

Healey's latest cuts....

YOUR JOB NEXT?

ONCE AGAIN THE SACRIFICES demanded by international big business have been forcefully imposed on workers and their families. Chancellor Healey's axe has obligingly fallen on jobs and services right across the board, resulting in:

- Cuts in food subsidies of £80 million.
- £90 million cuts in health spending.
- £45 million slashed from school building and art and science budgets.
- £146 million from council mortgage lending.
- £157 million from the investment programme of nationalized industry.

These were just some of the measures announced in Dennis Healey's latest £1,012 million cuts package. A package which he himself estimated would lead to the loss of some 60,000-70,000 jobs and which, in the long run, could lead to as many as 200,000 jobs lost. In Health, Education, road construction and in the nationalised industries, Healey's axe has slashed not only at existing services but also at the future of public sector jobs and services themselves.

NO HOUSING

Among the areas of expenditure worst hit is council house building where "temporary but absolute ban" has been placed on any new contracts, including acceptance of direct labour department estimates. Councils have also been told not to buy any more housing land.

This, together with the £87 million slashed from road-building and the cuts in the school building programme can only send unemployment in the construction industry — already 210,000 and the worst since the war — soaring.

The doubling of dental and ophthalmic charges is a further blow at the once-cherished objective of the Labour Party of a free Health Service. The charging of costs for treatment of road accident casualties, will be passed on to the public by an estimated 3% rise in premiums.

SCHOOL MEALS

Among the measures most savage and widespread in its effects, will be the 10p increase in school meals charges. Though this is not due to be implemented until September 1977 it will mean an increase of 66%. Though more children will be eligible for free meals, the low take-up typical of all means-tested benefits will mean "that large numbers of children in working class homes will not get enough to eat" as Frank Field of the Child Poverty Action Group pointed out.

Tribune MP, Norman Atkinson, spoke for many Labour supporters when he said Healey "may have

Geoff Bender

won the confidence of international creditors but he has lost that of the Labour Movement. But has he even achieved the former — dubious objective though it is for a Labour Chancellor?

The £910 million to be raised from the employers' National Insurance contribution has already provoked adverse comment from the CBI. The Stock Market reaction was non-committal. The pound actually fell marginally the following day and according to the Financial Guardian, "Foreign exchange dealers continue to be disappointed that the cuts were not more severe."

TRAGEDY

As far as the confidence of the Labour movement is concerned, Brian Sedgemore MP, described the measures as "a tragedy for the Labour Government" while Dennis Skinner accused Healey of using the "discipline of the dole-queue" to placate foreign bankers and speculators. Tony Benn has been conspicuous only by his silence as far as these cuts are concerned. Ex-Minister, Judith Hart, even had the temerity to praise Healey for not cutting overseas aid!

The response of the more outspoken Labour lefts like Sedgemore, has been to retreat further behind reactionary nationalistic daydreams of "rebuilding our industries behind a protective wall of import controls".



Chancellor Healey and the governor of the Bank of England share a smile.

As if such a policy would not lead to austerity measures besides which the current Healey measures would pale into insignificance. Can anyone seriously believe Sedgemore when he says such a policy "would hold out the hope of prosperity returning to this country". Isn't it clear that the vanished wealth of British industry was as much a product of relations with the world market as its present ill-equipped, debt-ridden decline.

Sedgemore is right on one thing, though. As he says, "There is an

alternative course of action for a government with the courage to stand up to the governor of the Bank of England and the international financiers". Such a course, though, is not the one Sedgemore advocates. It would involve the mobilising of the strength of the entire Labour movement to confront the organised power of business and finance, the repudiation of international debts and the takeover of leading profitable sections of industry, banks and finance houses.

The fight to prepare the working-class for the carrying through of such policies begins now.

- The Tribune MPs must vote against the Healey package AND organise action against all cuts.
- All Constituency Labour Parties should fight to commit their MPs and councillors to active opposition to the cuts, removing those who refuse.
- Active support must be mobilised for Labour Councils already implementing a 'No Cuts' policies like Haringey and Wandsworth.
- An alliance of all public-sector workers must be forged to prevent redundancies and halt cuts in services.
- To tackle unemployment in the building industry, public works schemes should be drawn up by Labour Parties. Trades councils and local community groups to meet local needs. Where possible Labour Councils should be forced to begin these using money in the reserves and organising resistance to attempts by the Labour Government to use the rate support grant to blackmail 'rebel' councils.

Tameside Tories challenge Labour

EDUCATION MINISTER, Fred Mulley's attempt to implement the Labour Party policy on comprehensive education — a policy that the 1964-70 failed to carry through — has suffered a severe blow. The decision of the Court of Appeal to stand by the reactionary Tameside Tory Council's decision to return to selective secondary education (see *Chartist* No. 44 July '76) is a direct challenge to the authority of the Labour Government to outline and implement a national education policy.

The desire of the council to return to the vicious and arbitrary system of selection is a foretaste of the kind of class war policies advocated by the Tory backwoodsmen who will shape the programme of a future Tory Government.

Vicious and arbitrary as all 11+ selection procedures are, the attempt of the Tameside Council to now select some 240 children who

will qualify for grammar school places, must rank as one of the worst examples of the introduction of crude Tory prejudice into education. For the sake of the wretched Tory principles of competition, the future of Tameside's children is to be judged in the next month — a few sent on to academic glories and the remainder branded failures. The decision of education unions in Tameside, to allow these Tory throwbacks access to the records of the children for the purpose of assessment, as they seem to have done, is a betrayal of the educational future of these children.

Real responsibility rests with Mulley and the leadership of the education unions. Instead of staking all on an appeal to the Lords, as he is doing, the Labour movement must be mobilised to prevent selection and impose com-

prehensivisation. Not the ermined gentry of the Upper House, but the organised working class must enforce this policy. But the issue must be explained to parents. In Tameside the unions involved in education must resist all attempts to impose selection, and campaign to win to their side those parents who have been taken in by the "freedom of choice" the Tories offer.

However, the Labour Government is hamstrung in this fight while they continue to slash education budgets and tens of thousands of trained teachers remain on the dole. The fight against selection can only succeed as a part of the fight to change the course of the Labour Government. Only thus can the right of all children to a decent education and equal educational opportunity be assured.

THE CHARTIST

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Labour's Scandal: Youth On The Dole

The miseries and disappointments are amply illustrated with interviews and grim description of the depressed regions. Little wonder, that in a situation of enforced idleness where kicking heels is the main preoccupation so-called 'crime' figures increase and the police and other 'community' guardians call for restraint and patience.

FRAUD

Neither the Labour Government nor the capitalist media offer any alternative except more of the same. The ludicrous 'remedy' of Job Creation schemes, allocated a meagre £45m is a fraud from start to finish. Those handful of youth who have been found employment find themselves clearing rubbish from beaches in Sunderland, cleaning graffiti off walls in Glasgow and other such inspiring chores.

The £5 paid to employers to take on school leavers for six months and the extension of the Temporary Employment Subsidy has hardly scratched the surface. Employment Secretary, Albert Booth's latest brain-child is a robbing Peter to pay Paul 'Job-Swap' scheme. Retire older workers earlier to give youth jobs.

Alternatively, there is the idea of giving money to employers to take on and train workers who will be paid by the Social Security.

The aim of these hare-brained, pro-capitalist schemes is to provide a smokescreen for the complete abandonment by our Labour leaders of the Manifesto pledge to "restore full employment." The trade union leaders are little better. In fact, the wringing of hands and verbal rhetoric against the cuts and the plight of unemployed youth by messrs Jones, Scanlon, Basnett and Murray is so much eyewash. They have gone hand in hand with the wage-cutting social contract, organised not a single struggle against redundancies, failed to fight for a minimum wage for all apprentices and generally obstructed any efforts to build a mass campaign against unemployment (eg. November 26th) with black circulars and remonstrations not to "rock the boat".

But what is the alternative to this situation? How can we fight back? First, we must reject the 'grin and bear it' view of Premier Callaghan. A system which casts its youth on to the scrap heap without providing the glimmer of opportunity for work is a system which has outlived its

usefulness. That should be the starting point for our trade union and Labour leaders. If capitalism cannot provide work for those willing to work or decent wages for those in employment, all our energies should be directed to eliminating this system.

Any programme for socialist action against unemployment should base itself on the principle of the unity of employed with unemployed, and for the right of all—women, youth, blacks to work. Chartist advocates the building of representative, Trades Council and Labour Party-based Unemployment Committees to fight for a programme involving:

PUBLIC WORKS

- A crash programme of socially useful public works to employ the workless, especially the youth, at trade union rates of pay based on a guaranteed minimum £40 a week.
- Protection of wages and unemployment benefit against inflation by a rising scale of automatic increases.
- For a trade union register of the unemployed, women and youth with open membership and full rights.
- For Government and local authority training schemes to employ young workers. Stop hand-outs to the capitalists. Nationalise don't subsidise.
- Cut the working week. Share out the work without loss of pay.

There need be no shortages and no cuts if this programme is implemented. The workers—who create the wealth of society—are there, so are the materials. Only the anarchy of the capitalist system and its defenders stands in the way.

