

# RED WEEKLY

26 AUGUST 1976

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MARCH ON BLACKBURN  
AGAINST RACISM!

SATURDAY 11 SEPTEMBER

Assemble 1.30 p.m., Brookhouse Lane,  
Whalley Range area

Rally 3 p.m., King George's Hall

See article inside, page 2

# If you want jobs QUICK MARCH!

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS IS JUST A FEW DAYS AWAY. It will be a smug affair. Murray will congratulate Jones. Jones will congratulate Scanlon. And everybody will congratulate everybody else. After all, that's what these worthies understand as the unity of the trade union movement—self-congratulation.

The trade union leaders have got a lot to be proud of. Strikes are the lowest for 25 years at a time when unemployment is the highest. This week the Government announced that 1½ million are unemployed. That's on the official statistics. Hundreds of thousands more women workers don't even bother to register. Of the 1½ million, 150,000 will be school leavers.

But the banner of the social contract is still held high. Wages are falling nicely and the union leaders are helping to improve the social services by approving of Healey's cut-backs.

WELL, NOW'S THE TIME TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. On 7 September the Right to Work March from London to Brighton will be arriving at the TUC Conference. The several hundred young people who have already signed up for the march will be joined by a trainload of lobbyists from London and coaches from many other parts of the country. The lobby will express the anger and disgust of the unemployed with the sell-outs of the bureaucrats to the Callaghan Government.

THEY WILL DEMAND to know why the bureaucrats sit on their backsides passing

motions supporting a 35-hour week without loss of pay—and have not supported a single struggle for this demand that could start the job of eliminating mass unemployment.

THEY WILL DEMAND to know why the TUC calls for increases in public spending and the defence of the social services—and leaves hospital workers and student teachers to fight desperate isolated rear-guard actions in support of the health service and education.

THEY WILL DEMAND to know why the TUC passes resolutions on women's rights and does nothing to support the right of women to work.

THEY WILL DEMAND AN END TO TALKING AND SOME ACTION FOR JOBS FROM THESE SO-CALLED 'LEADERS'.

There is another question that should be asked as well: where will the organisers of the National Assembly on Unemployment be on 7 September? Back in March the No.8 Region of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions brought together over 3,000 delegates to discuss the fight against unemployment. Lobbies of the Special TUC on 16 June and the annual congress were called for. But the CSEU banner was nowhere to

be seen on 16 June, and so far not so much as a call has come from it for a lobby of the TUC. Militants should be demanding that the Assembly is recalled—and action organised against the mass unemployment which its 'left' MPs and trade union sponsors were so willing to denounce.

The Right to Work March leaves the Embankment, Charing Cross, at 11am on Saturday 4 September. The special train from London to Brighton on 7 September—return tickets £2—leaves Victoria at 9.30am. JOIN THE MARCH AND BE AT THE LOBBY.

A late decision by the North London division of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers to lobby the TUC the day after the Right to Work lobby cuts across the opportunity to build a strong united lobby. Since virtually no bodies of the labour movement will be meeting between the call and the lobby the motives behind the call must be somewhat suspect—after all, the date of the Right to Work lobby has been known for months. In fact the decision bears all the hall marks of the Communist Party.

At a time when the so-called lefts of the TUC and Labour Party are clinging to the coat-tails of Callaghan and Healey, this thinly veiled sectarianism can only damage the chances of organising a united fight back against unemployment. The International Marxist Group will be intervening in this lobby to explain the need for a united fight back and the recall of the National Assembly on Unemployment, while giving major organisational support to the Right to Work March and lobby.



## LOBBY TUC, 11 A.M. 7 SEPTEMBER

**EXPOSED!**

# THE REAL IMMIGRATION RACKET



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

REMEMBER those screaming banner headlines a few weeks ago about the hordes of invading Asians threatening to sweep into the country on forged documents as fictitious dependants of immigrants already here? Remember how Enoch Powell just came to be in possession of a so-called confidential report by Mr D.F. Hawley, Assistant Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, detailing the impending invasion?

Well it was all a load of rubbish.

Mohammed Akram, community relations officer at Strathclyde, and Mrs Jan Elliot, a community relations worker in Huddersfield, spent three months—not 16 days like Mr Hawley—looking at the system for vetting dependants in the Indian sub-continent. Unlike Mr Hawley, who visited six posts listening to the views of immigration officers, they visited 60 villages checking out 58 cases of immigrants' dependants re-

fused entry certificates.

They found that 55 of the people were entitled to enter Britain, yet appeals had been dismissed in 55 cases and three were pending. In contradiction to Hawley, who claimed that entry certificate officers had the onus of proof on them to justify refusal, Akram and Elliot found that the appeal hearings invariably took the word of the authorities while treating that of applicants with suspicion.

Akram and Elliot justifiably argue that 'the system appears to be succeeding in keeping out those who have the right of entry . . . It is surprising that a great deal of credence

was attached to a report which, in Mr Hawley's own words, was "some-what impressionistic" and could not possibly be otherwise, considering that only 16 days, including travelling time, were spent visiting six posts on the subcontinent.'

## Refused

Akram and Elliot found that 16 per cent of all applicants are refused, and in Bangladesh in the first ten months of 1974 the refusal rate was 42 per cent. During the first nine months of 1975 only 27 per cent of those appealing were successful.

Even these bare figures fail to reveal the human misery being created by immigration laws. 'The people we visited repeatedly told us that they were treated like "criminals" and in many cases allegations of "threatening behaviour" on the part of the interpreters and British interviewing officers were made.'

'A young girl who was seeking entry along with her mother, two older sisters and a brother told us: "I was telling the truth but the officer did not believe me and threatened to throw me out of the window if I did not tell the truth." Her other sister said she was threatened with being thrown into the Raval Dam . . .'

Akram and Elliot found the birth certificates of these children to be genuine. The family first applied for entry certificates on 7 July 1971. They now face an 18 month wait before even being interviewed again.

## Vivid

And what of all those forged documents? If they do exist, it is because in many of the villages that dependants come from, documents are virtually non-existent. As the entry authorities demand documentary evidence the temptation is to get forged proof of actual truth.

The report vividly illustrates how the whole system of immigration legislation has made an institution out of festering racism—a racism which Hawley, Powell and the press have been ready to stir to the full. Meanwhile the elementary rights of people have been trampled in the mud and the whole system of controls has meant that black immigrants are regarded as some alien species if they do succeed in arriving in this country. All immigration controls will have to be destroyed to end this despicable and degrading cycle.

MICK GOSLING

## BOLTON ANTI-FASCISTS ARRESTED

Seven anti-fascists were arrested in Bolton last Saturday when police turned out in force to protect a handful of National Front paper sellers.

This was the third week in a row that the NF had attempted to establish a sales pitch in the shopping precinct—where *Red Weekly* and *Socialist Worker* are regularly sold. More than 100 demonstrators turned out against them, including a large number from the newly formed Asian Youth Organisation.

Among those arrested when the police moved in was Ian Hayes, convenor at the militant Pochin's site in Manchester. He was charged with assault, but it seemed on his release that others might know more about that sort of thing—he was so badly beaten that he had to be taken straight to hospital.

The Bolton Anti-Fascist Committee is calling for a further mobilisation this Saturday, as it is anticipated that the NF will renew their provocation. Assemble 2.00 p.m. in the Bolton shopping precinct.



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

The strike and occupation by fifteen immigrant workers against Pakistani employers at the *Daily Jang International* in East London is now in its fifth week—with chances of a settlement looking increasingly remote. Trouble began after the workers joined the print workers' union SOGAT and demanded £45.84 for a five day, 40-hour week, instead of the £35.42 they were being paid for a six day, 48-hour week.

It is now clear that the Pakistani proprietor, millionaire Mir Khalilur Rahman, is directing the management in Britain. An agreement was worked out with the Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service only to be rejected from Karachi two days later.

Much of the meaning of what is at issue in the strike was summed up by a Pakistani leader who told the *Daily Telegraph*: 'How can we ask British managements to be fairer to immigrants when our own people are much worse?' And indeed, the owners of at least 20 other immigrant papers are known to be watching the outcome of the strike. A victory here would start the unionisation ball rolling through these and other sweat shops, where small-scale immigrant capitalists exploit the members of their own community.

Support from the outside at *Jang* is still weak, however, and it is vital that this is developed to allow the *Jang* workers to occupy the print rooms and bring out a regular strike edition to win support for their struggle in the immigrant community.

## That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

We give you a story which will shock, which will make you angry against the wasteful greedy capitalists who for too long have left the poor people on the streets with nothing to do but vote Labour! Imagine—house in Putney boarded up, planned for demolition and replacement by office block, but now lying empty and unused because the speculating owners have run into financial difficulties. Imagine—same company after buying a terrace of fine Georgian houses in Southwark attempts to knock them down and replace them with—yes, you've guessed it—office blocks!

Fortunately the houses have been saved thanks to a preservation order, and so there is, after all, justice in this world and the money-grabbing fat sharks who run the property company have now accumulated losses of £65,000. A victory for righteousness, for socialism.

But hold on a minute, who are these city sharks, these heartless speculators?

Well, the man who set up the company is one Dr. Colin Phipps, who, although that particular company is in difficulty, is otherwise doing very nicely thank you! For he is a director of Clyde Petroleum and has his own business which is planning to take over Lyon & Lyon, the well known (and hated by the rank-and-file) barge operators.

But who is this so-called doctor? Well, actually he is Labour MP for Dudley West, and actually the company concerned is called Labour Party Properties, and actually it is controlled by the Labour Party, and actually James Callaghan was a director until 1974.

But the failure of this company just goes to show that what the *Daily Telegraph* always says and the *Red Weekly* occasionally says is true. Labour just can't run capitalism.



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

# BLACKBURN

'11 September is the test'—this is the message of a joint statement made last week by the International Marxist Group, Workers Action, and Socialist Fight. The message refers to the national demonstration against racism to be held on that date in Blackburn, a demonstration designed as the statement says to 'ram home to even the most bone-headed fascists that the labour movement is beginning to rouse itself to put a stop to their dirty work'.

In calling for a mass mobilisation, the statement makes clear that Blackburn has been chosen because it represents 'a citadel, a fascist base' for the National Party and the National Front. Indeed the racists have already vowed that they will stop the march. This is why the Blackburn demonstration has a greater political importance than many of the recent anti-racist marches. As the joint statement says: 'Blackburn is a test case for the will of the left to move from safe toy-town anti-fascist demos and get down to the nasty but unavoidable work of sorting out the racist hate-mongers where they are strongest.'

In supporting the demonstration the signatories make clear their opposition to all immigration controls and their support for black self-defence. The statement ends: 'We say to the NP and NF that the march will take place . . . We will march in Blackburn on 11 September—through the fascists and over them too.'

# SOCIAL WORKERS STRIKE AGAINST GAY SACKING

A SERIES OF STRIKES by Social Services Department workers hit the London borough council of Tower Hamlets last week. The strikes were in defence of Ian Davies, a Principal Area Officer with 12 years exemplary service. But Ian Davies is a homosexual, and in October 1975 he was found guilty of 'gross indecency' and fined £25 for a trivial 'offence' with which no heterosexual would have been charged.

Ian informed his employers, and Tower Hamlets Disciplinary Panel imposed a second punishment by sacking him from his present job, and demoting him to one where he had no contact with the public,

and where he suffered a lower salary. After lengthy negotiations the case was considered by an Industrial Tribunal on 16 July. They decided Ian had been wrongfully dismissed and recommended his reinstatement.

But when Tower Hamlets Administration Committee met on 9 August, it decided by eight votes to seven not to accept the Tribunal's recommendation. When the social workers, clerical workers, administration and youth workers from Ian's area heard of the decision they voted unanimously to go on indefinite strike. A strike committee was elected, a fund es-

tablished, and a community petition launched.

Other areas in Social Services struck on various days, support grew amongst other departments in the council, and the Tower Hamlets Branch Executive of the National and Local Government Officers Association backed the workers in their demand for Ian's reinstatement.

Since then support has flowed in from numerous NALGO branches and shop stewards committees as well as from the National Council for Civil Liberties. The Executive Committee of Hammersmith NALGO expressed its solidarity by donating £200 to the strike fund and promising to pressurise both its own and Tower Hamlets council with regard to the employment of male and female gays.

On 18 August an extremely large, angry but sensitive NALGO branch meeting was held in Tower Hamlets with observers from other NALGO branches and the NCCL, and passed by an overwhelming majority resolutions supporting the strike and demanding Ian's reinstatement. The following day the Branch EC instructed all its union representatives to hold departmental meetings to find out what future action the membership wished to take.

But already the action of the NALGO workers in Tower Hamlets represents a magnificent and unprecedented show of solidarity with the rights of gay workers. It deserves the strongest support from all trade unionists determined to fight both for the right to work and against the victimisation of homosexuals. Messages of support and donations to the strike fund should be sent to: Tower Hamlets NALGO, c/o 196 Cable Street, London E.1.

John Conner



The campaign against the sacking of Tony Whitehead by British Home Stores this year, blazed the trail for the Tower Hamlets strike.

## Jobs: who's wrecking united fight?

I am writing in reference to last week's articles 'How to fight for the right to work' and 'How not to'.

