

RED WEEKLY

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SUPPORT THE SEAMEN

'WE'LL CRIPPLE YOU.' That message for the seamen did not come from the lips of the ship-owners or from the right-wing Labour Government. It came from Len Murray, leader of the trade union movement in this country.

Murray, Jones and Scanlon forced the leaders of the NUS to break the mandate of their members by threatening strike-breaking. Every class-conscious worker should now regard Murray and the ex-lefts Scanlon and Jones as blacklegs.

Their pledges for an 'orderly return to free collective bargaining' has been revealed as nothing but a justification for yet another round of incomes policy, another dose of the social contract.

The TUC leadership are preparing early for the sell-out next year. That is one lesson which militants must learn from them. The campaign to oppose all wage controls and fight for a wages policy which includes automatic compensation for inflation must start now.

Support for the seamen's cause is now vital to prevent the rank and file of the National Union of Seamen from being demobilised as a result of the vacillations of their leadership. Resolutions expressing solidarity should be sent to local NUS branches. The campaign has vital political significance.

Opposing the seamen means accepting that working people pay for the crisis. Support for the seamen is part and parcel of rejecting wage cuts, unemployment and the run-down of social services.

It means the start of a fight for alternative policies and alternative leaders to those who disgrace the traditions of the working class by acting as policemen for the bosses. It's time to start the mutiny.



END WAGE-CUTTING

WE DEMAND THE RIGHT TO SPEAK



Demanding the right to work and no cuts were this angry crowd which gathered to greet Secretary of State for Scotland Bruce Millan when he arrived in Dundee on 7 September. More than 11 per cent of the city's workforce are already unemployed, and 300 workers in the public works department and 600 at National Cash Registers now face the sack. A thousand workers from NCR were among those who turned out against Millan.

AT THE END of the Right to Work march from London to Brighton, the marchers assembled outside the TUC Conference and chanted 'We Demand the Right to Speak'. Unfortunately the same demand now has to be directed at the Right to Work Campaign itself. On Monday a trade union supporter of *Red Weekly* informed us that he had been told by the Campaign office that no resolutions could be submitted to its forthcoming conference on cuts and unemployment.

So here we have a 'conference' to which trade union bodies are urged to send delegates, but at which those delegates will not be permitted to put forward the policies of their union organisations.

As during the London to Brighton march, the International Socialists — the dominant voice in the Right to Work Campaign — are standing four square against the principle of workers' democracy. They are blocking the right of open discussion, the right of all in the workers' movement — be they trade union branches or political organisations — to put forward and argue how they think the fight against the cuts and unemployment should be conducted.

Common sense

It is not simply a matter of principle, it is also a matter of common sense. The only way in which a united campaign against the policies of Healey and Murray can be waged is to seek the active involvement of all those willing to fight; and by active we mean participating, not sitting as a passive audience awaiting the instructions of the Campaign organisers.

The same applies to the forces which the projected conference is seeking to attract. At the moment the conference is restricted to trade union organisations. But the success of the campaign demands the involvement of all those in the workers' movement who are willing to join.

Thus delegates should be invited from the political as well as industrial wing of the workers' movement. It means, for example, appealing to Constituency Labour Parties to affiliate to the Campaign and come to the conference. This would increase the impact the conference could have and broaden the forces it could mobilise.

A further way of strengthening the campaign is to establish a positive relationship with the National Assembly on Unemployment, which attracted more than 3,000 delegates in March. While the Assembly should be criticised for its failure to chart out clear policies, or any real means of fighting for them, it did display a potential which should be grasped by the organisers of the Right to Work Campaign.

Appeal

It would have been preferable had those organisers approached the sponsors of the Assembly before they announced their own conference, and placed it in the context of the call for a recall Assembly. It would have been better had *Socialist Worker* publicly called for a recall Assembly before rushing to build what is, quite frankly, their own conference. Even now it is not too late to make such an appeal and to build a conference which will attract many more delegates than the Right to Work Campaign alone can draw.

The aim must be to mobilise as many as possible against the Labour Government's policies of huge cuts and unemployment. Sadly, it appears that at the moment the Right to Work Campaign does not recognise this.

Corpses

It therefore falls to all who are supporting the November conference to do the job the conference organisers are neglecting. In supporting the conference, we urge all readers to insist on the right of their union branches to submit their own resolutions to and the conference; and whether or not they are faced with bureaucratic rejections from the Campaign organisers, to insist that those resolutions are discussed on the conference floor.

Similarly, all labour movement bodies should be encouraged to attend the conference — not just trade union bodies. Finally, every effort should be made either before the conference or at the conference itself to raise the demand of a recall Assembly.

The labour movement in this country is littered with the corpses of campaigns and organisations murdered by their own sectarianism — the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions and the All Trade Union Alliance of the Workers Revolutionary Party are two such corpses. The building of the November conference may well be the last opportunity to save the Right to Work Campaign from joining this graveyard.

And if the campaign's leadership is not willing to see that what is needed is the mobilisation of all possible forces, then the 'rank-and-file' will have to do it themselves.



Letters to The Editors, Red Weekly, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. Letters should be as brief as possible. We reserve the right to cut all letters over 600 words.

You're right - IS member

I myself went on the Right to Work march, and I was sponsored by my trade union to march with the Women's Right to Work contingent. This, as reported quite correctly in your last issue, was smashed — effectively with little debate.

I walked for four days, and throughout that period all I did was march. There was no discussion whatsoever at our mass meetings about the Right to Work Campaign's aims and objectives. There were people from all over Britain and not once did the mass meeting ask one of the comrades to make a report from their area. We didn't even have anyone to speak about racialism, women's right to work or even the Labour Party's attitudes.

I myself am aware of all these points, but I feel that those who did not know the political arguments involved within the right to work demand left the march without an increase of their political awareness and understanding. The mass meetings could have been used as educational, but instead it was more like camp drill.

The organisation within your tent

attending meetings. And if you wanted to go to one of these meetings, you told him. But this was not the case. Instead Deason & Co. would choose those who were to go to the meetings.

I went on the march because I believe that everyone has the right to work and the unemployed need links with the trade unions. But at the same time I believe that those employed or unemployed who want to see an overthrow of capitalism — which creates eternal unemployment, — need to be well aware of the struggles within the right to work demand, which are often forced to the back. These, such as the struggle of women [51 per cent of the population], need effective political recognition within this campaign.

The Right to Work Campaign must take up these specific issues, for if they do not allow people involved in particular demands [who in no way disagree with everyone's right to work] to raise them, the Right to Work Campaign will just become a club for International Socialists, a non-educative body. It will never be a national campaign which unites those employed and unemployed people who

Why object to gay banner?

A number of homosexual women and men who took part in last week's Right to Work march were dismayed to find that while their participation was welcomed and their homosexuality accepted, their declaration of it was firmly discouraged.

The Brighton Right to Work Campaign invited the local group of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality to send a delegation, with the CHE banner, to greet the marchers at the outskirts of the town and to join in the last couple of miles of the march. We were already perturbed, however, by reports that groups of gays and Women's Liberation members who had joined the march in London had been forbidden to carry their own banners on the march, and that under protest they had complied with this requirement.

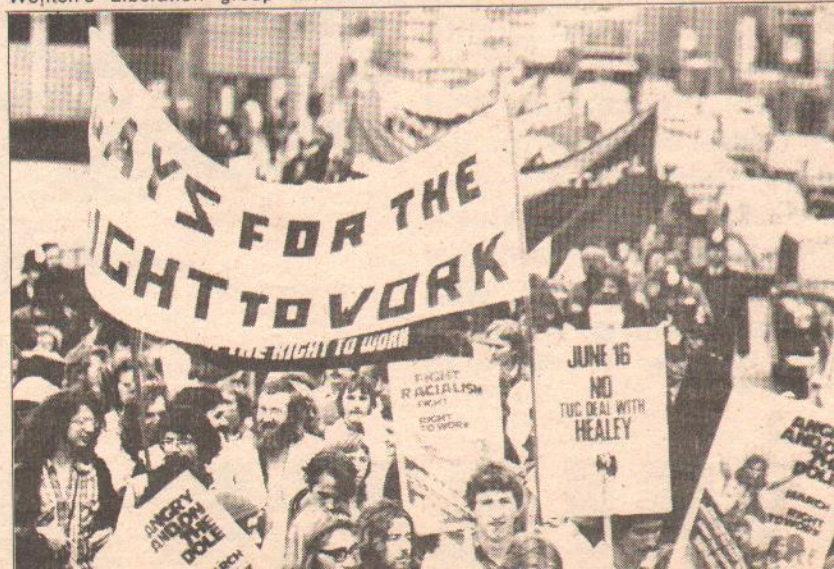
It was, therefore, five slightly apprehensive gays who turned up at Preston Park on Tuesday morning, complete with banner, as did members of the Brighton Women's Liberation group with theirs.

When the marchers arrived we were greeted with applause, cheers and salutes of solidarity, and we tucked ourselves on to the back of the march.

We were then approached by one of the stewards who asked us to take down our CHE banner. The reason he gave was that only 'Right to Work' banners and trade union banners had been allowed on the march. Yet we had already heard that banners saying 'Gays' Right to Work' and 'A Woman's Right to Work' had been excluded.

Apparently the only groups recognised by the organisers were regional ones. Why did they insist on making a sacred cow out of geographical distinctions, rather than allowing specific minority groups to declare their solidarity?

During the demonstration outside the Dome where the TUC was performing its annual rituals, we were approached several times by different people wanting us to remove our banner, though so far as we could see other groups, such as old age



pensioners, were not asked to do so. Each person gave a different reason — some practical, some ideological, and none particularly valid so far as we could see.

The disturbing implication of this is that there was no consensus of opinion as to why gays and women shouldn't carry our own banners, which leads us to assume that this was not a decision democratically taken in a properly convened meeting of those taking part. Obviously it could not have been, otherwise the women's and gay groups who marched from London would have known beforehand that their banners were not wanted and wouldn't have taken them.

the fact there wasn't even a consensus on a number of let alone on the reason for it. the Right to Work including members of thought gay banners should be allowed, indeed welcomed, on two been

Anyone who takes the trouble to think about it will realise that some of the million and a half unemployed are homosexual, just as they will realise that some of them are women, some black, some red-haired and some left-handed. Therefore, we are told, there is no reason for us to make a special issue of being gay and unemployed. We disagree.

Like women, and racial minorities, we and our jobs are more vulnerable than others in times of economic crisis. We all know that sackings and resignations forced by various brands of victimisation are tactics well-used by the bosses to avoid paying redundancy money.