ANTI-FASCIST ROUND-UP

AS WE GO TO PRESS, it seems that, after the heady wine of obtaining Robert Relf's release from jail, Britain's fascists, The National Front and National Party, are not too happy after all due to a sorry saga of recent events.

First jailbird Relf - who finds it hard to put a sensible sentence together when making a public speech (and, if the letter quoted below is any example, can't write too well either) - was paraded as a hero at various National Front meetings. This did not amuse the British Movement, who first raised the hue and cry about Relf's 'martyrdom'. Nevertheless, apparently at Relf's stipulation, it was decided to hold a 'united' victory march in London on July 24th, which would be open to every fascist, racist, Hitler-lover, and every leather and whip fan in Britain. The tone for the event was to be set by the transportation of Relf's infamous "House for Sale" sign from Leamington to London, Olympic torch-style.

Close, Bebington, Cheshire is not too pleased at the re-emergence of Führer, Colin Jordan. In fact, at a recent "Free Relf" demo, Jordan was greeted with such acclaim and McLaughlin left so isolated, that questions were raised about the latter's choice of soap. We might also ask: was the formerly redundant Führer's re-appearance anything to do with McLoughlin's desperate effort to get run over by Relf's taxi outside Birmingham Court on June 7th? Further suicide attempts by McLoughlin will be warmly applauded by the Labour movement.

FASCIST COUNCILLOR OUT

Moving up to Blackburn, it is evident that there is something rotten in the state of John Kingsley Read's National Party. At present two members, one a newly elected councillor, John Frankman, have 'helped police with inquiries' about an incident in which a firearm was going to be used outside a person's house. They will be starring at Blackburn Court



Robert Relf

on July 30th. Meanwhile Frankman has been forced to resign his council and has issued strident statements to the effect that 'he is not a bigamist' and that he has not recently done five years porridge.

N.U.M. CALL FOR BAN

On a more serious note, Chartist welcomes the unanimous demand of the recent National Union of Mineworkers Conference that the Labour Government bans the National Front. We regard it as a step forward that

a key union like the NUM recognises that the fascist menace is growing. However, to demand a ban, in itself, is not enough and we would urge NUM members, indeed all trade unionists, to back up such demands with action to clear fascists off the streets, participation in anti-fascist committees and demonstrations and, vitally, action in solidarity with efforts by the Black and Asian communities to organise self-defence.

ANTI-FASCISTS FINED

Finally, at Manchester Magistrates Court on July 23rd two active trade unionists were found guilty of two offences under electoral law. Mike Luft and Graeme Atkinson were both fined £5 and warned as to their future conduct. This, after twice being acquitted of the offences, followed a House of Lords judgement and direction to convict. The implications of their conviction are quite grave for anti-fascists. Thanks to Lord Diplock and his pals, it is now an offence to distribute anti-fascist material at elections unless that material is covered by the expenses claim of an accredited candidate. Clearly, there are two laws. One, which permits fascist scum to break up meetings and inflict serious injuries on people, as happened in Manchester last November, and get off scot free. And another, which drags anti-fascists through the law courts for two years and spares no effort to convict them for a minor infraction of the law, confirming what we already knew: that no illusions whatsoever can be placed upon capitalist law courts or police to fight fascism. Only vigilance, firmness and self defence action of the working class and minority communities can do that.

RELF'S SIGN

Even the best laid plans go awry. Leaving aside a good prospect of vigorous action by the labour movement to prevent this latter day Nuremberg rally, there was another problem: comrades from the International Socialists pinched Relf's sign and burnt it when the Front had hoped to carry it in triumph. The Front's demo had to be called off, showing these Horat Wessells to be empty vessels!

As if this wasn't bad enough, we've seen from inside the British Movement...

Relf's Letter

"So you bloated black Pig you feel that the State is not doing you any favours by paying you £109 per week to sit on your stinking great fat arse. You think it's only doing it's duty.

Well you odious venereal ridden black scum, if I had my way I would do the State and the other hard-working Englishmen a favour by putting a rope around your fat slimy neck and stringing you up to the nearest lamp-post. We in this once great country that used to be ours must have been stark staring mad to have allowed the black pig to pollute our land.

The treacherous politicians that allowed it to happen should all be lined up against a wall and shot.

You may be laughing now (name of recipient), but mark my words the days are numbered for you and the rest of the filthy black scum in this country. The time is near when you will all be herded into cattle boats and shipped back to the disease ridding countries from whence you came and a Bloody good riddance you stinking fat Bastard.

R. Relf.
PS COME BACK HITLER ALL IS FORGIVEN"

Shipyard Bill must not axe jobs

By Brynley Heaven

WHILE THE NATIONAL Economic Development Council unveils yet another plan for industrial regeneration, and every pundit and trendy politician is set busy rediscovering the overriding importance of manufacturing industry (often to justify the cutting of hospitals and other fripperies) a starker reality confronts workers in many basic industries. Nowhere greater than in shipbuilding and ship repairing, where "it is inevitable that some yards will have to close" according to Industry Minister, Eric Varley. "Hefty redundancies are inevitable" adds the Sunday Times (4/7/76).

Nationalisation, long delayed by Tory Industry spokesmen Michael Heseltine's fourth form parliamentary games, will not now be signed and sealed in time to get British Shipbuilders under way before next year, so the government may be forced to fill the breach with more Chrysler-style hand outs. A really tough 'no lame ducks' posture to impress international bankers is probably out because the 90,000 or so jobs directly at stake are in high unemployment areas, many of them in doubly sensitive Scotland.

RECESSION

But no worker should imagine that the proposals, which significantly exclude the 10,000 loyalist workers at the already state-owned Harland and Wolff yards, if and when they are passed, will be anything more than the signal for a major assault on jobs and conditions. The international trade recession, and the collapse of the tanker market in particular, has created 50% worldwide shipbuilding overcapacity and most British yards have seen orders slump, such that by the end of next year there will be little genuine work at all. Even the oil platform yards are desperate for orders.

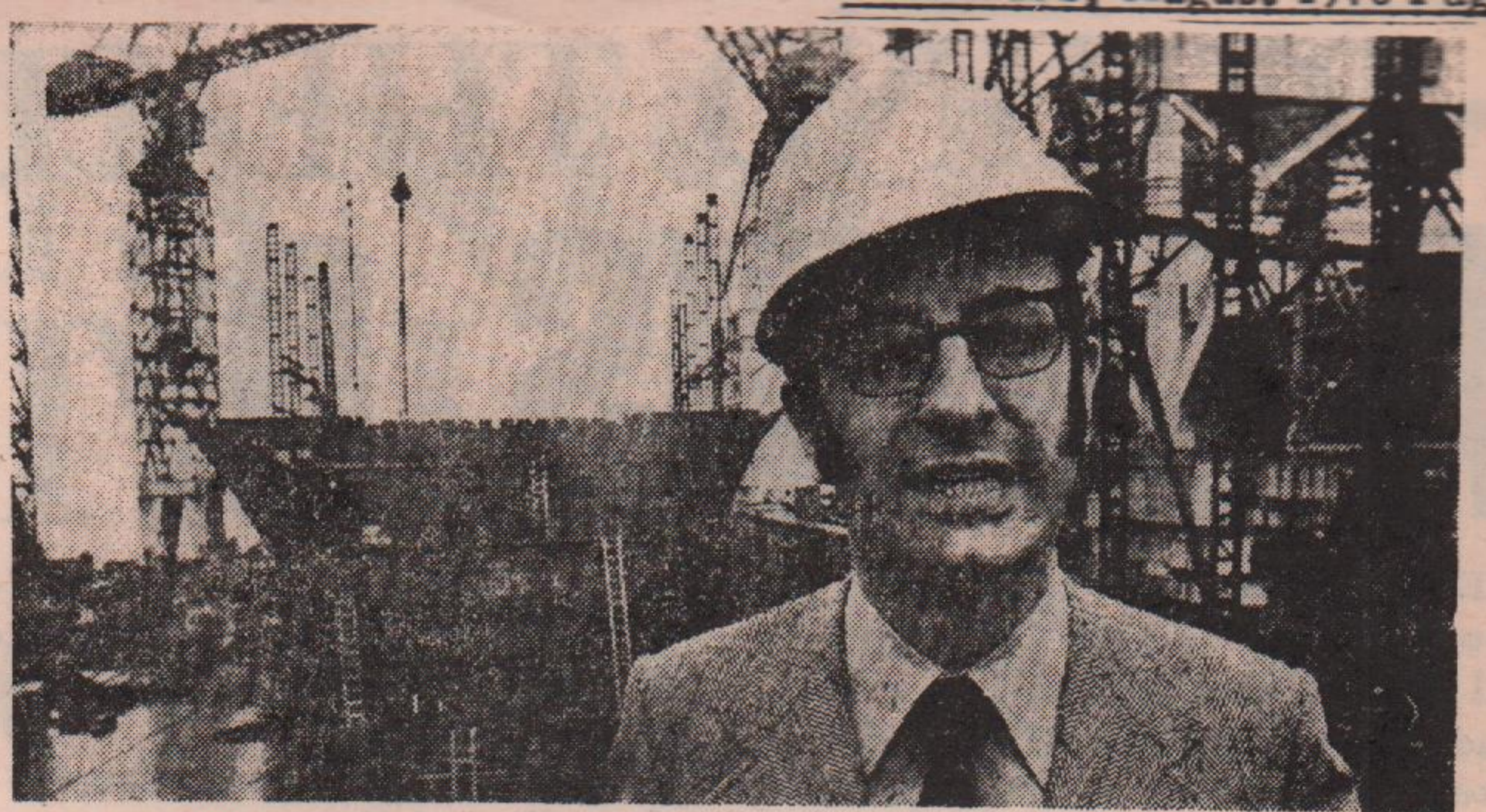
Small wonder that the shipyard bosses have accepted the threat of

nationalisation with hardly a squeak (excepting vociferous minnows like the Bristol Channel shiprepairers and the specialist warship yards). They have in any case been bleeding the industry dry — the most modern plant is at the state-run Sunderland shipbuilders — and are content to get out while the industry is still afloat and handsome compensation is on offer.

