

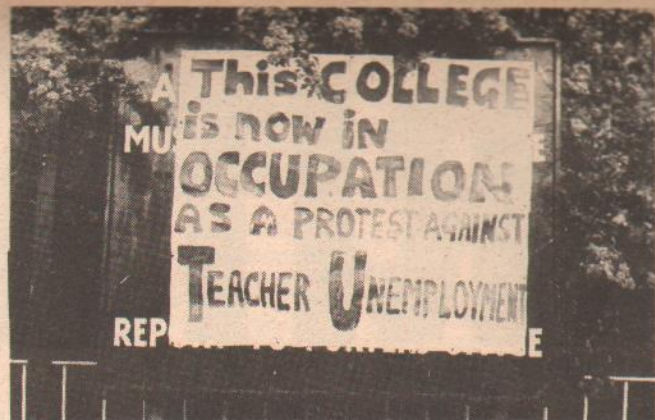
RED WEEKLY

3 JUNE 1976

No. 153

PRICE 10p

STOP THE CUTS JOBS FOR ALL



Inside — SPREAD THE STRUGGLE



Car component manufacturers Trico Folberth got a shock last week. They refused to implement equal pay — and 300 women workers at their Brentford factory walked out.

The company claims that it complied with the legislation by paying the women an extra £1 last year. But the women say that they're due another £4.75 to bring them up to the men's rate for the job — and they intend to fight for it.

Management had expected the women to stay at home once they had walked out. But every day there has been a large and militant picket on all the factory entrances. Last Thursday the women marched along the Great West Road (above) to put workers at neighbouring factories in the picture about their strike.

The bosses can find a hundred ways around the Equal Pay Act — but not around struggles like that of the Trico women. 'Women Under Attack' — see page 5.

BUILD SELF DEFENCE

EAST LONDON: In one week last month four separate attacks were made on Bengalis in East London by gangs of white youths armed with sticks and broken bottles. A few days later two black students were murdered in another part of London.

Racial violence is spilling onto the streets. One Bengali was hospitalised on 17 May, when a dozen youths attacked him in York Square as he was returning from work. They split his head open with broken bottles while shouting racist abuse.

One the same night three or four mini-cabs from a firm owned by a member of the National Front were seen cruising round the Aston Street area. They appeared to be using their car radios to coordinate the action of the youths who attacked the Bengalis.

The first steps towards self-defence have

been taken. On 18 May Bengalis and squatters living nearby came onto the streets to make sure that the attacks were not repeated. Youths who threatened a group of Bengalis were told that they had been identified as members of the gang that had carried out the previous night's attack, and warned against future attacks.

The job facing the Bengalis and squatters now is to take the issue of the racist attacks into the unions and local Labour Parties, calling for support for the self-defence efforts and *action* against the racist gangs in the area. The police, who have turned a blind eye to the racist attacks, can be expected to come down hard on moves towards self-defence. A labour movement campaign can not only counter this danger but confront head-on the racism that exists inside the working class itself.

Student teachers have given the green light to every worker opposed to Labour's Tory policies. Their fight, which has led to the occupation of nearly 100 training colleges up and down the country, is not a 'special case' but the first mass action against the cuts and unemployment.

What a contrast it makes to the rigged spectacular being staged by the TUC General Council on 16 June to rubber stamp the pay deal with Healey. That will simply be the green light for the Labour Government to go cap in hand to the international financiers for more loans. The price they will pay will be bigger cuts and more unemployment. If we let them get away with it.

The rotten alliance between the Government and the trade union bureaucracy can be broken by involving in struggle all those prepared to fight Labour's attacks on jobs and the social services — workers and students together.

This week the miners are balloting on the pay deal. A 'No' vote — or even a narrow acceptance — would kick a hole through every part of the Government's economic strategy. Student teachers should go to the pits in their areas with a simple message: 'Your pay, our jobs, one fight — no deal with Healey.'

Obstacle

It is the union bureaucracy which is the biggest obstacle to a fight back. The National Union of Teachers leadership has so far simply called for cash to retrain student teachers in areas where there are shortages, largely in technical subjects. Yet in 1969 the National Union of Teachers conference passed a resolution which stated that no NUT member was to teach in classes over 35 by 1970 and 30 by 1975.

Today 80,000 primary school classes (54 per cent) are over 30, as are 30,000 secondary classes. A total of 3½ million children are taught in

111,000 oversized classes. In Strathclyde in Scotland, where the occupations started, 14,000 children are on part-time education because there isn't enough money to pay sufficient teachers.

Campaign

Students and teachers must campaign for an emergency meeting of the NUT Executive to implement conference policy on class size and support the NUS demo against the Government's White Paper.



In the National Union of Students itself, the Broad Left dominated executive is trying to confine the occupations to a sectoral protest — a backdrop to its negotiations with the Department of Education and Science. At the moment it is proposing to call a national demonstration one day before the lobby of the recall TUC, cutting right across the mobilisation for 16 June when the militant workers with whom the student teachers can form a *fighting* alliance will be demonstrating.

Building action committees linking students, teachers and all trade unionists against the cuts is the key to winning jobs. The National Union of Students demonstration on the theme 'No to the Cuts, For the Right to Work — Against the Government's White Paper' and the lobby of the recall TUC on 16 June can provide the basis for action against the Labour Government's policies throughout the student and labour movement.

LOBBY TUC 16 JUNE

BRITAIN'S RACIST LAWS

STEVE POTTER explains why *Red Weekly* demands the repeal of the 1971 Immigration Act and the abolition of all immigration controls

When the Law Lords ruled in 1973 that any immigrant who had entered 'illegally' at any time since 1962 was also subject to immediate deportation, Robert Carr promised that there would be no witch-hunts. But of course there have been.

At once the deportations started. In the initial stages they concerned people known to the police because they had previously asked for advice on how to regularise their position in Britain. Later came the practice of 'fishing'—police raids carried out indiscriminately in black areas, combined with interrogation on political affiliations and trade union activities. Social security officers were also asked by the Department of Employment to check passports—although this move was rejected by rank-and-file social security officers.

In 1974 the new Labour Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, declared an amnesty for 'illegal' immigrants. But this did not stop state harassment of the kind described above. Nor did

A COLOUR BAR exists in Britain. It starts at the glass and concrete of Heathrow airport and runs deep into the black areas of Southall, Brixton, Handsworth and Bradford.

That colour bar is contained in the immigration legislation passed by Tory and Labour governments since 1962. The most recent major addition to this battery of laws aimed at black people was the 1971 Immigration Act. It is doubtful whether it will be the last.

The Tory Act of 1971 was the first to reveal openly the intention of the ruling class not merely to restrict black immigration, but to strip immigrant workers of all job security.

This began to bring Britain into line with the practice in other West European countries such as West Germany and Switzerland, where migrant labour helped to stoke up the boom. In Switzerland, for example, where migrant workers account for a third to a half of the total workforce, they work for nine months, their permit expires, and they are then forced to re-register—thus depriving them of citizen's rights in perpetuity.

1971 ACT

Under the 1971 Act any immigrant worker entering Britain became a contract worker. When his work permit expires, so does his right to stay here.

The first well publicised instance of how immigration controls are enforced at entry came with the signing of an open letter by immigration officials in support of Enoch Powell. Soon afterwards came the 'shuttlecock' scandal.

In one instance, a Ugandan Asian who came to Britain via Holland was sent back from Harwich to the Hook, where he was kept in detention for several days. He was then deported to Britain. From Harwich

he was taken to Heathrow and deported to Entebbe in Uganda, where he was refused admission. He was then taken on to Nairobi (Kenya) and then deported back to Heathrow via Entebbe.

From Heathrow he returned to Pentonville prison. The British Government knew from the start that he would eventually be returned.

HARASSMENT

Immigrants who are not immediately deported, but are held for inquiries or appeals, are detained in a special centre with few or no facilities, guarded by Securicor—the private strong-arm agency. X-rays of wrists are used to 'catch people out' on ages, and vaginal examinations are carried out to humiliate women on the basis of discovering whether they are 'really' unmarried.

The harassment and obstruction of immigrants does not start in Britain, however, but in the British High Commissions abroad—the source of the 'scoop' acquired by Powell. That many would-be immigrants 'illegally' try to evade the tortuous process of getting permission to enter Britain is not surprising in view of the frustrations they encounter.

In 1972, queries made by East African Asians to the British High Commission in Kampala on the progress of their applications were answered with: 'I am waiting to hear from my issuing authorities.' On the other hand, applicants to the Home Office were told that it was a matter for the British High Commission.

But the nightmare world of the immigration laws now reaches deep into the heart of *British* society.

—WHAT'S ON—

FOR CHEAP reliable IBM typesetting with fast turnaround, phone Frances, 01-837 9987.

FAST ACCURATE typist wanted to operate IBM Selectric composer—training on machine given if necessary. To start early June or early September. Phone Martin immediately on 01-837 6954.

ITALIAN ELECTIONS—meeting called by supporters of far left alliance. Fri 4 June, 8pm at 31 James St, Covent Garden, WC2.

