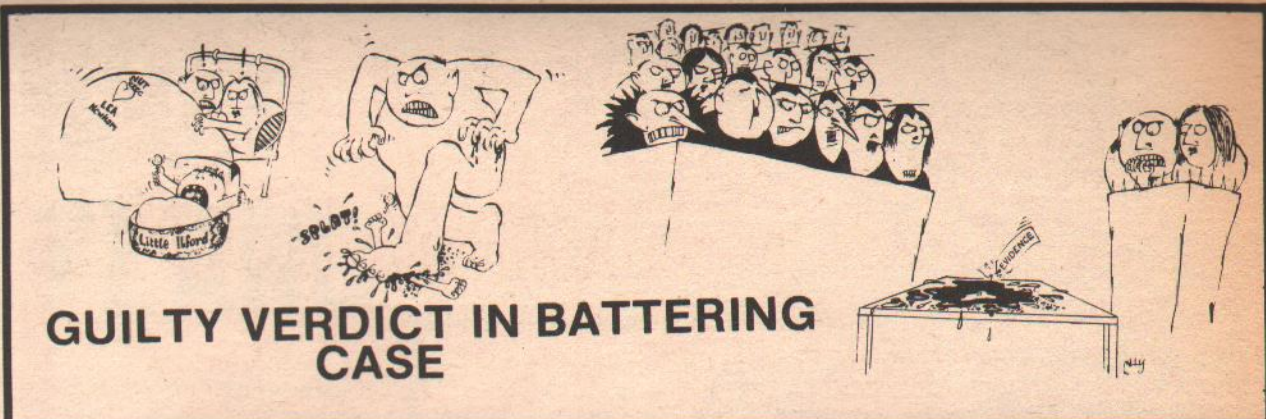
The Rank & File Group, on the other hand, is noted for its sectarianism, exemplified by its absurd claim to be the 'left' in the union. Rank & File rejects any serious attempt to fight the leadership of the Union.

For example, although they have 10 per cent of the delegates on the Central Council of the Inner London Teachers Association, which represents over 16,000 teachers, they have raised no motions calling for strike action on 17 November.

which can unite teachers with other workers in action against the cuts. Teacher militants should campaign for local action committees based on the broad labour movement to wage a fight to force local Labour councils to oppose the cuts, to bring down the size of classes, to employ more teachers, to restore nursery education and cuts in colleges of education, and to protect all spending on education against inflation.

Above all else, the new organisation established from the Open Conference will have to wage a determined campaign at all levels to forge an alliance of public sector unions opposed to the cuts.

It is this kind of perspective which Red Weekly supporters will be putting forward to the conference. But we recognise



Sign or else!

SIGN THE LETTER, comply with union instructions or be suspended indefinitely from the union! That's the demand which the National Union of Teachers executive committee have put to their own members in Little Ilford School.

Teachers at the school, in Newham, East London, voted by a 90 per cent majority to take no cover action because 'In view of the large number of unemployed teachers, it is not reasonable to expect a supply teacher to cover for absences of three or more days in advance.' But their action met with fierce opposition from the headmaster and NUT Secretary Fred Jarvis.

This led to a one-hour stoppage in the school. Suspensions from the union have since been imposed until such time as the

teachers are prepared to sign letters pledging that they will not participate in any unofficial action.

The action of the Little Ilford Teachers is not an isolated one. About 50 schools in the Inner London Education Authority are refusing to cover for teachers absent for more than three days.

But because this action has not been coordinated in an effective way, these schools have not been in the forefront of the cuts fight. This situation prepares the way for the NUT bureaucrats to jump together with local education authorities on teachers like those in Little Ilford.

But the vigorous defence campaign being waged by the Little Ilford teachers can begin to change this. The schools who have a policy on no-cover should publicly

declare it and in conjunction with the defence campaign fight for its extension.

During the course of this struggle it will be necessary to organise beyond the confines of a single school and go forward from a no-cover campaign — which is one way of fighting the cuts in the schools — to build a movement to challenge the NUT bureaucracy and fight the right-wing offensive in education.

But defence of Little Ilford is the starting point. Support the lobby of the NUT Executive at 8.30 am, Saturday 27 November, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, London WC1; and send money and messages of support to NUT Representative, Little Ilford School, Browning Road, E12.

Contrast

In sharp contrast, a similar move through the ILTA Council, initiated by supporters of the Open Conference, has resulted in a call by the National Executive of the NUT for all its members to give their fullest support to the TUC Labour Party demonstration against racism on 21 November.

One significant feature of the Open Conference has been the extent to which militants from a wide number of political tendencies have come together to thrash out a basis for unity. The conference has already won sponsorship from: tional Communist League, Workers League, Workers Power, Anarchist Workers Association and many ex-Rank & File members have been involved. The conference has already won sponsorship many leading militants in the NUT and from groups up and down the country, and has been planned through a series of open meetings.

The success of the conference, however, will lie in the ability of the forces involved to turn their attention outwards — particularly to all those forces who are prepared to engage in a fight against the cuts now. Conference supporters must be prepared to create or work in existing open local caucuses of militants who want to wage that fight as a stepping stone to challenging for the leadership of the mass of teachers.

Unity

To do this it will be necessary to develop and deepen the unity forged so far by hammering out a programme

Max Morris leaves Communist Party

MAX MORRIS, perhaps the best known teacher in the Communist Party, has left it. Whether he left the party on his own initiative or whether he was asked to leave is not important. What is important is why it happened now and what impact it will have on CP teachers generally.

Max Morris has consistently identified himself with the right in the union. His support for the Social Contract, his support for a salary structure maintaining differentials between head teachers and classroom teachers, his support for inactivity on the cuts are all well known. Indeed, he was one of the architects of the National Union of Teachers' Rule 8, which took away the right of local branches and divisions to call official union action. He vehemently supports the recent clause which suspends members for taking unofficial action, and rejected a call for strike action on 17 November as a move which would produce 'anarchy' in the schools. He has further aligned himself with the employers over his condemnation of the William Tyndale teachers.

The Communist Party, which at the moment is forced to dissociate itself in a token fashion from trade union leaders who promote the Social Contract, was clearly embarrassed to have in its ranks one so deeply identified with the right-wing policies of the NUT leadership. However, to see him as one bad apple spoiling the rest of the CP barrel is wrong. The policy of the CP

has always been one of compromise and collusion with the employers and the state.

The CP's journal *Education Today & Tomorrow* has argued for support for bodies such as the Schools Council — an amalgam of teachers, employers and industry — as the way to promote educational advance. A policy to make schools serve the interests and operate under the control of the working class is complete anathema to them!

The CP, as a body, has put up no fight against the Social Contract and has no perspective for taking forward a fight on the cuts apart from building alliances with local authorities and parents as a classless force through bodies such as the Council for Educational Advance. One thing it does say, though, is that unofficial action is always wrong.

Max Morris has been an embarrassment to many CP teachers. But he only took their policies to their logical right-wing conclusion. What must be done now is to embarrass the party with these policies.

Anybody calling themselves a communist or a socialist must commit themselves now to a serious fight for national industrial action against the cuts, including unofficial action in the face of intransigent inactivity from the NUT Executive.

HILDA KEAN.

17 November - the NUT's token gesture

The NUT Executive decided in its wisdom that the best way of fighting the cuts was to ask each NUT Association to send 10 delegates only to the 17 November demonstration.

Fortunately there are militants in the union who realise that such policies will get teachers nowhere and have organised independently of the Executive. A case in point was a meeting sponsored by Westminster, Wandsworth and East London Associations on 10 November to discuss and try to co-ordinate the 'unofficial' strike action being considered by many schools.

Once again the Communist Party showed their true colours. With the NUT bureaucracy, in the form of the Inner London Teachers Association leadership, they announced that as a punishment they would not take any more resolutions submitted to the ILTA Council by these three Associations, because only they 'are competent' to call such meetings.

Despite this intimidation a number of schools decided to strike on Wednesday. This is the only way to reply to the bureaucratic victimisations which the NUT Executive is pushing through to prevent teachers from joining the rest of the working class in effective action against the cuts.

Schools should organise local conferences to discuss how best they can build a campaign against the cuts. The NUT Executive have refused to break with the Social Contract — it is up to the rank-and-file to show them.

CAROLE REGAN (East London NUT).

Where the cuts hit hardest

Some sections of the working class are especially hard hit by the cuts as a result of their particular position in society. This is the case, for example, with women, blacks and youths.

Take the cuts in education. Because women form the majority of teachers both in employment and at teacher training colleges, their jobs have been disproportionately affected by the cuts. And because of women's role in the family, it is they who are and will be burdened by having to care for children sent home from school as part of the implementation of the cuts.

As for blacks, the present cuts in education have the effect of making a deplorable situation worse. Racism manifests itself in the education system in this country by the under-education and de-personalisation of black children and youth. The education system inculcates a sense of failure and total inadequacy — the overall majority of blacks inevitably find themselves in lower classes confronted by almost impossible conditions for the acquisition of either qualifications or self-fulfilment.

The effect of the cuts is to reduce the

within these areas the more deprived schools, and within these schools the lower classes — the situation in which black children tend as a rule to find themselves.

Instead of schools employing more specialised teachers for teaching, say, English as a second language, and increasing the resources which are necessary for the efficient teaching of the subject, they are in fact having to cut back on their expenditure in these departments.

Blacks

Partly as a consequence of the educational deprivation suffered by blacks, there exist today very few black teachers. This is reflected in the small proportion of blacks at teacher training colleges and the even smaller number found in schools.

An article entitled 'Profile of a Multi-Racial School' (*Education and Community Relations*, Nov/Dec 1975) waxed eloquent about Thornton Boys School as an example of a multi-racial school. This school has 50 per cent West Indian pupils,

Asian, and one from the Middle East.

Last week the Department of Education and Science announced the closure of more teacher training colleges. One of these colleges is All Saints College in Tottenham. The college has 550 full-time students, nearly 100 of whom are members of ethnic minorities. This relatively

high proportion of non-whites training as teachers is very unusual, if not unique. By closing down this college the Government will have succeeded in greatly diminishing the already minimal number of potential black teachers.

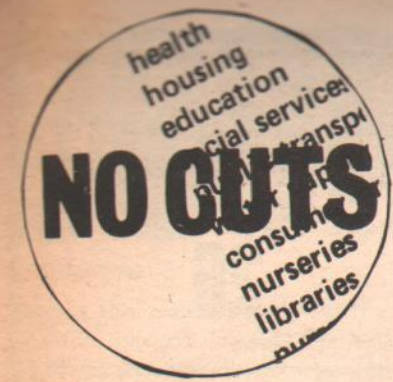
LEROY M. GORDON

The Socialist Challenge to Labour's Cuts



RED WEEKLY pamphlet 20p plus 12p p&p from Red Books, 182





How to Stop the Cuts

THE 17 NOVEMBER DEMONSTRATION is undoubtedly the biggest demonstration organised by the trade unions which has taken place for some time. Twelve unions in all supported it, including at the last minute the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, and tens of thousands of workers from the public sector have shown their willingness to march against the cuts.

But is this massive show of force the first step in forcing a halt to the cuts, or the last grand gesture of defiance before surrendering to Callaghan and Healey? Where do we go after the 17th?

The answer given by leaders of the public sector unions like Alan Fisher [NUPE] and Geoffrey Drain [NALGO] is 'keep the pressure up' — but only 'pressure'. That is why they consistently refused to call for strike action on 17 November — which could have turned it into a real show of force. They have refused to take the kind of action needed to prepare the ground for a united campaign by the public sector unions of strikes and demonstrations, through which workers in other industries could be drawn into action against the cuts.

Because they have committed themselves to support for the Social Contract, they have committed themselves to making the working class pay for the crisis through falling wages, unemployment and cuts. Fighting the cuts means breaking with the Social Contract and taking on the Government and TUC leaders who defend it. That requires national action.

Instead these 'leaders' offer their members local action. Whether it be the militant sounding 'guerilla action' of NUPE, or the local action against redundancies of NALGO, it amounts to the same thing — fight locally if you must, but we will leave you to fight the Labour

Government's policies on your own, isolated.

And they offer an alliance between the public sector unions. But not an alliance to fight the cuts, rather an alliance to put pressure on the Government whilst maintaining the Social Contract. It is an alliance where national strike action will be avoided under the guise of 'maintaining unity' — as when the CPSA called off strike action for 17 November on the grounds that no other unions would be striking.

A different type of public sector alliance is needed — an alliance for mass action which can draw in support from the rest of the working class; an alliance which is prepared to see the fight against the cuts through to the end and break with the Social Contract.

The road after 17 November is clear:

★ Socialists in the public sector unions must campaign for a day of national strike action against the cuts, with the aim of drawing other workers behind that action.

★ A public sector alliance must be built against the cuts which breaks with the Social Contract — a genuine unity for action, with democratically elected inter-union committees in the localities. Already joint stewards committees exist in hospitals and student/staff committees in colleges — these should be built on and extended.

★ Solidarity action with all local struggles against the cuts, so that local struggles, like that of the direct works NUPE members in Canterbury, are not left isolated and unsupported.

★ Organise in your unions to build an opposition which can make the union leaders fight or be removed, and fight for a break with the Social Contract.

LEADERS GIVE NO ANSWER



Part of the NUS Week of Action — Trevor Phillips (left), NUS executive, leads a picket protesting DES clampdown on overseas students.

Civil Servants

Twice this year activists in the Civil and Public Services Association have seen democratic expressions of their will to struggle rubbed out by their own paid officials.

When the conference in May voted overwhelmingly for outright opposition to the cuts and Labour's incomes policy, a snap ballot was called to steamroller the membership into support for the Social Contract. When the NEC in September called a one-day strike for 17 November, the officials used the membership rallies intended to build this call as a platform for denouncing it, so that it was finally called off.

The will to fight is still there, however, and was expressed by the many hundreds of CPSA members preparing to come on the 17th. But these members must realise that the fight against Government policies, the fight against the cuts, is also a fight against their own treacherous officials.

The obvious relief with which the leadership has ended industrial action in the DHSS section against staff reductions shows how willing they will be to take up future struggles against sackings. A fight is needed to replace the leaders' ambiguous and demagogic position of non-union members first with outright opposition to all sackings.

The only way to win the 'nons' is to show that we are prepared to fight for their wages and conditions too. This

Students

The local authority in Dyfed, Wales, has refused to pay the student union membership fee of students at the local technical college. At a protest demonstration Neil Caldwell and Chris Morgan from the National Union of Students Executive were left preaching from the platform whilst two thirds of the marchers turned their backs on them to go to try to occupy the town hall. They were unsuccessful, but clearly showed the frustration of students wanting to take action but getting no national lead or backing.