So who will manage British Shipbuilders? At the top will be Graham Day, veteran shipbuilder and workforce-slasher from Cammell Lairds (Birkenhead). Interviewed on Tonight (30/3/76) he announced he would sell ships on the same basis as he would sell soapflakes. Joining him on the board will be one Admiral (!) Sir Anthony Griffen and Mr Ross Belch. Now Mr Belch is managing director of Scott Lithgow (Lower Clyde) and president of the bosses' UK Shipbuilders Association and according to Marine Week (14/5/76) a "vociferous opponent of nationalisation" in days gone by!

SICK INDUSTRIES

So just as the National Enterprise Board, once the spearhead of left wing strategy to intervene in profitable manufacturing industries, has been effectively transformed into Lord Ryder's benevolent umbrella for sick industries (Leyland, Ferranti, Alfred Herbert, Rolls Royce (1971) etc., etc.) and a vehicle for handing out public money to capitalists, so the shipyard nationalisation has been transformed from the brain-child of active and left wing reformists like Tony Benn into another instrument of restructuring and rationalisation. It will be made to accord with the same short term perspective which drives the Labour Cabinet to slash public expenditure, freeze wages, relax the price code and grant tax concessions to boost profitability. In the shipyards this can only mean



Graham Day, designated head of state shipbuilding.

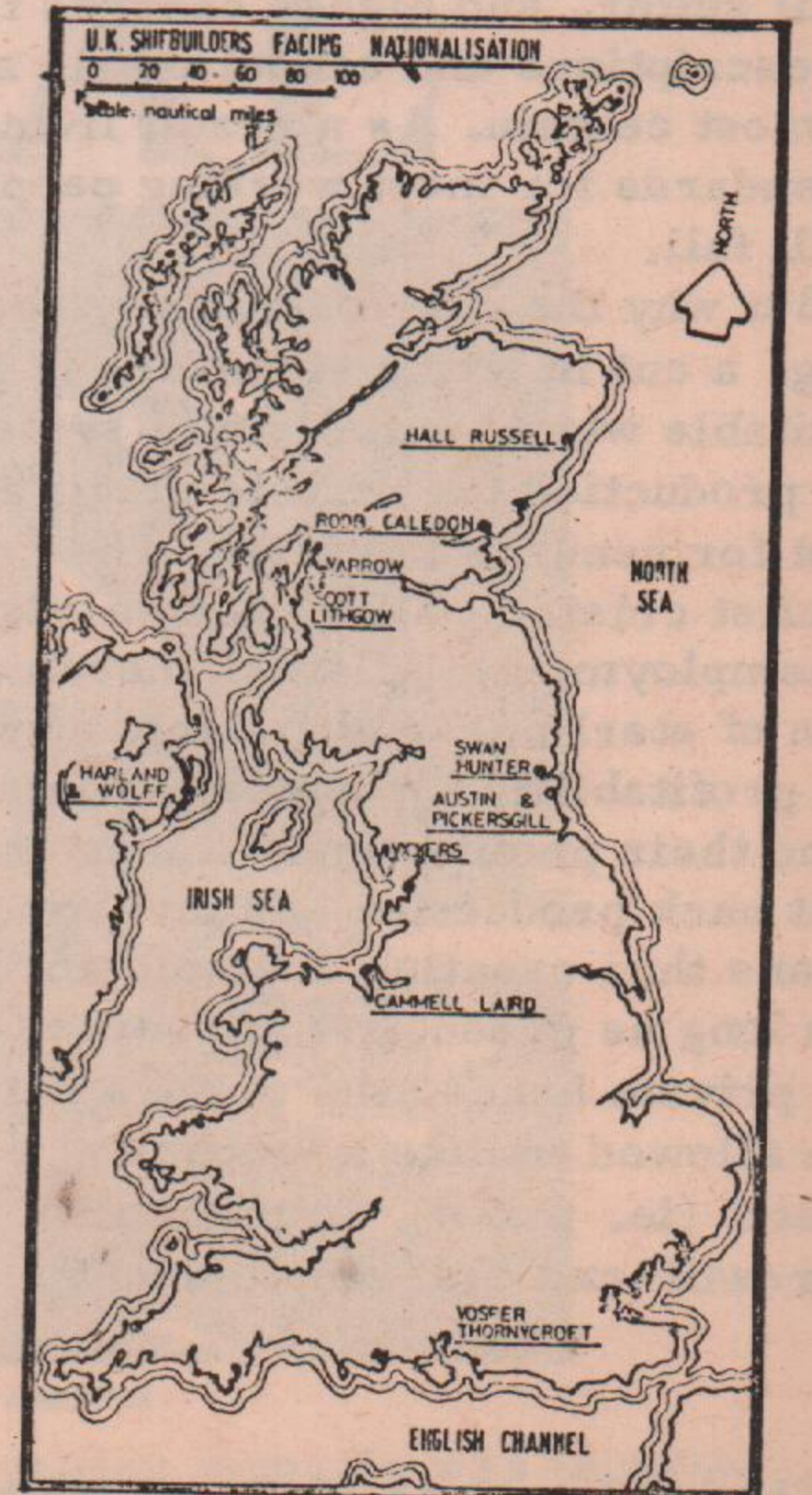
union-bashing productivity drives imposed in the name of competitiveness leading to as many redundancies as are politically possible. Although the toughest decisions are yet to come — and they cannot be postponed for long — the shipyards are destined, like coal, rail and steel before them, to join a public sector which (in the words of Labour's programme 1976) "assists the capitalist system by undertaking the unprofitable infrastructure of the economy and providing a base for successful private profit-making."

'JAM TOMORROW'

The Chartist has recorded (Sept. 1975) that the promise of nationalisation has long been held out to the unions as 'jam tomorrow' to divert their immediate demands. Behind the left sounding rhetoric of Dan McGarvey's promise not to cooperate in redundancies, the tripartite talks with government and bosses are reported to be showing a new sense of realism. We all know what that means. The recent Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions (CSEU) conference could only plead for the reactionary (and quite irrelevant according to the latest figures) policy of selective import controls, a demand taken up from James Airlie and the stewards at Govan Shipbuilders.

The UCS struggle showed — despite its political confusion — that shipyard workers are prepared to resist the job butchery like that now being planned over their heads

- Defend the nationalisation against Tory threats.
- Cancel the £300 million compensation; invest it in the indus-



ry not the Cayman Islands.

- No protectionism. No redundancies — share out the work without cuts in pay.
- For a trade union plan of useful production (such as that prepared by the Lucas group workers) to re-equip the fishing industry and improve North Sea oil safety for example.
- Labour's impending capitalist rationalisation plans must be met with occupation of the shipyards.
- Away with the old bosses: for an elected and accountable Labour and trade union management. Open the accounts for all to see. No to 'worker participation' NCB-style.
- Forge links with European and Japanese shipyard workers.

Banker sacked in Vauxhall

VAUXHALL LABOUR PARTY'S special General Management Committee meeting at the end of July concluded the enquiry into allegations of misuse of the post of Trade Union Liaison Officer by merchant city banker and GMWU delegate, Charles Williams, and malpractices in affiliation of the newly-formed Lambeth Labour Club. Williams was accused of issuing a membership card and paying subscriptions to persuade a person in another trade union to join the GMWU and become a GMC delegate.

GMC delegates were greeted with EC proposals, recommending suspension of Williams as TU Liaison Officer and the recall of the Party AGM with fresh election of Party Officers and the EC. After some debate a motion to "continue as we are until the next normal AGM" was defeated 16:7. The motion to accept the EC proposal recommending Williams removal from the TU Liaison Officer was agreed.

GMC delegated had earlier expressed their reservations that the EC report had not fully dealt with all the original allegations made by AUEW delegate Jock McPherson-

Quinn.

Hence, EEPTU delegate Gerry McManus went on to move a second resolution from his branch proposing the expulsion of Williams from the Labour Party by Vauxhall or the appropriate Labour Party body. This was lost 20:6.