Gays are sitting targets for such tactics, especially in areas such as social services, teaching and health services. A neat way of cutting public spending. Thank goodness, the unions are at last beginning to realise this, as witness the reinstatement of gay social worker Ian Davies after strike action by Tower Hamlets NALGO.

And when it comes to redundancies, single people of all sexes, like married women, are considered to be less in need of a job than men with families to support.

The women and racial minorities on the march were self-evident, and no-one expected them to disguise themselves as men or whites (did they?). But unless we make a clear and explicit statement of being gay — such as carrying a banner — we are invisible. Think about it. When was the last time anyone took you for a homosexual — unless you told them you were?

The sad lesson we have learnt from the Right to Work march is that homosexuality is still not regarded as the essential issue in the fight against capitalism. It's the same old heterosexist story: 'of course we accept gays — as long as they keep quiet about it'. The straight left still has a long

IN FOCUS

Banks takeover?

The Lugano branch of Lloyds Bank had £28m spirited off them in 1974. They didn't mind too much. They simply deducted the loss from their profits of £125.9m for that year. The total profits of the Big Four clearing banks amounted to a stupendous £500m last year. It is not surprising that they should react so violently to the Labour Party NEC's proposals to nationalise them and the insurance companies.

So overcome was the editor of The Times at the prospect of any kind of control of these profits that he headlined his piece 'The death of freedom'. The major clearing banks were a little more level-headed. They set about planning the sabotage of the measures before they get anywhere near the statute book. They chose an expert to mastermind the operation — Lord Armstrong, now chairman of the Midland Bank after recently retiring as head of the Civil Service.

The NEC's plan calls for the public ownership of the Big Four and the top seven insurance companies. The proposals would aim to reform the Bank of England so that it reflects more the policy of the Government than the interests of the City. The overall aim would be to provide finance which has previously been unforthcoming for industrial investment. The scheme has been estimated to cost £500m a year in servicing loans.

Many flaws

For socialists the plan has many flaws. The main problem is not that the City dominates the thinking of the Bank of England, although it does. For it was not the City which withdrew backing from the pound to force the seamen to back down. It was done on the instructions of the Government — a Labour Government within which Tony Benn, who launched the plan, continues to remain, and against whose wage-cutting policies not even the leftest of the NEC 'lefts' will wage any real fight. Similarly, it is not shortage of finance that is the main block to investment for British capitalists, it is the crisis-ridden British economy. Compensation would effectively mean that the banks would make a loss, confirming the hoary old Tory myth that nationalisation equals inefficiency.

Even if the plan gets past the starting gate of the Labour Conference, it needs a two thirds majority to go into the Manifesto — and given the lick-spittle attitude of the trade union leaders to Callaghan, a block vote or two could be trundled in its way. But of course, that is not the end of the story. There's many a slip twixt Conference and Manifesto, and even more between Manifesto and actual implementation. Finally there is the small question of whether there will be a Labour Government to implement any measures unless their present disastrous policies are fought.

But suppose the wildest dreams of the lefts who have produced the package come true and a Labour Government actually does try to implement the proposals. The sugar industry faced such a 'threat' in the forties. Mr Cube conducted a prolonged campaign against nationalisation to win hearts and minds. In the first steel nationalisation, the bosses simply sabotaged the state's take-over.

Fear impact

But if the chances of the proposals being carried through are so remote, why the great activity among the bankers? They fear the political impact such proposals could have in a working class deeply suspicious of the machinations of finance capital. The fight against cuts is starting to reveal the true extent to which local government is in the pocket of the bankers: Most of all, they fear the growth of a movement based on the need for workers control of the finance houses — a movement which would sweep away the veil of secrecy which hangs over their true profits and relations with big business and the Government.

Every socialist should support the proposals of the Labour NEC and demand their implementation. Not because they are in any way adequate; they are not. Not because the 'lefts' are really serious about this plan; they won't even put up a fight in defence of the most immediate interests of the working class against the Government's wage-cut policies. But because the fight for these proposals will raise questions that the 'lefts' dare not and cannot answer. They are revolutionary questions.

THE WORKERS' PARLIAMENT?

Last week the Daily Mirror described the TUC as the 'workers' parliament'. But a closer look at how some of the individual unions elect their delegates tells a rather different story.

AMALGAMATED UNION OF ENGINEERING WORKERS [AUEW]

By far the most democratic procedure, with all the delegates elected by branch ballot. However, policy is decided not by the delegates but by the National Committee — which is three stages of procedure removed from the branches. Furthermore, delegates are nominated a whole year before, i.e. the AUEW rank-and-file have to nominate who will go to the 1977 TUC before the 1976 TUC has even been held.

No manifestos are presented by the candidates, unlike all other AUEW elections. On average, only 4 per cent of the union votes at the area-based branches. ELECTRICAL, ELECTRONIC, TELECOMMUNICATION, PLUMBING UNION [EETPU]

Delegates are elected at two different levels. Some are elected from industrial sections which only meet once a year. The rest are elected at conference. Communist Party members are banned from office in the union.

NATIONAL SOCIETY OF METAL MECHANICS [NSMM]

Delegates are elected by branch committees, and are invariably officials. Branch committees are elected by branch meetings, which take place only once a year.

TRADES AND TECHNICIANS [UCATT]

The Executive Council, which is elected only every five years, represent the union as its TUC delegates. At the Special TUC on 16 June they abstained on incomes policy although the bi-annual conference of the union had instructed them to vote against.

SOCIETY OF GRAPHICAL AND ALLIED TRADES [SOGAT]

The five General Officers are automatically delegates. They are elected for life unless the Delegate Council decides otherwise. Other delegates are elected in ballots conducted by individual divisions.

UNION OF POST OFFICE WORKERS [UPW]

Fourteen delegates are elected annually by the national conference. How they vote at the TUC is determined by the Executive Council, which is free to interpret conference policy as it wishes. The Executive Council consists of 19 members elected at conference and 12 full-timers appointed for life.

Written manifestos or election campaigns are outlawed in the UPW. The annual conference never knows the views of the candidates. As for the rest of the membership — they are never consulted.

Far from being the 'workers parliament', the TUC Congress is heavily dominated by union officials. Even in unions where the delegates are lay-members and elected, the actual policy-making machinery is far removed from the shop floor. So it is not surprising that most rank-and-file unions



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

SIT BACK IN ANGER

THE POLITICAL boot-boys of the TUC General Council succeeded in ramming another year of the social contract through the unions last week. Despite their blustering about unemployment being 'unacceptable' and the need for an orderly return to free collective bargaining, their real anger was reserved for the Right to Work marchers outside the Brighton Dome.

Murray called them boot-boys. Clive Jenkins called them the 'fascists of the left'. Ken Gill, Communist leader of the Technical and Supervisory section of the AUEW said he 'wouldn't give them the droppings from his nose'.

A more exact analogy to describe these bureaucrats would be to say they each have their noses firmly embedded in the posterior of the bureaucrat in front of them. The Communist Party tail-ends the 'lefts', the 'lefts' capitulate to the ex-lefts like Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon, they follow Len Murray — and his nose is firmly implanted in the broad backsides of Jim Murray and his right-wing colleagues in the Labour Government.

Gang

The same bully gang that now denounces those who protest at 1½ million unemployed was itself apoplectic when unemployment reached half a million under the Tories in 1971. There's a difference now. We have a Labour Government.

According to Jack Jones, writing in the Morning Star the day the TUC opened: 'Never before has there been such a close working relationship between the trade unions and a government. This agreement has laid the foundations for real advances by the working class.'

On Jack Jones's reckoning we should achieve socialism when everybody is unemployed — after all, hasn't the aim of socialists always been to eliminate the distinction between work and leisure?

But the anger of the bureaucrats at the Right to Work marchers betray their fears. They are scared. They are scared, despite the present passivity of the labour movement, of what will happen when the 4½ per cent limit ends.

Ferocious

Just before the Congress, Jack Jones was forced to come out with talk of wages being linked to a cost of living index. He was forced to demand action to reduce unemployment. They know that they will not be able to carry another round of incomes policy.

The ferocious hostility with which the General Council rounded on the seamen displays the same fear. One small leak now



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

General Council's attempt to get a unanimous vote on just about every resolution put at Brighton last week. They know that the giant 18 to 1 majorities on incomes policy paper over the cracks.

Alan Sapper of the Cine Technicians might be persuaded to withdraw his union's motion opposing incomes policy, but Murray and Jones know that as workers run up against the limits of the pay policy there will be more seamen and more disputes like those that closed Leyland's Longbridge plant. The paper unity of the bureaucracy at Brighton can only contain the groundswell for so long.

Perhaps the most disgustingly hypocritical of all the TUC's actions at Brighton was to call on the Government to ban the marches of the National Front and National Party. It is the policies of mass unemployment that these people breed on that the TUC General Council was confirming

demand for import controls was regurgitated once again. And what do the racists say? If you can reduce unemployment by banning foreign goods, why not do it by banning foreign workers — and sending blacks home? And hasn't the TUC done this itself by calling for an end to work permit quotas?

Those delegates at the TUC Congress who are sincere in their desire to drive the fascists off the streets should ask themselves why it is Len Murray's so-called 'ranting Trotskyists' who have been to the forefront not only in fighting unemployment but in driving the fascists off the streets.

In one sense nothing happened inside the TUC at Brighton. Everybody knew the results before the game took place. The victims of this particularly nasty little 'game' were the working class. Strange to consider that it is the angry young men of the Fifties who now sit back in anger on the

Name a date for Trico demo!

'This National Conference recognises that low pay for women, sex discrimination and inequality in industry cannot be resolved by legislation alone. The AUEW will campaign for 'men's pay for women': that is — women should be paid the wage a man would receive if he were doing the job. This will only be achieved by improved organisation of women and industrial activity. National Conference therefore calls on all members to intensify the campaign for total equality for women in industry and urges all our female members to play a fuller part in the organisation and running of the union at factory, branch, divisional and national level.'

That is the policy of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers on equal pay and sex discrimination. That commitment is now being put to the test at the Trico factory in West London, where the women, in their fourth month on strike for equal pay, have certainly 'intensified the campaign'. The problem is, will the AUEW nationally intensify the campaign in their support?

The AUEW has had a policy in favour of equal pay for years. Year after year the demand for equal pay was submitted to the Engineering Employers Federation within the national pay claim. Year after year it was the first demand to be dropped in negotiations. A similar attitude is now being displayed towards the Trico strike — a vital test case in the battle to enforce equal pay.