'OPEN FORUM ON IRELAND' in support of the Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland. Sat 26 June, 10am—5pm at Conway Hall. Morning: 'Lessons of other colonial wars' with Tony Cliff, Eamonn McCann, Pat Arrowsmith and speaker on Algeria. Afternoon: 'No British solutions' with Colin Sweet (BPC), Ken Livingstone (Labour councillor) and Merwyn Metcalf (Coventry TC). Plus TOM speakers and discussion.

GRASS ROOTS BOOKS: Write now for up-to-date politics mail-order list—includes Marxism, Anarchism, Economics, Russia, China, British Trade Unionism, etc. Also available Women's list and Self-Sufficiency list. Send s.a.e. to 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M1 7DU. Tel. 061-273 6541. Open Mon—Sat, 10am—6pm.

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

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

RED BOOKS comprehensive list of titles now available—Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Mandel, Lukacs, Nowack, Cannon, Deutscher, etc. Send s.a.e. for copy to Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

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

LIFTS OFFERED in minibus to Morocco leaving 24 July. Possibility of return lift—share petrol costs etc. Write Box RW6/5, 97 Caledonian Rd, London N.1.



Racist legislation is used to hound workers like these, on strike for union recognition last week at the Post Office telecommunications centre site in the City of London

the amnesty itself command any confidence in the immigrant community. Of the first 90 cases examined by the Home Office, 69 were not covered by the amnesty and were made liable to deportation.

The whole meaning of Powell's disclosures in Parliament last week was that they gave the racist pot another stir—not merely by seeking to check immigration from abroad, but by providing a cover for further racist and police activity in the black areas. The spectre of violence in the ghettos raised by Powell was a direct incitement to white racist pogroms.

The 'left' Labour programme announced with a fanfare by Benn last week is very clear on the ques-

tion of race relations—it is in favour of immigration controls. But any socialist programme which deals with the oppression of black people must declare itself firmly *against* controls:

BECAUSE by restricting the rights of black workers they weaken and divide the whole working class.

BECAUSE they introduce the midnight knock and huge powers for the police over the lives of millions of people.

BECAUSE they explicitly put the blame for overcrowded schools, hospitals, housing, for millions of unemployed on the shoulders of black workers and not where it belongs—on the backs of the bosses and their system.

'Trevor Griffiths new cycle of plays is an extended critique of parliamentary democracy'

Next Monday, and for the following ten weeks, viewers will have the chance to see an extremely ambitious attempt by the socialist playwright Trevor Griffiths to provide an extended critique of bourgeois democracy. From 9 to 10 pm, *Bill Brand* is going to be on. This is an ideal opportunity for socialist militants to organise political discussions round the different episodes.

Bill Brand is a left-wing Tribune MP who is intent on trying to see if anything can be done from within the system. He prefers being a Labour MP to being politically impotent: 'The Labour Government is playing its usual historical role as an agent of international capitalism in Britain...and what do we in the left do about it?' He is even critical of the Tribune Group itself ('Journal Group' in the plays): 'Their definition of 'left' ends with a Labour government in power.'

Caught in web

Yet despite all this, Brand is caught in the parliamentary web. What Griffiths demonstrates is that the structures of British bourgeois democracy are extremely effective in entrapping even the most extreme of left social democratic MPs—which in itself is a reflection of the fact that British social democracy is one of the central pillars of the bourgeois state in this country.

Griffiths' cycle of plays is not just a denunciation of this fact. It is not a rank-and-file cry from the heart. It is for that reason a very different way of approaching the problem from that so brilliantly employed by Jim Allen (*The Lump, Big Flame, Days of Hope*).

Griffiths' purpose is essentially to educate. He takes us to meetings of the Parliamentary Labour Party, of the Tribune Group, of Select Committees, in order to explain how these different

bodies and the politicians in them tend to operate. In other words, how the parliamentary system functions. And the end result is fascinating.

Up till now what we have seen on TV is either the daily, insidious glorification of the entire social order—the monarchy, the state apparatus and its different segments, etc.—or else rare plays by left-wing authors which simply dismiss Parliament and all those who operate in it. Griffiths' series is the first real attempt to demystify Parliament and all those members of the labour movement who fall in love with it.

It is not surprising that the series was conceived after the miners' strike brought about the fall of the Heath Government and the return of a Labour administration. It was while observing the limits of pure militancy that Griffiths felt compelled to

Tariq Ali reviews
'BILL BRAND'
Every Monday,
9-10pm ITV

turn his attention to the arena of bourgeois politics. All the problems presently confronting militants are discussed in the different episodes with all their ambiguities. The problem dominating everything is of course unemployment, but inflation, import controls, etc. also rear their heads.

Impassioned

In episode seven, suitably entitled 'Tranquillity of the Realm', the centrepiece is the discussion in Committee of the 'Prevention Against Terrorism Act'. Here Brand makes an impassioned appeal against British imperialism amidst Tory and Labour heckling.

Vote **LABOUR**



X BILL BRAND

Without doubt it is this episode which will raise the hackles of the Tory press. It will, however, be the first time that opposition to the Act has been voiced in a way that makes it accessible to the masses. The fact that this has happened not in any mass-circulation daily newspaper or in Parliament or on TV, but in an episode of what is a fictional account of the life of a Labour MP, is in itself a fact worthy of note.

Questions

On the acting front the play is dominated by Jack Shepherd in the title role. He performs extremely ably—a process helped no doubt by the working relationship he has developed with Griffiths in plays like *Occupations*. But the acting and production as a whole are extremely impressive.

For those whose appreciation of plays of this sort is adversely affected unless the ending gives all the answers, we would not recommend this series. What Griffiths has done is to raise a whole number of problems and questions (though the whole theme of racism in the labour movement is virtually absent—an episode on the Immigration Acts would have been in order) without offering pat answers.

One of our main criticisms of social democrats (right or left) is that they rarely raise the right questions. The fact that Griffiths does so automatically ensures that the terrain of discussion is very clearly on the left. That is the merit of these plays, and that is why socialist militants should be glued to their sets on Monday evenings.

Teaching jobs - Right-wing lies exposed

Most student teachers are new to struggle. To succeed they must know the fact to argue against those trying to sell out education along with the rest of the welfare services. These are hard won gains for the working class which must be defended at all costs against the arguments of the right.

ITS NOT TRUE that pupil rolls are falling therefore there is less need for teachers.

Over the next ten years the school population in the 2-4 age range will increase by 265,000 - equivalent to 18,000 new jobs.*

Over the next five years an increase in the secondary school population of 200,000 is projected - 13,000 new jobs. This peak increase will come at a time when the public expenditure White Paper is anticipating a cut in costs of £618m!

Over the next ten years those at school between 16 and 18 will increase by 157,000. This means 10,400 new jobs.

ITS NOT TRUE that class sizes are now down to an optimum level.

In primary schools in 1974 over 10,000 classes had up to 40 pupils, 632

had up to 45 pupils, 11 still had over 51 pupils. In secondary schools 3,090 classes had up to 40 pupils, 159 classes had up to 45 pupils and 15 classes had over 51 pupils.

ITS NOT TRUE that children of all social classes enjoy equal opportunities in education today.

Comprehensive education is not the common experience of most children in schools. In 1974 only half of secondary schools were comprehensive - many of these in name only. In East Anglia only 35 per cent of schools are comprehensive.

In 1974 only 14 per cent of children of unskilled parents obtained nursery school places.

In 1974 two-thirds of all children of unskilled parents left school at 16 without obtaining educational qualifications, mainly because such courses were not offered in the schools they attended.

ITS NOT TRUE that school buildings are modern and do not need replacing.

In many London schools up to half of the pupils are housed in buildings thrown up during the Victorian Age, while up to a third are housed in tem-

porary huts - now a permanent fixture. This is at a time when 174,000 building workers are unemployed and building materials are stockpiled in warehouses.

ITS NOT TRUE that the country cannot afford it.

In 1974/75 the Government gave £2 billion in 'handouts' to private industry instead of nationalising these concerns under workers control. In 1974 £450m was paid out in interest charges by the Government to city financiers. By 1978/79 (*Sunday Times*) £3,300m. will be paid out in interest. The GLC alone pays £200m. in interest charges each year - enough money for 66,000 new teaching jobs.

Callaghan and Healey are hoping that by cutting health, education, and welfare service they can provide enough money to shore up private business and restore profits. All student teachers must demand that the Labour Government nationalise the banks and insurance companies and wipe out these crippling debt charges.

FOR A UNITED FIGHT BACK

The action of student teachers in the colleges gives a clear lead to all work-

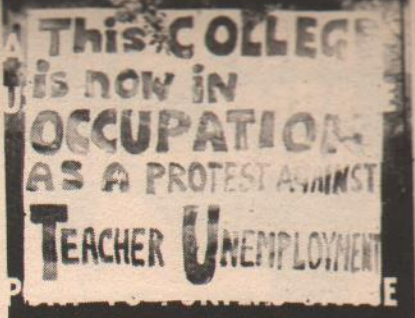
ers threatened by cuts in living standards as a result of the policies of the Labour Government. The impact of the occupations cannot be allowed to fizzle out. They are an important weapon in securing the right to work.