However, Williams made it clear on more than one occasion through the GMC that he, in no way, intended to leave the Constituency despite appeals from delegates that he should join the Party where he actually lived rather than where he just owned property. He also laid down a challenge to opposition on the GMC, announcing that he would fight to regain the post of Trade Union Liaison Officer and that he would continue his work where he had left off.

The fight for socialist Labour representatives and candidates in Vauxhall continues. Williams has made clear his aspirations — and his desire to stand as Parliamentary candidate in Vauxhall. He has also made people aware of his political views — as a supporter of Roy Jenkins and LEFTA he stands fully behind the cuts, unemployment and wage restraint policies

of the Labour Government. What is more ominous is that as a director of Barings, a large merchant city bank, he is able to both be a member of the GMWU and to wield considerable influence inside it.

Important lessons should be drawn from the struggle in Vauxhall for all those involved in the fight against

the right wing in CLPs across the country. The right wing will never meekly retreat when threatened, they will continue to fight using all the influence they possess in the bureaucracy of the Labour movement, until they have secured their positions and a Labour Party indistinguishable from the Tories.

BUREAUCRATS QUASH 'LABOUR DEMOCRACY' MOTION

THIS YEAR'S Labour Party Conference will witness a big fight over the motion sponsored by the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy. The conference standing orders committee has ruled the motion out of order on the grounds that it breaches the 3-year rule. The SOC claim that two years ago a similar motion was debated at LP conference.

29 Labour Parties have submitted the 'LP democracy' motion which raises the vital question of accountability of MPs to Conference and its decisions. This is more CLPs supporting one resolution than even the racialism and child benefit motions.

A deputation from various supporting CLPs lobbied Wilfred Owen, Secretary of the SOC, at Transport

House, to try to get the motions put on the agenda. Despite a refusal, he admitted that other motions were on the agenda which had also come up within the last 3 years and intimated that the real reasons were 'big objections' on political grounds.

Supporters of the LP democracy motion challenge the ruling on the grounds that it contains new and topical material relating to developments in Newham N.E. and Hammersmith North, where right-wing Labour MPs have been told by their parties to stand down.

All delegates are urged to support the reference back of the SOC report which is to be moved at the start of the Conference during the last week of September.

BEHIND THE CUTS: A CRISIS OF PROFITABILITY

THE LATEST CUTS railroaded through by the Labour Government will mean reductions in public expenditure by at least £1,000 m. Likely targets are health, education and housing. Nationalised industries will suffer, and higher charges for prescriptions and school meals are almost certain. As a result living standards for most working people will fall.

But why the cuts? Generally speaking, a cut in living standards is inevitable when capitalism (a system of production for private profit and not for need) is in crisis. The capitalist crisis in all its forms (rising unemployment, inflation, devaluation of sterling) is ultimately a crisis of profitability. When capitalists find their profits 'insufficient' they cut back production and investment plans thus creating unemployment. So long as productive resources are in private hands, the owners must be allowed to take a 'sufficient reward' (ie. profit), to maintain 'growth' and 'full employment'.

Thus the welfare of the majority of the population is subject to the interests of a minority. Socialism is a system of production, democratically planned to satisfy the needs of the whole community.

But socialism is NOT a Government priority. According to Denis Healey, "The Government emphasises the importance of sustaining a private sector of industry which is vigorous, alert, responsible and profitable."

This simply means the Labour Government is abandoning any commitment to socialist change in favour of restoring private profits at the expense of the mass of the population. Premier Callaghan and Chancellor Healey have made it quite clear that the current round of public spending cuts are part of their strategy to 'restore profitability' to big business.

CRISIS OF PROFITABILITY

But what is the economic background to the cuts? Basically, profit rates have been falling in Britain and in the rest of the capitalist world. The source of profit is the exploitation of the workers. Capitalists strive to increase productivity (output per man) in order to increase profitability. But this reduces the number of workers in employment (the source of profit) relative to the mass of machinery and raw materials employed (over which the rate of profit is calculated). Thus, the accumulation (expansion) of capital is associated with a tendency for the rate of profit to fall.

Nat Levy examines the development of the capitalist crisis since the war and the economic background to the cuts.

The rate of profit is difficult to measure. But some indication of the problem for British capitalism can be given by using published figures and calculating the rate of profit as money profit net of stock appreciation over capital at replacement cost. The results are:

YEAR	% Rate of Profit
1956	12.0
1966	8.3
1975	1.8

The consequence of this decline in profitability is a reluctance on the part of capitalists to invest in this country. In real terms investment by manufacturing industry in 1976 is likely to be 5-8 per cent below that in 1975. This constitutes the "crisis".

THE CRISIS AND THE STATE

In the 19th Century and for much of this century the problem of profitability was temporarily resolved by a crisis period. For example, mass unemployment made possible "rationalisation" of work methods (increasing productivity and profits) and enforced wage cuts. Under pressure from the organised labour movement (to prevent mass unemployment and provide social services) and with the aim of defending its own capitalists, the state increased its intervention in the economy, particularly since the war.

This intervention has taken various forms: nationalisation of unprofitable industries, subsidisation of private industry as well as expansion of total public expenditure as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product, gives an indication of the state's increasing importance:

YEAR	1964	1966	1968	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Total public expenditure as % of GDP	43.6	46.2	51.0	50.6	50.0	50.1	51.1	57.3	59.0

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE AND PROFIT

Public expenditure has maintained capitalism since the War. According to Marx, "The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie."

Where necessary for the survival of capitalism, the state intervened. But this intervention has not been costless. First, high levels of employment can undermine profitability. Capitalism depends on a "disciplined" workforce ready and willing to be "rationalised". Full employment has strengthened the organised labour movement and resistance to the demands of profit-making.

Secondly, public expenditure has to be paid for. This is done by borrowing (at home or overseas) and taxation. In 1975 the state's borrowing requirement was £10,464 m. and this year it is expected to be £12,000m. Since interest has to be paid costs rise over time. In effect, public expenditure is a burden on current and future profits. Government borrowing drives up rates of interest that have to be paid by the private sector. Taxation is a further claim on profits.

The capitalist response has been an attempt to shift the burden onto the working class in various ways:

1. The drive to increase productivity is simply an attempt to increase profits.
2. Inflation, while wages are under "restraint", means that profits rise.
3. A direct attack on social services reduces the 'social wage' enjoyed by workers and their families. The 'savings' benefit profits.
4. Rising unemployment may restrain a 'militant' response to the attack.

ATTACK ON LIVING STANDARDS

Unemployment now stands at the highest figure since the War. At the same time the working class has faced inflation and rising taxes. The effect has been that the average real wage of workers, after deductions, has been falling since 1972. Table 1 shows what has been happening to unemployment, average earnings and prices since 1975.

Wage restraint (from 3rd quarter 1975) has held the rise in earnings below inflation. This has meant a fall in real earnings. The rising burden of taxation on the working class has increased this fall. Further cuts in public expenditure can only make things worse. Meanwhile profits are increasing. Between the two six-month period up to the 1st quarter of 1976 gross trading profits of companies rose about 20 per cent after deducting stock appreciation.

The working class is paying to restore capitalism to "vigour". Healey promises that the sacrifices he asks for will lead to a British 'economic miracle', (700,000 or 3% unemployment by 1979). But capitalists invest where profits are maximised. Since Britain is still a relatively 'low-profit' country, rising profits are likely to be invested abroad. If the Labour Government continues to prostrate itself before the demands of British big business it will attempt more cuts and more wage restraint. This course can only be prevented by a massive demand for an end to class collaboration from our Labour and trade union leaders and immediate

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TABLE 1

	Average gross earnings, % increase on year earlier.
1975 1st quarter	31.7
2nd quarter	28.2
3rd quarter	26.4
4th quarter	21.8
1976	
JAN	20.7
FEB	19.0
MAR	19.4
APR	17.8

Labour's mo

SINCE THE TUC agreement on the second phase of the wages policy the cabinet have been able to concentrate on the other main plank of their economic policy - cuts in public spending.