With the attacks of the Labour Government increasing all the time, such a lead is crucial. But instead of launching immediate action to defeat these attacks,

the Broad Left leaders of the NUS want to put all their eggs into the basket of building a broad alliance with the trade union leaders, the parliamentary lefts, vice-chancellors, educationalists, and even 'progressively minded' clerics and conservatives. The idea is to pressurise the Government into changing its policies.

With the NUS leaders adopting such a useless strategy it was no surprise that the week of action called jointly by the NUS, the South-East Region of the TUC, and the Council for Educational Advance had such a minimal response from students. Reports from round the country indicate that students just don't see the point of these endless protest actions. Certainly the CEA national day of prayer for education held on 7 November raised no great enthusiasm!

The potential for a national fight back does exist, however. Many colleges have organised action over the attacks on overseas students, and most recently the occupation at Middlesex Poly has put a national campaign on the agenda.

The many students who mobilised for 17 November have not forgotten the roles of the NUS and NUT leaders during last summer's campaign. They came looking for ways to build real links in action with workers from the public sector to fight all cuts.

The call by students at Southlands College for a meeting of militants in Manchester on Saturday to discuss building those links and hence organising a challenge to the Broad Left leaders' policy and strategy is an excellent step in the right direction. It is also the only way to check the growth of the right amongst students, which feeds on the demoralisation caused by the Broad Left's policies.

PAUL BROOKE

Public Employees

PAUL MITCHELL, National Union of Public Employees shop steward at Southampton General Hospital, writes on what NUPE is doing about the cuts.

The present national NUPE position on the cuts is for action to be taken against redundancies and cuts on a local, hospital by hospital basis. The NUPE leadership also refuse to oppose the Social Contract — instead they plead for the implementation of the Government's side of this hollow bargain.

But locally even this has been hidden from the membership: by the right wing in the branch, who have a stranglehold; and by the union machinery itself — mobilising literature for 17 November was sent to 'senior stewards and branch officers only', and it was left to the membership at the base to get transport etc

November demonstration has been called as a mere protest in response to growing pressure from the base of the union. What NUPE should be doing (and must if we are to roll back the cuts) is to organise mass action on a national basis around policies which are definitely counterposed to the present policies being pursued by the Government.

Of course, the union bureaucracy will refuse to do this — it would call into question the Social Contract and threaten their own position. The task of militants in the public sector unions is to fight for the organisation of this kind in action; particularly through the establishment of

IN FOCUS

Wrong Again, Denis!

Well, you can't be right all of the time. Following his run of unsuccessful predictions on the economy, Denis Healey ventured into the realm of political analysis with the statement that the left wing of the Labour Party were bringing the Government down. The next week saw two right-wing MPs, Brian 'the bookies' friend' Walden and John Mackintosh, abstain to thwart the passing of the Dock Work Regulation Bill. In doing so they knocked the final nail into the coffin of the legislation already mangled by the Tory peers in the House of Lords.

This latest farce in the life of the Labour Government demonstrates once again that the Social Contract contains nothing of benefit to the working class. Jack Jones first of all said that it would safeguard living standards against inflation. Now workers' earnings have dropped in real terms by six per cent and face a further ten per cent drop next year.

Then the trade union leaders said that it would maintain the social wage and defend the social services. Yet another round of massive IMF-inspired cuts are on the way.

Finally the trade union leaders were forced to concede in desperation that the Social Contract would protect neither wages nor services, but would usher in a bright new dawn of parliamentary legislation in the interests of the working class. *It is all a sham!*

The sacrifices which the working class have made through their leaders' support for the Social Contract have achieved nothing. This is the clearest proof possible that workers have no responsibility for this crisis.

The roots of the Labour Government's most recent defeat in the House of Commons lie at the door of the right-wing policies pushed and promoted by the TUC leaders. The right-wing Manifesto Group in the party feels that its star is in the ascendant. Apparently Denis Healey's cuts policy is not drastic enough for them, as they showed when they launched their 'Bring back Roy Jenkins' campaign last week.

The temporary defection of Mackintosh and Walden to the Tories will be just the first incident of many. They were treated like conquering heroes by the Tory press. These 'men of reason and principle' were contrasted to the 'sheep' driven through the Labour lobbies. Yet when the left MPs, in a spasmodic attempt to abide by Labour Conference policy, defeated a motion approving the cuts earlier this year they were denounced as the 'lunatic left'.

Demands that Callaghan should discipline or expel the right-wing MPs from the Parliamentary Labour Party are so much whistling in the wind. The Labour Government, knowing that it can rely on the lefts to toe the line laid down by Jones, will continue to placate and offer concessions to the right wing — even if that means them voting down 'crucial' parts of the Government's programme.

The answer is not to be found in the maze of parliamentary procedure. A recent survey of London CLPs showed that over half of them are in favour of the right to re-select MPs. This could be the basis for a fight for workers democracy in the labour movement as a whole. The bureaucrats hate and fear the reselection campaign, not merely because it threatens to deprive them of their parliamentary meal ticket and privileges, but because it opens the door for the representatives of the working class to be made accountable to organisations of the working class instead of Parliament.

RIGHT-WING LABOURITES ATTACK CUTS CAMPAIGN



A fight against the cuts often means a fight against local right-wing Labour leaders, as supporters of the Colchester Trades Council Cuts Sub-Committee have recently found out. The committee's bulletin included Red Weekly in a list of photo acknowledgements on the back page — and promptly found that this was being used as a reason for the Labour Party to withdraw its support from the committee!

Leading the attack on the Cuts Committee was regional Labour Party organiser Doug Garnett. Playing on 'reds under the beds' fears, he managed to swing a vote for Labour Party dissociation at a meeting of the local General Management Committee — the same GMC which sent a resolution to the Lab-

public expenditure, the unemployment they will cause, and unemployment in general'.

But individual Labour Party members have continued to support the committee, and were among more than 80 people who responded to its call to picket a Colchester Council meeting on 3 November and lobby Labour councillors against the cuts. And a fight will be waged inside the Labour Party to get the GMC's decision reversed.

As the Cuts Committee's leaflet at the 3 November picket pointed out, the real disloyalty to Labour is expressed not by those fighting the cuts but by the Government itself, which 'is attacking the living standards of the working people who elected it ... there can be little doubt that the effects of the cuts will be reflected in a

IMPLEMENT COMPOSITE 26!

COMPOSITE

26

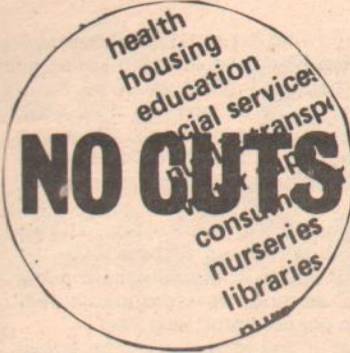
'This conference rejects cuts in the social wage and instructs the Labour Government to carry out its manifesto commitments to expand and improve the Social Services. Whilst recognising the urgent need for an expanded industrial base and the socialist industrial planning measures that are required to meet that objective, Conference rejects 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.

'Conference calls for unity in the trade union and Labour Movement in resistance to the cuts, and instructs the Government to pursue socialist policies which will rapidly reduce the level of unemployment instead of cutting back on the social wage.

'Conference rejects the basic implications of the Government's White Paper on public expenditure. It demands an extension of socialist planning and control of the economy in order to create full employment, make better use of resources and to end social inequalities and is totally opposed to present and proposed cuts in the social and educational services.

'Conference supports those Labour Councils which have refused to implement the cuts, and calls on other Labour Groups to follow suit. Conference urges the Labour Party to conduct an active campaign against cuts in public expenditure, and calls on the National Executive to support trade unions opposing the cuts.'

Moved by
NATIONAL UNION OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES
Seconded by
CARDIFF NORTH WEST CLP



Just as the labour movement moved into action in resistance to Tory-imposed cuts in Bury, so around the country we must be clear that we will accept cuts from neither Tory nor Labour-controlled councils.

But the new 'cash limits' system which Healey has used to chop £1.8 billion means that this is exactly what we are faced with. The September circular from the Department of the Environment spelt out the full implications of the Government's intentions on local government spending for next year. As the Transport House publication, **Labour Councillor**, put it:

'The level of current expenditure will be as in the Public Expenditure White Paper that is, about a 1% reduction from the RSG settlement figure for 1976-77. However, in order to reach that figure local authorities would have to reduce their spending by 4.3% because they are already 3.3% 'overspent' in 1976-77. The Government say they will assume that local authorities have put into balance the amount they 'ought' to have saved by the 16 July revision. Rate Support Grant next year will be reduced accordingly. It will not be 65½% of relevant expenditure or anything like it. Even to reach the 'standstill' White Paper figure for 1977-78 councils will have to cut their spending by 4.3% compared with their actual spending this year and increase their rate to make up for the cut in the Government Grant.'

Put quite simply, this means cuts, half of which will be on postponing capital spending projects originally scheduled for next year, and half by cutting back actual services provided today.

A campaign to implement Composite 26 passed at the Labour Party conference must be based on mass action against the Government's policies and mobilising the labour movement against them. Councillors who openly flout the Labour Conference decision and who support the Government's anti-working class measures must be treated in the same fashion as the Government itself or Tory councillors — as

enemies of the working class. Their scheming behind the backs of the labour movement must be exposed to the working class so that a fight-back based on mass action can be prepared.

All Labour councillors who collude in such projects should be removed and replaced by those prepared to fight. Those Labour councillors opposed to the cuts must be forced to reveal similar plans to the labour movement. Whether they sit on Regional or Area Health Authorities, on local education authorities or are just voting against cuts on the Council, it will only be through mass action by the labour movement that the cuts will be thrown back. They must be forced to reveal all plans so that such a fight can be prepared.

When the last round of cuts came in Wandsworth, the Council announced its intention not to implement them, but got around the difficulties by jacking up the rates. But this is just another way of making the working class and its potential allies pay for the crisis. If councils find that inflation is eating away at their spending power, then they should increase their revenue by refusing to pay interest on the money they raise through loans. And they should demand that the rate support grant is protected against the effects of inflation through index-linked automatic increases.

Labour Councils need look only as far as the workers they employ to find allies against the Government's cuts. Such Councils should be forced to support all demonstrations, lobbies and strikes against the cuts and join in with the public sector unions in building mass action against the cuts. If every Labour-controlled council in the country had supported 17 November by bringing their employees to the national demonstration, the Government would think twice about further cuts in the pipeline with the forthcoming IMF-inspired 'mini-Budget'.

GREG MANZANO

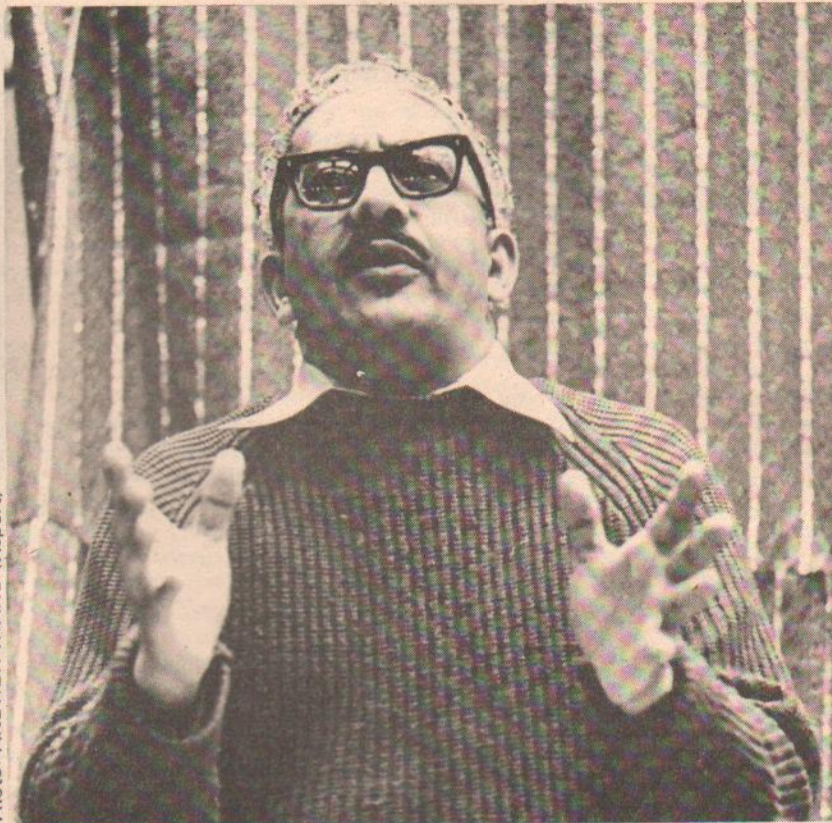
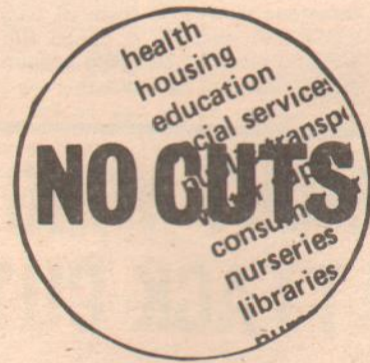


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

CARL BRECKER - chairman of the Hounslow Health District Joint Shop Stewards Committee addresses the 70 delegates at last weekend's labour movement conference called by the London Regional Committee against Cuts. The first task for the militants at the conference will now be the support and extension of the struggle at the Elisabeth Garret Anderson Hospital.



The campaign against the cuts in Bury has taken on mass proportions.

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

BURYING THE CUTS

'To fight the cuts effectively means fighting the Social Contract. It means fighting unemployment and the cuts in living standards'.

The words are those of Ian Stevenson, a member of Radcliffe North Labour Party in Bury. He should know a thing or two about the cuts, because Bury has become a by-word for the choppers of the Labour Government.

The Tory Council, backed by a number of Labour councillors, recently announced full implementation of Healey's policy. £1 million is to be 'saved' in all, with £320,000 being chopped from social services and £400,000 from education. Nurseries, centres for the handicapped, children's homes — all are targets for the Tory/Healey alliance in Bury.

Ian Stevenson last week described the cuts as 'savage', but he also told **Red Weekly** of the growing fight back — 'there was a spontaneous and immediate response by social service workers, Labour Party members and other trade unionists.'

This has taken the form of a 2,000-strong demonstration, a 400-strong picket of a council meeting, and a petition against the cuts signed by 20,000 people. There has also been a sit-in at the threatened Hillcrest Hostel and, perhaps most important of all, further plans for action have been made.

These plans are being formulated as a

tant, Mark Hackett, a member of Prestwich Labour Party and of the local government workers' union NALGO, explains:

'We decided to try to set up a campaign against all the cuts. This was the idea behind the recent labour movement conference. I moved a resolution in my branch calling for the District Labour Party and Trades Council to call a conference and to support the occupation of Hillcrest'.