Unfortunately the occupations come at the end of the college year. Student control in the form of an effective stewarding force can ensure that occupations run smoothly, that study areas are provided, and that exams can take place. Scottish students are at present doing this.

Students are already demanding that the National Union of Teachers give full support to actions against cuts and unemployment - that it:

- * implement its policies on class size and no cover in support of occupations;
- * register all unemployed teachers in the colleges;
- * grant full trade union rights to all unemployed teachers;
- * demand that the Government provide a job for every teacher.

Students should insist on speaking at local NUT meetings to argue for these demands. Students should ask the local NUT to organise meetings in the colleges



and explain what they are doing to ensure student employment.

It is also necessary to seek the broadest possible support from the trade unions and Labour Party - resolutions of support, collections, speakers delegations to branches, trades councils, and Labour Parties calling for solidarity strike action where possible. Unemployment and the cuts threaten the living standards of all working people and demand a united fight back.

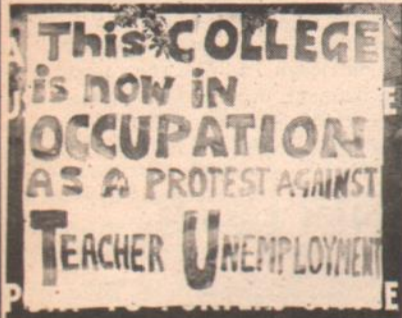
This also means demanding that the trade union and labour movement set up an inquiry into education and produce a plan for education in the interests of working people which guarantees full employment.

A campaign must be launched in the labour movement to demand that the Labour Government take the necessary steps to defend education: nationalise the educational suppliers to stop profiteering; institute inflation-proofed public spending; for a crash programme of public works to replace out-dated school buildings. This can lay the basis for a united fight back by the working class against the betrayals of the Labour Government and the attacks of the ruling class.

BOB SMITH

* Unless otherwise stated, all figures obtained from the Annual Abstract of Statistics 1975.

SPREAD THE FIGHT!



JOHN EAST, a member of the occupation committee, reports from Redland College of Education in Bristol.

Right from the outset we decided to use the occupation as an organising base and focus for activity. The occupation got off to a good start when the college porter—a shop steward for the T&GWU—also spoke in favour of it.

Within hours we had drawn up plans to send all available students out in flying squads to schools, other colleges and places of work. The points we wanted to get over were:

- * The facts about the extent of the cuts and unemployment.
- * The fact that we don't regard ourselves as a special case. We're fighting all cuts and all unemployment.
- * The need to centralise action and information locally through a liaison committee in order to start placing demands on the local authority, such as: 'Here are some unemployed teachers, here we have established definite shortages... we demand you employ these people.'

Within 24 hours we had organised a public meeting attended by over 60 people from a dozen different unions. On the first day we also visited over 30 schools, and now teachers and parents are beginning to phone in information themselves.

As a result of these initiatives, requests for speakers to address meetings are now flowing in from schools, the social services department of the local authority, Avonmouth Smelter, Rolls-Royce, BAC, and the hospital shop stewards committees. We must now try to build up the liaison committee elected to coordinate the occupying colleges' action into a body which can really organise and initiate local action and mobilise for national action, by drawing in delegates from all sections of the labour movement.

North West Coordinating Committee

At only two days notice, delegates from 21 colleges in the North West and observers from Scotland, Wales and the Midlands came together last Saturday to work out how to take the campaign forward.

The conference called on the NUS leadership to call on the NUT Executive to organise an emergency meeting to discuss solidarity action—including a national teachers' strike. A call was sent out to give full and active support to the lobby of the TUC on 16 June.

Most vitally, a North West Area Coordinating Committee has been established with two delegates from every college to carry the campaign forward on a united basis throughout the area.

THE HUGE WAVE of occupations that has now swept through nearly 100 teacher training colleges is sparking off a big response in the labour movement. Literally masses of resolutions of support are coming in.

But something even more significant is happening. Direct action by groups of trade unionists in support of the student teachers is beginning. Members of the local government workers union, NALGO, at the occupied Institute of Education in London are operating a go-slow—and on 4 June they will be striking.

In Scotland 400 teachers turned up at a meeting at occupied Moray House to discuss action. In Manchester even the *Headmasters Association* has voted to send home children in all classes where the local authority fails to provide cover for absent teachers.

SUPPORT

In Bristol the Rolls-Royce convenor has invited students from the occupation at Redland College to have an extended discussion with the shop stewards committee, and the South Wales Miners have also sent a telegram of support.

The impact of the student occupations is on a *different level* from the relatively passive response of the labour movement to previous student action. The students' struggle has struck a chord in the working class, rekindling the belief that it is possible to fight back against the Labour Government's anti-working class policies.

The task now is to find every possible way of extending these developments. At last Sunday's meeting of the NUS Executive, International Marxist Group supporters argued—and won—that the theme of the national student demonstration that has been called should be: 'No to the Cuts, For the Right to Work—Against the Government White Paper'. On this basis it will be possible to win joint mass action against the Labour Government's attacks on all workers and still highlight teacher unemployment within that.

The decision to call the national

demo on 15 June—one day before the special TUC is due to ratify the new pay deal—will be challenged by many students at the national conference of colleges in action in Manchester on 5 June. How absurd it is not to call it for 16 June is revealed by the NUS Executive's simultaneous decision to support the mass lobby of the TUC that day.

The demo that the student job fight needs—and one that will keep the momentum of the campaign going—is precisely one that can fuse in action with sections of the labour movement. Yet NUS President Charles Clarke viciously attacked the IMG in February for organising a lobby of the TUC—and he's still not prepared to confront these traitors today.

As well as fighting for mass action for the lobby on 16 June, militants should be arguing for liaison

committees against the cuts to be set up, based on the colleges in action and including representatives elected from local Labour Parties and unions, both inside and outside the education sector. These can be going to lead and coordinate action.

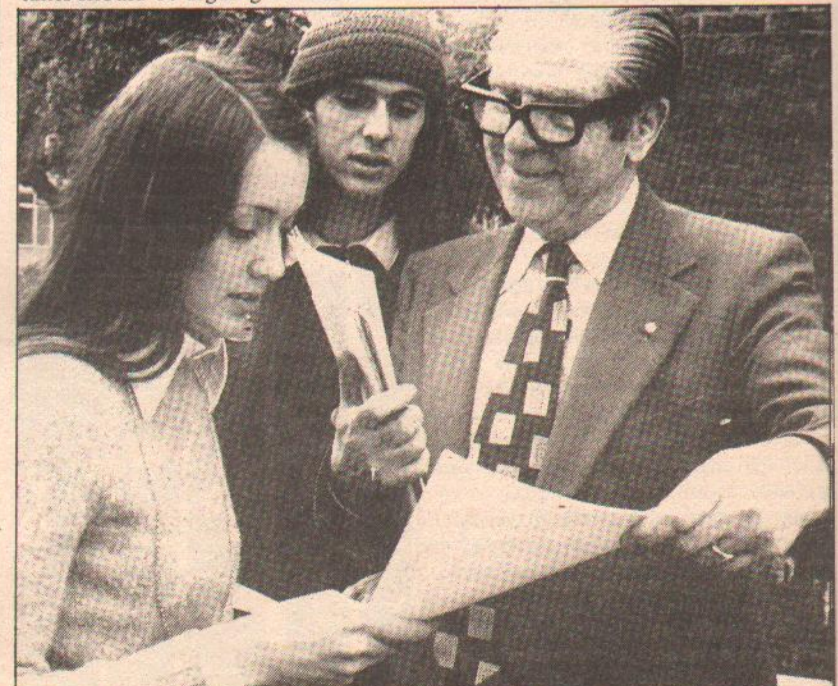
Enquiries can be launched around the crisis in the schools, precise demands made on the local authorities, and a fight for them organised. This can be extended to cover all sections of the public services. A fighting student-worker alliance can be built.

The militants at the Manchester conference on Saturday must see to it that this opportunity to extend and unify the campaign is seized upon by electing a coordinating committee to organise further initiatives and ensure that the fight for jobs is firmly under the control of those who are waging it.

IMG Student Commission



Students occupying Didsbury College of Education are addressed by Eddie Coyle, secretary of the Manchester Cuts Committee. Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



The authorities hit back: when students at the London School of Oriental and African Studies occupied in support of their colleagues, the administration called in private investigator Gordon Moores (right), seen serving an injunction to call off the action on Students Union secretary Patricia Ford and president Peter Alexander. But an attempt to victimise 12 students as well was called off in the face of massive resistance.

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

HOW NATO ARMS APARTHEID

A three-part series by TONY HODGES



Part Two

The United Nations arms embargo on South Africa imposed by the Security Council in 1963 has been systematically violated openly or secretly by practically all major Western powers', reported the Swedish expert on Africa affairs, Zdenek Cervenka, in the May issue of *Africa* magazine.