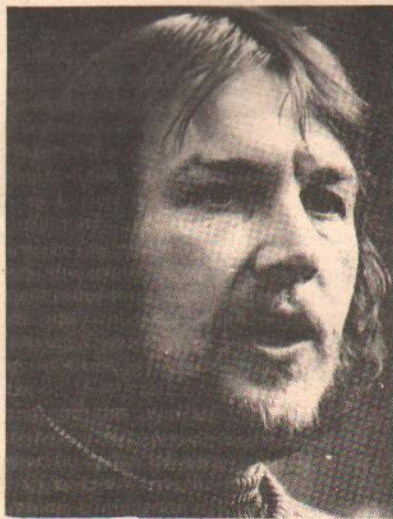
The report on the electricians dispute at Girlings interested me a great deal, as I was the shop steward on the site and was largely responsible for forming an EETPU shop and recruiting some 20 new members into the union, many of them having never belonged to a trade union previously; also getting as many unemployed brothers as possible a start for the first time in 12 months, and ridding the site of school-teachers who were working the lump during school holidays.

This is not a feather in my cap because as far as I am concerned it is the way every genuine steward should operate, and I have consistently tried to do so over the past years. For these reasons I was yet again victimised, and only by a magnificent show of solidarity by the Brothers was reinstated. I agree, that is how to fight for the right to work.

However, the article was used to discredit the forthcoming Right to Work March, with the same old debate about who should carry what banner and a continued attack on the March Council and the IS. It is dubious that you failed to explain in the article on the Girlings dispute that I am also Secretary of the Cardiff Right to Work Committee and was a delegate to the original March Council last year. I also attended the previous three-week march from Manchester to London.

There are no 'strong doubts on the claims of the International Socialists to be building a united movement against unemployment'.

The leaflets distributed to the Girling workers regarding the victimisations (by the way, written by myself and the deputy



BILLY WILLIAMS

steward, both IS members) specifically stated 'no return to the dole queues'. Also I would point out that brothers on the job had signed up for the forthcoming march not under an EETPU banner or Girlings banner but under the Right to Work banner—as brothers who were genuinely concerned about unemployment in Wales and the TUC's policies.

A hell of a lot of hard graft has been done in Cardiff on the Right to Work—leafleting, getting sponsors, holding meetings with shop stewards committees, and visiting factories etc. It is not just a question of putting £10 in someone's hand and sending them on a march.

Part of the building of a united movement is encouraging and succeeding in

getting employed brothers and sisters to unite with the unemployed and on a common cause. The last march was a tremendous success and achievement in itself.

Fortunately articles similar to the ones printed in last week's Red Weekly will not succeed in discrediting the March Council or the IS, but certainly leave food for thought as to the efforts of the IMG in building a united movement. Billy Williams

THE EDITORS REPLY: Brother Williams is entirely mistaken in saying that we used the Girlings dispute to discredit either the Right to Work March or IS. In fact we specifically paid tribute to the role of both brother Williams and another member of IS, Laurence Morcombe, during the dispute.

What we did do was to compare the fighting democratic unity forged during this struggle with the actions of the leadership of IS in preventing gay workers and women workers from marching under their own banners in the march. Brother Williams makes no attempt to explain these prohibitions—prohibitions which we still insist cut across the principle of building a united democratic movement of all those willing to march against unemployment.

As for the IMG not building the march, on the same page as the article referred to by brother Williams we issued an appeal to support the march and an article by one marcher on why he was joining it. But in supporting the march we reserve the right to criticise specific aspects of it. Should brother Williams or any other member of IS like to reply to these criticisms we shall be happy to print them.

# IN FOCUS

## ISOLATE APARTHEID

The people of South Africa are rising. Three months after the first demonstrations schoolchildren in the million-strong black township of Soweto, the struggle against apartheid continues unabated.

Over 250 people have already given their lives in these months. But despite the batons and the bullets which have led to the arrest of 1,800 and the detention of over 150 leaders of black organisations, the African masses refuse to be quelled. Even six of South Africa's eight main official tribal leaders, virtual stooges of the racist regime, have rejected Pretoria's plans for black homelands which would leave 87 per cent of all land in the hands of the white population.

The response of apartheid's organisers has been the mentality of the bunker. The curiously named 'Justice' Minister, Mr James Kruger, last week told a laughing meeting in Frankfort, near Johannesburg, that blacks and whites in South Africa knew each other well after 300 years: 'He (the black man) knows his place and, if not, I'll tell him his place.' As for the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa, whose entire leadership has been arrested by the security forces, Kruger said: 'They always say that "we shall overcome", but I say we shall overcome.'

### Dismissed the demand

Not surprisingly he dismissed the demand to meet black leaders with the callous comment that 'most of them have been detained. There is no one I could see.' Just to hammer home the brutal reality of apartheid, the Minister allegedly responsible for relations with blacks, Mr. Michael Botha, added his tuppence worth: blacks are allowed in white areas for one thing only—to sell their labour and for nothing else'.

Anonymous leaflets distributed by schoolchildren throughout the country last weekend called for a three day strike to paralyse the country's industry. For the first time the revolt of black workers is becoming generalised in a common struggle against the apartheid regime.

The international labour movement therefore has a tremendous responsibility to come to the aid of the black workers of South Africa. It is imperialism's money and US, French and British arms that maintain the racist regime, while the exploitation of cheap black labour by multinational firms allows apartheid to grow fat on the backs of the Africans.

### The right direction

An important step in the right direction has come from senior shop stewards representing 100,000 workers in 80 British Leyland plants in Britain. In response to the refusal of British Leyland management to recognise South Africa's black workers union, the Metal and Allied Workers Union, which has 95 per cent membership at the firm's Mobeni factory, they are blacking the transport of all packaged cars to South Africa. Leyland stewards are also calling for all union members to take up the issue of South Africa in their trade union and Labour Party branches.

British big business has the single largest foreign owned stake in South African industry—estimates ranging from £1 billion to £3 billion—with control of over 1,000 companies and interests in more. In 1974 Labour's manifesto declared: 'We shall oppose all forms of racial discrimination and colonialism. This will mean support for all the liberation movements of southern Africa and a disengagement from Britain's unhealthy involvement with apartheid.' The effect of this declaration has been 35-40 Government-sponsored trade missions to South Africa in the last two and a half years alone. Trade has increased and investment flow has leapt from around £100 million to £150 million a year.

### Hammer blows

Now is the time to isolate the racists of South Africa from the rest of the world. The forced withdrawal of British investment, which also comes from nationalised industries like British Steel and British Petroleum, would deal hammer blows to the regime. Likewise South Africa could not exist as an armed fortress against majority rule but for the arms which continue to be shipped to Vorster and his cronies.

At the forthcoming TUC and Labour Party conferences delegates must see to it that policies to isolate apartheid are adopted, and followed up by action to enforce these decisions. Years of pious resolutions and inaction are nothing but a slap in the face to the insurgent youth who have seen their comrades die in the streets of the black townships in recent weeks as they have battled empty-handed against the full might of Vorster's regime.

## The Walsall election

The International Socialists have decided to run a Socialist Worker candidate in the up-coming Walsall (North) by-election—the seat soon to be vacated by John Stonehouse. This decision marks a major tactical shift in the orientation of the IS which Red Weekly welcomes.

The Socialist Worker candidate, Jimmy McCallum, is standing on a platform which, despite its weaknesses, takes a clear and unequivocal stand against the anti-working class policies of this present Labour Government. A campaign around his candidature can play an important role in developing those oppositional currents inside the labour movement whose emergence has been shown in forums such as the Assembly on Unemployment and the large minority oppositions in the trade union conferences.

In a recent series of meetings on anti-racism organised by Red Weekly, members of the IMG Political Committee have laid strong emphasis on the need to extend the fight against the fascists and their racist policies from the streets to the terrain of national politics, where a gauntlet has been flung down with the strong fascist challenge in the general elections. By their decision the IS have shown that their appreciation of the situation is not dissimilar from that view.

In our opinion, an electoral intervention by the far left is of great importance and we are therefore hopeful that the IS intervention in the Walsall by-election does not merely represent a limited tactical turn. On the contrary, we would welcome a long-term orientation to an arena of politics usually ignored by the far left. We believe that a good way forward would have been for the IS to approach other revolutionary organisations and develop a united front candidature. This is certainly the best way to proceed in future.

This will not prevent us from giving the candidature the fullest possible support. The issues on which Socialist Worker launched the campaign cannot be characterised as sectarian. The demands put forward, against cuts, against racism and against unemployment, offer a candidate clearly opposed to the betrayals of the Labour Government. Red Weekly calls on its supporters and all other organisations of the far left to commit their resources to the Socialist Worker campaign in Walsall.

We offer a serious pledge to work for the maximum united action of the revolutionary movement as an effective step forward in defending the interests of the whole working class.



Reception party for the cuts commissar in Scotland.

# Support grows for health cuts lobby

The day of the Lobby of the Labour Party conference called by the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS (NCC) has been changed to Tuesday 28 September. NCC Organiser Janet Maguire told *Red Weekly*:

'We have been informed that NUPE is calling for a lobby by its members on the Tuesday. The NCC of course is most anxious to organise the biggest possible contingent to fight against cuts and to demand the implementation of last year's conference resolution on the NHS which incidentally was moved by Alan Fisher on behalf of NUPE.

'We have therefore written to NUPE declaring our support for its action and suggesting that we organise a joint lobby. It appears that NUPE will mainly be organising its own members; whereas the NCC is directing its call to Constituency Labour Parties, all the health unions, shop stewards committees, trades councils, women's groups, etc. The NCC has written to all unions affiliated to the Labour Party asking them to support the lobby.

'The AUEW and ASLEF have both replied saying that they have referred this matter to their executives; the AUEW also say that it will be referred to their delegation attending the conference. A number of Labour Parties have already told the NCC that they have mandated their conference delegates to go on the lobby, and in all the major centres support is being built for this action.

'Readers of *Red Weekly* should make sure that this is brought to the attention of their organisations and should make every effort to get delegates elected from them to the lobby.'

## 'Civil' servants will be no more!

**MILITANT ACTION** by workers in West of Scotland Supplementary Benefit offices recently turned a prestige tour of offices by DHSS Deputy Secretary R.S. Matthews into a fiasco. Matthews, a key figure in the Whitehall team implementing the current £95 million round of cuts in the Civil Service, visited Airdrie and Coatbridge offices on Tuesday 10 August, and then went to the Glasgow offices of Maryhill and Bridgeton the following day. The tale he had to take back to his masters was a sorry one.

### Walk out

His 'prestige' took its first dent at Airdrie. Fifty members of the Civil and Public Services Association promptly walked out upon his arrival. Worse was to come at Coatbridge, where CPSA members were joined by Society of Civil and Public Servants members in the 90-strong strike. After a day spent dodging pickets and placards demanding 'No Cuts—No Redundancies', Matthews was left pondering his chances of implementing the cuts without a fight and hoping for better things the next day in Glasgow.

Good grounds for such hopes certainly existed. The Maryhill and Bridgeton offices were clearly selected on their past record as the most likely areas of least resistance. At Maryhill, which had had no strikes for over three years, the managers were quite happy to inform union representatives of the visit during a Whitley Council meeting, immediately after announcing that the present cuts would mean a reduction of six in present office staff!

However, Maryhill CPSA members had voted on Monday afternoon to walk out in protest against the cuts, and that decision was backed up magnificently when Matthews arrived on Wednesday morning. More than 80 clerks walked out and set up a picket, leaving their disconsolate manager to wander with his guests through a shuttered and near-deserted building.

Although SCPS members had en-

dorsed a joint letter of protest from the two unions, they had voted against coming out. But several replied to Matthews' attempt to 'fraternise' by going out on a rota of 'urgent visits'!

The picket outside, never less than forty strong during the three-hour visit, carried placards saying 'No Cuts Here' and 'Cuts in Staff Mean Cuts in Services'. Pickets not only explained their actions to waiting claimants, but gave assistance with problems. On his departure, Matthews was besieged not only by angry civil servants, but also by claimants who supported the strike.

There was no more joy for him at his final stop. CPSA North Glasgow Branch officials who had joined the Maryhill picket raced ahead and succeeded in pulling out over 20 of the staff in this small office. Mr Matthews quietly departed for top level talks in Edinburgh the following day—talks which no doubt included a post-mortem on his disastrous tour.

### Planning

It would be naive in the extreme to imagine that these talks did not also include the planning of hard-line tactics to curb further militant action against the cuts. For the campaign of walk-outs did not merely result in a propaganda victory for civil service trade unionists fighting the cuts. It also meant, if the example of Maryhill is typical, a big boost to the forces and commitment behind that struggle. At Maryhill many new union members were signed up on the picket line!

The Executive of the DHSS Section of the CPSA has now called for all-out action against the proposed reduction in the 1977 Local Office Complement on the following basis:

- \* Total Ban on Overtime
- \* No Easements
- \* Ban on Work-Sharing to cover Staff Reductions
- \* No Cooperation with Experiments
- \* No Cooperation with Audits and Surveys

### \* Ban on Statistics and Activity Surveys

Actions such as the West of Scotland walk-outs will play a vital role in mobilising for this campaign generally throughout the DHSS. And the proposals of the DHSS Section EC have to be seen as only a good first step in the campaign for national strike action against the cuts.