In an article on Trico in the union's journal 'for women and youth', *The Way*, nothing is said as to what AUEW members should do in support of the strike. Yet effective blacking is essential to winning the strike. Whilst blacking has been taken up, particularly in the car industry, as a result of strike committee appeals to shop stewards, no effective national blacking has been declared by the union.

Impact

Whatever the effectiveness of the present blacking — and it is certainly not 100 per cent effective — the impact of a national AUEW black on Trico wipers would make clear to the engineering and cars employers that the union meant business. That could put a great deal more pressure on the Trico management, who in the past have been forced into line by the EEF when they attempted to pay workers at the Northampton plant less than the national minimum wage.

The failure of the AUEW to act on this could well be reinforced by the recent Tribunal decision in favour of the employers. Its ruling that the £6.50 claimed by the Trico workers cannot be granted as equal pay means

that the Trico workers could well be told that the rise is now subject to the pay limit — as equal pay rises are not subject to the pay limit.

If that should happen, Hugh Scanlon — fresh from belting the seamen into line — will be quite prepared to sacrifice equal pay for the Trico women on the altar of the social contract. Even now in the car industry, where the union leaders are doing everything in their power to limit the power of the shop stewards and prevent disputes, the blacking of Trico wipers is an embarrassment to bureaucrats like Scanlon.

Faced with Scanlon's policing of the social contract, the Communist Party is attempting to avoid any

RALLY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

Last year the Labour Government introduced legislation to end discrimination against women. How effective has this been? Has it been implemented? Are recent equal pay strikes an exception or a rule in the fight for equal pay? What is happening to nursery provision, rights to abortion, child benefits and other essential foundations for women's rights in equality and independence? How are the campaigns for these rights progressing?

The Working Women's Charter Campaign has issued a call for a national rally to assess the struggle for women's rights in light of government legislation. We invite all organisations campaigning for women's rights to plan and participate in this Rally and make it a major event in the life of the labour and women's movement.

Already five Labour MPs have sponsored this Rally, which we hope over 2,000 people will attend. However, to begin to organise this event we urgently need funds — please give anything you can afford. Send any donations to Jill Daniels, 16 Crookham Rd., London SW6. Also obtainable from this address are information, sponsorship, publicity and details about the next Planning Meeting to organise the Rally, which is on 16 October, 2pm at University of London Students' Union, Malet St., London WC1.



confrontation with the national union leaders over Trico by trying to pass off a national ban as being unnecessary.

At a meeting organised by the Working Women's Charter at the TUC, CP member Kevin Halpin (formerly prom-

inent in the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions) assured the audience that blacking was 100 per cent effective. The CP prefers to limit blacking to direct approaches to shop stewards in the plants instead of combining this with a fight in the union nationally to get a national blacking.

Back-tracking

For the same reasons the CP, which dominates the Southall District Committee of the AUEW, is back-tracking on decisions to build a demonstration of support for the strike on an all London scale. Despite the decision of a meeting called by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils to organise a demonstration with the District Committee and the strike committee, no date has yet been set for it.

Yet such a demonstration is more urgent than ever in building support for the strike. A date should be set immediately, and organisations such as the Working Women's Charter Campaign asked to help to build the demonstration. This should be accompanied by actions such as public meetings on the same day in towns in the Midlands and North.

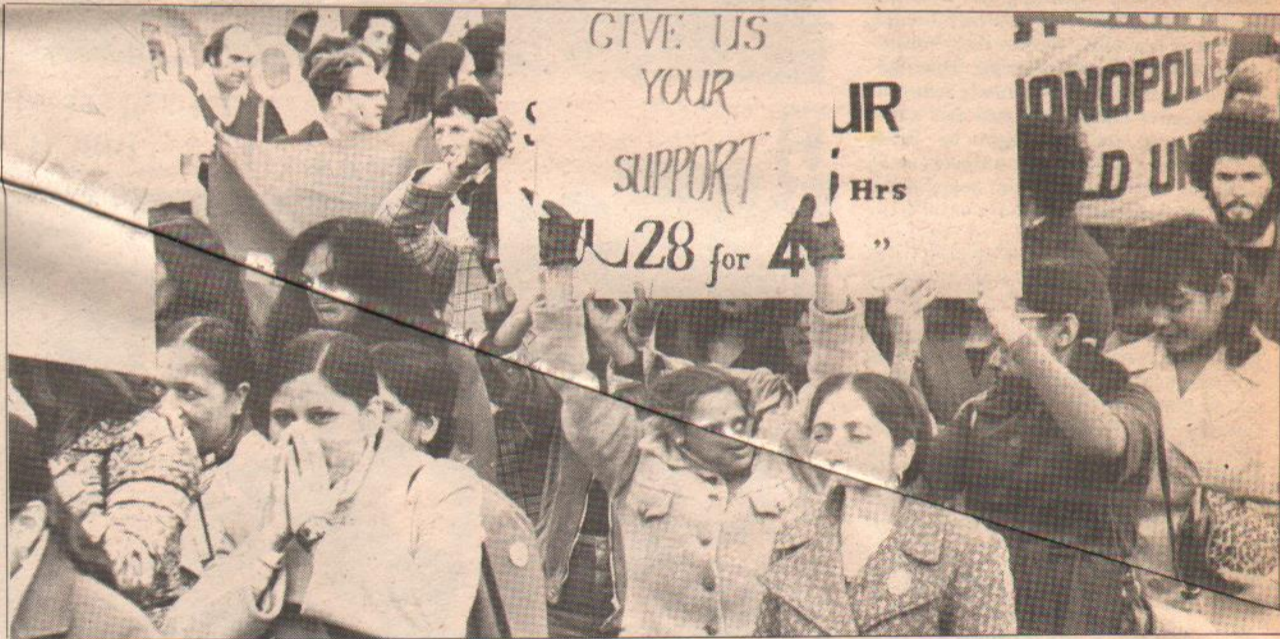
RICH PALSER

Efforts to aid the Trico strike must now be redoubled. Red Weekly urges its readers to:

- ★ Mount a campaign on the AUEW and other unions in the car industry for national blacking of Trico goods, as well as for shop stewards committees to continue and extend present blacking.

- ★ Fight for local labour movement meetings, in conjunction with Charter and other women's groups, to invite Trico speakers and raise money urgently needed for the strikers.

Grunwick strike-



next two weeks crucial

THE LAST recorded balance sheet of Grunwick Film Processing, for 1973-1974, showed a profit before tax of £126,719. Yet they pay skilled process workers £28 for a forty hour week, and office staff £25 for a thirty-five hour week. It's no wonder they refuse to discuss with the clerical workers' union APEX, let alone recognise it.

It is nearly four weeks now since workers from Grunwick's factories in Willesden walked out, demanding the right to be organised in a union. In that short space of time, the strikers have gone from being totally inexperienced about trade unionism — they weren't even members when they walked out — to running a strike and very quickly grasping a number of important lessons.

They are now all in the union and have recruited some of the workers who are still inside and whom they are trying to persuade to come out as well. They have a functioning strike committee, mass meetings every day, tours of the factories organising blacking, members responsible for social security, and an awareness of some of the problems of the women strikers who represent about half the strikers (and are equally represented in all activities).

Blacking

strikers were 'sacked' last week (totally illegal, of course) the strike has been boosted in other ways: it received publicity at the TUC Congress, where Tom Jackson, general secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers, pledged the full support of his union.

The Transport & General Workers Union has endorsed the strike at national level and the strikers have been receiving support locally. The Trico strikers have sent a message of support. Last Friday the strikers organised a demonstration and meeting in the area at lunchtime which was well-attended and very lively.

Despite the obvious enthusiasm of the strikers, as well as their ability to learn very quickly, there are still a number of problems. Grunwick's work is very much seasonal, and people's happy holiday snaps are fast coming to an end. It appears that the management is prepared to try to hold out for the next week or two, which is why it becomes imperative to get everybody out now — otherwise they will just be laid off anyway.

Secondly, although Brent Trades Council has put a lot of effort into this strike and has certainly been responsible for getting considerable support in the area, the strike's importance makes it essential for the Trades Council to set up a support committee — involving trade unionists in

It cannot be stressed enough how important this strike is: there are a whole number of employers like Grunwick who deliberately set out to recruit Asian and West Indian workers, women and other super-exploited sections of the work force and then make them work for the most appalling wages in disgusting conditions. At Grunwick's there have been seven attempts in 10 years to form a union. Every one has been smashed — and the most who came out in the past were 24.

Sacked

Now over 250 workers are out, many have been sacked, but they are determined to win this time. And a victory for the Grunwick strikers will be a real victory for all those workers working in the same type of conditions.

It is in these sweat shops that the employers will divide us — black against white, men against women, etc. — where we have no organisation. For the labour movement as a whole not to take up this struggle will mean accepting what is ultimately scab labour, and thus the weakening of the workers organisations.

FUND RAISING DISCO for Grunwick strikers: Friday 17 September, 8pm, Brent



NORTH TYNESIDE, like most other areas in the North East, is a solid Labour area. Yet for years the so-called socialists running the Council have been involved in a running battle with tenants in the area.

Their latest effort is to put up rents by 60p from 4 October. But they are being challenged by the North Tyneside Housing Committee, which is fighting cuts in the housing programme and in improvements. Last Friday tenants occupied the council offices at Battle Hill estate, Wallsend. Previously, 70 tenants organised a picket of the Council to demand why it is putting up rents when what's needed is massive construction of public housing in an area where one in every four unemployed is a building worker.

After occupying the public gallery and singing a song against rent rises, Joe Dudding, Secretary of the Tenants' Protection Association, began addressing the Council meeting through a megaphone. As deputy mayor Molly Riley entered the chamber, the assembled councillors stood stiffly to attention whilst Ms Riley, preceded by mace-bearer, walked to her seat. Joe continued to read the statement expressing the views of the working people of North Tyneside about rent rises.

The embarrassing situation was saved by one Labour councillor who proposed an adjournment — the assembled worthies promptly stampeded to safety. Ms Riley, this 'democratically elected representative of the people', then decided that the people had no right to hear the Council vote for rent rises and called in the police to clear the gallery. A red-baiting article from Councillor Bamborough, leader of the Labour group, followed in the local press.

These attacks are not simply the whim of the Labour group on North Tyneside. They are a logical continuation of the policies of Callaghan and Healey. When these are

Photo: TTUSA

Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

Photo: ANDREW WARD (Report)

Parliament, elections and the left

The forthcoming by-elections in Walsall North and Birmingham Stechford offer revolutionaries the opportunity to explain the socialist alternative to the anti-working class policies of the Labour Government.