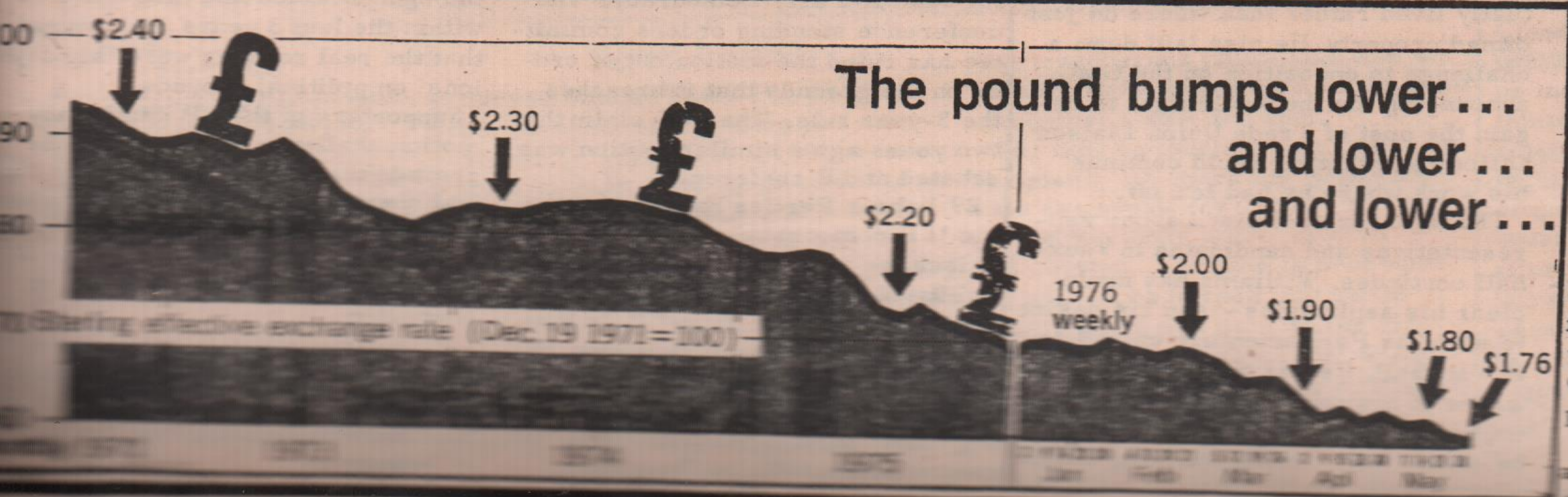
Labour came to office in the wake of the December 1973 Heath/Barber cuts which they had condemned. But within a year they had introduced their own policy of "severe restraint", whilst council rate demands went up by 25% to 75%. In February 1976 they published a 5-year plan for public expenditure. This was a cutback in real terms in public expenditure over the coming 5 years. Defence escaped unscathed in this review when Roy Mason threatened to resign and the Manifesto Group organised to maintain our "contribution to NATO in its peace-keeping role". Education, Health and Housing bore the brunt of the cutback and forced the resignation of Joan Lester.

REAL CUTS

But international bankers and the IMF were not satisfied with this massive cutback and pressure started for further cuts in the coming year. The Tory press denied that there were "real cuts" and the axe was passed to the new Environment Secretary, Peter Shore. He summoned leaders of every labour council to Transport House and demanded approximately £350 million cuts in this year's spending budgets.

Many Labour councils had already made massive cuts in their budgets in response to the demand for zero growth budgets. Ever ready to lead the way the GLC had abolished 1700 jobs and the ILEA followed suit and declared 500 teachers' jobs surplus to requirements. Throughout the country old peoples houses were left empty and meals-on-wheels charges, fares and rents increased. Results were immediate - in Southwark 1700 OAPs stopped taking meals when the price increased from 10p to 25p.

Now these same councils were being asked to make further cuts. Most





1936:

SPANISH CIVIL WAR

1976:

NO SECOND BETRAYAL

steps to take power from the ruling class in this country. Only on this basis can a programme of socialist nationalisation be implemented and the economy launched on the road to national planning.

Retail Prices, % increase on year earlier.	% Unemployment
20.3	3.2
24.3	3.6
26.5	4.5
25.3	4.9
23.4	5.2
22.9	5.2
21.2	5.2
18.9	5.2

Monthly cuts

Ken Livingstone (G.L.C. Norwood)

pressure that they made only part of the cut demanded and as pressure built up local parties some such as Haringey and Wandsworth refused to make any cuts at all. Many others fell back on book-keeping exercises.

The GLC made its contribution by cutting another 300 jobs and £19million. As the money saved cannot be returned to ratepayers it will lie in reserves unused until next year. The argument that these cuts move resources into industry overlooks the fact that the money saved is left in reserves. The exercise is merely to satisfy international and domestic capitalism. Each set of cuts opens the way for further demands. Within seven days of councils submitting their reduced estimates Healey announced the latest 1000million cuts for next year.

ORGANISE!

Will these cuts satisfy the bankers? The Sunday Times immediately said that they were the wrong cuts and the Tories welcomed them as A STEP in the right direction. Unless we organise immediately in local parties and trade unions the next cuts will also be pushed through. Parties should affiliate to Labour Against the Cuts and support the lobby of Annual Conference. Write to Ted Knight, 7, Wiseman Ct., Woodland Road, London SE 19.

Rather than hoarding money cut from present spending programmes local councils must be forced to spend the balances in initiating programmes of useful public works to tackle unemployment and meet local needs.

Interest payments on local authority debts should be cancelled. A campaign must be taken up to wrest more money from central government and to demand the nationalisation without compensation of the banks, finance houses and

FORTY YEARS ON, Chris Knight examines the lessons of the Spanish Civil War.

On the morning of July 17th, 1936, General Franco launched the military rising which began the Spanish Civil War. He assumed command of the Moors and Legionnaires of Spanish Morocco, and radioed an appeal to the Spanish Army to join him in overthrowing the elected Republican Government.

This Government - a Popular Front coalition of workers' leaders and non-socialist radicals - was immediately alerted, the radio-broadcast having been intercepted. But no action was taken in self-defence. On the contrary, the people were not even told of the insurrection until 9 o'clock on the following morning. Even then, the Government insisted that the Army could be relied upon to "re-establish normality" and that there was no need, therefore, to permit the workers' organisations to arm themselves.

Yet by the end of the following day, almost all of the fifty garrisons in Spain had declared for Franco and fascism.

workers

That would have been the end of the Republic - which would have been overthrown as quickly as was the Allende Government in Chile in 1973 - had it not been for one thing. The workers moved.

In Madrid, the Montaña barracks were surrounded. In Barcelona, government arms depots were stoned, and armed workers circled the garrison until the troops came over to them. In Valencia, barricades were set up and the workers held out until soldiers in the local barracks shot their officers and distributed their arms. All this took place in defiance of the pleadings of the Government for "tranquility" and for trust to be placed in the Spanish Army, itself!

Within a few days, Barcelona and the whole of Catalonia had been conquered by the armed workers, most of whom were organised in the anarchist trade union federation, the CNT. Within a week, transport and industry in this area was almost entirely in the hands of CNT workers' committee (or committees established jointly with the UGT, the reformist-socialist union federation). These committees re-established order and speeded up industrial production to meet the military needs of the anti-fascist war.

all power

The land was seized by the peasants, and peasant committees took charge of all agricultural produce to supply the needs of the workers in the cities. Every district, town and village created its militia committees, to arm the masses and drill them. Since all power was now in the workers' hands, the Government had no choice but to meet the demands of the workers'



NATIONALISTS HOLD RUGGED POSITION ON HUESCA FRONT DURING THE CIVIL WAR, 1936

workers' parties and unions), for munitions, supplies and funds. The Government's own separately organised police and armed forces had disappeared from the streets.

But now the Communist Party moved in. Stalin did not want a revolution in Spain. As the pro-Kremlin New York Times reporter, Walter Duranty had put it, writing as early as in 1931 (May 18th):

"...if the Spanish revolution 'swings left' as Moscow now expects, Moscow will be more embarrassed than pleased.... For, first, the Soviet Union is excessively and perhaps unduly nervous about a war danger and 'views with alarm' any event anywhere that may upset the European status quo... Secondly, the Kremlin's policy today stands much more on the success of socialist construction in Russia than upon world revolution."

status quo

In short, Stalin was interested simply and solely in the maintenance of the European and global status quo on which his own position and the privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy rested. In 1936, Stalin wanted above all an alliance with the British and French Government as a safeguard against the threat of war. These Governments would have refused such an alliance had the Soviet Union helped 'foment revolution' in Spain. Hence Stalin's policy was firm: military assistance would be provided to the Spanish Republic, but only on condition that all attempts at workers' revolution were suppressed.

Accordingly, on August 6th, 1936, Jesus Hernandez, editor of Mundo Obrero, the Communists' paper, wrote as follows:

"It is absolutely false that the present workers' movement has for its object the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship after the war has terminated. It cannot be said that we have a social motive for our participation in the war. We communists are the first to repudiate this supposition. We are motivated exclusively by a desire to defend the democ-

An immense struggle was immediately launched to demonstrate this "repudiation". The Soviet Union withheld any arms supplies for three whole months, and then supplied a small number of planes, tanks and other weapons on condition that they only to the bourgeois government. The attempts of the Government right-wingers to re-establish their own police and armed forces, free of democratic committees, were supported, as were the employers' attempt to regain control of industry. Peasant land-seizures were vigorously opposed. Gradually power was wrenched from the workers' and peasants' hands. It was this Stalinist-led war against the workers' organisations themselves which demoralised the anti-fascist forces, bolstered the confidence of the fascists, permitted the Republican armies to be betrayed by secretly pro-Franco officers - and eventually ensured Franco's bloody victory, the destruction of the revolution meant the destruction of the only force capable of fighting fascism to the finish.