To defend their strategic and economic interests in the region, the imperialists have had no scruples about arming the racist regime in Pretoria to the hilt. The violence used by this regime to keep down the more than 17 million oppressed blacks in South Africa is well-known. In 1960, for example, the South African police shot 69 Africans dead during a peaceful demonstration against the 'pass laws' in Sharpeville.

More and more — as the South African invasion of Angola graphically revealed — Pretoria is playing a police role throughout southern Africa.

DEFYING THE U.N. EMBARGO

EQUATOR

According to a Bill presented to the South African Parliament on 28 January, Pretoria's field of military operations is to be extended to the equator — 1,200 miles north of the Angola-Namibia border. The Bill would allow South African troops to intervene in Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, Malawi, Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Zaire, Congo, Rwanda, Burundi or Gabon 'to prevent or suppress all armed conflicts outside of the Republic that are or could become threats to the Republic's security'.

This policy of 'dynamic defence' is the stick behind Pretoria's policy of 'detente' and 'dialogue' with black Africa.

On 31 March, Senator Owen Horwood announced that South Africa's military budget in the 1976-77 fiscal year would reach \$1,800 million, an increase of 40 per cent over 1975-76 and almost double military spending in 1974-75. This huge military build-up has been made possible by the NATO powers, either through the direct sale of weapons or through technical and economic assistance designed to allow South Africa to achieve 'self-sufficiency' in arms production.

NATO

The US-based Africa Research Group has noted that 'nearly all the NATO countries permit their corporations to invest in the South African armaments industry. They place no restrictions on the transfer of military know-how, including the sale to South Africa of blueprints and patents for military production. For example, the entire South African army and police force are equipped with NATO FN rifles, manufactured in South Africa under licence from NATO. All these governments permit their citizens to accept jobs in the South African arms industry.'

In February 1970, the Nixon administration adopted a United States strategy option for southern Africa code-named *Tar Baby* (Option 2 of National Security Study Memorandum

39). Based on the premise that 'the whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them', *Tar Baby's* policy was to 'maintain public opposition to racial repression but relax political isolation and economic restrictions on the white states'.

To get around the UN arms embargo against South Africa, *Tar Baby* proposed that the US 'enforce arms embargo against South Africa but with liberal treatment of equipment which could serve either military or civilian purposes'. Using this formula, Washington has sold South Africa millions of dollars worth of 'dual purpose' equipment — that is, military hardware under a civilian cover.

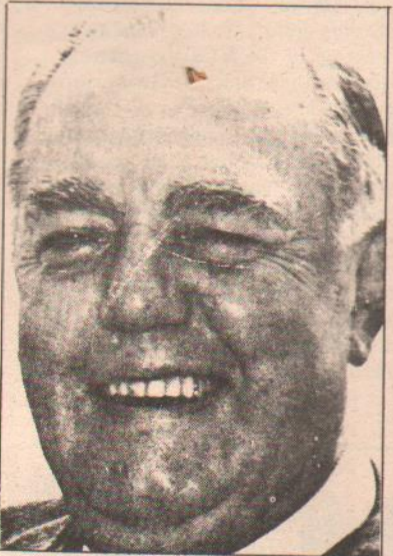
AIRCRAFT

US aircraft exports to South Africa, for example, jumped in value from \$25.6 million in 1970 to \$80 million in 1972. Among items sold by the US to South Africa have been Bell helicopters, which can be used in police or military operations; C-141 Starlifter and C-130 Hercules transport planes, which were used by Pretoria to supply its invasion force in Angola; and US-made Pipers and Cessnas, which are used by the South African Air Commandos, a paramilitary flying militia trained for counter-insurgency operations.



The top arms supplier to South Africa today is France, which sold Pretoria \$60 million of military equipment in 1975. By the end of 1974, France had exported to South Africa at least 40 Mirage interceptors, fighter-bombers and reconnaissance planes; 92 Alouette, Super Frelon and Puma helicopters; 20 Panhard AMX 30 tanks; 12 Mystere and Transall transport planes; three Daphne submarines; three missile gunboats; and a large number of aircraft engines, rockets, anti-tank missiles, armoured cars and machine guns.

In addition, Paris has provided licences for the construction in South Africa of Panhard and Levasseur armoured cars (which were used in



Vorster—plenty of arms to smile about

the Angolan invasion), 60mm and 90mm machine guns, and Mirage-Milan bombers. At present France is supplying South Africa with 45 Mirage F-1 jet fighters, the most advanced military aircraft built in France, to replace South Africa's older Mirage IIIs. South Africa is scheduled to build its own Mirage F-1 jets under licence by 1977. South Africa and France have also cooperated to develop the Cactus (Crotale) ground-to-air missile system.

Another major NATO arms supplier to South Africa is Italy — with arms sales to Pretoria of \$33 million in 1975. In 1967, South Africa began



production of the MB-326 M Impala jet under an Italian licence, and by 1973 had built 200 of these planes. In 1973, Italy granted South Africa another licence — this time to assemble and later produce the MB-326 K jet.

Israel, which sold South Africa \$13.6 million of arms in 1975, is emerging as another of Pretoria's main suppliers. On 9 April, the South African Prime Minister John Vorster arrived in Tel Aviv for a government-sponsored visit which is widely thought to have spawned a major arms deal.

ISRAEL

'There are reports from Johannesburg', reported the *Sunday Times* on 11 April, 'that South Africa wants to buy the Israeli-made Kfir (lion cub) delta-wing warplane and other military equipment from Israel South Africa may also hope to benefit from Israel's hard-won experience of guerrilla war.'

NATO as a whole made a synchronised 'tilt' towards the South African regime in the early 1970s. In November 1972, the NATO Assembly in Bonn recommended to the NATO Ministerial Council that it give SACLANT (Supreme Allied Command, Atlantic), which is based

in Norfolk, Virginia, 'authority to plan for the protection of NATO Europe's vital shipping lanes in the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic including surveillance and communications'.

PLANS

In June 1973, the NATO Defence Planning Committee instructed SACLANT to proceed with the contingency plans. According to the UN Special Committee on Decolonisation, one NATO official has revealed that the contingency planning was designed to make it possible 'to go to the aid of our potential allies in southern Africa if the need should arise'. In June 1974, the NATO Ministerial Council, meeting in Ottawa, formalised NATO's moves towards broadening its area of operations to include southern Africa.

One example of the intimate relationship between South Africa and NATO is 'Project Advokaat', a highly sophisticated surveillance system located at Silvermine, 20 miles north of the Simonstown naval base in South Africa. The surveillance system, with a range of 5,000 miles covering the whole of Africa, the entire South Atlantic Ocean, and much of the Indian Ocean, can plot the course, size, armament, number of personnel and other statistics of virtually any ship or plane within that radius.

NUCLEAR

Most dangerous of all, however, is the South African regime's development — once again with Western aid — of a nuclear weapons capability. Twenty-six per cent of the world's known reserves of uranium are located in South Africa and South African-occupied Namibia. Furthermore, South Africa has developed a process for the production of enriched uranium, which is essential both for the production of nuclear weapons and for nuclear power stations.

In April 1975, South Africa's first pilot plant for the production of enriched uranium went into operation at Valindaba near Pretoria. Shortly after India exploded its first nuclear device on 18 May 1974, Louw Alberts, the vice-chairman of the South African Atomic Energy Board, remarked that 'our nuclear programme is more advanced than that of India'.

GERMANY

Pretoria's nuclear programme has received invaluable assistance from West Germany. In fact, South Africa's uranium enrichment process is believed to be based on the 'nozzle separa-



technique developed by the Nuclear Research Society at Karlsruhe and West German Steinkohlen Elektrizität (STEAG). In April 1974, the French and the Uranium Enrichment Corporation of South Africa signed a joint feasibility study to carry out a joint feasibility study of two uranium enrichment plants.

South Africa's nuclear programme is receiving aid from the United States under a 50-year bilateral nuclear cooperation agreement signed by Washington and Pretoria governments.