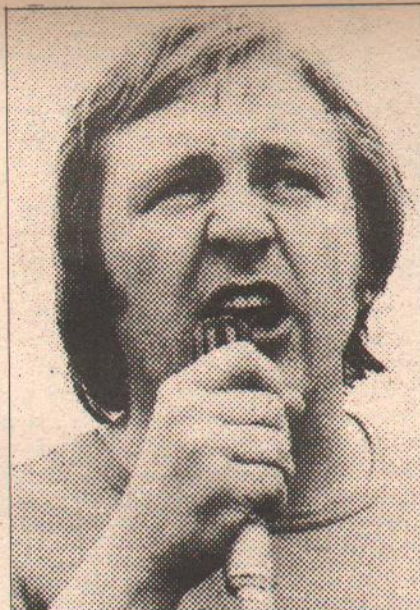
The opportunity doesn't come a minute too soon. There have already been massive reductions in Labour's vote in by-elections in Thurrock and Rotherham, accompanied by a significant increase in support for fascist candidates. The situation is clear. Unless a challenge to the cuts, unemployment and falling living standards can be offered from the left and at all levels, the more disillusioned workers will fall prey to the right. We will not only face the prospect of the most right-wing Tory Government since the war, but one well-equipped with extra-parliamentary boot-boys.

That's why Red Weekly has announced its support for Socialist Worker candidate Jimmy McCallum in the Walsall seat vacated by John Stonehouse. That's why both the International Marxist Group and Socialist Worker have announced their intention to stand in the Stechford seat of Roy Jenkins. Below we look at some of the questions raised by these candidacies.

1. Doesn't standing candidates in parliamentary elections suggest that the workers can settle their problems through Parliament?

No, not at all. Standing candidates is an opportunity to make propaganda to a far larger audience than we can usually attract. There is a difference between using elections to explain to working people that they can only solve the problems of unemployment and the cuts if they take action themselves, and simply saying 'Vote for us and we'll do it for you.'

In this way elections can actually be used to develop the self-activity of working people, cutting across the parliamentary reformism peddled by the Labourites. We can't simply say that Parliament is dead and forget about the millions of workers who still believe that Labour's reformism can



JIMMY McCALLUM improve their lot.

2. Won't standing separate candidates split the Labour vote and let the Tories in?

Let's be clear. It's the present policies of the Labour Government which are already doing that. Red Weekly supports standing candidates as part of the struggle to drag the whole of the labour movement away from this disastrous course, as part of the struggle to build a united class struggle opposition to the labour traitors.

If a Labour Party candidate is committed to opposing all cuts, mobilising action against unemployment, and campaigning for the repeal of the racist 1971 Immigration Act, then we would support him or her as the best way to unite the labour movement in that particular area on the most important issues of the day — against the present policies and leadership of the Labour Party and trade unions. Where that's not possible, we will support independent socialist candidates.

3. But why support the Socialist Worker candidates? All they say is that capitalism stinks and we would be better off with socialism. They don't say how we're going to get there.

It's true the politics of the IS are

inadequate. But in an election on the decisive issues we've mentioned, they do offer a clear alternative.

Of course, the best situation would be where we could get a prominent local militant to stand on a class struggle platform supported by all sections of the far left and supported by forces in the local Labour Party and trade unions. Of course, IS have no intention of attempting to do this in Walsall or Stechford, and are simply putting forward candidates to promote IS. That is sectarian. But it is a question of their position on decisive issues — and McCallum's in Walsall are better than those of Stonehouse's successor.

Those who call themselves revolutionaries but then say that because IS has a useless programme vote Labour not IS are simply vulgar opportunists. Their pseudo revolutionary phrases are a cover-up for snuggling up to the Labour rank-and-file without posing the key political issues sharply — including in elections.

In 1935, for example, Trotsky fully supported the decision of the Independent Labour Party to stand candidates against the Labour Party. This was not because the ILP had a correct programme. Trotsky clearly characterised their programme as non-Marxist. But on the main issue, the drift towards war, the ILP refused to back the war preparations of the ruling class. In Bradford, by the way, that actually meant that the ILP took sufficient votes to allow the right wing in.

4. But what about where Tariq Ali for the IMG and a Socialist Worker candidate are standing in the same seat?

That's most unfortunate, and the IMG is approaching the IS about standing a single candidate on an agreed platform. We are quite prepared to withdraw if a suitable candidate and platform is agreed. Indeed, a joint IS/IMG candidate would provide a bigger attraction for militants and quite possibly, in a General Election, allow the far left to out-poll the Communist Party. Stechford would be a good trial run.

However, if such an agreement can't be reached then obviously we would support the candidate with the better programme on jobs, cuts and racism. As the programme Tariq Ali would support is reflected in the pages of the Red Weekly, we would support him!



Photo: CHRIS DAVIES (Report)

NUPE General Secretary, Alan Fisher, with union members lobbying the TUC against the cuts. NUPE has also decided to lobby the Labour Party Conference, and the NCC is bringing forward its own lobby to the same date to ensure maximum unity against the cuts.

No golden eggs from this Goose

The Brent Health District produce a bulletin called Brent Goose to explain to the public what is happening to the Health Service locally. The September issue includes a special supplement which tries to convince people that 'plans for reshaping some of the health services aim to produce savings which will be put to work to build a better service'. Unfortunately, its statements don't quite coincide with information which is sent out to local doctors. Compare the following:

1(a) Brent Goose: 'It is being proposed that care of patients is concentrated in three centres, to provide more beds and better treatment' (our emphasis).

(b) Brent District Committee minutes of 14 July 1976: The District Administrator informed the Committee that 'this in effect would mean a reduction of 200 acute medical and surgical beds which would have to be used more effectively having a higher bed occupancy and possibly a shorter length of stay' (our emphasis).

2(a) Brent Goose: 'Wembley Hospital out-patient services would continue and so would the accident and emergency service Central Middlesex Hospital would remain the District General Hospital.'

(b) Brent Health District circular to GPs, dated 19 August 1976: 'As from 6 p.m. on Friday 20 August the Accident Department at Central Middlesex Hospital (CMH) will be closed each weekend from 6 p.m. Friday until 9 a.m. the following Monday. The Departments at Wembley and Willesden General will be open Monday to Friday from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. for self-referred cases only.' To put it another way, only one hospital out of three is now taking accidents and emergencies and you can't have an accident over the weekend!

3(a) Brent Goose: 'The Willesden General Hospital accident and emergency service would make way for Willesden Chest Clinic.'

(b) Brent Health District circular dated 19 August 1976: 'It has been found necessary to reduce the number of X-ray sessions at the Willesden Chest Clinic. This action is due to the present financial situation within the District.' This in a Borough with a higher than average incidence of TB.

Because of the 'present financial situation', cuts are taking place throughout the Brent Health District — one of the most densely populated in London. Administrative staff costs have already been cut by 5 per cent, with a further reduction of 5 or possibly 10 per cent anticipated. As well as affecting the service this obviously means

the weekend. Willesden General Hospital is to close as a general hospital and St. Monica's, a hospital for old people, is also closing. Leamington Park will now be transferred to North Hammersmith Health District and Brent patients will be transferred to CMH — presumably to the 200 beds which have been cut!

The local Community Health Council have so far led a very limited campaign against these cuts. The recent sit-in at CMH in protest at the authorities' refusal to employ six foreign student nurses (who have two months' grace while their resignation comes through, and if they can't find jobs may have to leave Britain) is an example of action which can begin to have a real effect. This must be coupled with support for the national campaign being developed by the NCC, especially the lobby of the Labour Party Conference.

THIS CUT REALLY IS CRIPPLING

THE FAMOUS Baby Safety Research Laboratory in Birmingham is to close. With only four to five years more research needed to develop methods to save children from such crippling disorders as cerebral palsy (the spastics disease), the laboratory and research is to be terminated at Christmas owing to lack of funds.

Despite the fact that only £20,000 is needed to run the unit, the Department of Health has refused to put up the money. Successive governments have allowed the laboratory to be financed by unreliable charities. The major charity, which had provided £40,000, has now lost its funds on the Stock Exchange.

The very fact that this internationally known research unit was allowed to be financed in this way is a scandal. That the DHSS and the Labour Government are now refusing to provide £20,000 is a demonstration of callous disregard for future children, their mothers and families.

So concerned is the Labour Government to appease the financiers and big business's calls for cuts in social expenditure that it is prepared to allow the health ser-

LABOUR CONFERENCE LOBBY GAINS SUPPORT

THE LOBBY of the Labour Party Conference called by the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS [NCC] to demand implementation of the 1975 conference policy on the health service is steadily winning support.

The date of the lobby has been brought forward to Tuesday 28 September in order to coincide with the lobby against cuts subsequently called by the National Union of Public Employees. A letter sent by the NCC to its supporters points out:

'Although the NUPE lobby is essentially directed towards their own members, the NCC feels that this gives an excellent opportunity to mobilise all wings of the labour movement in defence of the NHS... We are sure you will agree with us that the main task is to achieve the maximum unity and provide the greatest show of strength, and that the bringing forward of the NCC lobby will help to achieve this objective.'

One of the main ways in which the lobby has been built is through the circulation of a petition which will be handed in to the Labour NEC demanding that they fight for conference policy on the NHS. Among the signatories are Geoffrey Drain [General Secretary, NALGO]; Bill Rankin [Assistant General Secretary, NALGO]; Reg Bird [National Health Officer, ASTMS]; Donna Haber [full-time officer, ASTMS]; Joe Burke [Kent NUM]; Moreton Health, Ashton-under-Lyme and Huyton branches of NUPE; Ammi-

The NCC has also had a number of new affiliations in recent weeks. These include: London Co-op POLITICAL Committee; Bristol West CLP; Harrow Trades Council; Hounslow Trades Council; Frenchay Hospitals Branch, NUPE; Sussex University ASTMS; and Tyneside Action Comm-

tee Against Cuts.

The lobby of the Labour Party Conference will take place between 12 and 2pm outside the Blackpool Winter Gardens Conference Hall. Further information from: Dr. Paul Stern, NCC Secretary, 55 Bridge Lane, London NW11 [01-455 4920].