Francisco Franco The crimes of the Kremlin and the Spanish Communist Party in the cringing Popular Front policy of 1936 - which led to the triumph of Francoism - are once again highlighted by the current class collaborationist policies of the Spanish stalinists under Carillo. The experience of the Spanish Civil War was dearly bought. For the lives and courage of the thousands of workers betrayed in that struggle it is imperative that the reactionary role of Stalinism is learnt, understood and prevented from derailing the Spanish working class today, as it flexes its muscles to finish Francoism for

Gandhi repression intensifies

FOR OVER A YEAR now the Indian working class and peasantry have been subjected to wave after wave of attacks from the Indira Gandhi's regime and its emergency rule.

At present over 200,000 people, most of them from the left, have been imprisoned without trial. Political activists have been tortured, others murdered and police atrocities in the countryside are becoming more and more commonplace.

Gandhi imposed her state of emergency following High Court judgments which went against her and the corrupt election practices she had been indulging in. She claimed that emergency rule was necessary to defend Indian 'democracy' against a 'right-wing conspiracy'. However, the facts show that the real right wing conspiracy was that of the Indian ruling class whom Mrs Gandhi's regime represents and protects.

There has been no sudden leap from a democratic state to an authoritarian state—as the media have portrayed the situation. Suppression of basic civil liberties—freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom from detention without trial—has been the hallmark of the Indian regime since the 1950's.

In fact BEFORE the emergency it is estimated that there were 50,000 political prisoners or more in India's jails. These jails were disgusting. The Jamshedpur District Jail built for 137 prisoners, housing 1,100. Thousands of these prisoners have been in jail for up to six or seven years without trial, their homes and families have been attacked.

police bullets

It is important that the present situation is not characterised as a special case as Mrs Gandhi says. It is an intensification of a continuing process of repression. For example, the Sunday Times reported in March 1974: "Nearly 125 people in India have been shot dead by the police in the past 2 months. Never in the country's history, not even in the traumatic phase before Independence

have there been so many victims of police bullets in a comparable period."

When the emergency was declared the impression created was that it was temporary. Gandhi said: "I am sure that internal conditions will speedily improve to enable us to dispense with this Proclamation as soon as possible." Gradually she has made it clear that what she calls "the era of licence and permissiveness" will not return.

The circumstances out of which the emergency arose are rooted in the class relationships of India, the on-going effects of the country's colonial past and the domination of its economy by multi-national companies. Despite the portrayal of India as a chronically poor country sucking in aid India is a nation rich in people and raw materials. It is also a country where the distribution of income is heavily weighted in favour of the rich.

wages cut

Figures compiled for the period 1951-1960 show the following percentages of total income being received:

Bottom fifth.....	3.7%
2nd fifth.....	6.8%
3rd fifth.....	10.1%
4th fifth.....	14.7%
Top fifth.....	64.7%
Top tenth.....	44.0%
Top 5%.....	32.0%

This situation has been reinforced by the emergency. Workers wages have been drastically cut. Workers bonuses or deferred wages have been abolished and their dearness allowance, a subsidy against inflation, has been halved.

Although 475,000 workers have been laid off by management, all strikes are officially banned and only Government-sponsored unions are allowed to function. Although 45 per cent of Indian peasants are landless labourers, the Government has announced, in the interests of the rich farmers, that land reforms will be permanently terminated after

by Jim Barrow

a mere $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the land has been redistributed.

While discipline and order are being imposed business is being allowed to make large profits. Assurances are being given to the multi-nationals that restrictions on their operations would be relaxed and big business houses and chambers of commerce emerge as champions of the emergency.

Now, after a year of emergency rule, capitalism (as in Britain) has said the Indian people must suffer more "anti-inflationary" measures. This follows a rise in the wholesale price index of 2 per cent in April and of 1.6 per cent in the last week in June. The wealth tax and taxes on businessmen are reduced as more attacks on workers and peasants are prepared in the name of profitability.

The political response by the Indian workers has been confused. The Moscow-orientated Communist Party of India has supported the emergency as has the Soviet Union.

That support by the CP bureaucracy remains although it is now having second thoughts as its own trade unionists are being arrested. The role of the Soviet Union and the CPI has helped the suppression of the resistance movement.

Naxalites

At present the main resistance comes from the Communist Party (Marxist), Naxalites and ex-Naxalite groups and activists in the Socialist Party. Different areas of work have suffered through the emergency (e.g. civil liberty organisations, open periodicals driven underground, trade unions attacked, students subjected to mass arrests).

The Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) is the third party involved. The Maoist membership of the party has been divided and confused over tactics and perspectives but is still firmly opposing the re-



gime through involving itself in illegal strikes and campaigns.

The fight at the moment is to clarify the situation for opposition forces to prepare a united front offensive against the ruling class. In Britain despite the reactionary influence of the Communist Party and the inhibiting wave of racialism, work to pull together opposition forces is going ahead.

The Oxford Action Group Against Dictatorship in India, of which the writer is a member, campaign on five demands:

1. Release of all political prisoners in India whether arrested before or after June 1975.
2. Repeal of the Emergency and of all previous and subsequent repressive legislation.
3. Establishment of full civil liberties, including freedom of expression and association and the right to strike.
4. Full autonomy and equal rights for all linguistic, ethnic and religious minorities.
5. Ending of all forms of imperialist intervention in India, including the termination of British economic and military aid to the Gandhi dictatorship and the return to the Indian people of all the assets owned by British capitalists in India.

It is on these crucial demands that a united front can be built to challenge the dictatorship in a concrete and effective manner.

POLISH WORKERS SHAKE BUREAUCRACY by FRANK LEE

ON JUNE 24th this year, Polish Prime Minister, Mr. Piotr Jurosewicz introduced a Bill to the Polish Parliament which provided for spectacular increases in food prices. These prices amounted to a 69 per cent increase in the price of meat and fish, and a doubling of the price of sugar. These new prices were to become operative four days after the introduction of the Bill.

However within 24 hours Jurosewicz was to go on television to announce that the government had backed down. In a terse one-minute speech he declared that the price increases needed "re-analysis" and that "several months" would be required to "work out a proper solution."

SPONTANEOUS

What happened in the intervening period to effect such an about-face on the part of Poland's rulers? Specifically, a spontaneous reaction against the proposed price increases by the Polish working class. Shortly after Jurosewicz's announcement tractor workers near Warsaw had stormed out of the giant Ursus factory, blocking and tearing up the railway line. They were followed by the Zeran car workers, even closer to the capital and by the engin-

eers of Radom who clashed violently with the police.

In all over 70 localities were affected by strikes and demonstrations against the proposed price rises, indicating that the opposition was much more widespread and far from being the "irresponsible and adventurist elements, arsonists and looters" that the Stalinist bureaucracy denounced.

Haunted by the bloody riots of 1970 and fearing a repetition, the bureaucracy evaded a full confrontation with the working class: on the question of food prices the working class has once again — as in 1970 — used its veto.

In fact the past 5 years, since the Baltic riots, have been relatively successful in terms of economic growth. According to official figures, nominal wages rose by 60% and real wages by 40% — more than twice the planned rate. Increasing prosperity meant that individual consumption, especially of food, began to rise. With food prices frozen for political reasons, food subsidies went up in 5 years from 22 billion to 100 billion zlotys, nearly 8% of the national income. Consumption of meat and meat products soared. Polish agriculture simply could not keep up with demand and two bad harvests



WOMAN WORKER IN POLSKI-FIAT PLANT AT BIELSKO, POLAND

made matters worse. Poland was now facing a problem which in the terminology of orthodox western economies would be called 'demand-pull' inflation.

Due to the increased consuming power of the workers, and the relative stagnation in agricultural production, Poland, from being a net exporter of food, had become a net importer. This in its turn was to lead to a general worsening of the Polish balance of trade. Additionally world inflation has played havoc with prices of all sorts, including the food that Poland must buy on the world market, making

the Polish economy highly vulnerable to the danger of imported inflation.