It is not the trade union leaders, however, who must be relied upon to aim for that goal. CPSA members at Maryhill not only have the story of last week's victory to tell. They can also tell of how dozens of members resigned in the face of the sell-out of the 1973 strike. There must be no half-measures and no sell-outs in the present struggle. The message from the West of Scotland is clear. To defend your jobs, to defend our services, to end the years of defeat—rely on your own struggles.

*Supporters of Red Weekly in the civil service unions met recently to coordinate their activities, and will be producing a regular bulletin. For information, write to: R. Dennis, 97 Caledonian Road, N.1.*

## WHAT'S ON

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

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

**CHILE:** Don't forget national demonstration, Sun 12 September, assemble 1pm Clerkenwell Green, London EC1. Chile Solidarity Campaign.

**SEX DISCRIMINATION ACT**—pamphlet containing first thorough critique from a socialist perspective. 23p (inc p&p) from Socialist Woman, 97 Caledonian Rd., N1.

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

**MANCHESTER:** Revolutionary Communist Group public dayschool on 'The Crisis of Capitalism and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat', Saturday 18 September, 10-6pm, UMIST Students Union (off Sackville St). Sessions on Women, Ireland, the Public Sector Cuts. Speakers: Judith Harrison, Terry Marlowe, David Yaffe. Further information from 'Dayschool' (RW), 49 Railton Road, London SE24 0LN.

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

**FUND-RAISING** for National Abortion Campaign, Sat 4 Sept, 8pm (and first Sat in every

## CARDIFF ENQUIRY TO COUNTER CUTS!

What promises to be a revealing trade union enquiry into the cuts in the NHS in South Wales has been established in Cardiff. The enquiry has been initiated by a local anti-cuts committee and includes in its team a full-time shop steward and members of the National Union of Mine-workers, the National Union of Public Employees, the General & Municipal Workers, and the National and Local Government Officers' Association.

Already a questionnaire has been sent out and meetings arranged in the six major hospitals in the Cardiff area. The enquiry team also plans to interview staff and patients, and the evidence which is collected will be presented to a one-day labour movement delegate conference in September.

subsequent month): The Basement, 29 Shelton Street, London WC2. Admission 50p.

**NAC BENEFIT**, Glenda Jackson and friends, Sunday 19 September at 7.30pm in Cambridge Theatre, Earham Street, London WC2. Tickets £3, £2, £1.50 from NAC (Box Office), Flat 4, 43/47 Ponder Street, London N7. Phone 607 7619 or 800 4803, 10am to 3pm. Please enclose s.a.e.

**LONDON** Gay Socialists Group meeting to discuss support for Trico, for gay contingent on Right to Work march, and defence of gay centres from attack. Tues 31 Aug, 6.30pm, at 17 Perth Street, N4.

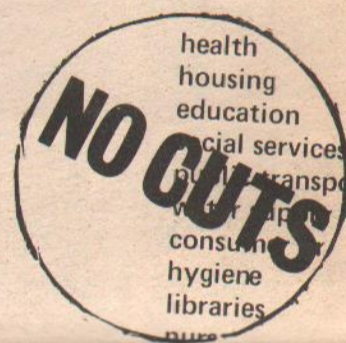
**MANCHESTER** coaches leaving for Chile demo, 12 Sept, at 8.50am from St Peter's Sq. £2.50.

**WOMAN** performer/ singer wanted to join next two tours of the Cuts Show, a musical review attacking Labour's cutbacks in public spending. Socialist politics and singing voice essential ability to drive and play an instrument preferable. CounterAct, tel. 01-267 5059 on 29 August.

**New from Red Books**

*Red Books is now in temporary premises at 182 Pentonville Road, London N.1.*

**\*CAPITAL**—Volume 1  
Penguin's new edition of Marx's *Capital* has a long introduction by Ernest Mandel in which he explains the method, plan and key theoretical discoveries of the work. The translation has been completely revised—reviewers have paid high



The enquiry aims to provide an alternative to the recent so-called 'Five Year Plan For Wales' produced by the Welsh Office. On the one hand this 'plan' includes proposals to prioritise services for the elderly, the young and the mentally handicapped, and on the other hand proposes reductions in hospital services for the acutely ill to enable women to be diverted to these other 'priority areas'. These proposals are being put forward for a district in which the two major industries, coal and steel, require a fully equipped and functioning health service because of the prevalence of accidents in these industries.

### Closure

Even now it is proposed to close a geriatric hospital—ostensibly for the purpose of moving in administrative staff from other areas. But workers in this hospital are determined to fight back and have organised an inter-union mass meeting to form an action committee. The evidence collected by the cuts enquiry team should greatly assist these workers and all others prepared to fight for an adequate health service in South Wales.  
Erica Barnett

tribute to its readability. This version also contains the famous 'Sixth Chapter', which is produced in English for the first time. Price £2.95, post 47p.

**\*SOUTHERN AFRICA — THE NEW POLITICS OF REVOLUTION**

This book is in three parts by Basil Davidson, Joe Slovo and Anthony Wilkinson. Themes covered include the overall situation in the region since the defeat of the Portuguese, an analysis of the new tactics of the South African apartheid state, and a strategic assessment of the situation of the Smith regime — which concludes that its position is untenable. Altogether, these constitute an excellent background introduction to southern African politics. Price £1.25, post 17p.

**\*FRANCO AND THE POLITICS OF SPAIN**

This traces the history of Franco and his regime, and seeks to explain the various factions and groupings which emerged during the 'kingless monarchy'. The author has been a professional journalist and he has amassed a huge number of facts (there are ten appendices!). This book will be very useful for those wanting to grasp the background to the present death agony of the Francoist regime. Price £1.50, post 23p.

**\*ALGERIA & PAKISTAN BARGAINS**

*Wolves in the City*, sub-titled 'the death of French Algeria', presents a full account of how Algeria gained its independence against the fanatical opposition of the colons and OAS. Original price £2.95 — NOW 60p, post 47p.  
**Pakistan — Military Rule or People's Power** by Tariq Ali was published in 1970, i.e. before the break-up of that country. It is a well-documented account of the history and development of Pakistan which outlines a Marxist critique of the regime, and is essential reading for understanding one of the major Asian countries. Original price £2.75 — NOW £1, post 47p.



A mass call for political amnesty in Pamplona, Spain. Workers democracy is at the core of the Spanish resistance.

# DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

DEMOCRACY is a dirty word to many militants. It is the means by which political power is torn from the hands of the working class to be replaced by a pen in a polling booth once every five years. It's the icing on the cake of capitalist exploitation. In recent months, with bitter battles erupting in the trade unions and Labour Party over the social contract, 'democracy' has been the slogan under which the press has carried out its campaign of interference in the workers organisations on behalf of the right wing.

Alongside this has gone a campaign by some sections of the ruling class to castrate the power of the unions through the incorporation of so-called shop floor representatives directly onto management committees and participation bodies. Exploiting the genuine desire that many workers have for a more meaningful work life, the siren song of participation has been used to seduce workers away from taking control.

For there is an alternative to the fake democracy of the capitalists. It is the real democracy of the workers: a

democracy that has to start in the workers' own organisations but will eventually reach out to the whole of society if the working class is to take power. It is a democracy that reached its highest expression in Russia with the taking of power by the Soviets — bodies which involved every oppressed section of the population in the decisions affecting their lives, while excluding the representatives of the capitalists.

It is a potential that was also seen all too shortly in this country at the time of the General Strike, when the Councils of Action, drawing in all the workers organisations in a district, began to establish their control over all aspects of social life.

This active democracy of the workers is no optional extra in the struggle for socialism — it is at the heart of it. In Spain, in conditions of illegality, in a situation where the most elementary democratic rights to free elections and free trade unions do not exist, there has been a tremendous flourishing of the workers' own organisations in recent years. And at the heart of this growth is the democratic organisation of the struggle.

All the bodies that the mass movement in Spain considers useful for united activity are in full use: neighbourhood associations, trade unions, professional associations, housewives associations, organisations of the disabled. New bodies are continually being created that replace or co-ordinate with these bodies in the course of action, always seeking the road capable of providing the greatest degree of representation, the greatest coordination, the greatest extension of action. And always, at the very centre, is the sovereign factory or branch assembly, the delegates, the commissions and committees elected in these assemblies, and more recently, the massive pickets to extend the struggles.

And why does this flourishing of workers democracy go hand in hand with the broadening struggle against Francoism? Because the two are inseparable if the workers are to win their demands.

## Factories in Struggle

In January and February, during the struggles of the teachers in Madrid, the general assemblies of teachers sent delegations to factories in struggle — Chrysler, Pegaso — asking for and obtaining solidarity. In turn, the teachers' assemblies welcomed delegations from the workers' assemblies, from neighbourhood coordinating bodies, and from tenants associations, and together they discussed the demands and leadership of the struggle. When the construction workers went on strike in Barcelona, all the sites elected delegates, and the assembly of delegates took the lead in mobilisations during the strike. In this can be seen the power that will take Spain to socialism.

In Britain, the intensification of the capitalist crisis has been coupled with open capitalist interference in the organisations of the workers movement, coupled with a systematic attack on democracy in the unions by their bureaucratic leaders. The possibility of a fight back against the attacks of the right-wing Labour Government must be eliminated. And the bureaucracy can claim some success in this: strike figures are the lowest for 27 years, while unemployment is the highest at any time since the war.

In the following pages we examine the methods by which the bureaucracy has established its sway in the unions and Labour Party, and suggest ways in which it can be fought. Dave Wimhurst also writes from Portugal on the struggle there for workers democracy and workers control — a struggle which can only be brought to a final conclusion by the establishment of workers power: the establishment of the democracy of the working class throughout society.

## Gag and Bash — the Bureaucrats Way

The biggest union in this country, the Transport and General Workers Union, has a rule book allowing the most flagrant breaches of democratic procedure by its officials. No rule exists for disciplinary action to be taken against a branch, district or regional officer who violates election rules or rigs union ballots. There is no procedure for dealing with queries or complaints from branches on ballots.

T&GWU members in Oxford discovered this to their cost in the last elections for regional and national positions, when right-wingers were elected with very evident discrepancies in the ballot returns. The leadership of the local region made sure that no investigation took place.

An isolated case? Far from it. Election procedures are the first rung by which the bureaucrats consolidate their hold in the unions. And in a period when they are presiding over falling living standards and mass unemployment, they have brought in a battery of additional measures to

entrench their positions.

Having long since abandoned any struggle against the capitalist crisis, the reformist leaders have to prevent any struggle breaking out in the ranks of their own unions. Elections are the place to begin.

Unlike the T&GWU, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers does at least allow candidates to circulate election addresses. But what chance have Broad Left and revolutionary candidates got in a 'secret' postal ballot which is preceded by a carefully orchestrated witch-hunt in the mass media?

Postal ballots strengthen the right wing by taking the decision away from the workplace, where it can be discussed collectively, and opening up union members to the pressures of the capitalists. By voting in mass meetings by show of hands after candidates were put on the spot about what they stood for, greater control would be exercised over officials and avenues to manipulation and corruption cut off. Not surprisingly, no union follows this procedure.

Having manoeuvred themselves into positions where they can pose as 'spokesmen' for the union (for almost

invariably it is men) any rank-and-file opposition must be gagged. The leadership of the National Union of Teachers, for example, is now going to incredible lengths to stop its membership from even discussing certain subjects!

In June this year, NUT General Secretary Fred Jarvis declared: 'The executive has ..... decided to recommend that where local Association Officers consider it necessary, after consulting with Hamilton House [NUT headquarters], that a motion submitted for the consideration of an Association meeting is out of order,

they shall not include it on the agenda.'

What this meant in practice was shown in Birmingham, where the officers of one local association ruled out of order any debate on the policy on class sizes adopted by the union's annual conference in 1969. Clearly any such discussion would prove embarrassing to the NUT leadership, which has failed to organise any action around this policy (of no classes over 30), although it would ensure that there was not a single student teacher unemployed this September.

The NUT bureaucrats are not alone in such manoeuvres. Indeed, they could justifiably argue that they were only following the lead given by the TUC with its now notorious new 'Rule 14'. This prevents local trades councils from supporting any policy or organisation which contradicts Labour Party or TUC policy ..... meaning any organisation taking action against the cuts and unemployment.

# Gag and Bash —

(CONTINUED FROM p.5)

As with the NUT, Rule 14 was soon extending to prohibiting trade unionists from discussing issues of which their so-called leaders disapproved. Bradford Trades Council got special treatment. They received a letter threatening them with disaffiliation if they indulged in 'political activities'.

This *diktat* was a response to the Trades Council's sponsorship of a meeting at which Tony Kelly of Newham North-East Labour Party spoke. The topic of the meeting that produced such a furore in Congress House was 'Trade Union and Labour Party Democracy'. Enough said.

When the gag doesn't work, trade union leaders go deaf — in both ears at the same time. In early June, the supporters of the 4½ per cent wage cut pulled every string they could at the conference of the building workers' union UCATT to win acceptance for the deal. Len Murray was hauled in to lecture building workers on their 'responsibilities'. He was greeted with cat-calls.

## Yelled

The vote was taken and UCATT boss George Smith found himself committed to casting UCATT's votes against Murray and Callaghan at the Special TUC. But George wasn't going to let that spoil things for him. He yelled at conference: 'The executive cannot and will not accept today's decision', and arrogantly proclaimed: 'If the conference persists in carrying improper resolutions they will not be acted on.'