The National Abortion Campaign in Norwich, supported by the Trades Council, lobbied local MP David Ennals [who is also Secretary of State for Health and Social Security] on 4 September to demand that he reject the restrictive recommendations of the Select Committee and fight for Labour Party and TUC policy of free abortion on demand. Speaking to the lobbies, Ennals tried to wriggle out of the question: he said he was in favour of the 1967 Act, but that the recommendations to restrict it were very 'tricky' and they would have to wait for the announcement of his decision in Parliament. After all, there was also the problem of MP's consciences, and he certainly wasn't in favour of

THE VICIOUS CAMPAIGN by the capitalist press against the seamen might make many people believe that the only reasons for the strike threat are the seamen's greediness and the manipulation of their leadership by the same tightly-knit band of politically motivated men who manipulated the 1966 strike. After all, isn't it the case that the seamen have already had a £21 increase in average earnings in the past 14 months, and didn't the NUS vote for the same social contract which they now say doesn't apply to them?

A more honest look at the facts behind the dispute would reveal that there are very different reasons behind the strike call.

The first fact which the capitalist press never mentions is that no simple comparison can be made between seamen's average earnings and those of other workers. When at sea, under the discipline of the ship's master, the seamen have to work far more than a 40 hour week — the average seaman will work 28 hours overtime a week when at sea! In addition they have to work hours involving loss of sleep, handling of cargo, and can be away from their home and family for weeks at a time.

Decades

Over the decades the seamen have fought to get these factors taken into account in their wage packet, and they now account for nearly 50 per cent of average earnings. That is why the earnings of an Able Seaman have increased by such a large amount over the last 14 months — yet the basic pay has only increased by around £9, as the accompanying table (taken from the September 1975 issue of *Labour Research*) shows.

These increases have just been a part of the ongoing battle of seamen to improve their pay and conditions. At the time of the 1966 strike British seamen were the lowest paid of all the Western European fleets — and they are still at the bottom of the league today. The Lloyds list of 16 August reports the findings of 'Unitas' that where the operating costs for crew are 100 units in Finland, for West Germany they are 117 units, for Sweden they are 123 units, whilst for Britain they are only 93 units.

Far from representing greediness on the part of the seamen, the claim for a further £6 wage supplement which is now being denied by the TUC and the Government is just one more step in the seamen's fight to improve their pay and conditions.

Where, then, does the pay limit come in? When the NUS accepted the last pay award, they also accepted the arbitration tribunal's recommendation that the increase should be staggered so that the shipowners could 'find the money'. As the table shows, the increase accepted by the NUS was to be paid in three batches — in July 1975, January 1976 and July 1976.

But the £6 limit of the Government and the TUC was then introduced in August of 1975, and the Government

Scabbed in the back

Expulsion from the TUC is no stranger to the National Union of Seamen. Scabbing on the General Strike in 1926 was one reason. Collaboration with the Tories' Industrial Relations Act was another. But last week, for daring to carry out the democratic mandate of its members for action to protect their wages from cuts, the NUS found itself again threatened with the order of the boot.

But it was not just the TUC. The whole of bourgeois society leapt to assault the seamen after the strike announcement on Wednesday. It is testimony to the fragile nature of British capitalism's 'recovery' that a threat by one small section of the working class to strike for wages is enough to throw the whole of the ruling class and their lackies into a prolonged fit.

The Government passed the word and the Bank of England let the pound collapse, after carefully building up its strength for months by regular doses of cuts and incomes policy and massive loans.

The press leapt to its duty, the Sun comparing the NUS with Hitler. Callaghan's foreman-in-chief, the TUC Economic Committee, ordered the seamen's leadership to appear before them.

'By God, we'll make sure that no union supports you. We'll cripple you.' That was the message of class solidarity [with the ruling class, of course] that Len Murray gave the seamen.

Jack Jones was more subtle. He put the burden of destruction on the seamen, not the TUC: 'Do you want to destroy your union, your industry and the Labour Government?' The seamen's leaders could have replied that if

now says that since the last major increase was actually made in January 1976, the seamen will have to wait until January 1977 for a further increase. Now, with the introduction of the 4½ per cent limit, the seamen will not even be entitled in 1977 to the £6 they are claiming, according to the Government.

The NUS argue, however, that the only reason that the pay award was staggered was to help the employers,

and that therefore they should be entitled to the £6 increase from July of this year — especially since the shipowners are reported as being quite prepared to pay the increase.

Far from the NUS leadership being politically motivated to break the pay limit, they are in fact doing everything in their power to avoid a confrontation with the TUC and the Government. Jim Slater is now caught between the devil and the deep blue sea.

Having argued and won acceptance for the social contract at the last NUS conference, he now has to reconcile this with the legitimate demands of the NUS membership for the £6 increase — and their willingness to fight for it as shown in the ballot. Faced with the ballot result he voted with the rest of the executive for a strike, and has since been trying to prevent that strike from becoming a strike against the pay policy.



Pete Coltman, of the Civil and Public Services Association hands Jim Slater the signatures of 324 TUC delegates pledging 'unreserved support'. Coltman said, 'There have been too many official statements coming out decrying the seamen. We felt it was time for the ordinary delegates to speak out.'

the TUC halted its strike breaking and performed its proper task of supporting its members, the union would remain strong.

Wreck

It was the TUC who were preparing to wreck the NUS, not the seamen. As for destroying the industry, the employers have depressed British seamen's wages to the second lowest in Europe, and are still in the top three as far as profits were concerned. If wrecking was being talked about, higher wages would not be the cause of it.

As for the Labour Government, they are destroying themselves through attacks on the class that put them in power. Only the mobilisation of the working class can push forward alternative leaders and policies to replace the rotten crew in the Government.

The TUC leaders like Scanlon screamed at the seamen that his members had accepted the rough end of the social contract. Their demand that the NUS leaders should do likewise attempts to hide their complicity with the ruling class through support of the social con-trick. Theirs is the guilt, not the seamen's.

But NUS leader Jim Slater played

of the policy at the NUS conference. He disarmed the seamen by not standing up to the TUC bully boys.

A firm stand could have achieved support, as shown by the petition sponsored by a left-wing member of the CPSA Executive. Signed by 324 delegates and visitors, this expressed the sentiment of rank and file delegates at the TUC of full support for the NUS action.

Some workers reacted immediately. Last weekend, the Scottish District Council of NALGO, voted complete solidarity with the seamen with only one vote against. Also in Scotland, Stirling and Paisley Trades Councils pressed the Scottish TUC to support the seamen. Monday saw delegates from pits all over Scotland backing the NUS.

Elementary

Other trade union leaders, like those of the locomen's ASLEF, while accepting the pay policy themselves, did have the elementary principles of trade union solidarity left to pledge their support.

The deafening silence from the 'lefts' of the Labour Party should not surprise anyone in the least. For or against the seamen is the basic line

those who, for whatever reason, oppose it. It could provide the basis for a national movement against the collaboration of the TUC fat-cats.

That is why there is a continuing need for resolutions of support for the seamen right up to the time their claim is met. Resolutions of support to local branches can give the rank-and-file seamen the confidence to see that if they fight they will not be defeated through isolation from at least the rank-and-file of the trade unions and Labour Party. They can also give a central focus for all those fighting against the betrayals of the Labour Government.

Solid

Rush resolutions of support to local branches of the National Union of Seamen:

MANCHESTER — J. Nelson, 94 Smith Street, Salford, Lancs.

MIDDLESBROUGH — 7, North Street, Middlesbrough.

SOUTHAMPTON — Havelock Chambers, Queens Terrace, Southampton.

SUNDERLAND — C.J. Devine, 15 Borough Road, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

ABERDEEN — 3 Commerce Street, Aberdeen AB21 1RU



Average earnings	Old rate	July 1975	Jan 1976	July 1976
	£	£	£	£
Basic rate	25.44½	32.00	34.00	34.00
Certificate pay	0.24½	1.00	1.00	1.00
Average efficient service pay (ESP)	1.27½	2.05½	4.11½	4.11½
	26.96½	35.05½	39.11½	39.11½
	(7 days)	(5 days)	(5 days)	(5 days)
Overtime (27.9 hours)	19.53	25.11	26.64½	29.71½
Loss of sleep 1-4 hours	0.98	1.26	1.33½	1.49
Cargo handling (2 hrs O/T)	1.40½	.80	1.91	2.13
Leave pay @ 61 days pa served	4.52	7.51	7.97½	7.97½
Leave food allowance @ 60p	0.70½	0.70½	0.70½	0.70½
Total	54.10½	71.44	77.68½	81.13

Labour Research September 1975

for industrial action, the NUS executive voted unanimously for national strike action as the only form of action that could win the claim. Even a national strike would not really begin to hit the economy for three or four weeks (though the effects after the strike would be much more long term).

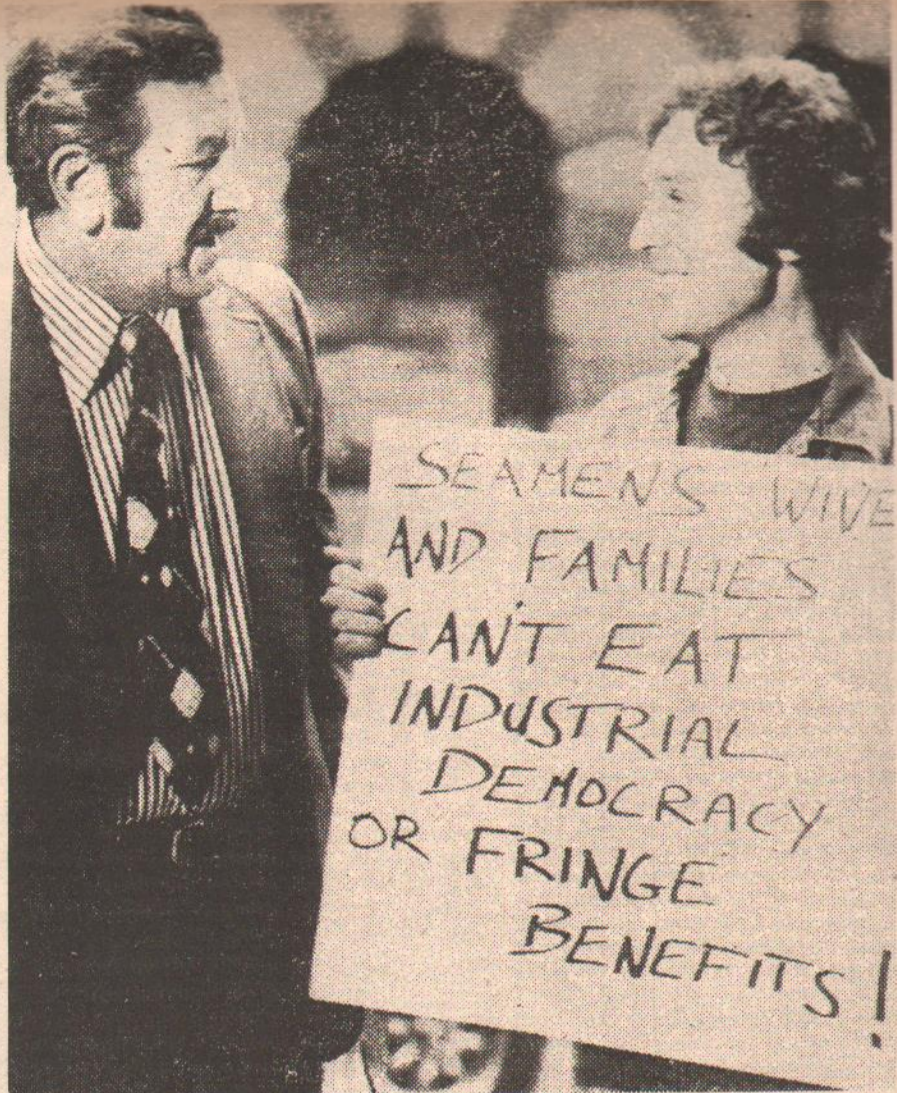
Compromise

Faced with the need to confront the social contract, however, the NUS — unable to get a compromise formula from the TUC and the Government such as an 'independent enquiry' — postponed the strike for a further fifteen days, giving the state and the shipowners valuable time to prepare themselves to withstand the effect of such action.