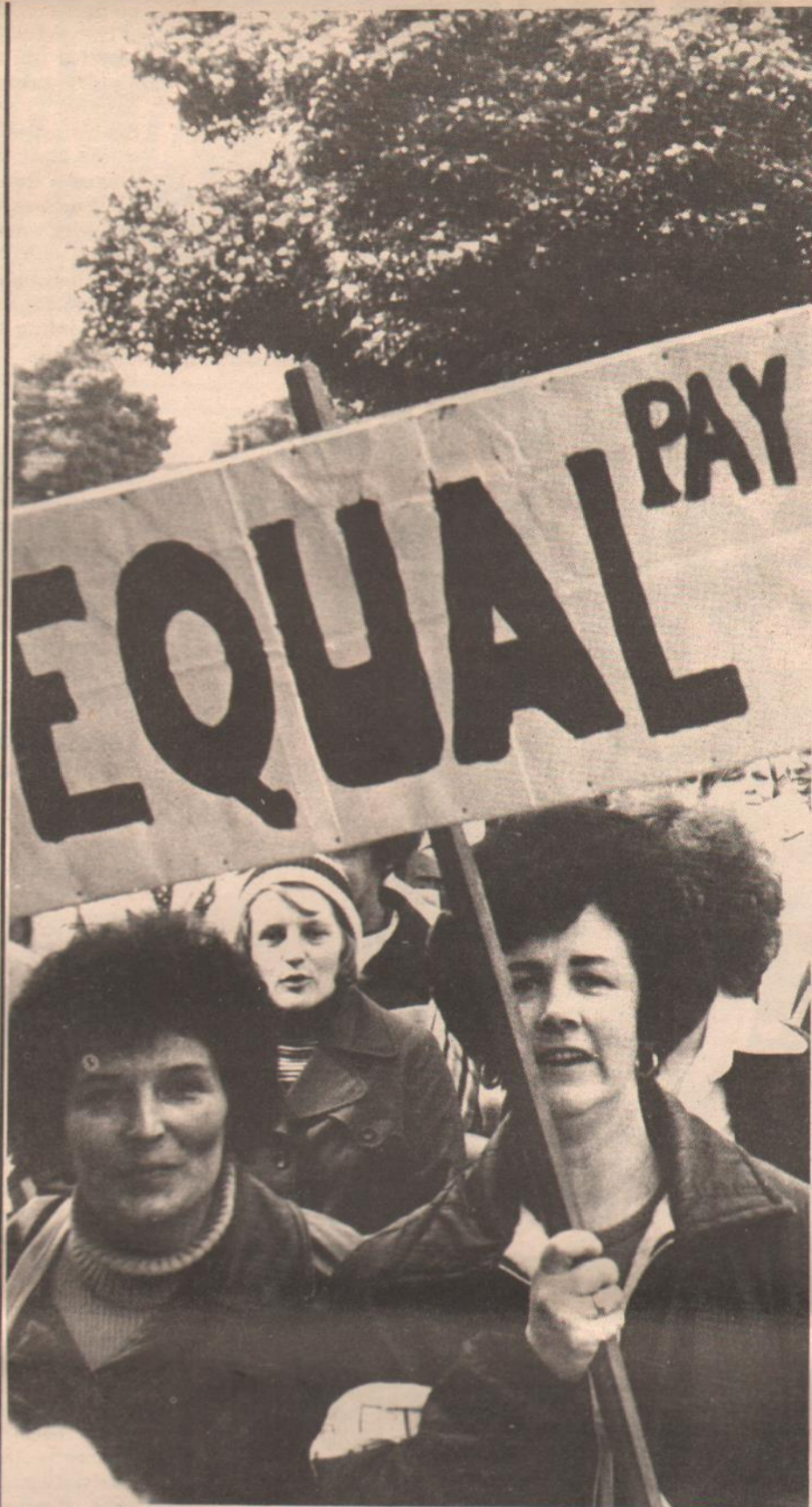
In 1957. A bid by the General Electric company, together with British and Dutch firms, to build South Africa's first nuclear power station was defeated by a French consortium last week. But General de Gaulle still hopes to supply \$65 million worth of uranium fuel a year for two reactors.

MBS

Johnathan Steele, the *Guardian's* London correspondent, reported yesterday that: 'Together they will have the capacity to supply enough plutonium to build 100 atomic bombs of the type that destroyed Nagasaki in 1945. Although South Africa has not admitted the nuclear arms proliferation treaty, South African officials are confident that the Nuclear Regulatory Commission in Washington, which is the sole authority to approve the sale, will give permission.'

dangers to the people of South Africa that would flow from atomic weapons in the arsenal of the racist apartheid government. Pretoria can hardly be over-

WEEK: How the Labour Government allowed arms exports to South Africa in violation of Labour Party conventions.



Women from the Trico factory in Brentford on the march last week—see front page

Women under attack

This is meant to be the 'era of equality for women' in Britain. But that hollow rhetoric is thoroughly exposed in the latest anti-report from Counter Information Services.

Women have become an increasingly important part of the labour force in recent years. The number of women in employment increased from 7.3 million in 1954 to 9 million in 1974: 'The social role and conditioning of women facilitated their entry into the jobs that arose with the growth of the service sector.' The results?

- * In October 1975 full-time women workers were averaging only 57 per cent of full-time men's earnings — £34.19 against £59.58 a week.
- * One-third of all women workers earned less than £30 per week in 1975, compared with less than 2.3 per cent of men on such low wages.
- * In 1975 women were earning less relative to men than in 1950.

UNEQUAL

Even the full implementation of the Equal Pay Act would only raise women's average weekly earnings as a percentage of men's by a few points from the present level of 57.4 per cent. But the ways round the Act are legion:

'As long as a wage grade is not specifically called male or female, the employers can go on paying women in one grade a lower rate than men in another. The bakery workers' agreement of December 1974 rearranged the grading system, dropped the words male and female, pushed all the women into the lower grades, and actually widened the differential between men's and women's wages.'

But even the inadequate provisions of the Equal Pay Act are being ignored by the Industrial Tribunals settling claims under the Act. The Act says women should get equal pay for the same or broadly similar work. But the Tribunals are only letting through identical work:

'The most astonishing case so far is that of Susan Waddington, employed by Leicester Council for Voluntary Service. She is paid £400 a year less than a man much younger than her doing a job she created and supervised. The Tribunal ruled that since her job involved greater responsibility, there were no grounds for equal pay.'

MIRROR

Of course women's position at work mirrors their social role in the home and the sort of education and training they receive. In 1974, 43 per cent of boys entering employment went into apprenticeships compared with only 6 per cent of girls. In 1970 there were 110 women apprenticed to skilled craft occupations compared with 112,000 men. And not much has changed since then.

'By 1971, of the 8,344,100 women in paid employment, 29.1 per cent were clerical workers, 23.2 per cent service sports and recreation workers (cleaners, canteen cooks, etc.), 11.9 per cent professional and technical workers, and 10.3 per cent sales workers. No less than 75 per cent of all women workers were in the servicing occupations.'

Having serviced their families at home, women repeat their domestic tasks at work. And increasingly that work is becoming part-time. Over three million out of 8.7 million women — more than one in three — are part-time compared with one in twenty men.

Part-time work is supposed to be 'convenient' when you've got a family to look after as well. It's also only too convenient for the employers, who get a pliable workforce which can be taken on and chopped at will at small cost.

UNIONS

In 1974 only 54 per cent of part-time women were covered by sick pay schemes, only 5 per cent were in occupational pension schemes, and only 1.3 per cent were undergoing training. Just how useful part-time women are to the employers is shown by the fact that they continue to increase as a proportion of all workers.

The unions have done little or nothing to challenge this situation. Yet between 1962 and 1975 the total membership of the TUC rose by 2,050,849 to 10,363,724 — 64 per cent of the increase representing women workers. Women's membership rose by 91 per cent over the period, whilst men's in contrast rose by only 11 per cent.

Basically the unions themselves subscribe to the idea that a woman's place is in the home and her role in the workforce is secondary. The TUC's leaflet on its aims for women at work makes the following point:

'Unions say employers must accept the need for women to work the hours which will enable them to meet their commitments as mothers or assist them to care for their elderly dependents.'

FORCED BACK

A few noises may be made about equal pay now, but on the basic right of women to have a job nothing has changed in the officials' outlook. Seventy-six per cent of women who are employed are also housewives. Three out of five regard their pay as crucial to the family budget, as a recent survey in *Woman's Own* revealed. Eighty per cent of women who lose their paid work get nothing from the dole or social security.

Women are being forced back into the home at a time of dropping living standards and cuts in services. The lid is coming down:

'Despite women's hostility and resistance, the role of housewife as welfare agent for society is being reestablished. This is happening in a period when the absolute decline in living standards has made that very role more arduous. Women in the 1970s are expected to see the promise of independence and equality shattered at the altar of a dubious economic policy, and the inexorable logic of a system that will use them and discard them for its short term profit.'

* *Women Under Attack*, Counter Information Services anti-report No. 15. Price 45p plus 10p p&p, from Red Books, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1.

Abortion Tribunal

The continued nibbling away at women's right to abortion under the 1967 Act was highlighted at a national planning meeting of the National Abortion Campaign in Sheffield on 22 May. While no MP appears willing to follow in James White's footsteps in launching an open attack, the Labour Government is equally unwilling — and incapable — of implementing Labour Party conference policy of free abortion on request on the NHS.

At the meeting, attended by about 60 people (the vast majority women), the question was clearly posed — how to take forward the campaign for 'Free abortion on demand — a woman's right to choose'.

The main discussion at the meeting centred on the proposal for a public Tribunal on abortion. It was made clear that this was not envisaged as a showpiece affair relying merely on famous figures and NAC groups; as IMG members argued, the campaign leading up to it must act as a means of linking up the activities of local NAC groups and drawing together the broadest possible forces at a national level.

Expose

This means involving trade union branches, Constituency Labour Parties, women's groups, cuts committees, Community Health Councils, etc. in collecting evidence.

The purpose of the Tribunal cannot simply be to 'prove' that women have a tough time trying to get abortions. It must also expose the way in which women's rights are under attack at two levels.