The occupation itself had stemmed from the activities of the Bury Action Group Against the Cuts in Social Services. Says Hackett:

'Whatever criticisms one might have about the action group, it has done an excellent job in terms of publicity and action. It has also operated in the most democratic way, with all the decisions being taken or ratified at public meetings open to all those active in the campaign.'

But if the conference recognised the success of the campaign, there were others according to Hackett who could be criticised:

'One of the main feelings we all took away from the conference was that the majority of Labour councillors have failed the labour movement in Bury. Only four of the eleven Labour councillors have supported the action group, and many of them even voted with the Tories

Bury, has done nothing to help the campaign, dissociating himself from it for fear of "embarrassing" the Labour Government.'

This criticism does not apply to all Labour Party leaders. Ian Stevenson records that local councillor Derek Bowden 'has played a very important part in the campaign — in and out of the council chamber', while councillor Collins has pointed to 'the millions squandered in police spending' in arguing against cuts in welfare services.

Both Mark Hackett and Ian Stevenson are determined to continue the fight back. Both are members of the committee set up by the local conference, and among other activities they are trying to collect information about the exact effects of the education cuts. Mark Hackett explains:

'We will be approaching the teachers' unions, parent-teacher associations, school governors, NALGO, etc to see what they feel and what they can tell us. Then we will try to arrange similar investigations — for example, how the cuts affect women.'

Although Ian Stevenson admits that 'there is still a long way to go', he is also right when he says that the activities of the militants in Bury have shown 'it is possible to launch a fight back now'.

The local Tories, their Labour fellow travellers and Healey may just have taken

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.

FUND DRIVE party: Sat 20 Nov, 8pm, at Ideal Snack Bar, 12 Orchard Cottages, Dawley Rd, Hayes. £1.50 entrance buys all the food and drink you can consume. All night dancing!

RADICAL EDUCATION Conference: 27-28 Nov, Islington Green School, London N1. Agenda includes: nature of 'progressive reform'; education and working class; socialist strategy against the right-wing attacks.

LABOUR Movement Delegation to Ireland report-back meeting: Thurs 18 Nov, 7.30pm, Edmonton Labour Rooms, Broad House, Edmonton, N.18.

'WOMEN IN IRELAND—A Report Back': South London meeting, Thurs 18 Nov, 7.30pm at South Bank Poly Students Union, Rotary St, S.E.1. LMDI and NUS delegation speakers.

CRITIQUE Nos 1 & 2 have now been reprinted and are available from 9 Poland St, London W1 (tel. 734 3457). Critique 1 contains: J. Pelikan —Workers Councils in Czechoslovakia; H.H. Ticklin —Towards a Political Economy of the USSR; J.D. White —Historiography of the Russian Revolution; D.H. Ruben —Godelier's Marxism. Critique 2 contains: H.H. Ticklin —Political Economy of the Soviet Intellectual; M. McCauley —Political Change since Stalin; B.S. Law —The Left Opposition in 1923; J. Kavan —Czechoslovakia 1968: Workers and Students; D.H. Ruben —On Dialectical Relations. Both contains surveys, review of current events, translations and book reviews. Price 80p each plus 20p p&p.

WORLD REVOLUTION Public Forum: Ireland:

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

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

BIRMINGHAM Red Weekly Supporters Group meets every other Wednesday at 7.30pm in Australian Bar, Hurst St.

CARDIFF Red Weekly Readers Group meets every fortnight. Next meeting on 'The Struggle in southern Africa', Tues 23 Nov, 7.30pm. At Friends Meeting House, Charles St (nr centre).

OPEN CONFERENCE of Left-Wing Teachers, Sat 20 Nov, 11am-5.30pm at Sir William Collins School, Charrington St, London NW1. Creche and pool fare. Information from Dave Picton, 221 Westcombe Hill, London SE3 (01-858 4942).

'DIRECT ACTION and Criminal Trespass' — conference at Reading University, 27-28 Nov. Details from CACTL, 6 Bowden Street, London SE11 (01-299 3877).

BOLTON Red Weekly Readers Discussion Group meeting, Thurs 25 Nov, 8pm, White Lion pub: 'The Communist Parties in Europe'.

FASCISTS Out of Bolton! No More Black-burns! Defend the Bolton 71 Demo against racism and fascism, 27 Nov, meet 1pm Queens Park, Spa Road, near Bolton Town Centre. Followed by rally.

CAMBRIDGE Challenge Group — discussion group for regular 'Red Weekly' readers. Meets Wednesdays at 8pm in the 'Man on the Moon', Norfolk St.

MANCHESTER Red Weekly Discussion Group

COURTAULD SPINS A YARN

By GEOFF BELL

During the last financial year the textile giant Courtauld made a profit of £48.3 million. During the same period they cut their workforce by 10,000; now they plan to sack another 4,500. According to union leader Jack Jones, however, the chief of Courtauld, Sir Arthur Knight, is 'sympathetic to the problems created by the loss of jobs'.

Put the sackings, the profits and the supposedly kind employer together and you get confusion. Add to this that Courtauld have also announced that they intend to invest £1.5 million in 'improving production facilities' at their plant near Derby, and the confusion deepens.

Note, finally, that according to The Times the threatened Skelmersdale plant has been given government grants averaging £3,500 per job, and the confusion gives way to total bewilderment. So what is the explanation, and why are over 4,000 workers faced with the sack?

Sir Arthur Knight's view is predictable. He has blamed lazy workers. But that is easy to dismiss.

Even the bosses' favourite journal, the *Economist*, admits that last year the company 'did quite well in its efficiency drive'. Moreover, the threatened Skelmersdale plant has witnessed only two strikes in eight years.

The other favourite scapegoat is cheap imports: 'Import controls' has been the cry of both employers and those who put themselves forward as representing the interests of workers. Thus the backers of this solution range from the employers' British Textile Confederation to Jack MacGougan, general secretary of the Tailors and Garment Workers' Union.

As far as textiles are concerned, the allegation of cheap imports is directed against the underdeveloped countries of

Asia and the countries of Eastern Europe. That is, it is aimed at damaging the poverty stricken workers of India and those countries whose means of production are not controlled by a small band of capitalists.

Blame

First, note what the purpose of the import controls argument is: it is to switch the blame for the state of the industry onto foreign workers. This is the oldest trick in the imperialist book. It is called 'divide and rule'. Its aim is to produce scapegoats.

Second is the fact that Britain actually enjoys a trade surplus in textiles and clothing. Last year Britain exported £6.3

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



millions worth of goods more than it imported in this industry.

Third is the fact that while Britain does import many more men's suits and shirts than it exports, these imports are based on a British export. For the UK has a trade surplus in textile machinery of £147.5 million. These exports would dramatically

decline if there were blanket import controls, because the machines would no longer be needed.

Fourth is the consideration that if the importing of shirts and suits was prohibited, the effect on the standard of living of all workers in this country would be damaging, because all would have to pay much more for these necessities.

Fifth is the fact that strong import restrictions already exist. Under a procedure known as the Gatt Multifibre Agreement the growth of imports in all textile and allied goods is restricted to 2 per cent a year. In addition there are other import restrictions aimed at preventing the 'dumping' of cheaper products.

The most protected of all textile products is cotton. The traditional supplier of cotton finished goods, India, has been allowed no increase in exports to this country since 1966. Yet since then the cotton workforce in this country has dropped by 40 per cent. In the case of cotton, import controls and mass redundancies go together.

Reason

As with the talk of lazy workers and the advocacy of import controls, these hand-outs solve nothing. In finding what would, we must first find the real reason for the problems at Courtauld. And consider these facts:

* Two of the factories threatened with closure manufacture women's tights, for which there has been a 40 per cent fall in demand in the last couple of years.

* Even Sir Peter Carey, Permanent Secretary for the Department of Employment, told the textile industry earlier this year that 'in many areas it had failed to get onto the bandwagon — especially in relation to exports to the EEC'.

* Courtauld itself, besides blaming 'lazy workers', has admitted that 'weak demand and product obsolescence' is responsible for some of the closures.

This adds up to chronically bad management, unable to see the trends, take advantage of export opportunities, or buy suitable machinery. It is not all Courtauld's fault. They operate in one of the most unpredictable markets of all, manipulated by fashion writers, pop stars and similar trendies. It is a totally unplanned and unforecastable industry. It operates at a dog-eat-dog level. It is a classic free enterprise system.

Solutions

And if that is what lies behind the sackings at Courtauld, the solutions become obvious.

Immediately there must be a full and open inspection by the Courtauld workers of the company's books — to see just where all that money they received from the Government has gone.

Immediately there must be work-sharing with no loss of pay and no sackings — the profits which the company has made show the money is there.

Immediately not just Courtauld but the whole textile industry should be nationalised under workers control. No compensation to the bosses should be paid — they have been handed over millions as it is by successive governments.

Once taken over, the textile industry can begin to be centrally planned and controlled. It will not be a case of this group of workers set against that group; it will be a case of the industry as a whole being run not in the self-destructing way of 'free-competition' but for the benefit of the workers as a whole.

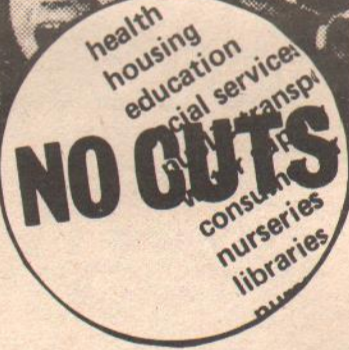
Answer

So if banning imports is not the answer, what is?

Well, the Government is placing great store in grants to the bosses to persuade them to keep operating. Seeing that Courtauld made a huge profit last year, it could be argued that they are hardly in



Beaver pupils lobby Russell Kerr MP.



The Sound and the Fury

TEACHERS at Beaver Infants and Junior Schools in Hounslow have been fighting a losing battle against... noise. No, it's not the kids. It's the aircraft.

The school is a mere 800 yards from the main flight path at Heathrow airport. At times the noise from approaching aircraft is so intense that no oral teaching is possible at all.

As all teachers know, verbal communication is the basis of teaching in primary education. Despite the teachers' dedication, the children's education is bound to suffer. It was for these reasons that the teachers took strike action last week.

The campaign to soundproof the school began seven years ago, when the volume of traffic taken at Heathrow began to increase considerably with the advent of the jumbo jet. Since then staff, parents and pupils have waited patiently while fruitless negotiations have taken place.

Scream

Today the deafening scream of Concorde has to be contended with. The buck has been passed from the local education authority to central government and then fostered out to various departments, each in turn denying responsibility for the cost of soundproofing the school. Meanwhile the cost of the scheme has risen from £30,000 in 1969 to £300,000 today: the cost of a new school.

last term, stating that in the current economic climate the cost of soundproofing the school was prohibitive, the staff decided that direct action was the only alternative. The staff did not see why the children's education should suffer — they accepted no responsibility for 'economic climates'.

Strike

At a meeting with 180 parents on 3 November a unanimous decision was taken to support strike action the following week by members of the National Union of Teachers at the school. The Chairman of the Local Residents Association and representatives of unions at the airport, as well as two local Labour councillors, all gave the meeting the same message: 'We are 100 per cent behind you — we are disgusted by the present state of affairs'.

Indeed, the case of Beavers School raises a number of important questions that socialists have argued for. It means that working people accept no responsibility for the crisis.

It means that a programme of social investment in the form of public works to sound-proof schools like Beavers would provide some of the 300,000 unemployed building workers with worthwhile jobs instead of picking up seaweed in some phoney job-creation scheme. It would also ensure that kids could enjoy a

It means that all public expenditure must be inflation proofed so that the authorities can no longer argue that the cost of sound-proofing is now prohibitive because of increasing costs.

It also means that a trade union inquiry is needed to demand that the Department of Industry and Trade open its files to public inspection to see just where the money is going. It calls for an inquiry into just how many schools are affected by noise and the production of a plan by the trade union movement of how best to sound-proof these buildings.

The Government wants to sacrifice education and the welfare state on the altar of profits and private capital. However the working people of Beavers Estate and teachers at Beavers School have said NO! Already proposals mooted include an area wide strike of schools and sympathetic strikes by the major unions at the airport.

United

A united campaign with trade unionists, tenants associations and the local Labour Party, based on the above demands, would ensure the right of every child to a decent education and the right of every teacher to decent working conditions. Send messages/resolutions of support to: NUT Representative, Beavers Schools, Arundel Road, Hounslow, Middx.



THE DANGER of asbestos contamination brought five women cleaners out on strike on 30 September at the Holbrook Centre of North East London Polytechnic. They are still out today although their union, the General & Municipal Workers, has failed to make the dispute official — so they don't get any strike pay.

The trouble started when non-union labour was brought in over the summer to make alterations to Holbrook House, which is a converted, structurally unsafe Victorian school. They fitted asbestos sheeting to the back and front of the doors, and put up asbestos sheeting around the lift shaft — and then left their mess to be cleared up by the office cleaners.

Neither the builders nor Polytechnic management bothered to tell anyone that large amounts of dangerous asbestos dust were scattered about the building. Yet the building has a Child Study Unit, which means that thirty children aged between 2 and 11 would have been put at risk as well as the 300 students and staff. When the cleaners discovered the nature of the material they walked out at once.

Management have still failed to resolve the dispute, and the lack of official union support means that the strikers are running a growing risk of isolation, although the issue on which they are fighting concerns all working people. The cleaners are therefore appealing to all trade unionists to request the G & MWU (154 Brent Street, London NW4 — tel 01-202 0071) to make the strike official, and to contact the North East London polytechnic (West Ham Precinct, Romford Road, London E15 — tel 01-555 0811) demanding a public enquiry into the whole affair.

The strikers would also appreciate messages of support and donations, to be sent to: Holbrook Cleaners Strike Committee, North East London Poly, Holbrook Hub, Holbrook

FIGHTING RACISM...FIGHTING



ENOCH POWELL AND JUDITH HART. Why was the Labour left MP there?

Any Questions?

At 8.30 last Friday evening, smooth media compere David Jacobs ushered a group of VIPs onto the stage of the United Reformed Church in Basingstoke to do battle in the radio programme Any Questions.

But 15 minutes later history had been made. A dozen or so working class members of the audience, backed up by a demonstration of 70 militants outside the church, had denied Enoch Powell the means of delivering a murderous sermon to hundreds of thousands of people.

The 'disruption' was caused by members of the audience insisting on their right to put questions and not submit to the BBC's vetting procedure. For exercising this right

they were ejected from the hall and the programme stopped.

Unlike Judith Hart, the left Labour MP who chose to trade debating points with him, Powell knows that his presence at the altar of a church on this long running radio programme was itself a reinforcement of his position. Nothing that Hart said could match the effect of Powell merely being there.