Whilst the rank and file of the union were preparing themselves for a strike, with the Felixstowe seamen lobbying the NUS leadership and striking, with the Hull seamen already beginning to organise a local strike committee, and other ships striking so as to be in port when the national strike came into effect, the NUS leadership did nothing to prepare a strike — even while the action was still on, no national strike committee had been set up.

The only 'political motivation' of these men is their attempt to avoid confronting the truth — that their members' standard of living cannot be defended by the social contract.

RICH PALSER



In fact, whatever the technicalities of the social contract, its essence is to hold back wages in order to increase profits. That is why, however Slater and the NUS executive try to dodge the issue, everyone else in the world recognises that the strike would be a blow against the very heart of the social contract.

That reality has already begun to intrude into the thinking of the NUS leadership. When the ballot came out



Support for the seamen. Afterwards Bro. Potter says what they thought.

The seamen's cause is the cause of every working class person. Their enemies are our enemies.

STEVE POTTER

The anger of rank-and-file seamen at the TUC's betrayal of their cause was already being expressed as we went to press. A motion for unofficial strike action until the report of the TUC working party on their claim was rejected by only one vote at a mass meeting of seamen from all the Tayside and Firth of Forth ports in Scotland.

arity!

GLASGOW — L.L. Green, 9-15 James Watt Street, Stirlingshire.

DOVER — R. Williams, Maritime House, Snargate Street, Dover.

LONDON — Bro. Fleming, 325 Newham Way E16.

HULL — Bro. Holden, 8 Posterngate, Hull.

LIVERPOOL — Bro. Roney, Maritime



Lessons of '66

DURING the last seamen's strike in 1966, Harold Wilson declared: 'What is at issue here is our national prices and incomes policy. To accept the demand would be to breach the dykes of our prices and incomes policy.'

Ex-petty officer James Callaghan speaks the same language today as he flays the seamen for daring to challenge the social contract. In more ways than that the pattern of 1966 is already being repeated.

The seamen are up against the same forces today as they were in 1966 — the shipping magnates, the Labour Government, and the TUC. The bankers conspired against the seamen then, as they do today. And most of all the seamen — in defying the prices and incomes policy — struck for the working class as a whole in 1966, as they threaten to do ten years later.

That is why the seamen's strike of 1966 needs to be remembered. Because the strike then, while not a total defeat for the workers, was in no real sense a victory. And to help prevent that bit of history from repeating itself, the lessons of 1966 are there to be learnt.

1. An Independent Inquiry?

Already some sections of the ruling class press are calling for an 'independent inquiry' into the seamen's grievances. The experience of 1966 shows just how loaded 'independent' inquiries are.

Pearson

In 1966 the inquiry was presided over by Lord Pearson, a 66-year old judge who had been educated at St. Pauls School and Balliol College, Oxford. With him on the inquiry were A.J. Stephen Brown, president-elect of the bosses' Confederation of British Industry; Joe O'Hagen, a leading TUC bureaucrat and General Secretary of the National Union of Blast-furnacemen; and Hugh Clegg, an academic 'expert' on industrial rela-

In terms of 'objectivity', little could be expected from such a bunch, and little emerged. The very language of the Pearson Report betrayed the authors' allegiances. In one paragraph there was talk of 'the pleasures and interests of a sea voyage' and of the benefits the men received from not having to travel to work! No mention was made of such minor inconveniences as being away from family, friends and normal leisure occupations for months at a time.

Refusal

The Report also decided that the shipowners' refusal to grant the seamen's demands did not flow from any desire to maximise profits but because they 'had to bear in mind the national interest'. Not surprisingly, the Report concluded that the strike was 'unjustified', but at the same time showed that the action had had at least some effect by recommending a slight improvement on the owners' terms.

The most telling lesson of the inquiry was what happened afterwards. The Government declared that it was their 'final' offer, the TUC said that all support would be cut off if the NUS didn't accept it — as they do today — and the seamen rejected it. Two weeks of further strike action followed and the strikers were offered a new deal with eight extra days leave. Although many of the strikers' original demands were not met when they accepted this latest offer, one thing at least had been proved — that it was militant action and not inquiries which brought results!

2. Solidarity

In 1966 the Hull Strike Committee said of the TUC: 'We are bitterly

judgement can be made today. Ten years ago the seamen were sacrificed at the altar of the Prices and Incomes Policy, today it is the social contract.

In acting as security guards to the social contract, the TUC claim to be acting in the name of millions of trade unionists. At least the seamen have shown that as far as they are concerned Murray and friends do not have their mandate. Every other trade unionist has now, for the first time, the opportunity to show the same.

The threats of the TUC to expel the NUS for insisting on their right to strike should be answered by resolutions from union branches, Constituency Labour Parties and trades councils condemning the actions of Murray, Jones and friends. Such solidarity would help to break the attempted isolation of the seamen — and speak volumes against the wage-cut policies of the social contract. Again, there is the lesson of 1966 to learn from.

Isolate

Despite the attempts of the TUC to isolate the seamen in 1966, the strikers received support from hundreds of bodies of the workers movement. Many trades councils, a number of Constituency Labour Parties, miners in Kent, Scotland and Yorkshire, shop stewards committees, and the executives and annual conferences of such unions as ASLEF and DATA (now the AUEW-TASS) were just a few of those who expressed solidarity. Yet much more could have been done.

The executive of the NUS did not seek active support from their most likely allies — the dockers. They agreed that the dockers could move ships if the ports became congested; they did not take up the offer of unions in Finland, Italy, Germany, Australia and America to come to their support. The right wing, general

'We have behaved in a gentlemanly fashion. We have not directly involved any other workers in this country or in any other country'.

Smear

This unwillingness to spread the action was not confined to the right wing. Although Harold Wilson attempted to smear the strike as a Communist plot, the industrial organiser of the CP, Bert Ramelson, advocated an immediate return to work on one visit to strike leaders in a London flat.

In the docks, Jack Dash, the best known Communist in the country, said: 'There is no question of our striking.' Dash's alternative was that the docks would clog up, they would thereby be brought to a halt, and the dockers would be paid off with full pay. But because of the lack of positive leadership given to dockers, the reverse happened.

During the strike's second week the Daily Telegraph noted: 'Dock congestion is far less than expected. This is largely because the dockers are allowing ships to be double banked, and also agreeing to vessels being moved to laying-up berths.' So the Dash tactics of hoping that the employers would create their own problems was a fiasco.

And yet, although the opportunities were not taken, 1966 did show that it was possible to build solidarity action amongst millions of workers — despite the scabbing actions of the TUC. Above all that should be remembered today.

GEOFF BELL

Much of the information above is taken from a pamphlet produced in answer to the Pearson Inquiry, entitled Not Wanted On Voyage. This was a complete and devastating reply to the distortions of Pearson and the lies of the ruling class press. It is no coincidence that it was written by the local strike committee in Hull. It was essentially the voice of the local rank-and-file seamen, and as such had an impact far and above that of any more 'official' NUS statements — it sold 23,000 copies.

THE 'DAILY MAIL SYNDROME'

ONE HARDLY EXPECTS to find unbiased articles in the Daily Mail, but even so, the unbridled prejudice of their coverage of the relationship between 'Leyland car militant' Tony Homer and 'Tory MP's daughter' Antonia Bennett came as something of a revelation.

The 'prize' for such reporting must go to Ann Leslie for her article on 7 September in 'Femail' entitled 'But how much is it a case of "getting back at daddy" . . .?' Ann Leslie 'can't help wondering why' Ms Bennett 'has joined the increasing number of "nicely brought up" middle class girls who choose to reject their parents' values and become at most bomb-throwing revolutionaries or at least camp followers of the comrades.'

She points out that an increasing number of 'middle class girls' seem to be attaching themselves to revolutionary groups — Patty Hearst, Ulrike Meinhof and Rose Dugdale, who is chosen 'as the most extreme example' of such 'girls'. In searching for the 'long term significance' of the 'Rose Dugdale syndrome', she refers to her own experience at Oxford where she 'sat at the feet of spotty young revolutionary poets', enjoying their denunciation of 'our class, our accents and our parents' as a freudian revolt against her upbringing.

Playing

While she enjoyed playing with such ideas, Ann Leslie 'secretly liked her parents and their lifestyle' because she and her friends 'felt in our heart of hearts that the system was secure'. Thus she concludes that it's really all a game of 'defection' to the other side to assert one's grown-upness, and that the 'other side' likes boasting of their middle class conquests too. The 'fascination' is double-edged.

But Ann Leslie, like the writers of two other major articles in the Daily Mail on the subject, never once talks about Antonia Bennett as an individual. All the Daily Mail is concerned with is describing Ms Bennett's relationship to her Tory father and her

'attachment' to the 'militant extremist' Homer. She is considered newsworthy not in her own right but only in relation to the male revolutionaries and extremists who lead her up the garden path — just as Rose Dugdale is made interesting to the reader through her implied 'fascination' with 'bomb-throwing'.