First, the economic policy of the present Government is forcing women back into the home to care for the sick and

elderly whose hospital beds have been chopped, to look after children whose nurseries have been closed, to have children they don't want and can't afford to bring up. The second level of attack is ideological — bent on proving that women's sole function is to be fertile baby machines (preferably decorative at that) and that their place is in the home.

Right

It is by recognising the nature of these attacks that we can win understanding of the importance of fighting for women's right to control their fertility. NAC groups alone cannot do this. They must take the campaign into the labour movement, demanding that a real fight be waged for the implementation of TUC and Labour Party policy.

Such a fight can begin around the collection of evidence for the Tribunal — evidence about hospital closures, reactionary gynaecologists, whether or not the 1967 Act is being implemented, whether local facilities meet the needs of local women, etc.

The Tribunal is scheduled to meet in early December. This means starting to fight for active support now in all working class organisations towards the setting up of mobilising committees at a local and national level. That is the only way to ensure that decisions about abortion rights are made not within the four walls of a Select Committee room in Parliament, but by women themselves — as the labour movement has already voted they must be.

Pamela Holmes (East Kent NAC)

By Dick Roberts

Across the pages of the financial press the message is the same everywhere: The U.S. economy has revived from its worst slump since the 1930s; the upturn is faster and sharper than anyone expected; corporations will reap the highest profits ever.

The only questions troubling financiers are how long the boom will last—and how high the stock market will go in the meantime.

"The economic recovery is really rolling now," says *Business Week*, May 3.

"Real gross national product (GNP adjusted for price change) rose at a hefty annual rate of 7½% in the first quarter. . . .

"Real GNP rose 6.9% in the past year. That's a pretty good bounce back for the first year of a business cycle recovery."

Besides the growth in output and the accompanying sharp rise in profits, two other factors especially impress American executives at this point: the drop in the rate of inflation at home, and the exceptionally favorable position of U.S. business relative to its imperialist rivals abroad.

In the first quarter of 1976, the Consumer Price Index rose at an annual rate of 2.9 percent, the lowest rate of inflation since 1972, when Nixon's wage controls were in effect.

On the more significant year-to-year basis, consumer prices rose 6.1 percent between March 1975 and March 1976. This compares with the peak rise of 12.2 percent in the year ending December 1974. The double-digit inflation rates of that period helped to throw the economy into its two-year decline.

World competition

"The American economy is expected to lead the world's economic recovery," reports Britain's financial weekly the *Economist*, April 17.

The *Economist* singles out a new factor in U.S.-European economic relations. For the first time in decades, U.S. corporations are cutting their rate of investment in Europe. The U.S. firms expect to profit more from the fast-moving upturn back home.

Moreover, explains the *Economist*, "America's wage costs plus fringe benefits are no longer much higher than those of workers in northern Europe. Sometimes they are lower: in mid-1975 hourly labour costs for employing an American shipworker were \$7.06, against \$8.07 for a Swede and \$7.46 for a German."

The *Economist* complains about the differences between "job security" in the United States and Europe: "During a slump American companies lay off workers to cut output and reduce wage bills. Most American employees are on contracts that permit a single week's notice. The unions cooperate in picking the men who will be given dismissal slips. . . ." In Europe unions have won greater job protection.

As an example, the *Economist* says that in the world slump last year, Eaton Corporation was able to "cut its American workforce from 31,000 to 25,000, but was allowed to reduce its overseas workforce only marginally from 19,000 to 18,000."

These figures call attention to the central explanation of the profitable revival of the U.S. economy: the ability of the American ruling class to reconstitute a massive reserve army of unemployed workers, in order to pit workers against each other in the struggle for jobs and drastically undercut wage increases as a result.

Unemployment

Even in March, as industrial production turned upward across the land, there were still seven million workers officially unemployed, 7.5 percent of the work force. If the number of "discouraged workers" is added—people who have given up looking for jobs because they can't find any—the total comes to nearly eight million unem-

BEHIND THE U.S. ECONOMIC 'RECOVERY'



High unemployment registers high profits: essence of U.S. capitalist recovery

ployed.

On top of this, however, there are also nearly two million workers, according to AFL-CIO estimates, who are forced to work part-time instead of full-time. The AFL-CIO gave the true unemployment figure in March as 9.7 million, a rate of 10.3 percent.

Despite the recovery in production, there are more workers unemployed now than at any time since the Great Depression of the 1930s—millions more.

This vast army of unemployed workers—disproportionately made up of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and women—is the weapon the employers use to bludgeon those workers who do have jobs into accepting lower pay.

This "secret" of America's economic success is well known on Wall Street. In a pitch to sell stocks, the investment weekly *Value Line* boasted March 26, "Unions in the United States have . . . a modicum of economic understanding. *Value Line* finds encouraging such incidents as the recent two-year settlement of a multicraft labor contract in Detroit for a moderate annual increase in wages and benefits of 6.5%; the explanation of a union official: 'Our membership's 50% unemployed.'"

Adds *Value Line*: "The beginning of economic wisdom!"

The beginning of economic

wisdom—that capitalist profits come from driving down wages!

This points to still another aspect of the recovery. It is based not only on massive unemployment and lower wage increases, but also on the economic decline of a whole series of big cities—including the site of *Value Line's* example, Detroit.

New York crisis

But it is still New York City, the nation's financial headquarters, that most vividly illustrates the contradictory character of the U.S. recovery. For in New York, the across-the-board attack on city workers and the slashing of social services at all levels is being deepened and extended. The rulers of this country hope that this is an irreversible process.

The February 2 *New York Times* reported on New York's future as envisioned by the Municipal Assistance Corporation, the banking outfit that controls the city budget.

"They see," according to the *Times*, "New York as a city with fewer students in a public and secondary school system that is sharply cut back; a lean hospital complex combining municipal, voluntary nonprofit, and doctor-owned proprietary facilities; . . . a constantly shrinking labor force; a return to concern for pocket neighbor-

hoods as opposed to citywide master planning. . . ."

The February 20 *New York Times* reported on the layoffs that have already taken place: "In the last 18 months . . . the city lost half of its Spanish-speaking workers, 40 percent of the black males on the payroll and almost a third of its female workers."

"You are close to wiping out the minority work force in the City of New York," said Eleanor Holmes Norton, the chairman of the Commission on Human Rights."

According to the *Times*, "Scores of complaints alleging discrimination have been filed by laid-off workers, both as class members and individuals, squeezing the city between the pressures of the traditional primacy of union seniority protections and Federal equal-employment requirements."

The real squeeze is on workers. By pitting workers against each other at all levels—white against Black and Puerto Rican, men against women, older against younger, cities against suburbs—U.S. capitalism assembles the ingredients of the new economic upturn.

Limitations

But there are serious limitations.

• It is by no means certain that inflation rates can be kept very long at their present levels (which are only low by comparison with 1974-75).

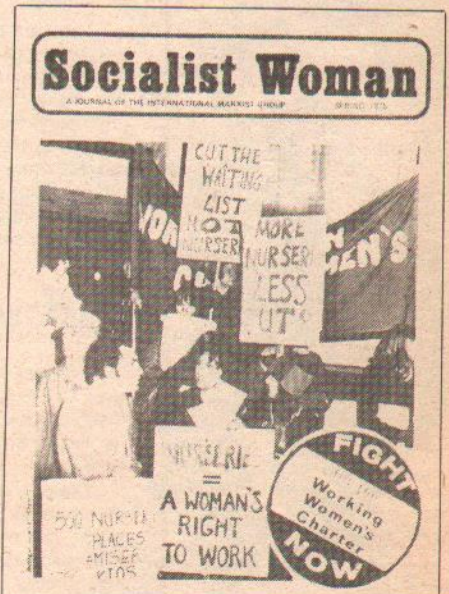
Throughout the economy, as monopolists see prospects for upping their sales, they will also raise prices. This has already begun in basic metals. The prices of steel, copper, and aluminum are creeping upwards, even before major spending for plants and equipment gets off the ground.

• Corporate spending on plant and equipment slowed down in the first quarter of 1976 compared with the last quarter of 1975. It is in the nature of capitalist business cycles for investment in new factories to lag behind increased production of consumer goods and this is no exception.

But U.S. monopoly also faces the long-term fall in profit rates that has wracked capitalist industry around the globe. Investors would like a guarantee of profits before they undertake the immensely expensive operations that plant construction requires. It is a guarantee that cannot be made. "Industrial construction this year," *Business Week* said April 5, "despite a frenzy of new building in oil refining and petrochemicals, will probably not reach two-thirds of the 1969 level."

• Finally, it is far from assured that workers will allow continued cuts in their standard of living without pushing their unions into fighting back economically and politically.

The fight for effective, unlimited cost-of-living escalators, the top demand in the rubber strike and the recent Teamsters' strike . . . the struggle of Blacks and women for equal rights and equal pay . . . the resistance by students, teachers, and municipal workers to the budget slashes—all these threaten to upset the capitalists' dreams of higher profits through heightened exploitation of the working masses.