When David Jacobs asked for any questions, he meant any questions within the terms of reference of the BBC. It was a big victory for Basingstoke anti-fascist committee to question Powell's platform on the programme.

STOP THE NATIONALITY BILL!

JOHN HUNT explains the meaning of Labour's planned legislation against immigrants.

Why We Oppose Immigration Laws

The resolution passed at the last Labour Party Conference calling for the repeal of all immigration laws cuts right across the racist accommodations of successive Labour governments and the official policy of the Labour lefts for a 'socialist' immigration policy. Perhaps this is why we have heard nothing of the campaign which the NEC was instructed to launch.

It is all the more essential for militants to be armed with the arguments against this racist legislation. **Red Weekly** calls for the repeal of the present laws and the defeat of the Nationality Bill:

BECAUSE it is in the interests of all workers to be able to move freely between countries. Once restrictions, checks and surveillance are imposed, then inevitably immigrants will feel uneasy about joining trade unions or taking part in collective action. Immigration controls weaken the trade unions.

BECAUSE the 'contract labour' system, which the new Nationality Bill seeks to perfect legally, makes migrant workers depend on their employers for the continuance of their employment. This leads to low wages and bad working conditions. The TUC call for the ending of work permits in the catering industry for this reason. But they should be unionising these workers and fighting for higher pay and better conditions.

BECAUSE they sanction the power of the midnight knock over thousands of black workers. These police powers must be ended with the repeal of the immigration laws.

BECAUSE they put the blame for the shortage of housing, jobs and adequate social services onto the shoulders of black people. There were the same problems in the Thirties, but there was no immigration then. The root cause is the crisis of capitalist production and the way that the Labour Government seeks to put the cost of that crisis on the shoulders of the working class — black people in particular. Immigration is caused by the impoverishment of countries by the colonialist system. Now that system is in crisis.

Immigration controls divide the fight against the ruling class offensive and for a workers solution to that crisis. End them now!

LABOUR'S CONFERENCE POLICY

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.

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

RACIST CANDIDATES in the Walsall by-election received over 7,000 votes. And despite the decision of the Labour Party to launch a campaign against racism, the Labour Government is contemplating the introduction of a measure that will feed the growth of racist sentiments, give added impetus to the electoral success of the far right, and further split the working class. This legislation is called the Nationality Bill.

Alex Lyon, then Minister of State at the Home Office, explained last March:

'Within the next year or so, we shall define a British citizen for the first time. A British citizen will have free right of entry. Anyone else, whether a Commonwealth citizen or an alien, will have to subscribe to the immigration rules which will have to be redefined so that they accord with our

needs for labour and recognise family relationships. At that time the debate on immigration controls that has lasted for twenty years will I hope be ended.'

Lyon was sacked shortly afterwards by Callaghan, bitterly declaring that it was because he was 'trying to get justice for blacks'. But Lyon himself had never spoken out against this new measure which would confine the

freedom of movement of black workers to British capital's need for labour and he encouraged the illusion that the legacy of racism left by successive governments' immigration policies could be eliminated by the stroke of a pen.

The right of black British Commonwealth citizens to live and work in Britain has been steadily whittled away since 1962. This reversed the process which had accompanied the post-war boom, when British industry was expanding rapidly. British colonial heritage had impoverished countries like India, Pakistan and the West Indies, thus creating a pool



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Black Labour

THE DECISION by the leaders of Labour Party and the TUC to call a national demonstration against racism on 21 November is a belated reply on the part of these reformists to the attacks which have been launched on the immigrant communities in Britain. We can say for certain that this has only come about as a result of the resistance by immigrant workers to these attacks, especially from the youth in these areas.

In Southall this fighting opposition to racism was sparked off by the murder of Gurdip Chaggar earlier this year outside the Dominion Cinema. The spontaneous demonstration which was generated by the killing of Gurdip led to the formation by the youth themselves of the Southall Youth Movement — an attempt to form an organisation to defend and look after the interests of the immigrant community.

Fed up

The youth of Southall reacted in this way because they were fed up with the inactivity of their so-called leaders in the IWA Workers Association to give any effective answer on how to fight racism. Their reaction was not confined to Southall but spread to the main immigrant communities in Britain.

The only answers the youth got from the IWA was that they would make representations to the Home Secretary. The look into the question of racism, which the Communist Party simply demanded government police protection in the area.

In fact, after the first big demonstration in Southall there was a big increase in police activity in the area. Cops from the Special Patrol Group went to all the schools in the area and carried out a campaign of intimidation to stop the wave of demonstration among the youth.

RACISM...FIGHTING RACISM....

Photo: Socialist Worker.



ZAHARIA GALIARA with her husband. Her baby daughter died at birth after Zaharia was detained at Heathrow. Racist security men had to be shown the baby's head emerging before they postponed her deportation.

labour which could be drawn upon to meet the needs of this expansion.

The importation of each adult worker represented a vast saving on education and training for the British state. It was also possible for employers to pay black workers even lower wages than had previously been paid to European migrant workers, such as the large number of Polish people who came over after the Second World War.

System

But as the boom came to an end, and the question of race was thrust into political prominence by the Nottingham Hill riots, British industrialists and politicians began to look to the European system. This system of migratory labour was both more profitable and more efficient for the ruling class.

Whereas Commonwealth immigrants had the right to settle in Britain, immigrants in European countries were without political rights and their stay could be terminated when the situation dictated a decrease in the level of employment.

Thus a shift began in Britain towards a system which would establish a rigid distinction between citizens and aliens — a shift of which the Nationality Bill is the latest expression.

But not all ties were cut with the Commonwealth. British capital wanted to be able to attract trained and skilled workers — doctors, teachers and the like — who could be integrated without the expense of training into the social services, then undergoing a period of rapid expansion.

The Tories introduced the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act. Settlement was only allowed for those with employment vouchers, which were restricted in number. By 1964

vouchers for unskilled workers had been choked off. In 1965 a ceiling of 8,500 vouchers was established by the Labour Government of Harold Wilson.

Already the screws had been tightened on black immigrants. Labour capped this with its explicitly racist 1968 Commonwealth Immigration Act.

Campaign

Faced with a strong campaign against the entrance of Kenyan Asians expelled by the Kenyatta Government, the Labour Government capitulated. The Home Secretary, Jim Callaghan, introduced measures denying the right of residence in the United Kingdom to UK passport holders who did not have parents or grandparents born in Britain — in other words, those who were black.

The final removal of all significant

distinction between black British or Commonwealth citizens and workers of any other nationality wishing to enter the country came with the Tories' 1971 Immigration Act. Entrance is now only for those with a specific job awaiting them in Britain. Immigrants can be deported on the nod of the Home Secretary. British citizenship can only be applied for after five years residence. Such workers cannot change their job without permission from the Department of Employment within the first 12 months of residence.

Black British and Commonwealth citizens have no right to enter the country. In addition, relatives wishing to join 'non-patrials' have to fight their way through a jungle of red tape. Success is dependent on the ability of the relative concerned to prove to immigration officials that

BY THEIR FRIENDS SHALL YE KNOW THEM

'Impartially, one might adjudge that the words of the Labour Party have been more unrealistic, but that their actions have belied their words. In 1964 they not only broke their pledge to repeal the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962, but imposed further restrictions, administratively in 1965 and by legislation in 1968.' — ENOCH POWELL in his banned City of London speech, 10 November.

they are who they claim to be.

As in the recent case of Zaharia Galiara, whose baby died as a result of her detention and attempted deportation at Heathrow Airport, dependants can be refused for the most arbitrary of reasons.

In this way the transition to a European style migrant labour system has been prepared. The importation of labour is now tightly controlled by the state according to economic or political criteria.

The Labour Government has not

spelled out the contents of the new Nationality Bill beyond Lyon's statement in March. But the overall effect will undoubtedly be to clamp down on the rights of large numbers of people still living, still marrying and having children, still needing to move across borders.

This will be combined with two measures that do not require legislation: a register of immigrant dependants, and an increased surveillance by the police of the immigrant community in the hunt for 'illegal' immigrants.

Racists

Labour in office has always accommodated to the demands of the racists and the needs of big capital. The Nationality Bill lays the cap stone on the new system of contract labour that has been established in Britain through successive immigration laws. The illusion that there is a nationalist solution to Britain's crisis that can unite bosses and workers is sustained by the endless chatter of the lefts around import controls.

That nationalist poison is continued in their refusal to fight for the repeal of all immigration laws, which proclaim that black workers in this country are somehow responsible for the lack of jobs, housing, education and the rest of the social services. Nationalism not only seeks to unite the bosses and workers, but it divides the working class.

The lefts must be forced to fight for the implementation of the Labour Party conference resolution on racism. This paper will be campaigning for the repeal of all immigration laws and the free movement of all workers across national boundaries.

**BUILD THE 21 NOVEMBER DEMONSTRATION!
AN END TO ALL IMMIGRATION LAWS!**

youth push into action

perspective to the struggles of the youth which could answer the betrayals of the IWA leadership, could only be carried out by explaining the material roots of racism and how it is being used by the ruling class in its attacks on the standard of living of workers today.

Cutbacks

This can be seen clearly in the cutbacks which have been made in public expenditure by the Labour Government, and how they will affect the Southall area. Due to the shortage of schools in Southall, over 3,000 black kids have to be bussed to schools outside the area every day, at a cost of £200,000 a year. Imagine what it will be like when they can't even pay for the coaches!

Another area of obvious racist discrimination is on the question of housing. It is officially accepted that in one square mile of Southall you have the greatest overcrowding in London. This is due to the fact that when immigrants first came here they were not entitled to council houses, but instead had to buy privately. This meant that two or three families had to get together to raise the money.

But for those who have been on the housing list long enough and have been lucky enough to get a council house, a deliberate racist policy is operated by the Labour Council whereby all immigrant families are being put on one council estate which has been allowed to run down through lack of repairs. A ghetto is being created on this estate.

Unemployment, which has always been a major issue for the black youth, is being made worse in the area by the planned closure of the Walls meat factory in Hayes where a large number of black youth work.

These are just some of the issues through which the fight against racism can be developed into a political fight to unite the

But the most important thing to remember is that it was only because of the struggle being waged in the black communities that the demonstration was called for 21 November. A step forward was also made at the Labour Party Conference with the decision to support black self-defence, and for the repeal of all immigration laws. We have to make sure that this is concretely implemented in all areas with the trade union movement and Labour Party bodies giving full support to all immigrant bodies fighting militantly against racism.

The Socialist Challenge to Racism



RED WEEKLY
pamphlet

OUT NOW! Price 20p

32 pages packed with facts and arguments against the racist threat. Order now from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1. Enquiries for bulk orders to Relgocrest



A SEVENTH MAN

A Seventh Man — [Foco Novo Theatre group, at the Hampstead Theatre Club until 4 December]

Curious that we should review two plays about migrant labour in consecutive weeks. Following on from GAST, Adrian Mitchell's stage adaption of John Berger's book A Seventh Man is currently showing in London, after touring the country. Berger's subject makes a skilful if somewhat uneven transition from book to stage.

In the book, which we reviewed last year, Berger synthesised a certain economic analysis and understanding of the North European capitalist economies with the subjective (but no less real) experience of workers in the 'fringe' economies of Europe. It was this total view, enriched by Jean Mohr's extraordinary photographs of the day-to-day lives of migrants, which proved so powerful, peeling away layers of the problem before our eyes.

In this stage presentation the book has been reduced to a fairly one-dimensional vision of the migrant workers' experience, from the moment of 'decision' to the point of 'return' [which is of course no real return]. Consequently the driving forces behind the process, principally economic but reinforced ideologically, are disguised and ill-explained, reduced almost to personal choice and material ambition. The central motif — 'To those who have machines, men are given. From those without machines, men are taken' — remains a mystery.

What also comes over from this production, which was partially apparent when the book was first published, is the rapidly dated character of the vision. Phrases such as 'There's so much work' ring rather hollow, spoken about a Germany where over a million are now unemployed. So, too, the shifts in the

specific problems which 'guest-workers' today experience — which include physical attacks by the right, increased harassment by governments, the run-down of work and more stringent conditions — go unrecorded.

The vital sparks of resistance, which have won isolated victories for migrant organisation up and down Europe, are also ignored here, as in the book. Furthermore, the whole problem of unionisation and relations with the indigenous workforce, which Berger writes on in detail, is virtually missing.

For me the play was disappointing despite its many strengths, which include an evocative music-score by Dave Brown and many beautiful songs, structured from Berger's words and sung by Joan-Ann Maynard. Stefan Kalipha as the central character, Georgiou, carried total conviction, but most of the rest of the normally excellent Foco Novo cast looked ill-at-ease as migrant workers, playing them instead through rather Anglicised stereotypes.

The closing scene, where a snazzily-dressed Georgiou returns as a sort of semi-alien invader forever suspended between urban culture and rural under-development, probably comes closest in power and emotion to Berger's extraordinary global vision of this hidden facet of late capitalism. But the rest more resembles the spirit of liberal lament than a part in the process of social change.

CARL GARDNER

Next week: full page interview with JOHN BERGER.

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

LETTERS



We have received a number of letters on the related subjects of the by-elections and the International Socialists' project of launching the Socialist Workers Party — too many for us to print all of them this week. We will publish more in future issues together with a full reply. Meanwhile we invite further correspondence on these points.

Ultra-leftism lets Labour off the hook

The recent by-elections saw further proof of the disillusionment among large sections of workers with the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government.

The only way in which Labour candidates could have maintained support among the mass of Labour voters would have been by organising their campaign against the record of the Labour Government. But in Newcastle the Labour candidate, Harry Cowans, tried to avoid any political discussion at all. The whole thrust of the campaign seemed to be intended to make as few people as possible aware that an election was actually taking place.

Perhaps the most fitting comment on the Labour Party campaign came from the right-wing MP for Newcastle East, Mike Thomas. Referring to Harry Cowans at a meeting organised for Tony Benn, he said 'and when Bob joins us at Westminster next Tuesday...' If Labour MPs do not even know the name of their candidate, then we can only wonder at the confusion which most workers must have felt.