Smith ordered UCATT's delegates at the Special TUC to abstain while a postal ballot was held.

There were similar goings-on in the executive of the National Union of Mineworkers, where three members defied mandates to give the supporters of the 4½ per cent deal a one vote majority on the executive. Thus did the 'moderate' supporters of democracy defeat the 'extremists'.

The simple point is that the trade union bureaucrats can get away with it; they will ignore their membership, conference decisions, and even decisions they have taken themselves but later prove embarrassing.

## Deaf ears

That very thing happened at the T&GWU Biennial Delegate Conference in 1975. The executive sponsored a motion which accepted the social contract on condition that eight points were fulfilled. Amongst these were permanent price controls and 'vastly improved' social services. But when it came to the 4½ per cent deal, relaxation of price controls and Healey's cutbacks, the T&GWU executive, led by Jack Jones, happily ignored their own decisions.

Finally, if the gags and the deaf ears fail, the sledgehammer is brought in. Bans and proscriptions are operated, expulsions occur. The most spectacular example of this has been the suspension of Oxford and Camden Trades Councils for refusing to implement Rule 14. They were then reconstituted with more 'reliable' delegates.

But it's not only happening in the trades councils. In Hull, the credentials of every T&GWU shop steward were removed by the union's regional committee because the dockers refused to lift a blacking imposed in a fight for jobs. In Strathclyde the entire Area Committee of the Fire Brigades Union was expelled for opposing the £6 limit.

## Outlaws

To defend the rights and living standards of their members, the trades councils, the Glasgow firemen and the Hull dockers had to fight the policies of the Labour Government and the TUC — so they found themselves outlaws in their own organisations.

The present attacks on democracy in the unions cannot go unanswered. Without control of their own organisations the workers will never be able to challenge the control of the bosses over the whole of society. That challenge will only develop if the weapons are forged today by turning the organisations of the working class and the struggles it wages into the embryos of the future workers democracy.

ANNA LARKIN



Factory committee, Russia 1917. The engine of workers power.

# Forging weapons of struggle

Forging weapons of struggle will mean demanding:

**WORK PLACE ELECTIONS**—where those elected to represent the workers will be controlled by the workers and not the bosses. It means insisting that elections are fought on policies, not personalities; insisting that the workers have the right, at any time, to kick out their representatives and elect new ones.

**THE RIGHT TO ORGANISE** — so that all groups of workers have the right to form tendencies on alternative positions. They should not be subjected to witch-hunts either in the press or in the unions themselves. The right to organise covers not just political tendencies but those sections of the working class — women and blacks — who often find themselves discriminated against as such, both by the employers and by the unions themselves.

**ELECTION OF LEADERSHIP FOR STRUGGLE** — as happened in the recent struggle by student teachers for jobs. In the face of lies, slanders and

manoeuvres by the Broad Left-dominated NUS executive, the students linked up with other workers in the jobs lobby of the Special TUC. By organising their struggle on a national basis, by electing delegates to national meetings, and by coordinating the struggle through strike and support committees, the student teachers organised their actions both effectively and democratically.

**FIGHTING POLICIES** — workers democracy is not just a question of how to fight, it is also about what to fight for, so that democracy begins to be extended not just to the trade unions but to the places of work themselves. This involves fighting for nationalisation under workers control; and demanding that all records and plans are open to workers' inspection.

Indeed, demands for democracy in the unions and in all working class struggles will only develop if they are advanced alongside anti-capitalist demands which show the need for such organisation.



The student teachers organised their fight-back democratically and effectively.

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

# Rule 14 means you

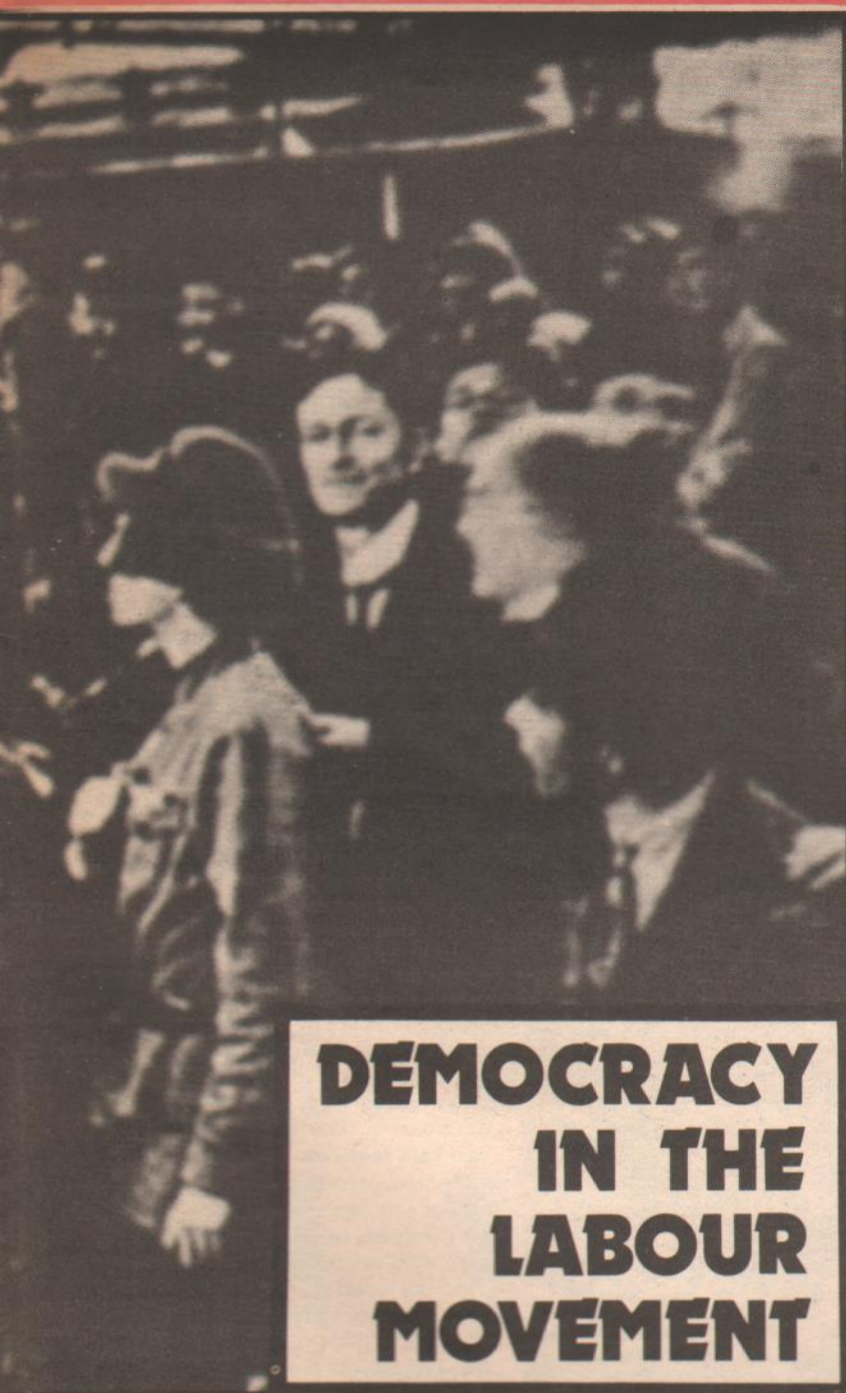
An example of the dangers of the new Rule 14 for trades councils has recently been shown in Cardiff, where a campaign to fight unemployment has been declared 'unconstitutional'—a ruling made and implemented both by the TUC and by Communist Party members on the Trades Council.

The sorry tale began in June when a motion came to the Trades Council seeking to implement a number of the policies of the National Assembly on Unemployment — such as linking up with shop stewards committees and the local Right to Work Campaign to wage a general fight in the area against unemployment. But when the motion was read out it was ruled out of order by Trades Council secretary and Communist Party member Charlie Swain, because the

motion was not on union headed paper.

By the time of the Executive Committee meeting in early July this oversight had been rectified, but then another CP member demanded that the motion should not even be discussed by the Trades Council because in recommending co-operation with 'outside bodies' it was 'unconstitutional under Rule 14'. This time the manoeuvre was defeated and the motion went forward to the July delegates meeting, where it was passed by 19 votes to 14. But again Charlie Swain piped up that the motion was unconstitutional, and said the TUC would have to be called in!

Which is exactly what Swain proceeded to do. At the August EC he revealed that 'in conversation' with Difor Davis, another CP



## DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT



Workers democracy in action at the occupied French printworks of IMRO in Rouen: a special 'open doors' weekend in June to which all sections of the workers movement were invited to share experiences of struggle and discuss a strategy for the fight for jobs. Among those attending were a delegation of journalists from Britain. The bureaucrats of the CP-controlled CGT union federation denounced the attempts of the IMRO workers to broaden their struggle—which included the use of the presses to produce all kinds of popularising material—complaining of 'a leftist odour in this factory'. But after police moved in at dawn on 16 July to expel the occupiers, widespread solidarity strikes took place, particularly in the printing industry. The IMRO workers are continuing their struggle outside the factory and are in urgent need of support—send all donations, etc. to: Yvon-Marie Bost, 65 av. Gustave-Flaubert, 76000 Rouen, France.

## can't fight for jobs

member and chairman of the Welsh TUC, he had been informed that 'the Trades Council will have to rescind the motion or go the same way as Oxford Trades Council' (disbanded over Rule 14). After this threat he had decided to contact Len Murray to solicit his views.

At the August delegate meeting Murray's answer had come in the shape of four long pages. Not surprisingly Murray ruled the motion unconstitutional and 'against TUC rules'.

Delegates reacted strongly to Murray's dictat and demanded that the letter should 'lie on the table'—in effect be ignored. This prompted the most flagrant outburst yet from Swain and the chairman, who told the

meeting that it could not vote on the letter and the Trades Council just had to accept it and accept the rescinding of the unemployment motion. Next business was moved and that was that.

The whole affair was not only a long series of abuses of workers democracy by Communist Party members; not only was it the most naked form of collaboration with the TUC wage-cutters; but it showed in practice that when members of the Communist Party are faced with the choice of organising action around the National Assembly's demands or trailing cap in hand to the TUC, they choose the path of least resistance. Workers democracy was sabotaged and with it the fight against unemployment.

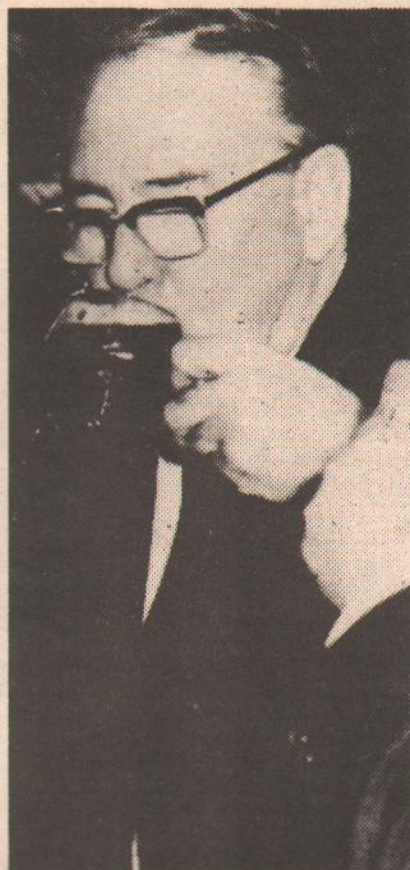
# Corruption - chink in bureaucrats' armour

The undermining of democracy in the workers movement inevitably leads to corruption. Candidates are no longer elected on political grounds but on how many votes they can swing in an election or a branch meeting. When the Irish Catholic block vote was mobilised to put Michael O'Halloran into the safe seat of Islington North, that was only the tip of the iceberg.

And leaders over whom the rank-and-file can exercise no right of recall can carry on as they wish: taking back-handers, pushing deals in which they have a personal interest, and flouting the decisions and views of the people who put them there in the first place.

Nowhere is this more vividly demonstrated than in the Labour Party. Eddie Milne, one-time Labour MP for Blyth, found himself out of a seat because he dared to ask for an enquiry into the workings of the party in the North East. The Poulson affair had given rise to a rather nasty stink.

Milne has now recounted his experiences in *No Shining Armour*, a book whose very confusion demonstrates that the only way corruption can be eliminated from the workers movement is through a struggle for socialist politics and right of recall over all elected officials.



CUNNINGHAM

'improve Labour's image in the North East and Scotland'. This was somewhat bizarre as this was and is one of Labour's strongholds; and Milne reacted by attempting to move a Private Member's Bill to register clients of PR companies engaged in political activities.

Cunningham, who three weeks after his recent release was chatting and sipping tea with Prime Minister Callaghan, was a more formidable character. He was a General & Municipal Workers Union official, chairman of the Northern Labour Party, chairman of the North-umberland River Authority, chairman of the Durham Police Authority, and a member of the Labour Party NEC until October 1973, a few months after his arrest.

## HOSTILITY

Cunningham is one of the end products of the Labour Party's refusal to challenge the state and its machine — the police, army, education, etc. It prefers to work with it instead, arguing that the party can preserve the interests of the working class within the framework of capitalism, seeing the state as a benevolent ally. Not only does this strategy work against the working class, but it also creates the opportunity for sections of the Labour Party — out of the control of the labour movement — to use the state which they administer to line their own pockets.