Prying

Women, it is suggested throughout, are not really interested in revolutionary politics for its own sake, but for the glamour and the rebellion that surrounds male revolutionaries and the cause they take up. Never for one moment are we allowed to believe that women have minds of their own. Because Ann Leslie played with revolutionary politics at Oxford and 'made cocoa' for 'young Trots', Antonia Bennett, Rose Dugdale etc. are presumed to be cast in the same fickle mould [although no evidence is given to support such assumptions].

The Daily Mail sees no contradiction in Antonia's choosing to live in a 'dingy house in an Oxford back street' [one of many such houses in Britain] and the supposed glamour of life with a revolutionary. Nor is it concerned with the fact that Homer and three other shop stewards have been victimised for protesting at the unfair dismissal of a worker at Cowley. The Mail, and the press in general, is only interested in discrediting these workers as much as possible by prying into their personal lives for 'sensational' angles that divert people from the real issues at stake in an attempt to prove that they lead 'deviant' lives.

When a secretary marries a managing director, the Daily Mail is the sort of paper that would run a good luck story. That is because it is every girl's dream to marry money and live happily ever after! When a woman of 27, who happens to come from a wealthy family, chooses of her own free will to live with a carworker who is a revolutionary, this becomes food for a scandal.

This scandal aims not only to provide innocent titillation for the readers of the

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Daily Mail, Tuesday, September 7, 1976

ANOTHER MIDDLE-CLASS REBEL HITS THE HEADLINES

But how much is it a case of 'getting back at Daddy'..?



ANTONIA BENNETT: 'Tory MP's daughter and the Leyland car militant', said the headline in yesterday's Daily Mail.

Femail BY ANN LESLIE



Daily Mail but also to alienate Homer from his fellow workers in British Leyland and boost the influence of right-wing officials like Reg Parsons, who want to help the company to weaken shop floor organisation in order to impose speed-ups and redundancies.

But the 'scandal' can be made to backfire in the Daily Mail's face. Why do women from 'middle class' backgrounds get involved with left-wing politics? Not because their own lives as 'debutantes' [if they ever were debs] can be amazingly oppressive, but

because almost a 'given' that the majority of girls attached to any revolutionary group will come from the middle classes: Patty Hearst, Ulrike Meinhof — game, and of course, the most extreme example of all, Rose Dugdale, who turned from being a millionaire's daughter and devotee to a lady who joined up with a mutter band of Irish-American

What does a 'nice' girl

get out of flirting with revolution?

because an understanding of Marxist ideas makes them see the ruthless exploitation that capitalism imposes on the working class day in and day out.

Anyone who goes to Oxford University who doesn't notice the different life styles

of the dons and undergraduates at the University and the workers at Cowley or their families in Blackbird Leys is either a fool or a bigot. Antonia Bennett is neither. Ann Leslie is quite obviously both. VAL COULTAS

WHAT'S ON

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

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

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

NAC BENEFIT, Glenda Jackson and friends, Sunday 19 September at 7.30pm in Cambridge Theatre, Earlham 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.

NATIONAL GAY CAUCUS: open to all comrades in the IMG who either identify as gay or who do not but have gay relationships. 9-10 October in Nottingham. For discussion papers, documents and further information, contact Char Stannier, 58 Burford Road, Forest Fields, Nottingham (0602 76410).

NORTH LONDON IMG proudly presents a bop in aid of the Red Weekly Fighting Fund. Saturday 18 September, 8 till late at the Old Fire Station, Mayton Street, N7.

BENEFIT to raise money for the Trico women strikers (out for equal pay) and the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital Campaign. Fri 17 Sept, 8pm—2am with music by 'The Derelicts'. Disco and booze. At the Architectural Association, Bedford Sq, WC1 (Tottenham Ct Rd tube). Organised by the EGA Campaign, 30 Camden Road, NW1.

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

POSTER for the defence of Iranian political prisoners (3 colours, A2). Single copies 30p (plus 6½p postage). 10 or more copies, 20p each. From: Red Books (Iranian Poster), 182 Pentonville Road, London N1.

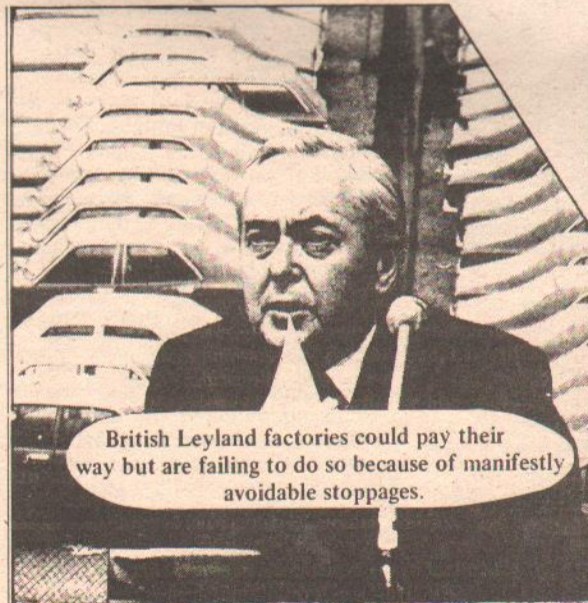
TROOPS OUT Movement fringe meeting at Labour Party Conference: Mon 27 Sept, 6.45pm at North Bank Hotel (adjacent to Imperial Hotel), 320 North Promenade, Blackpool. Speakers include Joan Maynard MP, Tom Litterick MP, Bernadette Devlin. Also report on Labour Movement Delegation visit.

ANGOLA Discussion Forums on different aspects of revolution in Angola: Thurs 23 Sept — 'New state structure of PRA: people's power', Roebuck pub, Tottenham Court Road, WC1, 7.30pm. Organised by ASC.

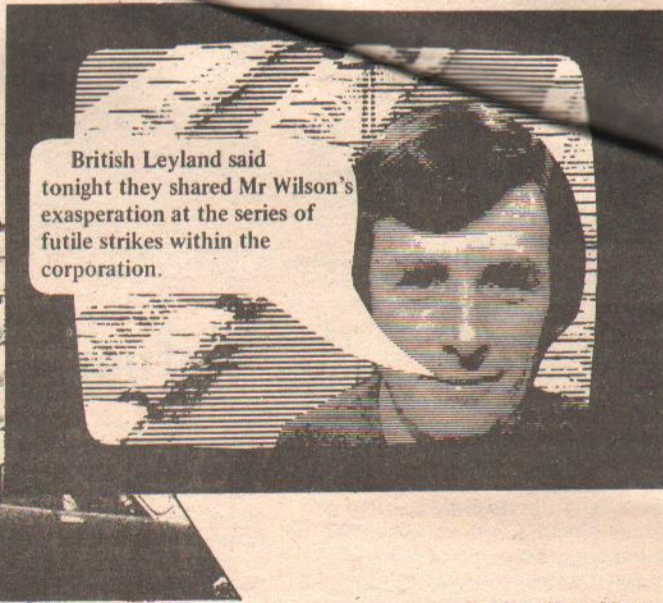
PUBLICATIONS of the International-Communist League: 'International Communist' No. 1, 30p; 'The I-CL and the Fourth International', 30p; 'Permanent Revolution' No. 3, 30p; 'Lenin', 5p; 'For a Rank & File Movement', 10p; 'The EEC: In or Out the Fight Goes On', 5p. Order from G. Lee, 98 Gifford St, London N1 0DF. All cheques must be made payable to 'Phoenix Pamphlets'.

THE FIGHT against racism: public meeting called by Battersea & Wandsworth Trades Council. Speakers include Paul Foot and Farouk Dhondi (Race Today). Tues 21 Sept, 8pm, in Battersea Lower Town Hall, Lavender Hill, SW11.

And now, rubbish!



British Leyland factories could pay their way but are failing to do so because of manifestly avoidable stoppages.



British Leyland said tonight they shared Mr Wilson's exasperation at the series of futile strikes within the corporation.

Mr Wilson's original speech attributed British Leyland's decline to private investment, management, as well as workers. News reports interpreted it solely as an attack on workers, thus identifying strikes as the root cause of British Leyland's failure.

'Good evening. For the first time in many months we have some good news. In the City the value of shares went up by about two thousand million pounds when the financial index jumped by 19.9 points to close this evening at 217.' [ITN Bulletin 10pm, 24 January 1975]

No-one is too surprised when the London Evening News (8 September 1976) headlines an editorial on the threatened seamen's strike: 'A stab in the back'. An identical description was used by the Daily Mirror (16 May 1966) in a front page editorial at the time of the last seamen's strike. And that the Sun rises and sinks in the gutter is well appreciated.

What isn't so questioned is the bias of the television news. Television is meant to be different from the press. It is bound by its statutes to be objective, and, indeed, in 1970 47 per cent of its viewing audience described the BBC as 'impartial'. However, Bad News by the Glasgow University Media Group puts the 'impartiality' of TV news to the test and reveals just what makes good industrial news.

monitored, videotaped and analysed every bulletin on all three channels. Despite differences in house-style (the lean, show-biz cats of ITN and the 'fat cats' of the BBC), all three channels share an unspoken set of assumptions amounting to a consensus view of the world. This framework is reinforced not simply by the 'techniques' of television journalism — such as the counter position of loud-mouthed pickets to management spokesmen interviewed in quiet studios — but by the dominant view of events, the news angle within which disputes are reported and interpreted.

Thus at the time of the Cowley engine-tuners strike in January 1975, Harold Wilson made a speech about 'manifestly avoidable stoppages' in British Leyland referring to both management and labour. The quality press at this time was estimating that at least 50 per cent of Leyland's

Wilson's speech were applied to the workforce only.

When Ryder reported on the problems of British Leyland, putting the major responsibility on the lack of investment, ITN's News at Ten actually managed to reverse the sense of the report: 'Ryder says his team does not subscribe to the view that all the ills of British Leyland can be laid at the door of a work-shy labour force, and the Prime Minister emphasised in the Commons that unless there were fewer stoppages and higher productivity the Government would not feel obliged to keep putting money in.'

Strike

Not 'however the Prime Minister', or 'but the Prime Minister', just simply 'and the Prime Minister...'

In the same six-month period, the 13

the start chose to present it as a health hazard, yet it was six weeks before the Corporation of Glasgow itself declared one. Despite 20 interviews, not once did a striker get to state their case nationally in interview.

The cause of the strike was mentioned 11 times out of 40 items on BBC1, six times out of 19 on BBC2, and 19 times out of 43 on ITN. The cause of the strike was the Corporation's refusal to discuss paying HGV drivers a compensation for drivers in the public sector after a year of further discussions if a national settlement failed to meet their claim. When the strike leaders were finally able to express their sense of betrayal at the end of the strike, this must have been meaningless for those 60 per cent of viewers who get their news solely from television.