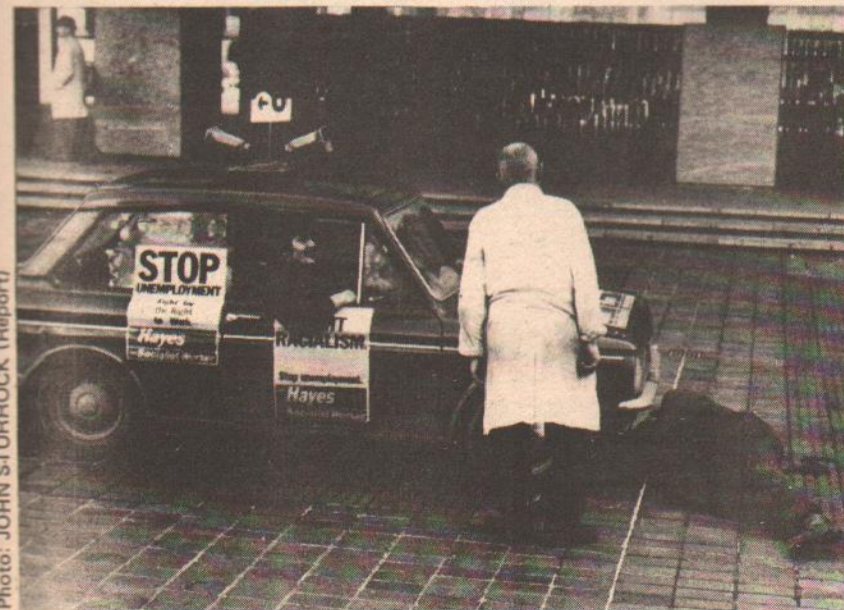
In contrast to the low level campaign of the Labour Party, the Socialist Worker campaign in support of Dave Hayes was

ignore those forces. Instead they saw the main question as building the IS.

It was for this reason that offers of practical help from the IMG and the Workers League were refused in Newcastle. It means that you ignore serious militants in other organisations (including the Labour Party). It means ultimately that you embark on the road to sectarianism, not that of trying to build a revolutionary party.

This sectarianism flows from the IS's totally ultra-left position on the mass organisations. Such a position leads the IS to a 'third period' approach to the united fronts typical of the method which led the German Communist Party to reject united action with the Social Democrats against the rise of Hitler — the united front from below.

This method leads the IS to continually exaggerate its own strength. Dave Hayes could tell *Red Weekly* (4 November): 'We're hoping to win a lot of Labour Party activists on the basis that we're the only organisation fighting.' And despite Jimmy McCallum's assurances that the IS is not the only organisation on the left, he still tells us: 'We do offer the only credible alternative and the only possi-



unashamedly aggressive. On a purely technical level there was little wrong with the campaign. The problems come from the politics.

The International Socialists saw the election simply as a way to recruit to the IS. As Paul Foot put it at their eve-of-poll rally: 'The measure of our success is the 15 or 20 people who join IS.'

'But the criteria of recruitment and the number of papers sold has its own logic. As I have explained in articles for *Red Weekly*, many of the bodies in Newcastle fighting the policies of the Labour Government are led by Labour Party members. Most of the people involved in the cuts campaign are Labour Party members — North Tyneside Housing Campaign was actually set up at a meeting called by the Labour Party.

Other organisations, such as the Working Women's Charter Groups and the Tyneside Socialist Centre involve people of many different political positions who are all committed to a fight against Callaghan and Healey's anti-

ility of building a revolutionary party.' (*Red Weekly*, 21 October).

Finally, this ultra-leftism is continued in relation to militants in other organisations. McCallum states: 'Those elements inside other organisations who are serious about building such a party could readily join in, by becoming members of IS...' But the problem is that many of those militants are not convinced either of the necessity for the revolutionary road or, if they are convinced of that, that IS offers the way forward. That is why they are not members of IS.

We can only recommend that the comrades of the IS re-read (and understand) Trotsky's writings on Germany — especially those on the united front and how to win over the mass of workers who still follow the lead of social democracy. If they then remember that Trotsky was writing about a Communist Party supported by millions of workers whilst IS (and the rest of the far left) are tiny organisations, they might begin to break from this ultra-leftism. — GEOFF RYAN

We need more democracy, but... - Durham IS Secretary

Since I have been quoted in the last issue of your paper with reference to the election campaign in Newcastle, I would like to be given the opportunity to make my position absolutely clear on this matter.

Firstly, it is true that I spoke at the meeting you mention in support of the IMG call for an open and democratic campaign. Central to this idea was that individuals and groups who are not allied to the IS should be able to support the SW candidate on their own terms. However, it now seems clear to me that I failed to make it plain what exactly I saw (and still see) to be the correct sort of campaign.

It is quite clear to me from reading *Red Weekly* that I have little in common with your position. For a start I think that the IS has been entirely correct in putting forward SW candidates. There is no basis in this country for the tactic recently used in Italy of the revolutionary electoral alliance. If it were the case that we had three revolutionary groups of the size and with the working class base of PDUP etc. it might be otherwise. In reality, though, in Britain only the IS is in this position.

In Tyneside, to choose the relevant example, not only is the IS some five times bigger than the IMG, but it is the only group to have any semblance of a genuine, solid working class and industrial base. Of course, what has to be added here also is that the theoretical differences between the IS and the numerous orthodox Trotskyist groups such as the IMG would make any attempted alliance doubly impractical — the really important class struggle (to use your term) issues of the campaign would just become hidden under sectarian in-fighting over many time worn issues (open the books, etc., etc.).

Likewise, the strategy your paper seems to have been backing perhaps more forcefully, of forming a campaign around an alliance of various committees within the movement, is unrealistic and theoretically nonsensical. The Cuts and Right to Work Committees on Tyneside, for example, were set by a trade union body, (the Trades Council conference) to fight over particular issues.

As non-party bodies it would be disastrous for them to take part in an election campaign backing either a party candidate or their own 'class struggle' candidate against other party candidates — including more than likely the Labour Party official candidate. This would, apart from anything else, just lose the already slender support for these committees from numerous individuals, groups and trade union bodies who either already had strong party affiliations or who were only prepared to support the committees on their one issue responsibilities.

The correct election strategy then, I would say, is for the IS to put up SW candidates in an attempt to start the process of building the SWP — of which IS of course will be a major part, but which will, hopefully, draw in many other militants and even

grouplets. The way in which it should do this has so far, I would maintain, left much to be desired. This is where the issue of openness and democracy comes in.

To achieve its aim, IS has to involve in future campaigns other individuals and groups well in advance in the choosing of the candidate, the details of his/her local and national programme and the actual practical details of how the campaign is to be run. The campaigns have to be run primarily under IS direction but we should welcome and allow other groups to support the candidate on their own terms if, as will be inevitable, agreement cannot be reached on issues of the programme, etc. This has to be done on a principled basis. IMG members should, for example, feel free to hand out leaflets supporting the candidate while outlining their own amendments to his/her programme, etc., if they are prepared to join with the IS in other practical matters.

The choice is in your hands. We are in a position, whether you like it or not, to work towards the SWP. Unlike your claims, we see this not as a matter of substituting party building for furthering the class struggle, but as contributing a vital element to the latter. You should be welcome to join in this process in a principled manner and on your own terms. Failings in the IS to provide open campaigns have to be altered both by action on the part of IS members as well as by the practical willingness on your part to show that your avowed support for SW candidates is translated into action.

Unfortunately, it proved to be the case that in Newcastle this never took place — this can only make the task of those of us arguing for greater openness more difficult. What is the point, the understandable reply will be, of opening up our campaign when these other people have previously shown themselves to be, if not obstructive, then only paper supporters. — BILL COLLINS [Secretary, Durham IS].

** We agree with Bill Collins that to commit bodies like 'cuts committees, the Working Women's Charter etc. to supporting a particular party candidate would be sectarian folly. But we have never advocated such a policy.*

In the by-elections we pointed out the need to reach the widest number of workers with the message to organise against the policies of the Labour Government. This would mean those bodies themselves intervening in the elections to raise their campaigns. It would also mean that candidates pledged to that fight would use their election campaign to build such committees.

However the IS in practice has fought for neither of these two aims, choosing instead to subordinate them to building the Socialist Workers Party on the political basis indicated by Geoff Ryan — the united front from below.

CUTS - Labour candidate speaks

MARIE MONTAUT is the Labour candidate in the council by-election in Angell ward, Lambeth. Standing against her are seven other candidates, including members of the National Front and National Party and also two far left candidates — Evan Sparks of the Maoist 'United Anti-Fascist' platform and Europe Singh of the International Socialists.

The Labour candidate is being supported by the International Marxist Group in South London. They point out that Marie Montaut's record is one of struggle. She is chairperson of the under-fives nursery campaign in Lambeth, a trade union delegate to the All Lambeth Anti-Racist Movement (ALARM), and a member of the local cuts committee.

The adoption of such a militant as an official candidate by the Labour Party is the most effective way to reach the broadest number of workers. For these reasons the IMG considers the decision by the IS to stand Europe Singh is a sectarian error.

While the IMG supported the IS in the recent parliamentary by-elections, in this instance they consider support for Labour as the best tactic towards a class struggle left wing.

Marie Montaut spoke to *Red Weekly* about her campaign:

'Whether we like it or not, some of the most detrimental decisions are made and implemented by the Council. Anyone who considers themselves left-wing in the Labour Party should stand for these positions to enhance the left on the council; to make sure that things like the cuts in public expenditure do not continue to be carried out.

'The campaign has had a fair response, but it's disappointing that some of the groups on the left that have offered to come out haven't been around. It's necessary for people to work, not only because the National Front and National Party are standing, but also because of groups like the International Socialists, who have been destructive in standing against the Labour Party.

'I think this is wrong whether the Labour candidate is right or left. We should fight within the Labour Party for our own policies. In an election, where



MARIE MONTAUT

where you had their massive vote in Deptford, I think what the IS is doing is political treachery.

'On racism I stand against immigration controls and the fascist parties. The Inner London Education Authority ruling in favour of the fascists using schools as a meeting place has got to be taken up. The Representation of the People Act, at this moment in time, is designed to help the fascists.

'I support the right of black people to self-defence, when they have been unable to get their case taken up by the labour movement. A good example was Imperial Typewriters, where the black workers were confronted by a union dominated by supporters of the NF.

'If I am elected I will take up the issue of racism by taking a political stand on the Council, which will then hopefully be reflected through to people in the area, especially black people. Perhaps that will make them feel less isolated. But it's not a question of whether people are black or white — it's the fact that they are working class and that at the moment Lambeth Council is hammering them left, right and centre.

'On the cuts, while I am not going to charge from one cuts committee to another, I believe that a local councillor should vote in the Council, but should also mobilise support in the labour movement against the cuts — because that is where the fight is going on. Support should also be given to anti-cuts committees, but my base for work is within the trade unions and Labour Party.



A demonstration was called outside an NF meeting in Angell ward, Lambeth last week. On it were Lambeth Trades Council, Norwood CLP, who had called off their GMC so that all members could attend, Lambeth NUT, South London GLF and the South West London branches of the International Socialists and International Marxist Group. Ken Livingstone, of Norwood CLP, one of the movers of the Labour Party resolution, denounced the ILSA giving permission for the NF meeting saying: 'This

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

STALEMATE AT GENEVA?

IVOR RICHARD, the British chairman of the Geneva constitutional conference on the future of Zimbabwe, flew home last week to receive orders from his superiors at the Foreign Office.

Richard insisted that the reason for this visit was purely routine, but it is apparent that the conference is likely to fall apart in the next few days. With the failure of the conference, imperialism's plans in southern Africa will be considerably set back.

The main obstacle to a solution which would be favourable to imperialism is the inability of the nationalist leaders to make any further concessions on the timetable for majority rule. Already these leaders have compromised the struggle of the Zimbabwean masses by turning up to the conference, so eager are they to win positions in the future government.

They have backed down on the principle of majority rule now, proposing instead a twelve month interim period. It is unlikely that they will be able to concede any more without losing all credibility in the eyes of the masses in Zimbabwe and the ZIPA guerilla army.

The black nationalist delegations accepted from the beginning the legitimacy of Britain's colonial role in Zimbabwe by calling for Anthony Crosland to chair the conference. Behind this lies the attitude of the 'front-line states' — Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique.

Tanzania's President Nyerere in particular has proposed an 'Indian solution' in which a British dignitary would police the transformation to a neo-colonial regime. He has also been instrumental in initiating the Patriotic Front of Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo. Mugabe insists that Nyerere has told him privately that he recognises ZANU as the authentic wing of the Zimbabwean nationalist movement.



The positions of Botswana and Zambia are determined by their various economic interests. Botswana favours a peaceful solution which would allow it access to Beira through Zimbabwe and reduce its dependence on South African ports. Zambia takes a similar line in order to open up the possibility of cheap Rhodesian imports to replace the vast import bill from Europe and Japan.

Angola and Mozambique find their room for manoeuvre restricted by their radical social base and recent history of armed struggle. Despite the demonstrable rightward shift of the Neto regime in Angola and its initial support for the constitutional conference, Neto's recent visit to Moscow produced a statement condemning 'the interference of reactionary forces in the affairs of southern Africa'.

Negotiations in progress at the Geneva Conference. Ivor Richard, British imperialism's representative. (1) The leader of the Rhodesian white regime, Ian Smith. (2) The four nationalist delegations are headed by Robert Mugabe (ZANU), (3); Joshua Nkomo (ZAPU), (4); Bishop Abel Muzorewa, leader of the breakaway external wing of the ANC, (5); and Ndabaningi Sithole, ZANU's founder, (6).



ROBERT MUGABE

Unfortunately it is not spelt out who these 'reactionary forces' are. Presumably they do not include British imperialism!

Despite the extent of the support given by the Mozambique regime to ZIPA, Frelimo has clearly backed the constitutional conference in an attempt to prise itself out of the orbit of the South African economy. By doing this it in fact lends its support



JOSHUA NKOMO

to a project whose main aim is the strengthening of the racist South African regime.

The front-line states' recent statement reaffirming support for the armed struggle was no more than demagoguery. Kaunda, for example, has about as much enthusiasm for armed struggle as Ian Smith has for African rule.

What it does indicate is that the front-line states, like the nationalist factions, are still under the pressure of the struggle of the Zimbabwean militants. But if the prospect of a neo-colonial solution emerges, they will be scrambling to be the first to support it.

PUBLIC DEBATE

23 November 7.30pm

Between the Africa in Struggle Group and the Zimbabwe Solidarity Front. London School of Economics, Houghton Street, London.

'Which Way for the Southern African Revolution?'

Namibia referendum denounced as con-trick

THE LEADER of the white delegation at the Turnhalle constitutional conference on Namibia has announced a referendum to determine 'the people's wishes' on an interim government.

This is the next step in the South African strategy of reproducing the apartheid bantustan system in Namibia. The intention is to create a stable system of self-governing but compliant black statelets which will provide a cheap labour force for South African capital.

The Turnhalle declaration puts it this way: 'Mindful of the interdependence of the various population groups and the interests of South West Africa in its entirety, we aim to create a form of government which will guarantee to every population group the greatest possible say in its own and national affairs'.

means of production, will be maintained'.

The proposed referendum will only apply in practice to the white population of Namibia. Namibian blacks will vote 'in the way traditional to them'. The South African appointed puppet chiefs will administer the decision making in the way that they choose. There can be little doubt what the outcome will be.