Milne vigorously argued many times for an inquiry into party organisation in the Northern region, for he saw their convictions only as the tip of an iceberg: they were found out only because Poulson went bankrupt, and many details were covered up in court because both men pleaded guilty.

From the start of this campaign Milne met with hostility from members of the Parliamentary Labour Party and the local party. Mortakis, his local secretary and agent, led a successful campaign to have him rejected as the Labour candidate.

## ADVERT

Great resources were poured into the Labour Party election campaign in February 1974. An advert was placed in the local press attacking Milne and signed by all members of the NEC. Dave Cotterill, a leading member of the Blyth Executive Committee, and a supporter of the *Militant*, campaigned strenuously for the official candidate, stating that

Milne had used 'every dirty trick to undermine Labour support'.

Nevertheless Milne was elected as Independent Labour MP with a vote of 22,918 — a majority of 6,140. Such a vote in a Labour stronghold indicates Milne's following in the area. Yet we are never clearly told the basis of this support. Was it simply because he was honest and sincere? Did Milne provide a clear political alternative to Labour's policies? What was his attitude to the miners' power, which brought down the Tory Government.

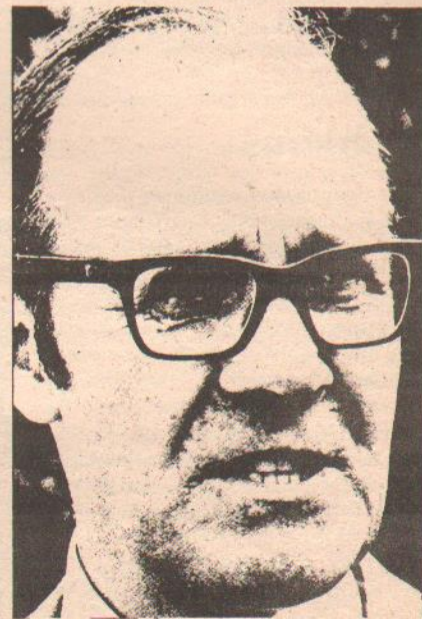
When Milne returned to the House he stated he would not rejoin the Labour Party while Short was deputy leader and Mellish chief whip, not because of their politics but because they were the two main people blocking an inquiry into the Labour Party. Milne states that he was told that Short's hostility stemmed from the fact that Mrs Short worked for Poulson.

## CRITICAL

By now Milne was disillusioned with the Labour Party bureaucracy and stated that an inquiry could be undertaken neither by the officials of the party nor members of the NEC nor the parliamentary leaders, as 'they have shown they don't care and aren't up to the job'. But his alternative was not a grass roots Labour or trade union inquiry — the activists in the movement — but one led by the Lord Chancellor and Vic Feather!

Milne was finally defeated as MP in the October election, polling over 20,000 votes and losing by just 78. He describes last minute polling booth changes, lost postal votes, and vast sums of money spent by the Labour Party as contributory factors, but again makes no mention of his political platform.

Unfortunately it seems from the postscript that Mr Milne has learnt little: 'I hope this book will .... help others to think again, especially those who see socialism as an ideal and a means to a better life for all.' He states that one's job is to serve, not to rule: 'I am still serving (he is an Independent Labour councillor) in order to make it more difficult for those who seek *only to rule* to do so, because they are a real threat to democracy in Britain.'



MILNE

Milne's main error is that he sees democracy in the abstract divorced from politics. To lead the working class forward and to prevent some members of the party from gaining office for their own interests, socialist policies in the interests of the working class and under its control are needed. Full accountability of elected officials of the labour movement is needed.

While one has sympathy for Milne's honest stand in exposing corruption in the Labour Party and thereby making the labour movement aware of undemocratic practices, we must still be critical of the framework within which he describes corruption.

Hilda Kean

PLATFORM BOOKS

### Edward Milne

Eddie Milne made himself the most unpopular figure in the Labour Party by putting personal honesty and public morality before Party Loyalty, and by exposing wide-spread corruption in public life in the North-East of England. As MP for Blyth for fourteen years, he militated against the waste of party and public funds for private profit, and was, for his pains, officially expelled from the party, but nevertheless, running as an Independent Labour candidate, in February 1974, succeeded in regaining his seat with a considerable majority over the 'official' Labour candidate. Thereafter he had to fight the resources of a party machine determined to silence him.

For this book isn't an account of a person fighting for socialist policies in the Labour Party. It isn't an account of why corruption is allowed to exist in the labour movement. It doesn't recommend any strategy for activists fighting right-wing policies or corruption in the labour movement. It is an account of one man's disillusionment with the Labour Party; an exposé of 'Britain's Watergate' — the Poulson affair; and a description of one man's almost obsessive, solitary, unsuccessful fight against corruption.

## DREAMS

The early part of the book is hopeful and optimistic: Milne left the Labour Party in 1937 because it supported the Government's refusal to send arms to Republican Spain, and joined the ILP. But he rejoined the Labour Party in 1945, for he saw the Labour manifesto as a blueprint for a new Jerusalem — 'the Britain of our dreams lay just ahead', the days of neglect were over.

The rest of the book is permeated with disillusionment. We hear no more of Milne's attempt to build a new Jerusalem after he was elected as MP for Blyth — sponsored by the shop-workers' union USDAW — in 1960, 'his boyhood dream come true'. His pessimism stems not from an awareness of the Labour Party's political bankruptcy, but from the corruption existing within the party, particularly in the North East.

Milne's account of the corruption in the North East centres on the activities of T. Dan Smith and Andrew Cunningham, imprisoned after the bankruptcy proceedings of their architect friend John Poulson in 1973. Smith, who introduced Cunningham to Poulson, first attracted Milne's attention in 1964 when he was given £35,000 by the Labour Party NEC for PR work to

# DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Workers democracy and workers control cannot stand still. If they do not reach out into new areas of society they will be forced into retreat. Nowhere has this been shown more clearly than in Portugal, as DAVE WIMHURST reports.

One of the main planks of the new Soares Government is its declared intention to 'restore authority in the factories'. And it must be said that time is on its side.

The longer workers control is not consolidated but remains decentralised and therefore open to attack, both directly by the state and indirectly by the laws of the international capitalist market, the greater will be the workers' demoralisation from this experience; the greater their lack of confidence in their ability to increasingly dominate and control the problems of work and production — the problems of the capitalist relations of production themselves.

The best way to understand this is to look at a couple of different experiences of workers control, both in the North of the country, but in different industries, each with specific problems but also with a very different kind of leadership.

The first is a textile factory in Oporto called Jacinto, producing cloth which is sold to other factories to be made into clothes. The factory was taken over in May 1975 to prevent its closure, and a workers commission was elected, made up of members of the Socialist Party, Communist Party, and PPD (Popular Democrats — 'liberal' bourgeois party).

At a press conference I attended earlier this year, it was announced that the factory owed 4,000 contos (about £73,000 — one conto is worth 1,000 escudos), and the workers commission calculated that they needed 100,000 contos (£1.8 million) in order to re-start full production. It was explained that since the workers had taken over they had been forced to stop production three times, and that at present they had agreed to reduce the work-rate in order to provide work for all. However, in spite of these measures, some workers had lost their jobs.

## Problems

The commission explained that one of the main problems, apart from that of capital investment, was the problem of selling what was produced. As a factory producing raw cloth for manufacturing factories, they were affected by any problems met by these other factories. In particular, they had to cope with the consequences of the import controls imposed on Portuguese textiles by Britain and other EEC countries, since between 40 and 60 per cent of Portuguese textile production is (or was) for export.

But they admitted that they had done nothing to build links with other workers in the industry. For them the crucial question was putting pressure on the State to intervene, financially, in order to keep the factory functioning.

Of course, it is extremely important to ensure that capital investment is found in order to safeguard the jobs. Workers cannot live on air, however revolutionary its content.

Unfortunately, one magnificent opportunity to find new means of obtaining capital investment was irretrievably lost when the workers in the newly nationalised banks put forward their own plan to help the textile factories. They understood that the question of capital investment was a

crucial one for the textile workers, and they took an initiative to propose means by which such investment could be fought for not simply by the textile workers, but also by the bank workers.

But this idea, far-reaching in its implications, was lost because the leadership of the textile workers, reformists for the most part, refused to generalise the idea, and because the simple mechanisms of workers democracy (mass meetings, etc.) did not exist so that the workers themselves could decide.

## 'Help'

Instead, the workers commissions looked no further than their own individual factories. At Jacinto they succeeded in getting a certain amount of financial aid from the Ministry. Excellent, in spite of the previous lost opportunity. But of course, the Ministry is nobody's fool.

Along with the money (which was promised for a long time before it came, in order to prevent the workers from stepping up their struggle) the Ministry sent two of its members to act as directors, to oversee the use of the capital and to 'help' the workers in the factory. Thus the situation at Jacinto is no longer one of extending the gains made so far, but has become a fight to save jobs, with the Ministry demanding cuts in employment.

In the furniture factory of Cincomo, however, the workers commission is made up of revolutionaries and independents. The struggle here began in December 1974, when the management sacked one of the members of the recently formed workers commission.

After a strike lasting 33 days, in which not only was the return of the sacked worker demanded but also the payment of the traditional Christmas bonus and the expulsion of some extreme right-wing members of the management, the struggle developed into one for workers control. At the



# Lessons of Portugal

end of the strike, which was won, the workers informed the boss that he had two weeks to decide whether or not he would agree to workers control. He

otage.

The first measure taken by the elected workers commission was to raise all the wages of the workers. In



SOARES - His government will try to smash the emerging workers democracy and control. He said yes, he would agree, and showed his willingness by fleeing the country with two other directors for Brazil, taking 14 million escudos (£250,000) with him.

## Solution

The workers immediately took over the factory, and in order to show that they were genuinely looking for a solution in the interests of all the workers, even re-integrated the scabs who had refused to join in the strike. Equally immediately the banks (not yet nationalised then) and the raw material suppliers froze credit and deliveries. But fortunately the departed boss had been unable to take all the capital belonging to the business with him, and they were able to use this to cover themselves against this attempted sab-

addition, a subsidised canteen was established, insurance against any accident was introduced, and every worker now has the right to change his or her job within the factory, thereby gaining new skills.

The means of organisation were kept as simple as possible, with all decisions taken by the workers commission subject to ratification (or otherwise) by the mass meeting. A factory newspaper was also set up, open to all the workers, and along with these classes were arranged to teach those workers who could not read or write to do so.

Production itself had previously been completely disorganised, with 1½ million escudos (£27,000) going into the boss's pocket every month. So this too was reorganised in a collectively agreed plan, with the effect that it is now higher than previously.

Having seen that production could be increased, that wages could be increased, without any increase in labour time, the workers were eager to raise their standard of living even further by producing more. The leadership of the factory, on the other hand, proposed that instead of production being increased by the workers working more, the labour force should be expanded to provide jobs for the unemployed. Thirty new workers have now been taken on.

Another problem was the cutting off of raw materials by the suppliers. To overcome this problem, links were built with another factory which supplied the wood, and the workers here forced the boss to resume supplies. In addition to these measures, the workers commission also proposed that it should join the local organisation set up by some 80 factories under workers control in the Oporto area.

In other words, whenever practical problems have arisen, political solutions have been proposed that both strengthen the position of the workers and educate them in the need to look for solutions outside of the walls of their own factory, and in the interests of the working class as a whole.

Of course all this does not mean that success is guaranteed for the workers at Cincomo. Indeed, the former boss has decided to come back from Brazil and has launched legal proceedings against the workers, accusing them of having stolen his factory!

## Control

But whatever the final outcome, it is clear that only the application of workers control throughout the industry, with a workers plan for the whole of the industry, can provide a permanent solution to the problem. Of course, for such a situation to be reached a socialist revolution is necessary; it is only within a planned economy as a whole, within a workers state, that the capitalist relations of production will be destroyed. But the importance of the present experiences of workers control is that they are a vital step on the road to this goal — if they are understood as such by the workers in struggle.

This is the problem at Jacinto. If the workers there are finally defeated, their response will be one of deep demoralisation — a demoralisation prepared long before the actual defeat by the inability of the reformists to provide a leadership capable of educating the workers through their own experience in a positive sense.

At Cincomo, on the other hand, the workers have begun to understand that a defeat — if it comes — will not be the result of their own stupidity or inability to fight for the correct strategy, but a result of the overall balance of forces. For it is the practical experiences that result from such confrontations between the workers and the ruling class that either educate or miseducate the workers as a whole, that either give them hope for the future or undermine their confidence in their own ability to struggle.

NEXT WEEK: How US steelworkers are fighting for union democracy.





# Government blocks real power for Scottish Assembly

BY NEIL WILLIAMSON

'NOT SO MUCH an Assembly, more a local council' was how the Financial Times greeted the Government's White Paper on devolution, published at the beginning of this month. That judgement on the powers of the Assembly is quite an accurate one; but all the same, arguments over this 'local council' have not only managed to raise electoral support for the Scottish National Party (SNP) from 2.4 per cent to over 30 per cent in a decade, but today threaten the stability of a Labour Government which has already achieved political successes against the working class which the Tories can only envy. Regardless of anything else about devolution, it cannot now be dismissed as 'irrelevant' or a 'diversion'. For better or worse, it is now a political issue at the centre of the crisis of British political life, and socialists will have to understand and act on it.