New issue just out. 15p plus 8p p&v from: Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Rd, London N.1.

7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

Hundreds of armed Loyalist vigilantes took to the roads and lanes of the North of Ireland last Sunday night, marking the start of the new Loyalist offensive announced in dramatic terms last week by the United Unionist Action Council.

These vigilantes are members of the shadowy Ulster Service Corps (USC), formed largely out of the now disbanded B-Specials and serving members of the Ulster Defence Regiment and Royal Ulster Constabulary. They have received the support of two major Loyalist paramilitary organisations — the Ulster Defence Association and the Down Orange Welfare. The Loyalist politicians most closely associated with the USC are Ian Paisley and Ernest Baird, both of whom are deputy leaders of the UUCU.

The announcement of this new offensive, which has been called the 'Save Ulster Campaign', coincided with the release of the May unemployment statistics — the worst for 46 years. Last month saw over 50,000 men and women signing on the dole, and all the signs point to an even gloomier picture in the future.

The North of Ireland, always a region of high unemployment, has witnessed the loss of some 14,000 jobs this year alone. According to Minister of State Roland Moyle, no fewer than 734 factories have closed down in the five years leading up to last June. Since then the situation has worsened.

BASES

Among impending closures are three British defence bases, the Rolls-Royce factory at Dundonald, and the Standard Telephones and Cables plants at Monkstown and Inniskillen. These closures will add thousands more to the dole queues. Indeed, very few of the major manufacturing companies in the Six Counties are not now facing serious possibilities of closure or large-scale reductions in the workforce.

As in Britain itself, rapidly rising unemployment has gone hand in hand with wholesale cutbacks in social spending, leading to a dramatic decline in living

standards. The cost of living in the North has risen by some 25 per cent in the last year. While the Catholic working class has as usual borne the brunt of these attacks, the breadth of the present economic crisis has ensured that the Loyalist section of workers have also been severely affected.

When redundancies are made at the Harland & Wolff shipyards, Rolls-Royce and the defence bases—all Loyalist bastions — it is of course Protestant workers who are thrown out of their jobs. Nor is the Protestant working class immune to the severe decline within the education and health services.

UNEMPLOYMENT

In the back-streets of East Belfast and the Shankill, the scourge of unemployment is now as feverishly debated as is the war against the Provos. The number of workless is widely expected to reach the unprecedented level of 80,000 by next Christmas; while Catholics have been intimidated out of jobs, many Loyalist workers now recognise that Taig-baiting alone will not provide jobs for the Loyalist brethren. But in looking for additional solutions, the Loyalist working class has been dogged by the indecision and by indecision and confusion.

From one corner they have heard that the economic crisis results from a deal struck between the British Government and the Provos — Britain is pulling out, and the economic rundown is merely a prelude to military withdrawal and surrender to the Republicans. From another corner they are told that the British Government is following a policy of economic blackmail in an attempt to force the Loyalist politicians into line behind Vanguard leader Bill Craig's plans for a coalition government. From the trade unions they hear nothing but vague calls for opposition to sectarianism and abstract appeals for working class unity.

The call to action issued by Paisley and Baird is designed to take advantage of this confusion to pose as a clear answer to the dilemma of the Protestant workers, in the restoration of the ascendancy. Paisley & Co argue that the economic ills cannot be treated until the security issue is decided, the IRA



defeated.

The mobilisation of the Ulster Service Corps is designed not to produce a major confrontation with the British Army, but rather to apply pressure on the Labour Government to accept the majority Convention report and to provide a pole for Loyalist regroupment. It represents a shot across the bows of the British Government, and comes at a time when anger is mounting within the Loyalist population at the success of the current Provisional IRA campaign against the police.

Reaction in the Catholic community to these developments has been muted.

There is a tendency to dismiss the Ulster Service Corps' plans as an empty gesture, a tendency encouraged by the lack of an Armageddon following the collapse of the Convention. But in the Six Counties, Loyalist warnings rarely lead to nothing.

The vigilantes who appeared last weekend demonstrate that the Loyalist Action Council is not the empty shell that many observers labelled it when it was first established in February of this year. The British Government and the anti-Unionist population may well face the nasty shock of the hottest summer for some years.

Build solidarity for Civil War anniversary!

Since the visit of the Spanish Foreign Secretary to Britain last March, there have been few significant actions in this country in solidarity with the struggles of the Spanish working class. Yet this has been a time of the most determined and militant struggles by the Spanish workers themselves.

They have mounted a massive wave of strikes against the Government pay freeze, organised mass demonstrations in every major city demanding the liberation of political prisoners and democratic rights, and defied the brutal Francoist police forces. The Government has responded with the most ruthless repression — murdering eleven workers in

cold blood, wounding dozens of others, and imprisoning and torturing workers' leaders—bringing repression in Spain today back to the level it had reached before the death of Franco.

All this has been allowed to go by without any clear response from the British labour movement. This has not been due to any lack of sympathy among the ranks of workers: when, for example, the Perkins Diesel Joint Shop Stewards Committee in this country organised a factory collection in aid of Perkins workers in Spain victimised for striking in support of workers commission leader Marcelino Camacho, more than £400

was readily raised. The failure has been due to the lack of any centralised lead, and united actions through which the labour movement could express its solidarity.

The Committee set up out of the 14 February Conference in Solidarity with the Spanish Working Class, mandated to do just that, has done virtually nothing in this period. At the time of the Conference its Secretary, Will Paynter, called for 'mass demonstrations up and down the country' on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Civil War. But no plans to this effect have been announced, and the date is drawing near.

This date, which will doubtless be the occasion for important events in Spain, must not pass unmarked by the British labour movement. It is an important opportunity to demonstrate our solidarity with the workers of Spain and to start the work of building the sort of mass solidarity that the Spanish workers will need as they launch even greater struggles in their fight to defeat the dictatorship.

The anniversary of the Civil War should be made an occasion on which the labour movement in this country faces up to its internationalist responsibilities, made even more urgent by the fact that British and Spanish workers face a common enemy in the form of multinational firms like ITT, Chrysler, Fords, ICI, Rio-Tinto Zinc, etc.

For these reasons the undersigned organisations are inviting all organisations and bodies of the left and labour movement to meet to discuss the organisation of solidarity actions to mark the anniversary of the Civil War. We urge everyone concerned with the cause of the Spanish working class to attend, and extend a special invitation to Will Paynter and the 14 February Committee either to send a representative or to inform us of their intentions so that we can build the most united and effective actions possible to aid our Spanish brothers and sisters.

We propose that this meeting take place on Tuesday 8 June at 7pm in room 2E, University of London Union, Malet Street, WC1.

International Marxist Group, International Socialists.

(Our comrades of the LCR/ETA-VI in London fully support this initiative and urge all other Spanish left groups to attend the meeting on 8 June.)

FAR LEFT SLATE IN ITALIAN ELECTIONS

Since 1968 three sizeable organisations have been built to the left of the Communist Party in Italy. They are Lotta Continua (Permanent Struggle), PdUP (the Party of Proletarian Unity), and Avanguardia Operaia (Workers' Vanguard).

Together with the rest of the revolutionary left these parties have a considerable influence on a growing section of workers who are looking for an alternative to the left of the Communist Party. It was out of this situation that the demand arose for a united revolutionary list for the elections on 20-21 June.

Each organisation has about the same influence — each has a daily paper. So those workers who have broken from the reformist parties but owe no particular allegiance to any of these three far left organisations would have been faced with an impossible choice if there had been separate lists. Many could have been forced back into the ranks of the reformist parties.

Slate

Furthermore, a division into separate slates could well have meant that no organisation to the left of the Communist Party would have polled a sufficient percentage to gain any seats in Parliament.

PdUP and Avanguardia Operaia came to an agreement to run a common list under the name of 'Democrazia Proletaria' (Proletarian Democracy); but Lotta Continua was to be left out. There was a strong reaction from the base of these organisations, however, against having two separate lists.

Militants in the factories, women's groups, and tenants committees sent resolutions to the leaderships of PdUP, AO, LC and other far left organisations calling for a united list. Finally the PdUP leadership was forced to reverse its earlier decision and agree to a common list.

This does not mean that there is a possibility of organisational unity on the revolutionary left — or that this would be desirable. What is important is that there will now be a clearly counterposed alternative in the elections to the government of national unity proposed by the Communist Party — that is, a government of the parties of the working class.

Unfortunate

Unfortunately Proletarian Democracy does not go on to spell out the basic demands which it would call on such a government to enact (ie. nationalisation under workers control, expropriation without compensation of manufacturing

industry, and the withdrawal of Italy from NATO and the Common Market). In other words, the common ground of the revolutionary left has not been built upon to draw up a programme which — however insufficient — could have polarised all those forces which have broken with reformism.

Furthermore, Proletarian Democracy reflects the sectarian manoeuvres of PdUP and AO in the make-up of its slate. If it had been opened up to all the other organisations supporting it, including representatives from these groups and also representatives from the factories, tenants organisations etc who aren't necessarily members of any particular revolutionary organisation, then the far left's election campaign would have gained a great deal more force.