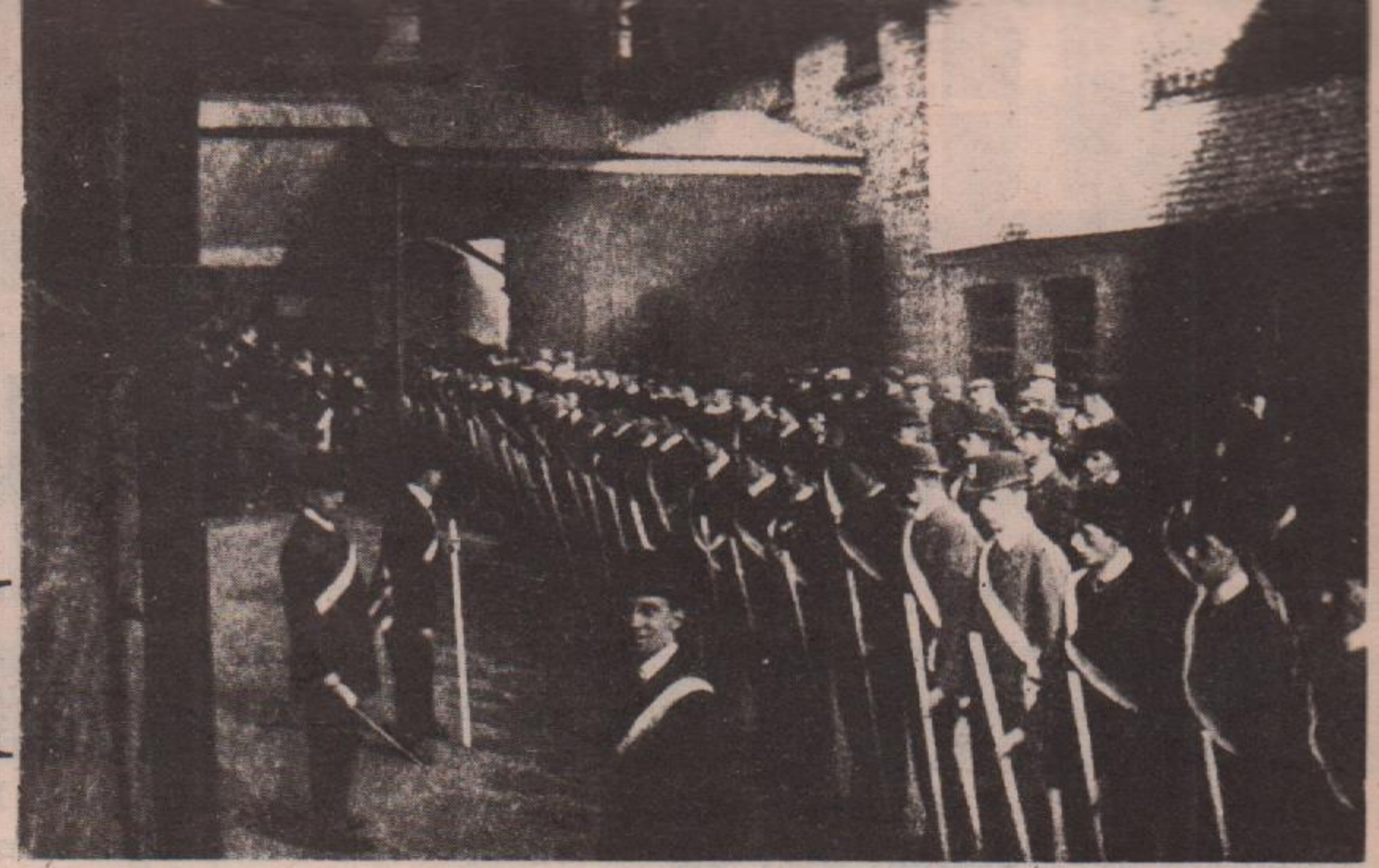
The crisis in the Polish economy, its dependence on, and vulnerability to the world market, shows up the theory of 'socialism in one country' for the arrant nonsense that it is. For it has not been possible IN PRACTICE to achieve economic self-rule. The choice facing countries like Poland are either becoming part of a world socialist economy, or being sucked back into the vortex of world capitalism, through the increasing penetration of western capital into the domestic economy. This latter process is well under way and can be most clearly seen in Yugoslavia, which has a higher rate of inflation than some western capitalist countries, but it applies to all of Eastern Europe including Poland.

CLEAVAGE

In actual fact the Polish workers may have tolerated some moderate price rises. "Maybe we could discuss a 10 per cent price increase" said one worker at Ursus. "A sudden 60 per cent price increase on basic things we buy won't go."

Such is the cleavage between the workers on one side and the Stalinist

THE CRISIS OF ULSTER LOYALISM



Ulster Volunteers in 1912. Connolly said: "They will not fight".

IN RECENT MONTHS, the British press has featured many reports of the splits and fractures within Ulster's Loyalist movement. Though British newspapers have only turned their attention to this very recently, the highly unstable and fractious nature of Loyalism is one of the most constant factors throughout the last seven years of crisis in the North of Ireland.

Gone are the old days of a monolithic Unionist movement in the North East of Ireland, with Protestants from all class united in the cause of maintaining the Protestant ascendancy.

The extent of the deep and scarcely concealed rifts in Ulster Loyalism was evident at this year's annual display of would-be Protestant unity and bigotry: the July 12th Orange Day marches. Under a headline "Orangemen's big day emphasises splits", the Times reported on how the once hard-line leader of the far right of the Unionist movement, William Craig, "... attacked the Orange Order for its impotence and lambasted his former colleagues in the dominant loyalist coalition." (13.7.76).

TENSIONS

On a public platform at the head of the Orange demonstration in Broughshane, Co. Antrim, the Times reports Craig as saying:

"But for the United Ulster Unionist Coalition the Convention would have succeeded; there would have been another Parliament in Northern Ireland—a Parliament based on majority rule, a parliament that would have control of internal security."

The tensions and conflicts in Ulster Unionism are not only to be seen reflected in the bickering arguments between the Loyalist political leaders, but they are also endemic in the Protestant working class-based paramilitaries. In June, an effort by the new leaders of the ultra-Loyalists, Ernest Baird and Ian Paisley with their mini-version of the UUUC—the Ulster Unionist Action Council—

POLAND CONTD:

Communist Party and the state on the other. The working class is not sounded out for its own views on any proposed price rises; in reality there is no joint decision making apparatus, and the diktats are bureaucratically imposed from above. The CP will apparently respond only to a show of strength from the working class, the class it claims to represent.

LEANER

Throughout Poland and Eastern Europe the early 1970's were relatively good years, with concessions to the consumer, foreign borrowing and loose accounting. With the immediate future looking leaner, the contradictions between the working class and the Stalinist bureaucracy will inevitably sharpen. The perspective for political revolution to overthrow the conservative bureaucratic caste which distorts the Polish and East European workers' states has been opened up by the Polish upsurge.

As a result of the disturbances in the industrial city of Radom, six Polish workers were given prison sentences of ten, nine, eight, six, five and four years respectively. At present the trial of another seven workers is taking place at Warsaw...

to mobilise the paramilitaries in support of their hard-line position, proved a dismal failure.

The inability of these Loyalist organisation, which nominally command the support of almost the entire Protestant population in the Six Counties, to assert their political desire for a return to the good old days of Stormont and B-Specials, reveals the very nature of Ulster Loyalism as a political force.

The Protestant movement in the North has never had an independent existence from the general interests of British imperialist rule in Ireland. The current crisis of Ulster Loyalism reflects the fact that imperialist policy-makers at this point in time, are not prepared to give the orangemen of the North the sort of backing they have always required in order to maintain a semblance of unity in the face of the imagined 'popish peril'.

DEPENDENCE

In past articles in the *Chartist* we have stressed the dependence of Loyalism on Westminster policy and the British army right from its very inception as a movement. (See "Northern Ireland: A History of Repression", June 1976). Furthermore, the inherent contradictions and unstable nature of Ulster Loyalism has been noted right from its beginnings by Marxists, including the revolutionary socialist leader in Ireland, James Connolly.



Ernest Baird (left) Paisley (right)

Connolly wrote, in May 1914, about an incident of a public meeting addressed by the Cabinet Minister Mr Winston Churchill, which was effectively banned by the Ulster Unionist Council. In Connolly's words:

"... Up to that point nobody in Ulster who knows the Ulstermen had taken in the least degree seriously the threats of fighting on their part. All recognised that the rank and file were probably ready enough to fight, but all also recognised that the economic position of the leaders of the Orange forces, their standing as holders of capitalist stock, land, coal mines, shipping etc., made the

suggestion that they should rebel against the Government—that guaranteed their investments—a very ridiculous suggestion indeed.

"... But, lo and behold! the Government ran away. Mr Winston Churchill abandoned his right to hold his meeting in the place advertised, and slunk away to the outskirts of the city.

"Mr Winston Churchill's meeting was for the Ulster Orange leaders a glorious opportunity; it gave them the excuse for a daring experiment in lawlessness. That experiment was a success..." ('The Liberals and Ulster', from "Selected Writings J. Connolly" Penguin).

REAL FORCES

While the British liberals were overawed by the pomp and display of their friends, the Ulster Unionists, Connolly, with his Marxist analysis, was able to see through surface appearances to the real forces which enabled the Loyalists to gain this big victory. This was that, while the Orangemen might have gone about their business in too crude and rough a manner, generally speaking they were cutting with the grain of British imperialist policies in Ireland. For this reason, in the final instance, the British Government was prepared to back down and give the Ulster Unionist Council their important victory.

Numerous incidents such as this,

from the Curragh mutiny of British army officers, through to gun-running on the Larne, went to strengthen the hand of Loyalism in its early days.

From the mid-1960s onwards, the changed pattern of British investments in Ireland, with a greater proportion going into the 26-County state, forced British policy-makers to turn their attention towards the task of "clearing-up" the Northern Ireland cess-pool.

This meant that the reactionary forces in the North were no longer 'cutting with the grain' of British imperialist policy. They actually

became an obstacle to the prime need of Britain to reform away some of the more obviously appalling features of Northern Ireland society. From now onwards, if the Ulster Loyalists wished to maintain their relatively privileged position over the Catholic community, then they would have to fight against British imperialism.