The Government's position on devolution contained in the White Paper is very much the product of frightened bureaucrats poring over Scottish election statistics in Transport House. Its proposals only give credibility to the above-mentioned assessment of the *Financial Times*. The only changes from previous proposals are an increase in representation to 150 members, the election of an Assembly Executive in Scotland, a 'stronger voice' in the British Tourist Authority, and Assembly control over the lower stages of the Scottish legal system.

Universities are left outside its scope. As the *Scotsman* put it, tongue in cheek: 'Though Labour, the Government are not lacking in respect for the Establishment in the law and universities.' Or anywhere else for that matter. In fact it is doubtful if even a man of the engrained cynicism of Michael Foot believes that this hastily thrown together package can achieve anything apart from a brief breathing space for the Government.

Two issues in particular lie at the heart of the problem for the Cabinet in

get hold of the real wealth in the hands of the oil companies or banks for use in the interests of working people.

Royal Dutch-Shell, who have just announced a quarterly profit of £303 million, and who expect a total annual profit in the region of £1,250 million, are thus well protected from any 'extremist' legislation which Scottish workers might demand in order to use that wealth for more socially useful purposes than enriching oil shareholders.

## FEUDAL

Despite this, the Government has built into the proposals what it calls 'constitutional safeguards' (which 'safeguard' both the constitution and private wealth) through a veto system. Having rejected a veto based on the powers of a colonial governor which would have allowed the Scottish Secretary of State discretion to rule out of order certain legislation, the Government has now opted for a veto power based on a feudal court!

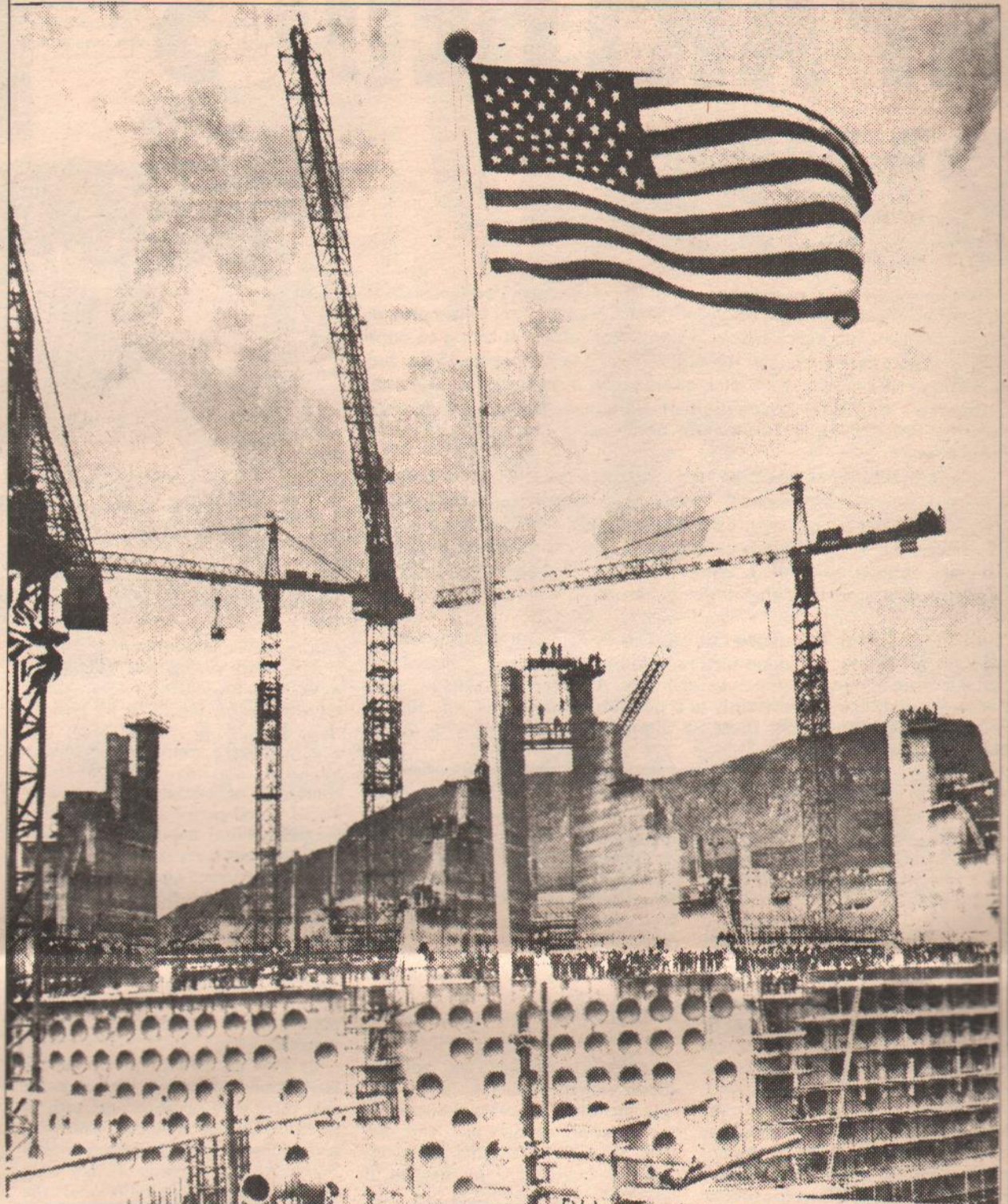
The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, elected by no-one and responsible to no-one, can now rule out legislation which it deems would have 'unacceptable repercussions' on national government policy. Even the most timid and reformist attempts to challenge the policy of the Government — on unemployment, for instance, or cuts in social spending — will now be interpreted by their Lordships as having 'unacceptable repercussions'.

Nothing is supposed to interfere with the policies of the government of the day. The so-called sovereignty of the great 'Mother of Parliaments' at Westminster, much beloved by the Tribune Group, is as much a road block to the working class now as it was during the disastrous campaign led by the Labour lefts during the anti-EEC referendum.

## FAILURE

With the first landings of oil this year, the contrast between the massive investment and profits of oil exploitation and its total failure to produce any real benefits for Scottish or English workers is becoming acute. There are 50,000 workers employed in the industry, often in badly unionised service industries in the North East or labour camps on the West coast, but the platform construction industry has not one order left and can only be expected to shed considerable labour over the next period. The Assembly, however, will be impotent to deal with the oil monopolies, leaving the Government a free hand to use oil revenues as a means of repayment to the international bankers.

In the same period the cuts in public spending (schools, roads, hospitals) will only accentuate the chronic unemployment in the construction trade, pushing Scottish unemployment fig-



The reactionary Scottish National Party will not be rushing to haul down the flag of foreign capital in Scotland.

ures still higher than the national average. Again the Assembly will be impotent to adopt the necessary measures: policies such as an emergency programme of public investment, or the take-over of plants used by multinational 'cowboy' employers to make quick profits, are all ruled out as illegal under the Government's proposals.

But the Government's attempts to produce a deliberately contrived abortion are meeting increasing difficulty. Some sections of social democracy do not trust even Michael Foot to defend the 'historic integrity' of the United Kingdom adequately.

A new group of mainly English MPs has now been formed as an organised caucus against any form of devolution. This grouping, called 'Labour against Assemblies in Edinburgh and Cardiff', is led by Eric Moonman, MP for Basildon. Starting at the Labour Party conference, it seeks to sabotage any recognition of the demands of the Scottish and Welsh workers for some form of elected Assembly.

## ALLIANCE

The initiative for this much heralded 'backlash' comes of course from Scotland itself, where frightened Labour MPs are increasingly aware of the large scale working class indifference to their electoral fate. Lacking the politics (and often the personal courage) to attack the disastrous policies of the Government, they become instead the most vociferous defenders of the Government's record and the present *status quo* between Westminster and the regions.

This attack on devolution has now been joined by the building workers' union, UCATT, in the shape of an alliance between Eric Heffer and George Smith—general secretary of the union and one of the most right-wing bureaucrats in the business. In an article in the *Scotsman* on 5 August, Smith blamed lack of support

political situation—which means screaming abuse at the tail because of an absence of anything to say to the dog—is coupled with the most incredible arrogance, almost calculated to drive workers into the arms of the petty bourgeois nationalists. 'I make at least one pilgrimage to Scotland in the year', claims Mr Smith, and adds modestly: 'I have just spent a fortnight's holiday in a caravan at Arbroath. I still very much love Scotland. I claim entitlement to speak for Scotsmen.'

## RED FLAG

It is this type of attitude, even if it is dressed up with strains of the Internationale or the Red Flag, which cuts across the democratic right of the Scottish workers to choose their own form of government. Quite emphatically, Scottish workers do not accept the claims of George Smith (or Michael Foot for that matter) to speak for them. They have a right, which the British labour movement has to wholeheartedly support, to speak for themselves.

Any attempt to sabotage that democratic right, by rejecting even the most modest and opportunist proposals made by the Government to set up an elected Assembly, will be disastrous for the unity of the British working class. The present trickle of confidence away from the labour movement as a vehicle for solving the problems of Scottish people will be turned into a veritable flood, throwing workers in Scotland into the camp of the reactionary bourgeois SNP.

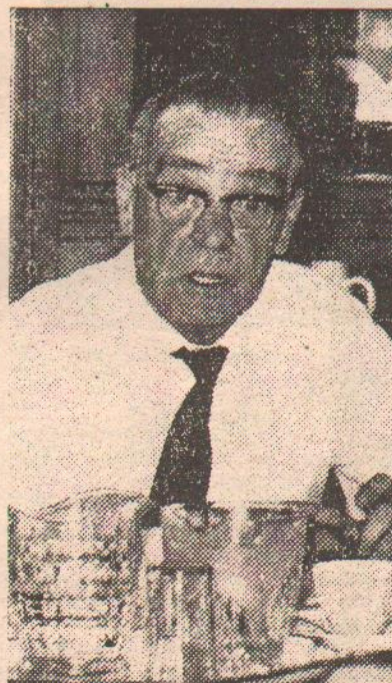


FOOT

manoeuvring round the issue. First is the question of revenue. The Government has rejected its previous formula of allowing a surcharge on local rates as a source of taxation for the new Assembly. With all expenditure now coming from a block grant from Westminster, the Assembly has no powers of taxation or fund-raising.

## REVENUE

But revenue is at the heart of the nature of the Assembly, and without it the new Assembly will effectively be no more than a large local council. It will not matter what steps the Scottish people decide are necessary in the way of legislation just to begin to tackle some of the worst problems such as multi-national 'get rich quick' investment, the decades of urban deprivation, and the traditionally higher levels of unemployment and migration — the White Paper means that no attempt can be made in Scotland to



GEORGE SMITH OF UCATT

for the record of the Government among Scottish workers on the 'disruptive tactics' of the Communist Party—meaning the timid fight that the General Council of the Scottish TUC has put up for an elected Assembly.

This absurd view of the Scottish

# SWAPO CALLS APARTHEID'S BLUFF

The growing black revolt inside South Africa could hardly have come at a worse time for the Vorster Government. Not only is it trying to cope with the effects of the crisis of the Smith regime in Zimbabwe-to-be, but at the end of this month it will also come under a renewed international spotlight for its brutal occupation of Namibia (South West Africa), when the United Nations ultimatum demanding South African withdrawal expires.

The apartheid regime has tried to confuse the issue with the holding of a 'constitutional conference', involving a number of black stooge leaders but firmly excluding the armed liberation organisation SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organisation]. This conference announced last week that it had set a target date of 31 December 1978 for 'independence', and that an interim government would shortly be set up.

SWAPO, however, has called this bluff by threatening to 'escalate the battle on all fronts — economically, diplomatically and militarily' if such a puppet administration is established. After ten years' experience of armed resistance it is certainly in a position to carry out this threat. Below, JO MORRIS of the Namibia Support Committee looks at the background of this struggle.

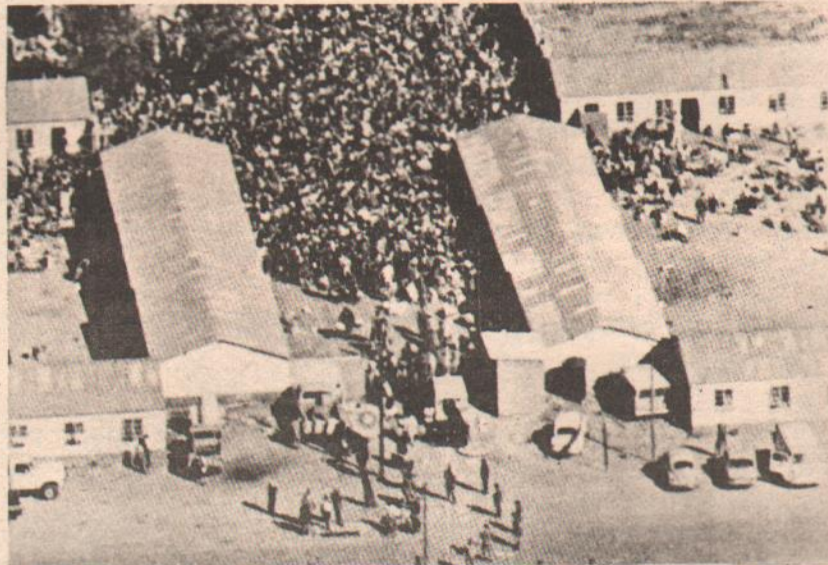
This month marks the tenth anniversary of the beginning of the armed struggle in Namibia. According to a recent SWAPO communique 46 South African soldiers have been killed in three separate ambushes in the last two months. The growing threat posed by the SWAPO guerrillas has forced the illegal South African regime to impose a complete news blackout on military activity in northern Namibia, while the white settlers are in a state of panic—last month there was a net outflow of at least £9m from the country.