Boycott

But already there are signs that the South African project is heading for failure. SWAPO, the main African nationalist organisation, has boycotted the Turnhalle conference all along. Now they denounce the referendum as a confidence trick and call for a boycott. This in itself will make it hard for Vorster to sell the latest plan to the imperialist countries, which generally favour a black neo-colonialist solution for Namibia.

The additional problem which faces the South African Government is that the latest proposals are too blatantly racist for even the tame Turnhalle delegates. Already some of the black delegates have joined SWAPO and have left the conference. The South Africans fear that this may be only the beginning of a revolt of the puppets turning on their masters.

Puppet

These generous terms would mean in practice that the puppet chiefs of the 'ethnic groups' maintain control over domestic administration, while the departments of police, defence and foreign affairs [the key government posts] remain in Pretoria. Even the Financial Times was forced to admit that 'the status quo, in which the white group [and foreign interests] monopolise more than 90 per cent of established and potential

The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg

The Legacy of Rosa Luxemburg by Norman Geras (New Left Books, £4.50) is the third major work by a Trotskyist militant to be published by New Left Books this year — the others are Livio Maitan's *Party, Army and Masses in China* and Ernest Mandel's *Late Capitalism*. And it achieves a notable task — to rescue some of the chief theoretical and political positions of Rosa Luxemburg from the confusion, misuse and misrepresentation into which they have fallen.



Rosa Luxemburg

Unfortunately, as Geras shows, this confusion and misrepresentation hasn't only been confined to the Stalinists and reformists. Trotskyists also — in their justifiable desire to rescue her from the Stalinists' picture of her as a semi-anarchist opponent of Lenin, or the reformists' portrait of her as a sort of souped up left-wing liberal — have too often obliterated the truly distinctive and unique views of Luxemburg.

For example, as the second essay in the book demonstrates, Luxemburg's views on the Russian Revolution have frequently been taken to be more or less the same as Trotsky's, when in reality they were much closer to their essentials to Lenin's — a fact which merely goes to show that Trotsky was right as against both Luxemburg and Lenin.

Spontaneity

On the other hand, as Geras's chapter on *The Mass Strike* discusses, attempts to demonstrate that in reality Luxemburg had no significant differences with Lenin on such issues as spontaneity, the role of the party, and the necessary tactics of struggle under bourgeois democracy cannot be maintained. When, in the last years of her life, Luxemburg really came over to

greatest of all revolutionaries. He also serves a much wider need in reminding us of the real situation of debate which existed in the classical period of revolutionary Marxism.

In the narrow sectarian world imposed on revolutionaries by the long dominance of Stalinism, any struggle of ideas has all too easily been seen as necessarily involving 'centrism versus revolutionary Marxism', 'Bolshevism versus Menshevism' and similar world historic self-labelling. In fact they have involved nothing of the sort.

It is sufficient to note that Karl Liebknecht thought that dialectical materialism was rubbish, Luxemburg had a completely wrong position on the theory of imperialism and the national question, Trotsky didn't understand the issue of the party, and Lenin had a wrong conception on the question of the class character of the coming Russian Revolution — yet none of them thereby ceased to be among the greatest revolutionaries. What a farce are thus today's splits over tactics in the Troops Out Movement, problems of entryism, and so on.

Ferocious

This is not an argument for a 'live and let live' attitude of theoretical slovenliness — no-one can claim that any of the great Marxists mentioned above did not carry out the most ferocious struggles against the positions they considered to be wrong. But it does mean understanding that such debates as the famous polemics between Lenin and Luxemburg were struggles within revolutionary Marxism, even when one of the sides took individual positions on specific issues which were clearly not correct Marxist ones.

Secondly, it must be remembered that the real weight and significance of ideas and theories is determined only in their contact with real developments of the class struggle. Neither Lenin, Trotsky nor Luxemburg ever split organisationally from anyone into a separate party simply because they advanced the wrong theory. The split with Bernstein, for instance, came not when Bernstein advanced the false theory of evolutionary socialism, but when in the real world that theory was seen to culminate in the betrayal of 1914.

Outside this contact with the real

In any case, theoretical positions are not at all related to political positions in a one to one fashion — that great exponent of dialectical materialism, Plekhanov, supported the First World War; while the conscious repudiator of dialectics, Liebknecht, opposed it.

This is not an argument for theoretical indifference — as Trotsky once said, it is necessary to engage in a continual struggle to keep the ideological cupboard free of cobwebs — but a reminder that the supreme test of any revolutionary is not their theoretical clan but their attitude to the living class struggle. It is because the greatest exponents of Marxist theory are also in general the greatest revolutionaries that it is necessary to study ideas — not because the study of ideas in itself will make anyone a great revolutionary.

Wrong

By showing the real originality and distinctiveness of Luxemburg's ideas, even when she is wrong, and by refusing

narrow are present ideas of 'acceptable' divergences within the revolutionary movement compared to those which real revolutionaries took for granted.

The essay form of the book undoubtedly imposes limitation and leads to gaps. There is no discussion of Luxemburg's theory of imperialism — although the political conclusions she drew from it are brilliantly expounded in the first chapter of the book; neither the famous debate on the national question nor the vexed question of what tactics Luxemburg should have pursued in the German Social Democracy prior to 1914 are really touched on; and while the discussion of Luxemburg's views on bourgeois democracy and the lessons of the Russian Revolution is excellent at the level of theory, its implications for her political line and practice in Germany in 1918-19 are not explored.

Despite these omissions, however, it is overwhelmingly the best book on Luxemburg available in English. As New Left Books have for once priced it at a level which a lot of people can afford with a bit of saving, it is undoubtedly one of the best investments going.

SPAIN-GENERAL STRIKES OR SECRET DEALS?



Last Friday saw Spain's first co-ordinated national strike action. This was organised by a unified body of the Workers Commissions and the UGT and USO [Socialist unions]. As such it failed to mobilise Spanish workers in a concerted attack on the dictatorship.

This week Jack Jones leads a TUC delegation to Spain to reinforce those very reformists of the Socialist Party [PSOE] who failed to build united action on 12 November. Below Juan Aguirre discusses the failure of the 'day of struggle' while David Gardner examines the background to Jack Jones's visit.

CP dodges the issues

The much-heralded 'General Strike' in Spain last Friday has done little to deflect the Government from its plan of reforming the existing dictatorship.

The Guardian headline writer summed it up: 'Spain's General Strike leaves prospects for reforms undamaged'. These reforms are designed to maintain the structure of the dictatorship while creating a platform for political debate for the ruling class parties.

What this means for the democratic rights of the workers movement is spelled out in a recent circular from the Interior Minister, Martin Villa. He divides the opposition into three categories: Christian Democrats and Social Democrats who are allowed to operate freely; the Communist Party, which is banned; and the 'unofficial' party, which is suppressed wherever it dares to show its face.

The 'General Strike', or 'day of struggle' as it was more discreetly called, was designed not to upset the Government's plans. It was directed against the Government's austerity measures, particularly the suspension of an Article in the Labour Law which would create massive unemployment. But Marcelino Camacho, a leader of the PCE, stressed that 'we will not reject any effort to meet the grave economic situation, but we want it to be fair to all Spaniards'.

It was this approach on the part of the reformist leaders, and their failure to raise any specifically political demands, which accounted for the low turnout and relative failure of the 'day of struggle'. The most

optimistic estimate put the number of strikers at 1½ million — not an impressive figure when it is considered that there have been total shutdowns in the Basque country alone in recent weeks.

But the Basque general strikes — actions which are worthy of that name — involved the democratic organisation of the workers in mass assemblies, and the raising of demands, such as that for the dissolution of the repressive bodies of the state, which strike at the basis of the dictatorship. For the reformist leaders of last Friday's strike, however, the main problem was to avoid advancing demands and forms of struggle which would jeopardise their negotiations with the second government of Juan Carlos I.

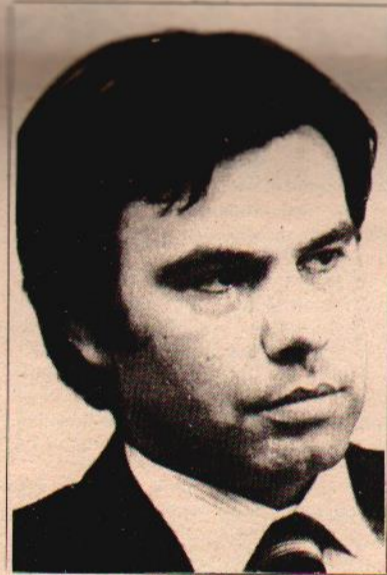
Lessons

There are many lessons to be learnt from the recent defeat of the Madrid bus workers' strike, but the leaders of the Workers Commissions and UGT [Socialist Party union] do not want to be taught anything. For example, the bus workers' use of 'Unitary Platforms' which bypassed the traditional structures of the fascist unions hold an important message for the democratic organisation of strike action.

Even more strikingly, the bus workers were defeated by the armed intervention of the dictatorship's police. But the reformists drew no lesson for the building of self-defence of workers struggles. The result was that a further 470 workers were arrested last Friday.

Above all, to argue for democratic organisation in struggle, to defend it against the attacks of the police, and to raise demands for the end of the dictatorship, would upset the relationship which the Stalinists and social democrats are developing with the Government.

The failure of last Friday's strike was a necessary part of the strategy of convincing the Government of the 'seriousness' of the reformist parties in their desire for class collaboration. Equally, building united action on the admittedly modest foundations of this strike must be a first step towards the general strike which will bring down the dictatorship.



FELIPE GONZALEZ

JACK JONES'S FRIENDS

There is now no section of Spanish society which seriously believes that a (relatively) large degree of change is avoidable. Therefore the regime has staked its vision of the future on its ability to set the terms and control the pace of this change.

The recent setting up of the Popular Alliance is the first fruit of this new 'realism'. The 'Alliance' — of seven former Francoist ministers, backed by banking interests and sections of the West German Christian Democracy — is more visible than the 'Popular' masses it is hoping to draw in behind it. It is headed by Fraga, Minister of the Interior at the time of the Vitoria massacre in March.

The outstanding characteristic of the Spanish bourgeoisie is its political weakness: it is without a political tradition independent of the fascist state on which its economic and social power has rested since its victory in the civil war.

This lack of democratically rooted political cohesion, and the key role of the mass movement in the decomposition of the regime, means that plans for the installation of 'democracy' in Spain without upsetting bourgeois domination depended heavily on the role of social democratic forces.

There are a dozen or so 'socialist' parties — including the regional parties — plus a handful of insignificant 'social democratic' or 'democratic socialist' bourgeois bandwagons. But added up they don't amount to the forces of the entire far left, nor even a quarter of the membership of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE). And the two Socialist trade union organisations — the USO, linked to the FPS (the Federation of Socialist Parties, which groups the regional Socialist Parties) and the UGT, the trade union adjunct of the PSOE, the historic party of Spanish social democracy — don't between them account for even a tenth of trade union militants.

The regime's frequent contacts with Socialist leaders — in particular PSOE general secretary Felipe Gonzalez, feted by the Labour bureaucracy at this year's

conference in Blackpool — and its granting of permission to the UGT and Popular Socialist Party (PSP) to hold their conferences earlier in the year, show clearly the direction in which it is trying to move.

But the social democratic forces are inhibited by many of the same factors which paralyse the regime politically. To the right of the PSOE (the principal party concerned) there is a vacuum caused by the absence of plausible democratic forces based on the bourgeoisie, while to its left it is squeezed by a Communist Party which has taken over large tracts of social democratic terrain, pushing the PSOE base into taking up positions to the left of the PCE.

All workers organisations are in a period of rapid growth, and significant new layers of the mass movement have enrolled in the ranks of the PSOE and/or UGT. But many others of similar persuasion have opted for their rivals, the FPS and USO. In the case of the former this has been largely due to the PSOE's traditional indifference to regional problems, while USO's growth at the expense of the UGT has profited from the latter's sectarianism and relative absence from key areas such as Catalonia for so many years.

This was compounded when the FPS leadership, through articles, interviews and paid advertising space in the national press, denounced the Socialist International's massive financial support (principally from the Labour Party and the West German SPD) for the PSOE/UGT as a scandal rivaling Lockheed. It is within this framework that the attempts of Jack Jones, the Labour Party bureaucracy and the LPYS to focus solidarity with the Spanish workers exclusively in terms of support for the PSOE/UGT leadership must be seen.

But the backing of the international social democratic bureaucracy is only one reason for the arrogant claims of the Socialists, such as that recently made by UGT general secretary Nicolas Redondo: 'We think that the (future) United Central Union can be built around the UGT... because it has international standing as well as national implantation greater than any other union force.'

The other is the craven treachery of the class collaborationist policies being pursued by the Stalinists inside the 'Democratic Coordination' (CD). This was set up following the Vitoria general strike, which clearly exposed the regime's narrow margins for political manoeuvre.

The CD's formation was a recognition that only the PCE could hold back the mass organisations of the working class and give the democratic bourgeoisie time to regroup, and the regime time to prepare a 'democratic break'. The PCE hoped to use the CD to identify the democratic and anti-bureaucratic aspirations of the mass movement exclusively with bourgeois liberal democracy and assure itself a place in any provisional government.

But it was clear from the beginning that every stride forward by the mass movement would widen the gap between the members of CD. That gap clearly opened in recent weeks as the advance of the mass struggle has begun to pose demands which go far beyond the reformist projects of the PSOE and PCE — let alone the schemas of the various bourgeois parties in the CD.

This is the spectacle which will greet Jack Jones and his delegation as they visit Spain this week: a mass movement which is beginning to break all the bounds set for it by the reformists, while the PSOE, at a loss for a strategy which will establish its socialist credentials, is snuggling up to the Government of the Francoist dicta-

Who loves Shah, baby?



Mohammad Takbiri and Nader Oskoui — arrested by the French police.

The chief in France of the Iranian secret police, SAVAK, who had been posing as cultural attaché to the Iranian Embassy in Paris, was shot and wounded on 3 November. Responsibility was claimed by the 'International Brigade Reza Reza', which stated: 'This action is in line with our internationalism. We have delivered just punishment to an individual whose role was to repress and intimidate Iranians in France.'

They also said that the shots had been fired from the same pistol used in previous attacks. Other actions claimed by this group include the shooting of officials of the Spanish, Bolivian and Uruguayan embassies.

The statement was ignored by French police, however, who immediately raided the homes of Iranian students known to be politically active. Two of those arrested — Mohammad Takbiri and Nader Oskoui — are still being held, and have been charged with the assassination attempt.