In this way, we have seen created an almost paradoxical situation which bourgeois commentators, together with a good many on the socialist left have been incapable of understanding. The revolt of the Catholics behind the banners of the Civil Rights movement in 1968 produced a Protestant backlash, but the backlash was directed primarily against the O'Neill leadership of the Ulster Unionist Party. This marked the beginning of a period of splits and breakaways in the Loyalist camp, with the effect of weakening and debilitating the whole Orange cause of maintaining Protestant rule in the North.

REFORM

As Connolly predicted, when called upon to fight, the leaders of the Orange forces, dependent on good terms with Britain for the health of their capitalist enterprises, quickly passed into the camp of 'moderate' reform and so betrayed the Loyalist movement.

The working class rank and file, who were prepared to fight, found themselves left without effective leadership. Divided between the bickering demagogues of Craig, Paisley, West and Baird, with a multitude of ever more lunatic splinter paramilitaries in the place of the former united B-Special paramilitary, the indigenous Loyalists are no longer the major pillar upholding the state of Northern Ireland. The British army today stands as the sole instrument of reaction effective enough to maintain partition and deny the Irish people their right to national self-determination.

CRISIS

The continued existence in the Catholic communities of strong nationalist feeling and determination to fight for a united Ireland means that Ulster Loyalism will continue in a state of crisis until it either vanishes from the scene altogether, or political equilibrium is restored by a smashing defeat of the Nationalist population.

For Loyalism to vanish from the scene altogether its own crisis would have to be intensified by a swift withdrawal of the British army. For a smashing defeat of the Nationalists, the splintered Orange forces can only look towards the army to do the job for them. They cannot manage it themselves. The presence of the British army in Ireland remains the key to progress or reaction for the whole Irish people.

A WARNING TO LABOUR

LABOUR SUPPORTERS must have been appalled recently to hear that the fascist National Party and National Front gained a combined vote of 44% - GREATER THAN THE LABOUR PARTY! in the recent Lewisham Council by-election. Only the recent split among the British Nazis allowed Labour to retain the seat. It is true that this occurred on a low poll, and would probably not be repeated in a General Election.

The seat was in Deptford, a typical run-down and deprived riverside area of Inner London: the sort of place hardest hit by factory closures and successive social service cuts. In an area of deprivation like this, it is of course very easy for the NF and NP to blame housing shortages, unemployment and third-rate health and education services on the visible target of blacks - concentrated in ghettos on decaying council estates.

In some ways the result in the Thurrock by-election was even more disturbing. Martin Webster organised yet another block-busting campaign with coach-loads of heavies from all over the South-east to bolster up

the fascist marches and meetings - with Robert Relf as the star attraction. The NF polled over 3,000 votes in this area, dominated by Tilbury Docks and with little fascist tradition. NF candidate Roberts fought his campaign along the populist "we don't hate the blacks, we just don't want them here" lines, in an area where relative prosperity still exists and blacks are few and far between. Scandalously, the NF were permitted to hold dock-gate meetings and leaflet lorry drivers, despite counter-demonstrations organised by the IS and others. It seems that the local Labour Party, and their candidate, Oonagh McDonald, tried to ignore the fascist threat. This is what the national leadership of the Labour movement have done - while capitulating to racist demands for further immigration controls when a new crisis occurs. Presumably Bob "Enough is enough" Mellish and his ilk believe that it is possible to beat the fascists at their own game. Of course this never works. On the contrary it helps make racialism respectable and paves the way for further gains for the fascists.

Brent anti-racialists organise

DESPITE PROVOCATIONS by about 40 National Front fascists, Brent Labour Committee Against Racialism held its first meeting in Cricklewood on July 21st. The fascists tried to enter the meeting but were excluded by a well-organised force of stewards, so that the 87 delegates representing the local labour and trade union movement were able to hold the meeting undisturbed.

Brent East Labour Party Young Socialists who had called the meeting, put forward a discussion programme which included the following points:-

- Opposition to every manifestation of racialism inside the Labour movement or in the community as a whole.
- Opposition to all Immigration Acts.
- Full support for immigrant organisations opposing racialism. Support for the Campaign Against Racialism in Brent - a West Indian group campaigning against police harassment of black people in Harlesden.
- Demands on the Labour Council to ban the fascists from meeting halls and schools, and to erase all fascist graffiti.
- Organised stewarding to prevent

By Frank Hansen
fascist disruption of labour movement meetings.

Various amendments were put forward calling for support for black self-defence and opposition to the cuts. Representatives from the Trades Council floated the idea that the churches should be included in the committees and that only "racist" Immigration Acts should be opposed.

Unfortunately the meeting was unable to discuss these points fully and no clear political decisions were reached - apart from a general opposition to racialism. Nevertheless a committee was elected to organize a Conference Against Racialism in October, where it is hoped a fuller discussion about basic principles can take place. Brent Chartist will be arguing in the committee and at the conference that the campaign must be based wholly on the labour movement, since only the organized working class can destroy racialism and fascism. Furthermore we will be arguing that the YS programme must be adopted without dilution if any serious campaign against racialism is to be launched, and that ALL immigration controls are racist.

POLICE HARASSMENT KNOCKED IN LEEDS

AN INCREASINGLY STRONG resistance has built up in the Leeds area to the threat of racist ideas and to the activities of fascist organisations like the National Front and the Leeds-based British National Party.

Police harassment of blacks in Leeds received a severe defeat when 31 out of 36 not guilty pleas in the "Bonfire Night" trial, were endorsed by the jury. The charges, including alleged incitement, related to a police invasion of the Chapeltown area of Leeds on November 5th last year. The jurors' obvious disbelief of police evidence is a serious blow to the notorious Leeds force.

The fascist organisations have also been organising a

paper-selling by anti-fascist committees and left-wing organisations have prevented the fascists from openly peddling their filth. This can only be the first step, however.

The Leeds labour movement has been slow to meet the threat of racialism. At its last meeting, Leeds District Labour Party decided to set up a committee to strengthen the fight against racialism. The task of this committee will be to continue to extend the work done by the anti-fascist committee and use its links with black organisations to organise a conference of the whole organised movement to hammer out ways of combating the racials and their ideas in the Leeds area.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Trico women must win!

Angela Shariff (Brent WWC)

THE EQUAL PAY prospects of 8½ million working women hinge on the 7-week old strike for equal pay by 400 women at Trico - a car components firm in Brentford. The manoeuvres of the Trico management - backed up by the Tribunal system - shows that the Equal Pay Act is a worthless piece of paper unless it is enforced by the industrial strength of the Labour movement.

The women are demanding an increase of £6:50 to bring them into line with a group of male workers who were transferred to the day shift when the night shift was closed down. The management claim that the extra £6:50p is night-work bonus, but since these men are now on days and doing equivalent work, the women plus many male workers see no reason why they shouldn't get the same rate. To top it all Trico's now want to give equal pay in reverse by taking on new workers at the women's rate!

collections and staffing the picket line. The Kent miners, for instance, have promised a levy on every member. The AUEW District Committee is balloting its branches for a weekly levy. Trico's goods are also being blacked by trade unionists at London airport, Park Royal vehicles, and at many other car plants.

Unfortunately, Trico's Northampton factory is still working. When strikers sent a delegation there they discovered that the shop steward had been sacked and the women were not allowed outside the factory in their lunch and tea-breaks to talk to the delegation. Trico's plants on the continent, however, have agreed not to handle any work from Brentford.

HIGHLIGHTED

The strike has highlighted many problems - other than equal pay - which women workers face. Ninety six women who have not been in the union long enough to claim strike pay face extreme hardship. On top of this many women are not eligible for social security because they are married, although the male strikers can get social security for their dependants. Because of "family commitments" many of the women have been unable to regularly attend the picket - which underlines the Working Women's Charter's call for full involvement of women in the unions and the demand for 24-hour nursery provision.

The Trico strike is the most important industrial dispute facing the labour movement today. The trade union leaders must mobilize the full strength of the labour movement to paralyse the Trico management and enforce equal pay. Unless they do this all their talk about "women's rights" and "equal pay" will just be hot air. Trico Strike Fund, C/o AUEW House, 1, Woodlands Road, Southall, Middx.

SCABS

Trico's have resorted to gangster-style tactics by employing highly-paid scabs to break the picket line. In this they have had full solidarity from the police.

- Thursday 1st July: Nine lorries and cars loaded with blackleg labour arrive at 2:00am and were turned back by the picket.
- Friday 2nd July: The police escort six unmarked lorries through the picket.
- Saturday 10th July: A convoy of lorries break through the picket.
- Sunday 11th July: 17 lorries and 14 private cars drive straight through the picket, escorted by the police. The lorries are unmarked and have their number plates covered.

Despite these provocations, and the fact that 150 men and women are still working, the strikers have held firm. They have received increasing support from the Labour and women's movements up and down the country, who have been making

£300 FIGHTING FUND

The latest Healey measures underline the need in the Labour movement for the clear understanding of the crisis and fighting policies to meet it. It is this need the Chartist helps to fill. For this we need MONEY. Rush all contributions to: Chartist Publications

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