SWAPO grew out of the Ovamboland People's Congress, which was formed in 1958 by migrant labourers working in Cape Town. From the beginning it was a workers'

organisation, with the twin aims of independence for Namibia and the abolition of the contract labour system. By the early 1960s the organisation had taken on a national character, and was renamed the South West Africa People's Organisation to reflect this.

## Weapon

The early membership was recruited almost entirely from the mines, canning factories and other branches of the urbanised proletariat. This has given SWAPO a distinctive character: strikes have been a major weapon of resistance, culminating in the first



General Strike, Namibia 1971 - Workers refuse to leave the Katutura compound for work.

general strike in southern Africa in 1971/2, when 20,000 men and women came out for three months, only returning when forced to by lack of food.

Plans for the armed struggle began as early as 1962, when a secret conference of SWAPO took place in Namibia and passed a resolution stating that political and military activities were supplementary to each other and should be pursued concurrently. That year SWAPO started military training that resulted in the establishment of the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), the military wing of SWAPO. A programme of politicisation was set up to prepare the population for this new stage of the struggle.

By 1964 the first camp was set up inside Namibia, and in the following year there were small military cells in three regions of Namibia. The cells and camps survived the vigilance of the South African Security Forces only through constant mobility and the



Government-paid puppet chiefs and their bodyguards, and Government installations at Oshikango, where a complex of Government buildings were burnt down.

## Torture

The South Africans were taken by surprise, but the Defence Force was soon in action. Helicopters spotted the guerrilla base in Ovamboland and on 26 August 1966 a large party of guerrillas was captured in a dawn raid. The captives were brought to trial in Pretoria after two years of interrogation, torture and many months of solitary confinement. The majority of these men are now serving life sentences on the bleak Robben Island prison.

Until the overthrow of Portuguese colonialism in Angola, guerrilla attacks were mainly in the north-eastern regions of Namibia: South African army camps, landmine operations, ambushes of military and civilian convoys. But during the last year guerrillas have infiltrated the densely populated area of Ovamboland, increasingly attacking collaborators with the South African regime as well as military targets. Casualty figures on the South African side have risen dramatically.

## Liberation

While the terrain and dense population in Ovamboland excludes it as a potential 'liberated area', the region is reaching the stage where it is ungovernable except by explicit martial law. The Security Forces—including tribal police—are ordered to 'shoot to kill' anyone seen in the 'no-go' zone running along the Angolan border. The brutality of the occupying forces — there are many well documented accounts of torture, rape, stealing and assault—can only deepen the antagonisms.

The general state of tension—ostensibly caused by the murder of white farmers in southern Namibia and the assassination last year of the South African-appointed puppet chief of Ovamboland—has created a new situation in Namibia. The building of military bases, the massive call-up of troops, the bombing of SWAPO camps in Zambia all point to the determination of South Africa to maintain its control of Namibia. But in the face of the intensified guerrilla war being waged by SWAPO, it can only be a matter of time before the collapse of the South African occupation and the liberation of Namibia.

support of the local population—here the support and organisation of the women in northern Namibia was of great importance.

On 18 July 1966, after the International Court of Justice had refused to rule against the South African occupation of Namibia, SWAPO issued a declaration of war from its exile headquarters in Dar es Salaam: 'We have no alternative but to rise in arms and bring about our own liberation. The supreme test must be faced and we must at once begin to cross the many rivers of blood on our march towards freedom. And as sure as night follows day, victory will be ours.'

## Targets

The guerrillas were well trained and well armed and the attacks which followed created a degree of panic among the white community, whose farms were attacked as far south as Grootfontein. Other early targets were

# Peruvian Generals Clamp Down

After a year of tinkering with the reform programme inherited from the so-called 'First Phase' of the 'Peruvian Revolution', President Morales and the military rulers of this country are now set to junk it entirely.

Ministers who have been forced to resign include key personalities associated under President Velasco with the renegotiation of the terms of Peru's dependence on foreign capital, the fostering of solidarity among Third World bourgeoisies, and the co-operativisation of large-scale agriculture. But this is not a 'counter-revolution'. Rather it is the latest in a series of rightward shifts begun under Velasco, which have as their cause the international economic recession and the steadily growing militancy of the Peruvian working class.

All the same, things are going to be different from now on. To start with, there are going to be more generous inducements to foreign capital, both in Peru itself and in the common market of the Andean Pact. In its international relations, the regime has given priority to friendly contacts with the extreme right-wing militaries of Chile, Argentina and Brazil.

At home it is proposing to denationalise fishing and extend direct wage controls into the theoretically autonomous agricultural cooperatives, together with a concerted attack on the right to strike. The whole package is designed to provide incentives to medium and small capital, which has benefited much less from the 'Revolution' than the big domestic, foreign and state-run concerns, and which has been on a virtual investment strike since 1970.

From the point of view of the working class, the curtailment of the right to strike is probably the most serious of these mea-



Prime Minister Fernandez Maldonado - ousted by the right wing.

asures. Under the State of Emergency effective since 1 July, strikes are illegal — as are meetings or demonstrations of any kind. By means of these provisions, and by closing down the opposition press, the military have sought not only to maintain the unity of their own ranks — something which the abortive right-wing putsch on 9 July shows cannot be taken for granted — but also to deprive the workers movement of every means of protesting the raiding of trade union offices, the deportation of leaders such as Hugo Blanco and Hernan Cuentas, and the kidnapping, torture and imprisonment without trial of numerous militants.

In Peru, as distinct from Chile, however, the emergency regulations cannot be extended indefinitely. It is for this reason that the Ministry of Labour has recently decreed that, in future, days lost in strikes will be

computed against workers' holiday entitlements.

A courageous lead in the fight back against this frontal assault on the long-standing rights of the working class has been given by the Miners' Federation of Central Peru. In a statement published on 7 August, the miners urged the country's workers and peasants to take an independent class position and reject the argument of the Communist Party and other pro-government tendencies that to oppose the regime is to 'play the game of imperialism'. The statement called for a broad response to the call put out by the Coordinating and Unifying Committee of Class-struggle Unions [CCUSC] for an indefinite general strike on 16 August.

Despite the urgency of this appeal, however, its impact has been severely weakened by the sectarian tactics of the Maoist leaders of the CCUSC towards the CP-controlled trade union confederation, the CGTP. Whereas revolutionary Marxists in Peru defend the CGTP against its Stalinist leadership and struggle for unity in action both inside and outside this body, the Maoist-dominated CCUSC has in practice divided and depleted the forces that might be won to a class-struggle orientation by posing itself as the alternative to a hopelessly 'social-imperialist' CGTP.

Even within the framework of the CCUSC, the Maoists conduct themselves in an exclusivist fashion, using their majority to impose what amounts to their full programme on the organisation. As a result, two years after its formation the most important class-struggle nucleus does not even coordinate all those currents which have left the CGTP during the last five



HUGO BLANCO - the deportation of the Trotskyist leader after return from exile, has been accompanied by numerous other deportations, imprisonment and torture of working class militants.

years. And it has not begun the task of drawing into common struggle all the sections of workers, organised mainly in the CGTP and in some instances in the government-sponsored CTRP, who have demonstrated that they are prepared to fight.

As a result, it seems probable that the miners will only be joined in struggle by the two Maoist strongholds in teaching and the universities. In the present atmosphere of repression, the cost to the working class and popular movement of so partial a challenge to the regime could be heavy.

# 7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast

SPECULATION has already started that Brian Faulkner, who announced his retirement from active politics last week, is to join other has been Prime Ministers in the House of Lords. Certainly, Brian has done much over the years to earn this reward from the British ruling class.

Arthur Brian Deane Faulkner entered the Stormont parliament in 1949 with strong backing from the Orange Order. And throughout his political life he was always quick to play the Orange card. As a rising young Unionist MP he told an Orange rally

on 17 July 1954: 'There is no reason why Orangemen individually and collectively should not interest themselves in the economic welfare of the community. I mean by that statement we should be anxious to find employment for our brethren.'

A year later he reinforced his point by declaring: 'The Government must ask themselves whether it were safe to employ in Government service, people who openly advocated treason.' In plain language — don't employ Catholics.

Faulkner now rose quickly in the ranks. He was made Unionist Chief Whip in 1956 and Minister of Home Affairs in 1959, when he first introduced internment to deal with the IRA border campaign which went on till 1962.

Throughout the 1960s Faulkner never ceased in his attempt to manoeuvre himself into the top post of Prime Minister by skilful use of the Orange card. But it was not until the Northern Ireland Parliament was on its last legs that he achieved his ambition. Almost immediately he once again introduced internment of Republicans. But instead of quelling the

resistance of the nationalist minority, this measure fuelled it. In March 1972 Faulkner and Stormont fell.

He was to rise again to prominence with the Sunningdale agreement as Chief Minister in the ill-fated power-sharing executive. The executive collapsed after four months, and with it collapsed Faulkner's career.

Gerry Fitt, the Social Democratic and Labour Party leader, described Faulkner last week as 'a man with tremendous courage'. Like the press, the SDLP wish to portray Faulkner as a reformed character to give credibility to their abject collaboration with the Faulknerite Unionists. Yet only a

fortnight ago Faulkner was calling for tougher army action, the building of a home guard, and the reintroduction of internment.

Described once by a Labour Government minister as 'as cunning as a wagon load of monkeys', Faulkner may well have conned many in his time, including British Governments and the SDLP. But for the nationalist community in general Führer Faulkner, who upheld the Orange Order as 'the most democratic body in the world', will always be remembered as a henchman of the Protestant ascendancy and the author of internment without trial.

## Power of multinationals challenged in Spain

BY RICHARD CARVER

Solidarity with the workers of Hutchinson Mapa in Madrid was the theme of a meeting in London last Thursday attended by nearly a hundred people. The meeting was organised by the North London Committee Against Repression in Spain.

Hutchinson Mapa is part of a giant Franco-German multinational, controlled by the French petro-chemical monopoly which markets 'Total' petrol. In addition to its Spanish operations, Hutchinson Mapa has factories throughout Europe and in Morocco and South Africa.

The dispute in Madrid began with the sacking of leading militants in the factory as they pressed demands for unitary contracts of employment in the chemical industry. The workers struck against the dismissals. Management responded with the progressive sacking of strikers until 220 had been dismissed.

### Blacking

The Madrid workers launched an appeal for international solidarity which met with an immediate response. In France the CGT union federation has organised an overtime ban and a boycott of Hutchinson products, while in Italy the chemical workers are blacking goods for the Spanish market and have raised large sums of money to aid the strikers.

The combination of international solidarity with the support of Spanish workers and neighbourhood committees and the militancy of the strikers themselves seems to have paid off. Latest reports indicate that an industrial tribunal has ordered the re-instatement of at least a substantial proportion of the sacked workers. But it remains to be seen whether all the workers' demands have been met. It may well be that the Hutchinson struggle is not over yet.

However, whether the Hutchinson struggle has been victorious or not, it is still important as a symptom of the rising militancy of the Spanish working class. The Hutchinson workers, like many others now in struggle, had never been on strike before. Yet they quickly learned what was required to take on the employers, with the armed strength of the dictatorship behind them.

In order to hold regular meetings they were forced to occupy a church. Promptly expelled by the Armed Police, they occupied another which serves as the organising focus of the strike. The sovereign body, which both decides policy and organises the basic necessities of the strike, is the democratic assembly of all strikers

which meets daily in the church.

The Hutchinson workers are not the only ones in struggle at the moment. They have united with strikers from other factories in Madrid in a democratic Workers Assembly, while in Barcelona workers at Motor Iberica, a Massey Ferguson subsidiary, have been on strike since 28 April.

### Motor Iberica

As at Hutchinson, the Motor Iberica struggle is against victimisation, as well as for a 4,000 peseta (just over £30) across-the-board monthly pay rise. These workers, too, have had to face victimisation by management and repression by the police. Their response has also been the organisation of solidarity action, both in Spain and internationally, and the democratic control of the strike by daily mass meetings.

The struggles at Hutchinson and Motor Iberica are only a taste of what is to come as greater numbers of workers move into open conflict with the facelifted Francoist regime. And from the Hutchinson strike we can draw lessons for our own tasks in Britain: that international solidarity action in the multinationals—strikes, blackings, financial support—is both necessary and effective. The Hutchinson workers could not have won without the support of their French and Italian comrades. Far wider sections of the Spanish working class will soon be needing the same solidarity.

Telegrams of support and donations to the Motor Iberica strikers can be sent to: Rafael del Rosa, Avenida J. Antonion 651, Barcelona.



On the march in London last weekend, demanding political status for Republican Prisoners.

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

## NO 'PEACE' WHILE WOMEN REMAIN OPPRESSED

BY CELIA HOLT

The involvement of women—not all of them either middle class or pro-British—on the 'peace at any price' demonstrations in Belfast brings home the urgent need to organise women against imperialism and their own oppression. While it is important not to over-estimate the spontaneity of the present peace movement—behind it are the pro-British parties and press—it is important to recognise their ability to use the isolation of women to mobilise some of them against the IRA.