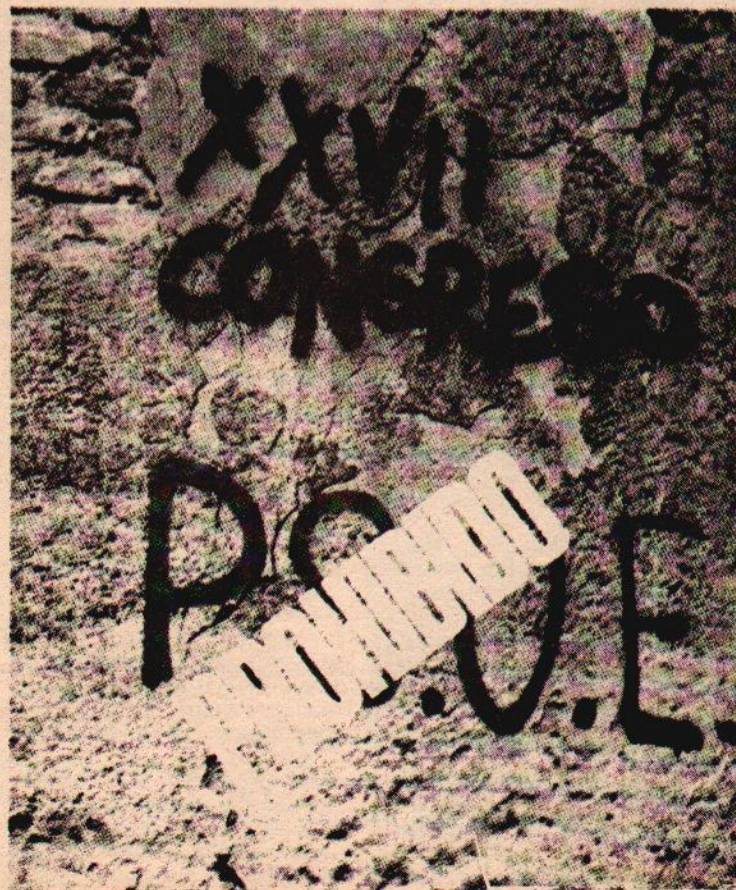
The police claim that they have been identified by a policeman who was also shot in the incident. But the same

Brigade' have since issued a statement denying that the two arrested Iranians had anything to do with the assassination attempt.

Four other Iranians, including the wife of one of the accused and several defence witnesses, were detained, threatened, physically assaulted and forced to sign a statement giving permission to the French authorities to deport them to Iran. They were then deported to Frankfurt, where the West German authorities refused to allow them in, and are now in Sweden.

It is quite clear that the French authorities are simply using the incident to victimise politically active Iranian students. The French President Giscard d'Estaing was in Iran last month making important details with the Shah.

The Confederation of Iranian Students are demanding the immediate return of the four, and are organising an international protest campaign. The Committee Against Repression in Iran will be holding a picket of the French Embassy in London [58 Knightsbridge, SW1] on



The PSOE is quite happy to accommodate the government — even at its own expense. The government banned the party conference earlier this month so as not to prejudice the passage of its 'reforms' through the Cortes. Foreign dignitaries such as Michael Foot and Mario Soares obligingly agreed to cancel

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

Ruling class politics in imperialist dominated Ireland have always had their own special brand of myth and deception. The 50-year-old Stormont administration peddled relatively straightforward lies: Catholics were lazier than Protestants, Catholics couldn't take care of their houses, therefore no jobs and fewer houses for the nationalist population. But since the collapse of Stormont and the intervention of British troops, the lies have become more numerous and more subtle. For example, the Press Association recently reported the text of an

anonymous phone call received by the Royal Ulster Constabulary to the effect that all Protestants working at the hospital where Maire Drumm was killed were now 'legitimate targets'. The Provisionals denied having anything to do with the call and dismissed the whole story as a sick joke. So who made it? We shall probably never know, but anti-Unionists will rightly have their suspicions.

Another example concerns Ann Cassidy, a Derry Catholic recently visited by soldiers who told her that her husband had just been killed in a car crash. They managed to take a note of all her family details before her husband returned alive and well. The Cassidys are certain that the Army told a deliberate lie to get information about the family.

At the root of the Army's daily run of the mill myths is the biggest myth of all — that the Army's role is to 'keep the peace'. Rearing its ugly head in different forms according to the needs of the situation, this myth has been at the heart of the British military and political relations exercise for the last seven years. So when the anti-Unionist population hear the slogan 'Seven Years is Enough', they might well believe that the British have finally realised the error of their ways.

But no, the sick jokes continue. 'Seven Years is Enough' is the slogan of the latest public relations exercise by the Northern Ireland Office.

Centring on the question 'Who's doing well out of the troubles?' the top half of the newspaper advertisement pretends to provide the answer with an amalgam of press-cuttings levelling accusations at para-military gangsterism. The bottom half attempts to point the way forward: 'While thousands are being thrown out of work by violence, living in fear of

violence, some people are living high. It could be different. We can restore through the rule of law more freedom and hope for the future. Where all our efforts and resources go into the search for new investment and more jobs.'

Yet one Minister at the Northern Ireland Office has a different story to tell. John Concannon, overjoyed at the news that the strike rate here is only half that in Britain, announced that 'for every company that experiences financial or labour difficulties here, there are scores and scores of factories that keep going with a happy disciplined workforce and with a profitable balance sheet.'

This is somewhat closer to reality except for one thing — the 'scores and scores' of factories are increasingly on their way out. They were attracted in the mid-Sixties through a whole series of bribes, grants and tax-free concessions offered by the Unionists. But these concessions only last a certain number of years — they have now run out, so the firms are quitting.

The British facade is cracking. As well as the continuing fight against Britain's political 'solutions', the fight back is growing in other areas. Firemen are to hold a ballot on direct strike action, ambulance drivers in NUPE are banning all stand-by calls, students are to launch a struggle against the education cuts.

As for the British administration's latest publicity gimmick, a slogan on the Falls Road sums it up: 'Seven Years is Enough — 700 years is too much'.

MIKE PINTER

'Peace People'-open letter to the Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

In the Morning Star of 11 November you once more state your support for the 'Peace People' of the North of Ireland. Throughout the campaign of the 'Peace People' your paper has uncritically reported the activities of this movement, you have backed it up with editorial approval, and members of the Communist Party have participated in rallies of the 'Peace People' in this country.

Perhaps at the beginning of the peace campaign there was an excuse for your support. In the 16 October issue of your journal Comment you stated: 'The peace movement has not, as the British government would like, demanded support for the so-called "security forces", it has not supported the imperialist policy of peace through repression.' But whether or not this was true at the time, it is certainly not the case any more.

On 17 October the leaders of the 'Peace People' made what they called a 'definitive statement' on the movement's attitude to the security forces. They said: 'Our attitude to the security forces is: we fully support the rule of law and order and until the Northern Ireland community themselves evolve their own community institutions, then the Royal Ulster Constabulary and other security forces are the only legitimate upholders of law and order.'

This was unmistakable support for [to use your words] 'the imperialist policy of peace through repression'. And yet you have continued to support the 'Peace People' — the advocates of this 'peace through repression'.

In so doing you are joining hands with some of the most reactionary elements of British society. You are joining hands with Lord Longford, a leader of the attack on 'a woman's right to choose'; you are joining hands with the Sun newspaper, who in editorial comment have backed the 'Peace People'; you are joining hands with the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland, who backed the Glasgow 'peace' rally.

Most of all, you are joining hands with the British Government, which is both historically and presently responsible for the suffering and pain of the Irish people.

In the past you have argued that this Government is hostile to the 'Peace People'. This is utter nonsense. Betty Williams herself has said that 'she had the impression from remarks made by Mr James Callaghan that the British Prime Minister was favourable towards the movement' [reported in the Irish Times, 29 October].

Of course the British Government will not come out and bluntly state its support; this would only kill off the 'peace' movement in the north of Ireland at an even quicker rate than it is dying already. But the attitude of the Government is unmistakable.

It can be seen in its lifting of the four-year ban on Irish meetings in Trafalgar Square to accommodate the 'Peace People'; and it can be seen in the words of Mrs Ewart-Biggs, wife of the assassinated

British ambassador to Ireland, who says she has joined the movement 'to carry on my husband's work'. You do not need telling what the role of the British ambassador in Ireland is.

All this evidence goes to show that this 'peace' movement is a pro-imperialist, reactionary organisation. Consequently, as even the bourgeois press in this country are now having to admit, the movement is losing support rapidly in the Catholic working class areas of Belfast. Even Ivan Cooper and Paddy Devlin, members of the reformist Social Democratic and Labour Party, have been forced to criticise the 'Peace People' for their 'hypocrisy'.

But your support continues. When you march behind the 'peace through repression' banners of Longford, Williams, the Orange Order and others on 27 November, supporters of this newspaper will be picketing you. In so doing we will be remembering the words of a policy declaration of the Communist Party of Great Britain which stated in 1921:

'The Communist Party of Great Britain hails the dauntless fight of Irish Republicans in their successful struggle against the British Government. Unlike the Labour Party, which does not desire to harass the Government during the present negotiations, we defiantly declare that it is our intention to so challenge the Government, that it will gladly yield to all the demands made by Irish Republicans.'

PEACE THROUGH FREEDOM COMMITTEE

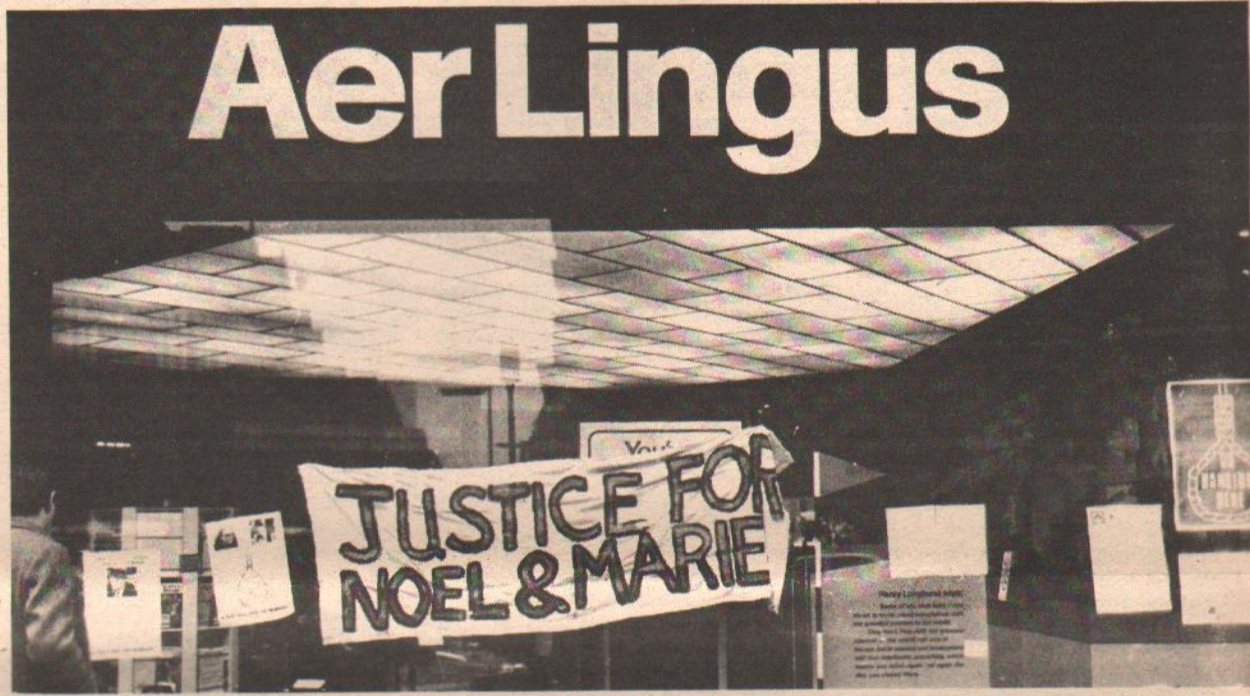
'Ireland Unfree Will Never Be At Peace'

Public Meeting:

Weds. 24 November, NUFTO Hall, Jockey's Field, Theobald Rd.

Speakers include: Pat Arrowsmith, Maureen Colquhoun MP, and a Belfast woman.

Mass Picket of 'Peace People' — Assemble Speakers Corner, 27 November, 11.30 a.m.



Defend the Murrays! An occupation of the Aer Lingus offices in Regent Street, London, in solidarity with the two anarchists facing the death sentence in Ireland.

IF YOU'RE ACTIVE ON IRELAND-WATCH OUT

JUST WHAT it means to be an Irish activist in Britain was chillingly illustrated by two separate incidents this week. One was the story that made the ruling class press: how pacifist and 'troops out' militant Pat Arrowsmith had been awarded £200 in compensation as a result of treatment she had received at the hands of the Hampshire police.

In October last year Pat was arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Aldershot. She was held for five hours and strip-searched. Her 'crime' was that she had dared to distribute 'troops out' leaflets in civilian areas of Aldershot.

The leaflets in question were confiscated by the police, who toured the area after Pat's arrest knocking on doors and demanding the leaflets from puzzled householders. Despite promises made to members of the British Withdrawal From Northern Ireland Campaign to return the leaflets, the police have refused to hand them back. They now deny the promise

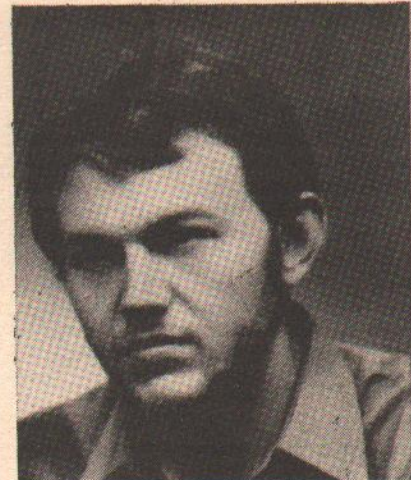
was ever made.

Pat's award is one small defeat for the forces of repression in this country, a defeat which was probably caused by the difficulty even they had in convincing the public that Pat was a 'terrorist'. Unfortunately the same problem is unlikely to arise in the case of Sean Campbell, ex-secretary of Luton Provisional Sinn Fein, now enduring ten years in jail after being framed by police agent Kenneth Lennon on a charge of 'conspiracy to rob'.

Sean has recently suffered horrifying treatment at the hands of prison warders at Albany, Isle of Wight. He was one of five Irish political prisoners beaten up by the guards, and suffered a smashed leg and smashed hands. Amnesty International have been told that Sean's injuries 'leave him coughing blood and his head injuries mean he is unable to pay attention or concentrate'.

The final macabre touch is that Sean has now been put in solitary confinement and has lost 690 days remission.