Support

The GCR (Revolutionary Communist Groups), Italian section of the Fourth International, have consistently argued for a united slate of the entire revolutionary left in the national elections (a position they were almost alone in holding in 1972). Although they have some criticisms of the sectarian way that Proletarian Democracy was formed, they intend to give it their full support in the campaign and in the elections.

ALAN HUDSON



ENGINEERS GAGGED!

HEALEY'S 4½ PER CENT STEAMROLLER emerged unscathed from last week's AUEW National Conference. Erstwhile 'left' Hugh Scanlon looked on approvingly as the right wing insisted that the 29-22 vote for the pay deal at the previous week's National Committee meeting of the Engineering Section was binding on all 52 Engineering Section delegates. With only 17 delegates from the other three sections—staff, construction, and foundry workers—the result was a foregone conclusion.

The Conference was therefore a farce. The decision means that so long as the right has a majority in the Engineering Section, it can use this to dictate to all the other sections. This makes a mockery of the supposed amalgamation of the union.

Hammer

All sections of the union will now be obliged to vote for the pay policy at the special TUC conference on 16 June, unless they break their mandate. But Scanlon was not content with this suppression of union democracy. Out came the sledgehammer. With the recent defiance of Leyland toolmakers still ringing in his ears, Scanlon declared that the vote must be binding on every union official, shop steward and engineering worker.

Nearly half the delegates at the conference refused to vote in protest at these

JOBLESS DEBATE EXPOSES BROAD LEFT WIND-BAGS

Last year the AUEW Conference voted in favour of industrial action to defend jobs. It hasn't been forthcoming so far. But the Broad Left were as silent as the grave on this issue. They uttered not one word of criticism of

* AUEW support for the Chrysler/Government deal under which 8,000 jobs will be lost.

manoeuvres. But the gag stayed put. These delegates, mainly supporters of the Communist Party dominated Broad Left, had fallen hook, line and sinker for the trap set by the right, in confining their opposition on incomes policy to the formal decision-making bodies of the union—the divisional committees and National Committee.

The principled course for these delegates would have been to vote against the pay deal in defiance of the mandate clamped on by the right wing. But such a move would have required support at the base—and the Broad Left had done nothing to prepare the ground for it.

The right in the union can only be defeated by the active mobilisation of the rank-and-file against the policies of the Labour Government. While it is vital to

* The lack of AUEW support for the demonstrations on 26 November and 26 May.

* The fact that the leadership has in no way even considered implementing its mandate in a situation where one and a quarter million are still officially unemployed.

wage a struggle in all union bodies against the right wing, the main axis must be to fight for a political understanding among the membership through mobilisations around events like the lobby of the special TUC.

Absence

Here the AUEW Broad Left is conspicuous mainly by its absence. This is not because the Broad Left support the union's policy, but because they—and especially the Communist Party—refuse to break with Scanlon on this issue. As usual, the interests of the rank-and-file are subordinated to the 'need for a left alliance' at the level of the bureaucracy.

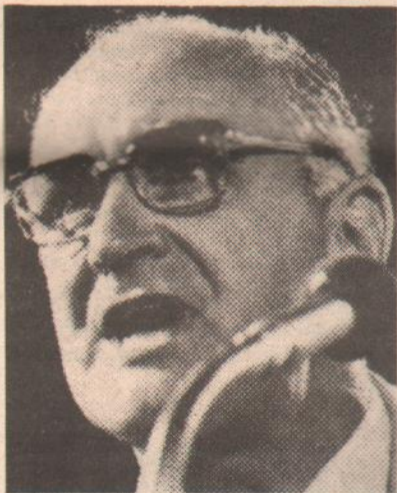
The campaign has to start now at shop stewards quarterlies, shop stewards committees and mass meetings to fight independently for alternative policies which can pave the way for rank-and-file resistance to the Government's wage cut plans.

AUEW PASSES THE CHARTER

An important step forward in the fight for women's rights came with the passing of the Working Women's Charter. Previously the AUEW leadership has shied clear of endorsing free abortion on demand.

The Charter also commits the union on paper to supporting paid pregnancy leave and the fight for comprehensive nursery facilities.

While it is clear that the present leadership will refuse to mobilise the membership for such demands, this decision does invest militants with more authority in pressing for activity on these questions and moving support for the projects already underway in the Working Women's Charter Campaign.



AUEW President Hugh Scanlon—approved right's suppression of workers democracy

DEMAND FOR YOUTH ACTION

A successful resolution calling for the TUC to set up a Youth Advisory Committee was proposed by London delegate George Anthony. The AUEW was the union which originally initiated the call for a TUC Youth Conference—the first was held this year.

The proposal to set up an ongoing body will now be discussed at the September TUC Conference. It is a policy which all unions should support. The rising level of youth unemployment and the betrayals of the TUC leadership make it urgent that young trade unionists have a national focus through which to fight for their particular demands.

Alongside the campaign for the TUC to adopt this policy, militants in all unions should take up the demand that their local organisations set up youth committees on a district level, and that trades councils set up youth advisory committees, representing both employed and unemployed youth. That fight at the base is the best way to ensure that a national policy is adopted at the September TUC.

Spread the message

With mass action against the cuts reaching unprecedented levels amongst student teachers, and with the racist offensive continuing, the need for Red Weekly has never been greater. We're pulling out all the stops now for a really mass lobby of the recall TUC on 16 June. If it wasn't for these bureaucratic misleaders the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government would never have travelled the distance they have.

But to build mass action demands a paper that puts forward alternative policies and spreads the message about the action being organised around them. That's Red Weekly—and your paper needs your money. The total for our Fighting Fund reached £609.85 this week thanks to: Oxford IMG, £25.40; North London, £6.45; West London, £7; Sheffield IMG, £7; Sheffield supporter, £2; Leeds IMG, £9; Newcastle IMG, £10; T.R. Smith, £3; and Des Stepto, £1.

But time is running very short if we're to make £1,500 by the end of June. So please rush every penny you can afford to: Red Weekly Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. IMG branches please note—next week we'll be publishing an area breakdown of the money received so far.

Defence campaign for E.G.A.

Nearly 200 people attended a packed public meeting called in defence of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital in London on 25 May. The hospital has been allowed to run down—lifts declared faulty and not repaired, balconies declared 'unsafe' and other parts of the building 'structurally unsound'—as a prelude to closure, a manoeuvre pointed out by Pam Jones, a National Union of Public Employees steward at the EGA.

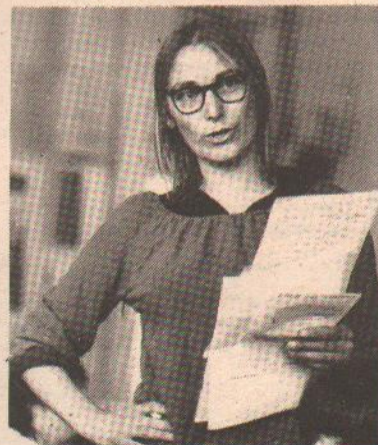
Attention has focused on the EGA because it provides facilities exclusively for women; but as Claire Weingarten from the London Regional Committee Against the Cuts stressed, the Department of Health and Social Security has



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

An estimated 8,000 workers turned out for the demonstration in London on 26 May. Its size was swelled by large contingents of students from the many occupied colleges. But the impact of the demo was weakened by the failure of the organisers to extend the scope of action from unemployment to take up the Government's central attack—the Healey pay deal.

Model resolution against Rule 14



Pam Jones—pointed out manoeuvres

drawn up plans for the closure of 130 local hospitals in the London area alone.

The meeting adopted a resolution proposed by the Camden Campaign Against Cuts and Unemployment which called for the restoration of present facilities, no freezing of vacancies or job loss, and immediate publication of the plans of the Area Health Authority in relation to the EGA. The resolution further demanded that Labour MPs and Labour councillors in the area oppose the closure and support the campaign.

A Campaign Committee was set up open to all who will fight to save the EGA.

Photo: LAURENCE SPARHAM (IFL)

The fight to reverse the TUC's Rule 14 which prevents trades councils from supporting activities contrary to TUC policy—is now centring on the TUC Congress in September. The Camden Defence Committee set up to fight Rule 14 has prepared the following model resolution for trade unionists:

'This branch rejects the attempt by the TUC to force trades councils to amend their constitutions by adopting a new Rule 14. It considers that this rule is a deliberate attack on the right of trades councils to determine their own policies after full democratic debate.

'It further considers that the intention of the new rule is to prevent trade unionists from taking effective action against unemployment and in defence of their living standards.

'This branch therefore resolves to oppose this rule by:

- (i) supporting a meeting of all trade unionists with a view to developing a campaign against this TUC attack on workers democracy;*
- (ii) demanding that our union delegates to the TUC Congress vote to repeal Rule 14;*
- (iii) supporting the lobby of the TUC Congress on 6 September.'*

Further details of the Defence Committee's activities can be obtained from: Defence Committee, c/o 164b Haverstock Hill, London N.W.3.



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 N.1.