Although the level of women's involvement in the anti-imperialist struggle since 1968 has been and remains very high, the fact remains that the early potential for organising large numbers of women has not been realised. To a great extent this is due to the elitism of the Republican movement and its failure to seize upon and develop the mass movement which gave rise to it. But there is also a basic lack of understanding by Republicans of women's oppression in Ireland.

### OVERNIGHT

There have also been failures by the women's movement itself. In 1970 a

women's liberation movement was set up, gained the support of hundreds of women almost overnight, and just as rapidly faded out of existence. It is not difficult to see why. 1970 was the year of internment; the issue of women's oppression seemingly paled into insignificance beside the resistance in the North.

This need not have happened. Had the women's movement been able to show how the liberation of women was bound up with the national question and the need to mobilise women against imperialism on the issue of their own oppression, the movement could have become part of the mainstream of the struggle. Instead it isolated itself by not finding its relation to the primary task of the Irish working class, the resolution of the national question.

Women's liberation groups have revived to some extent but problems remain. The Belfast Socialist Women's Group manifesto addresses all its demands to the British state. This is not only a denial of self-determination, but results in cutting off the movement from the majority of Catholic women, to whom it is clear

that the British state is incapable of granting the minimum of democratic rights.

### CHURCH

Women in the south have tended to concentrate on the reactionary positions of the Catholic Church without understanding that the relation of the Church to the state in the south is entirely a product of imperialist domination. The effects of partition—in James Connolly's words, the 'carnival of reaction'—were to consolidate the reactionary Church-state alliance in the south and to deny basic democratic rights to women in both parts of Ireland. Demands for parity with British women in the north, and anti-Church harangues in the south, ignore the fact that imperialism is responsible for the intensity of women's oppression in Ireland.

### INVALUABLE

Women have shown themselves to be invaluable in the anti-imperialist resistance. Their potential is even greater, and the dangers of ignoring their demands have been demonstrated already. But some steps in the right direction are now being taken, especially in the 26 counties where the Irish Women United group is attracting a good deal of support by linking up women's oppression in the home, at work and by the Catholic ideology of the state.

In this country recognition of the importance of women's oppression in Ireland has led the forthcoming Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland to agree to meet representatives from the Belfast Socialist Women's Group and Irish Women United. And whatever the shortcomings of such groups may be, one thing is certain—they will be a factor in the fight of Irishwomen to control all aspects of their lives long after the present 'peace movement' has disappeared.

Copies of Banshee—the paper of Irish Women United—can be obtained from 12 Lower Pembroke Street, Dublin 2. £1 for six issues.



It is important to recognise that the isolation of women has been used by the media and British political parties to fuel the 'peace at any price' demonstrations in Belfast.

# UNION LEADERS HOLD BACK ON TRICO



What does the Chief Justice of the Western Pacific have in common with women workers at the Trico factory in London? Absolutely nothing — which is probably why he was chosen to chair the Industrial Tribunal considering the Trico equal pay claim.

But the women did not have the doubtful pleasure of meeting Sir Jocelyn Bodilly. With the backing of their union, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, they decided to boycott the Tribunal — arguing that the experience of other workers has exposed tribunals as easy tools for the employers in taking advantage of the gaping holes of Labour's Equal Pay Act. Whether or not the Tribunal rules against them, the women believe that only collective, independent action will win equal pay.

However, there are danger signs that victory will not be that easy. The 14 weeks of hardship and bitter conflict with scabs, management and police have taken their toll — as they did in the unsuccessful 14-week equal pay strike at Salford Electrical Instruments (SEI) in 1974.

## SCABS

As at SEI, where male union members broke into the occupation, myths abound that women are privileged to work for 'pin money' and should not complain. These have been used to justify the hostility of male scabs — some of them AUEW shop stewards!

Limited involvement and isolation from trade union activity prior to the strike has meant that many of the women lack the confidence and experience to take the running of the strike into their own hands — leaving it firmly held by the male-dominated AUEW District Committee. Many women express their frustration at their non-involvement in all stages of decision-making. This can only heighten their demoralisation, as their only means of participation — picketing — is rendered ineffective by the scabs and police.

As with the SEI strike, a few questions need to be asked about the role of the national AUEW leadership. When the strike began, many militants were optimistic that it would not follow the SEI road — isolated and broken by ineffective national blacking and lack of solidarity action from the engineering industry and the wider workers movement. A full-time AUEW official proclaimed: 'This is the most important strike at present going on in the country.' This optimism is now wearing a little thin.

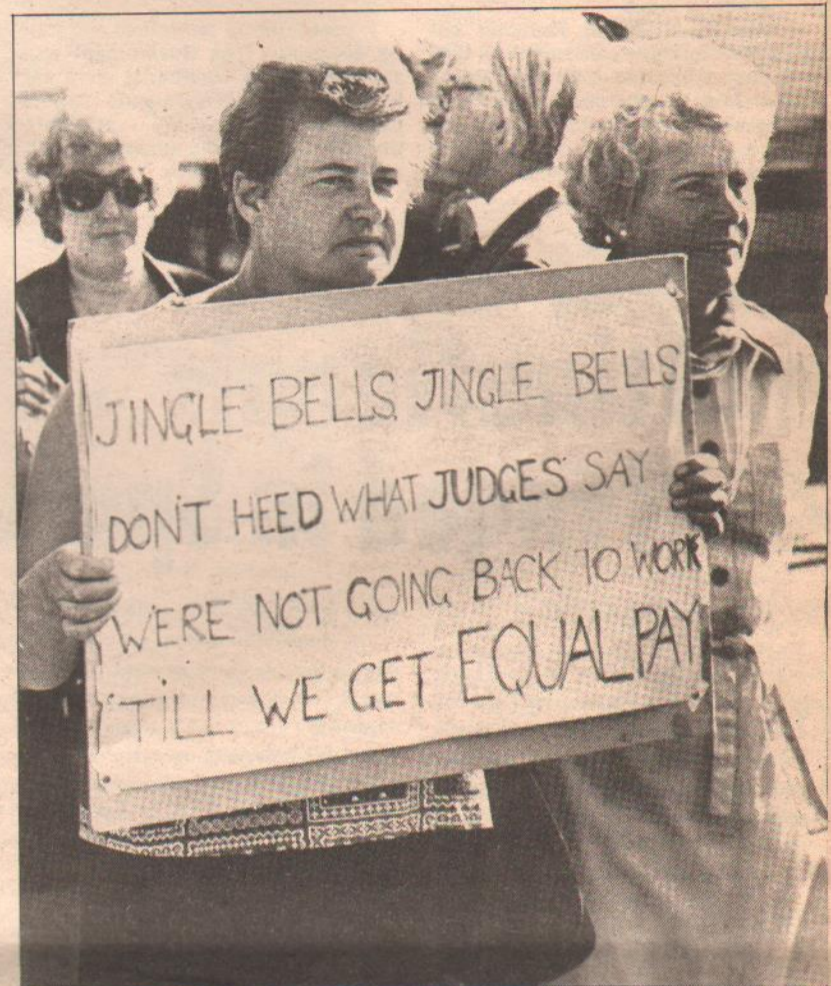
## AUEW

\*Why has the AUEW national executive not issued a national circular calling for blacking of all Trico windscreen wipers? Red Weekly and the strike committee receive regular reports of AUEW workers who are unaware of the women's call to black British and American blades. In very few plants have AUEW officials called mass meetings to discuss solidarity action with the Trico workers.

\*Why has the AUEW District Committee turned a cold shoulder to the proposal by Working Women's Charter supporters for a support committee? With organised support from trades councils, trade union branches, women's groups and Labour Party wards in the area, such a committee could effectively monitor blacking (particularly in the airport), win financial support for the strike, build mass pickets, and organise picketing when the women's domestic ties make it difficult.

\*Why have there been no solidarity strikes called by the local and national AUEW leadership? Even a one-day stoppage by engineers would help isolate the scabs inside the factory and act as a focus for national solidarity action which could put the spotlight firmly on the general inadequacies of the Equal Pay Act.

\*Why have the women had to put up with such financial difficulty? It took 13 weeks



TRICO STRIKERS - their determination should shame the union leaders who have refused to back their struggle to the hilt.

Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

for a district AUEW levy of 5p a member to be paid out. For the first few weeks of the strike new members of the union could not get official strike pay — the district officials arguing that three months' membership before the strike was necessary to receive it. Rules like this hit women particularly hard because of their isolation from the trade union movement.

\*Why, after more than three months, has the union not provided child care provisions? This was called for — and promised — some weeks ago, and would have freed

many more women to participate more actively in the strike.

Red Weekly agrees with the AUEW — this is one of the most important strikes in the country at present. So how come its leaders have not pulled out all the stops? We could be forgiven for suggesting that perhaps the TUC deal with Healey and concern not to rock the boat of big business is more important to them than the living standards of the working class and the fight for women's rights.

## TEL AL ZAATAR

# A TURNING POINT

The fall of the Palestinian refugee camp at Tel Al-Zaatar on 12 August marks a turning point in the Lebanese civil war. A total destruction of Palestinian military capability is not at stake — unlike Jordan in September 1970 — despite the gravity of Palestinian losses at the camp, estimated at over one thousand killed. But what the Christian right wing have succeeded in shredding to pieces in Tel Al-Zaatar is the Palestinian leadership's political project for a return to a unified Lebanese state in which an armed Palestinian presence in the refugee camps is tolerated.

Tel Al-Zaatar was the last big Palestinian and Moslem enclave in the otherwise predominantly Christian areas to the north of Beirut. Its fall has enormously boosted the prestige of the right-wing forces. It has given them a geographical unity, and brought much closer a realisation of their project for the *de facto* partition of Lebanon.

Tel Al-Zaatar was at the same time a test for the policy of intervention of the Syrian regime. With a military force currently estimated at 20,000 soldiers and 450 tanks, the Syrian intervention has managed to tilt the relationship of forces away from the Palestinian-left alliance and towards the right wing.

This overt assistance from Syria came on top of considerable indirect aid to the right-wing forces from the Israeli army in the form of ammunition, sophisticated weaponry, and control of the coastal areas. The combined result gradually led to a generalised retreat by the Palestinian and left forces throughout Lebanon from the end of June onwards.

## Courage

The battle for Tel Al-Zaatar encapsulated all these new ingredients in the situation, giving it a symbolic and therefore political significance far exceeding its military value. This was no ordinary camp.

Fifty-two days of siege and constant artillery bombardment, with no water, food, or medicine towards the end. These were the conditions in which the inhabitants fought with a tenacity and courage which will forever remain inscribed in the memories of Arab revolutionaries. This much, at least, even defeat cannot erase.

The Syrian intervention has justified itself with the fall of Tel Al-Zaatar, at least in the short term. The Palestinians and the left

have been curbed. A situation of Syrian sponsored 'law and order' relatively free of 'Palestinian anarchy' (i.e. free of an independent Palestinian movement) is now on the cards.

The groundwork has now been prepared also for a favourable comparison between the role of Sadat during the 1975 Sinai accords negotiations, and of Assad with his policy of intervention against the Palestinians and the left. Yesterday Sadat strengthened his ties with American imperialism by making concessions to Zionism. Today Assad wants to do the same thing by curbing the Palestinians. A strip of useless desert along the Golan, to match a strip along Sinai.

## Zionism

But August 1976 is not September 1975. A year ago the Zionist State appeared as a partial liability to American imperialism in its project to mend relations with Arab regimes still flushed with their newly acquired oil power. Today that same regime appears as a rock of stability amidst the troubled waters of the Arab world. Policy makers in Washington are realising that an Israeli bird in the hand is worth far more than a Syrian one in the bush ..... to say nothing of an even more elusive Palestinian one on the West Bank!

The Syrians are not completely unaware of this fact. Assad needs to prove that he can control the Palestinian movement and manipulate it to serve the Syrian regime's own interests in the settlement with Zionism and the negotiations over Golan.

Unlike Hussain in 1970, Assad in 1976 does not need to physically annihilate the organised presence of the Palestinians in Lebanon. In fact to do so would weaken his bargaining position with the Zionist regime, as he would not have the Palestinian movement and the revolutionary potential of the Palestinian masses to bargain with.

After Jordan in 1970, there was a Lebanon to go to. After Lebanon in 1976 there is nowhere. The Palestinian leadership is therefore faced with a clear-cut choice. Either they agree to accrue petty privileges by acting as pawns of the Syrian regime. Or else they organise to pursue a revolutionary policy whose only logic is an all-out war with the Syrian regime.

M. Jaafar

## IMPROVEMENTS COST MONEY!

This week, for the first time, Red Weekly has fully justified columns. It certainly makes a difference doesn't it? But in making the paper more attractive, easier to read and more professional we are spending a good deal of money, money we can barely afford. And although we expect these and other changes we will be making in the paper to increase our sales, we will always find it difficult to survive on sales revenue alone.

We need extra money, and the only way we can get it is from our readers and supporters. Even reading Red Weekly is a political act, and politics need commitment. We need money today more than ever, just as there is more than ever a need for the type of paper Red Weekly is: a fighting paper, putting forward, not only what is wrong with capitalist society, but how to fight it and what policies to fight around.

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