New threat to Czech student leader



JIRI MUELLER

THE TRIAL and imprisonment of student leader Jiri Mueller was an important aspect of the policy of 'normalisation' through which the Husak regime in Czechoslovakia hoped to exorcise the spirit of the Prague Spring. By acts of selective 'legal' repression, it was intended to eliminate some of the most popular and intelligent figures of 1968.

those trials near the end of their sentences, the ruling group looks less secure than at any time since it took over. Serious economic problems have been sharpened as a result of the mass purges and sackings in the past; the secret police has been unable to crush the underground opposition movement; and a number of Western Communist Parties

imprisonment in 1972 for activity 'motivated by hostility to socialism'. This activity consisted of nothing more than the distribution of a leaflet pointing out the constitutional right of citizens not to vote for the single, official list of candidates.

In his speech in his own defence, Mueller did not contest the facts but continued strongly to assert the obvious: that he had been motivated by his commitment to socialism and by oppo-

As the crisis of the regime deepens, the meticulous legal charade of 1972 is being replaced by language that is more reminiscent of the 1930s Moscow Trials. On 26 October the party daily *Rude Pravo* published an article accusing Mueller for the first time of 'participation in activities which cannot be termed other than attempts to commit murder', and of 'involvement in formulating and preparing a plan aimed at the overthrow of the socialist system'.

Mueller is supposed to have 'allowed for the possibility of an armed coup d'etat and of the physical liquidation of public officials'. This, it seems, is the response to criticisms of the treatment of East European dissidents such as that made a few days earlier at a public meeting in Paris by Pierre Juquin, a leading member of the French Communist Party.

It can by no means be ruled out that a new intensification of repression is being prepared in Prague, and that Jiri Mueller will be one of its first victims.

The Committee to Defend Czechoslovak Socialists was formed in the summer of 1972 following the wave of trials that had just taken place. It is composed of a number of individuals from the British left and the Czechoslovak socialist emigration, and in coming months will be attempting to encourage the maximum response in the British labour movements to the latest threats of the Husak regime. For details contact:

* At the student conference on repression held last weekend in Canterbury a majority of the 100 students present voted to oppose the 27 November rally of the 'Peace People'. Instead the students pledged themselves to building support for the counter-action called by the Peace

Scottish Labour Party conference reconvenes SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED IN SCOTLAND

LAST WEEK saw the announcement that 1,400 local authority jobs in the Strathclyde area of Scotland are to go in the next year. This follows the publication of a report attacking the direct labour department in Glasgow for 'gross inefficiency and low productivity'.

But this was no ordinary report. It had been prepared by Malcolm Hoppe, head of research at Aims for Freedom and Enterprise. This extreme right-wing outfit won immediate support in their drive for municipal speed-up and redundancies from Bailie Dick Dynes, leader of Glasgow's Labour group. He decided that the 'crunch' had come, and that in line with Hoppe's proposals direct labour workers would be more efficient drawing dole money than building houses.

Once again workers in Scotland find themselves at the receiving end of the Labour Party boot-boys sitting in the Glasgow City Chambers. This is a good example of the situation which has led many socialists to break with the Labour Party and join the Scottish Labour Party (SLP).

But instead of seizing the opportunity of building on this disillusionment with the Labour Party, SLP leader Jim Sillars has preferred the more respectable road of a parliamentary alliance with the Scottish National Party on devolution rather than a serious fight against the cuts and unemployment.

But to do this meant splitting his party. And last weekend 130 people turned up to a reconvened SLP conference in Stirling to discuss the next steps after the expulsions.

Two weeks after they had been kicked out, the first preoccupation of the conference was inevitably that of their relation to the Sillars camp of the SLP. The steering committee of the conference argued that the conference should proclaim itself the 'legitimate' SLP.

The agenda of the conference started at the point where the previous conference had adjourned because of the expulsions. Because of this procedure, all the decisions made by the previous conference up to the point of the expulsions were accepted as valid.

This correctly left the door open to a reunified party and placed the total responsibility for the split on the shoulders of the Sillars leadership. Time and time again, delegates stressed that no artificial barrier should be put up between the two camps. However, merely proclaiming Sunday's conference as the 'real'

SLP left many questions unresolved. Delegates were quick to point this out.

Did this mean that they recognised Alex Neil as the General Secretary of the party? If so, should they send their membership dues to the Sillars camp? What happens when policy resolutions are adopted which are directly contrary to those passed by the previous conference?

Delegates were content to allow some of these questions to be left unanswered, but only on the basis of calling a policy conference in January and setting up a National Council delegated from the branches.

In pursuing this fight for a reunified party, delegates unanimously rejected a proposal from a Tillicoultry member that the conference should not discuss any policy resolutions in order to prevent an 'ineradicable' split with the other wing of the party. Reunification yes, explained the delegates; but not at the price of a disintegrated and scattered left wing.

WHOSE TERMS?

The fight for the reunification of the SLP posed sharply the question — reunification on whose terms? This was taken up by Kelvin delegate Jim McKechnie, when he explained that the only guarantee for a unified party was complete internal democracy: 'If we go back, we go back together.'

The second danger taken up was that the expelled branches could be left without any perspective except that of waiting for some future development to take place in the Sillars camp. Passive, unorganised branches which are slow to seize the opportunities now open for recruitment and for aggressive political campaigning can only aid the disintegration and demoralisation of the left. This would make the completion of the job which Sillars began with the expulsions a hundred times easier.

Corrie McChord, a delegate from Stirling, reminded the conference that the old SLP leadership saw the left as a cancer which had to be destroyed. 'Our strength doesn't lie in money or prestige', he went on, 'but in our potential to drive the organisation into tenants committees, into the trade unions, into the working class. Any reunification will have to be on our terms.'

It was such problems which Gerry Finn from Kelvin referred to when he spoke about 'tactically riding two horses—that is, both fighting for the reunification of the party, yet at the same time going out

to build the socialist wing as actively as possible'.

The discussion clearly could not solve all the problems which are inevitable given the origin of the socialist wing. They have been thrown together not through a long debate and discussion but by the bureaucratic expulsions of the original conference. Nevertheless, it established both the right atmosphere and a clear procedure for relations with the Sillars wing to be clarified in a democratic way.

Immediately after the conference, however, Sillars personally rejected any unity with the expelled branches, and it is unlikely that he will respond to the unanimous proposal from the conference for discussions between the two wings of the party. Only the next few weeks, above all his conference in December, will show if his supporters are all of the same mind.

The afternoon session of the conference continued the economic policy debate. The resolution from Kelvin, made almost infamous in the preceding press witch-hunt, was passed unanimously. Described as 'a blueprint for a socialist vision', the resolution called for the nationalisation of the commanding heights of the economy, workers control of production, and trade links with non-capitalist countries.

A delegate from Stirling University, although supporting the resolution, pointed out some of its weaknesses. Long-term blueprints are all very well, but what the conference really needed above all was a set of policies and perspectives it could campaign around now. 'We should pass it, but with our eyes open', was how he summed it up.

The conference ended with the endorsement of a resolution from Aberdeen based on the Stirling Trades Council motion to this year's Scottish TUC. The resolution committed the party to a programme of action against the cuts, unemployment and the Social Contract.

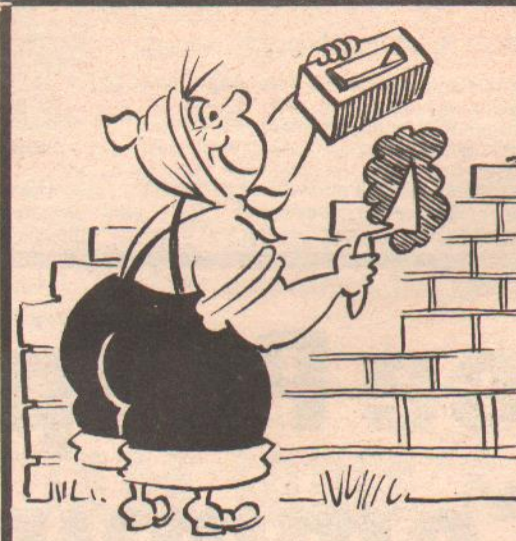
The proposal which naturally followed on from this, and which was agreed by the conference, was to organise a special conference on the cuts on 1 December. But this was only briefly discussed because of lack of time. This was extremely unfortunate, as it is precisely this type of initiative which can turn the organisation outwards towards the wider labour movement, where recruits can be won and the socialist wing materially strengthened.

Despite these problems, however, the conference has to be assessed as a big success. A functioning democratic organisation was established, and the Stirling Trades Council resolution has laid the political basis for an active campaigning party.

Unlike the Sillars wing, the future of the organisation lies entirely in the hands of its members. It will be their successes or their failures which will determine the course of the organisation over the next few months.

NEIL WILLIAMSON

RED WEEKLY



GIVE US A FIRM FOUNDATION!

THIS WEEK sees two very important mass actions in London — the anti-cuts demo and the anti-racist demo this weekend. Red Weekly has committed sizeable resources to both these events, not just through our coverage but also in the production of tens of thousands of leaflets and thousands of posters. And there is no financial return on leaflets and posters.

To continue this role we need regular finance. We do not have the advertising revenue or backing from millionaire capitalists. We appeal to you to fill in this bankers order and make a regular commitment — even a pound a month would help us along the road to expanding and further improving the paper. When you have filled in the details below, please send to: RED WEEKLY, 97 CALEDONIAN ROAD, LONDON N1.

So all readers of Red Weekly are asked to make a special donation this week. If by some accident you cannot make both demos, then at least express your support in some form — by giving to the Red Weekly Fighting Fund!

Last week's donations included: Southampton IMG, £4; NUJ member, £1; Watford IMG, 50p; Southampton Red Weekly supporters, £1.50; Leeds supporter, £10; Bradford IMG, £1.40; R. Owens, £5. This week's extra-special effort should be sent as always to Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Standing Order Authority

TO (name of your bank) (branch) (address)

Dear Sirs, Please make payment to the debit of the account specified as per the details given:

A/C to be debited	Your Name	Your A/C Number
Payee	Name	A/C Number
	RED WEEKLY	71016000

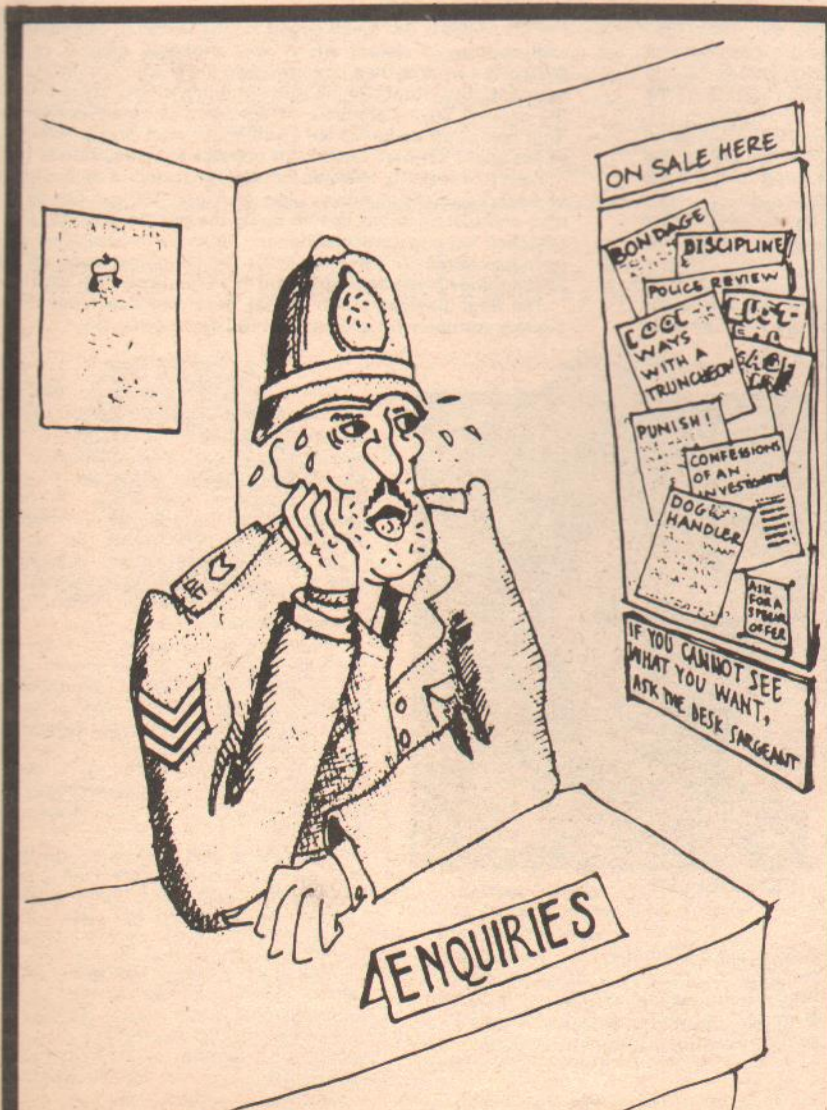
At Williams & Glyn's Bank Limited, 286 Pentonville Rd., London N1.

Sorting Code No. 15 05 70

First Payment Due	Last Payment Due	Amount	Frequency

This order cancels all previous orders to the same payee and will continue until written notice to the contrary is received by you.

..... (Your signature)



LOUISE BOYCHUK

LESBIANS IGNITE

Last Thursday Louise Boychuk took a case of unfair dismissal to an industrial tribunal. She had been sacked from H.J. Symons Holdings Ltd., a firm of international...

sion has been made on the case.

Louise explained clearly why she thought it was important to wear such badges. It could help to overcome the prejudice which most people have against lesbians if she said openly that she was gay and proud of her sexuality.

The 'impartial' chairman of the tribunal interrupted: 'Prejudice? Do you really think that it is just prejudice? Haven't you read the 9th chapter of the Book Of Genesis? Do you know what the Lord did to the people of Sodom? He destroyed them.'

The firm's case was that people are prejudiced, and therefore it would damage its reputation if Louise wore the badge. Even in these terms the management should not win, as there have been no complaints from clients.

Howard Levenson, acting for Louise,

drew a parallel with a prejudice against Jews by Arabs, against blacks by South Africans, and against women in senior positions by many people. This did not mean that they could be sacked.

He had pinpointed the problem. Almost certainly the firm [and the chairman of the tribunal] would have loved to bow to these prejudices too, but there are now laws, albeit imperfect, to prevent this. Legislation itself cannot overcome discrimination, as the record of the Sex Discrimination Act shows, but it does represent an advance in the struggle of the oppressed sections of society.

As the case of Louise Boychuk indicates, there is no such law against discrimination on grounds of homosexuality.

SARAH HART



NAME.....	SUBSCRIPTION RATES
ADDRESS.....	DOMESTIC: £7 per year
	£3.50 for six months
	FOREIGN: £9 per year surface mail
	£12 per year airmail

Write to RED WEEKLY (distribution), 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

The trial of police officers at the Old Bailey has brought the allegation that policemen confiscated pornography and then resold it for gain. 'Boys in blue' begins to take on