But although it produces much evidence to discredit the news, Bad News lacks a theoretical framework to punch the message home. It has 244 pages of mind-boggling tables and text before the book gets down to the cases described here. That might be justified if the work attempted to develop a theory of television within which to view the news. But it doesn't.

Instead it fluctuates between two levels of analysis with not much connecting them. One level deals with the 'internal' workings of television news, with vast statistical breakdowns, descriptions of various film techniques, use of the 'great God graphics', right through to the social composition and outlook of the news producers.

Little is said of how the ideological framework — that unspoken set of assumptions which the authors themselves say underline the internal workings — is itself produced. The book, therefore, hangs in mid-air.

Nevertheless, if the authors' limited aim is to discredit the news, then it gives us a singularly appropriate comment from News at Ten itself. Reginald Bosanquet introduced a report on the Liverpool and Glasgow dustcart drivers' strike as follows: 'And now, rubbish.'

Bad News, Glasgow University Media Group, published by Routledge and Kegan Paul.

3,000 women on strike in Madrid

Eye-witness report by DODIE WEPLER

THE SQUARE in front of the Ministry of Labour in Madrid was covered with women's clothes drying in the sun. Laundry day? No, striking textile workers at the Induyco factory were recovering from an attack by Spanish police wielding fire hoses.

Three thousand women — half the female workforce at the factory, and many of them less than 20 years old — walked out at the end of last month when five of their number were sacked and seven others suspended pending a tribunal hearing. All had been prominent in mass meetings which have been held regularly in the factory since they were started last autumn.

The bosses claim that these women 'have not kept up with production'. The strikers think otherwise. Not only are they demanding the immediate reinstatement of all the victimised workers, but they are also calling for child-care facilities, canteens, and the recognition of their Assembly.

The work conditions at Induyco point to the depth of exploitation and oppression experienced by Spanish women. They begin work at 14 years of age, and upon marriage come up against Induyco's policy of bribing them with lump sum payments to leave their jobs. The fact that the strike was initiated by 'older' women of 22 underlines why the bosses are determined to maintain a young and inexperienced workforce which is more liable to accept the dictates of company policy.

Double

The women workers remain concentrated in the manual jobs, while the relatively few men are mainly clerical staff and supervisors. In one or two instances where they do the same jobs, men earn double the women's wages.

An especially exploitative aspect of work at Induyco is the company policy of withholding 1,000 pesetas (just over £8) from monthly wages, which is used to open a compulsory sales account at El Corte Ingles — one of the largest chain stores in Madrid, which happens to be owned by the Induyco firm!

The women are also subjected to all aspects of sexual oppression, including demands from the management for sexual favours. Special meetings have been organised on this issue — one held last week attracted 40 women who are beginning to question their specific oppression as women as well as their exploitation as workers.

One of the most important features of the strike has in fact been its democratic organisation and discussion of all issues. This has been achieved through the mass Assemblies, which were started last autumn with a regular attendance of about 700 workers. Between January and the summer, however, the number of women attending shot up to 4-5,000.

Assemblies are now being held daily, and all major decisions on the conduct of the strike are taken after a shop-by-shop discussion and a vote by the whole Assembly. This mass involvement ensures that the women hold firm against the bosses' determination to crush the strike.

Intimidation

Intimidation has taken several forms. The bourgeois press have been informed that advertisements for Induyco's chain store will be withdrawn if any publicity is given to the strikers — successfully, so that there is a real conspiracy of silence. The younger women have been directly pressurised through visits to parents and husbands at home. Finally, management and the police have tried to persuade the strikers that they are 'the victims of communist manipulation'.

But the women deny this vigorously. They tell the police: 'We are not manipulated by the communists. We are on strike because we are exploited by the capitalists. We are fighting for a socialist society. You are helping the capitalists when you tell us to return to work and refuse to let us meet.'

The strikers' day begins at 7am, when they all go into the factory to argue with the women still working. Then at 9am the women, all 3,000 of them, leave the factory — except on 8 September when the employers put machinery in front of the gates to trap the strikers in the yard until the police arrived with fire hoses.

Usually, however, they are able to leave



(which changes every day), they ignore such niceties as paying on the tube or stopping at traffic lights. They explain: 'We are on strike!' — and march to their meeting as if the city belongs to them, the workers.

When the Assembly is over, groups of women go to visit different factories, workers commissions and political organisations to win support for their struggle. One big problem has been to find a place for the Assembly to meet regularly — if informers overhear which church has been chosen any day, it will be sealed off by ranks of police by the time the women arrive. So they have got the workers at several important Madrid factories — including Chrysler, Standard and Marconi — to organise petitions to the company demanding that they provide a regular meeting place for the women.

The support of other workers for the Induyco strikers has continued to grow despite the press boycott. One factory held a half-hour solidarity strike, and ten factory assemblies have pledged their support. Workers at the Casa and Standard factories have each donated 50,000 pesetas (£420) to the strike fund.

The women's associations based in the neighbourhood have also organised a boycott of Induyco's chain store, and each morning they leaflet the stations to win support for this action. Over 500 women shop workers have recently indicated that they are prepared to take solidarity strike action if necessary.

Whether the Induyco workers finally achieve victory depends on many factors — not least, the possibility of a new wave of struggles throughout Spain when the wage contracts have to be re-negotiated this autumn. But it is clear that the democratic organisation of the struggle and the women

Leading leftists condemn WRP slanders

An internationally circulated statement signed by Trotskyists of various tendencies and other well-known figures in the workers movement concludes that the accusations levelled by the Workers Revolutionary Party against Joseph Hansen, George Novack and the US Socialist Workers Party 'constitute a shameless frame-up'.

Among the signatories denouncing the WRP's attempts to portray Hansen and Novack as 'accomplices of the GPU', guilty of 'criminal negligence' with regard to Trotsky's assassination, are five former secretaries or guards to Trotsky, and Trotsky's own grandson, Vsevolod Volkov.

The statement, published in the 6 September issue of *Intercontinental Press*, notes that 'such disruptive methods in the workers movement... are not new. The Mensheviks maintained that Lenin was a paid agent of the Kaiser. Later Stalin accused Trotsky of being an agent of the Gestapo.'

'Marxists and civil libertarians have from the first repudiated these frame-up techniques employed by the Stalinists against their political opponents and critics. Anyone else who resorts to them must be opposed. Otherwise the struggle for soc-



Mary Jo Hendrickson/Militant

JOSEPH HANSEN

contains the full text of the statement and a list of its signatories, but also separate statements denouncing the frame-up by figures such as Jean van Heijenoort [another former secretary to Trotsky] and CLR James. It also includes the text of a letter and a resolution from the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, whose leading figure is Michel Pablo, rejecting these 'irresponsible accusations' and expressing its disagreement with the position

That's Capitalism

By ESTHER RANCID

The Kentucky Fried Chicken chain likes to describe its products as 'finger-lickin' good'. One recent customer, however, described the fried chicken as terrible, the accompanying mashed potatoes as like wallpaper paste, and the coleslaw as awful. The customer? Colonel Harland Sanders, the 86-year-old founder and living trademark of the chain.

The colonel sold out to Heublinc Inc. in 1964, since when the chain has been massively expanded. Commented its director of public affairs, Anthony Tortorici: 'His standards were all right when he was just running a few stores.' But the name of the game for Heublinc is making a fast buck, so who cares about standards now?

Company directors, however, care a lot about maintaining standards — their own, that is. And just to help them, an enterprising outfit called Tax and Property Services Ltd. is organising a seminar next month on 'Personal Tax Avoidance'.

What's that? You thought that we were supposed to be making sacrifices all round? Well, they are having to give up £48.60 per delegate to attend the seminar, and that's probably more than most of you earn in a week.

The seminar starts at 9.15 on 13 October at the Royal Garden Hotel, Kensington High Street, London W8. If you want more details just phone 01-629 9339 or 01-491 7812. Don't forget to tell them that you read about it in Red Weekly.

Racist exploitation and harassment can often make immigrants' lives a misery. But that's not enough for Jack Roberts of Middlesbrough, who wants to pursue them after death as well. As Cemeteries Officer for Middlesbrough Council he is proposing that a new law should be introduced to make cremation compulsory for all immigrants.

The problem is that cremation is against some immigrants' religion. But Mr. Roberts thinks that the 'ever-increasing numbers' who are 'favoured with admission' into Britain should do us the 'universal courtesy' of following 'the house rules' and sparing our 'precious virgin land'. He chooses to ignore the fact that there is plenty of land [but in the hands of the wealthy few, including the Christian church hierarchies], that a thousand graves take up only one acre, that even if everybody was cremated the land saved would hardly be put to social use with building workers and a million other people on the dole, together with the savage cuts in public spending.

Roberts chooses to ignore these facts because his real purpose is yet another attempt to blame immigrants for the social ills of capitalism. But he ignores something else as well. With the amount of 'high technology industry' [petrochemicals etc.] in the area, Middlesbrough could easily experience a series of explosions that would cremate a lot of people earlier than they expected. Any comments on that Mr. Roberts?

New from Red Books

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

* FASCISM AS A MASS MOVEMENT

The aim of this book is 'to account for the mass base of fascism, its mass appeal and its coherence....' The author, M. Vajda, a follower of Lukacs who was expelled from the Hungarian CP in 1973, examines fascism from the point of view of finding out the meaning of its rise to power. He analyses various theories of fascism, including Trotsky's. This is the first publication of the work. Price £2.95, post 17p.

* LEGAL INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY

M. Markovic, the noted oppositionist Yugoslav philosopher, wrote this study in the light of his experience. He points out how scanty Marxist literature is on the topic, and traces this back to Marx's over-optimistic view of human nature (1). Regardless of this, the pamphlet constitutes a thorough-going examination of the problems posed and deserves wide reading. Price 35p, post 7p.

* MARX/ENGELS COLLECTED WORKS, VOL. 6

This covers the period 1845-1848, a very rich one for the development of the authors' ideas. This was a period in which they wrote the *Communist Manifesto*; this is included together with various drafts and correspondence about it. Marx's famous *Poverty of Philosophy* is also included. The smaller items are extremely interesting, especially the letters and articles about the Chartist movement, Poland, and the developing revolutionary wave in Europe. As always in these volumes, the appendices contain a wealth of material; in this volume being largely about the Communist League and its associated bodies. Price £3, post 55p.

* RACE, CLASS AND THE STATE

This is sub-titled 'The Black Experience in Britain' and is a reprint of an article from *Race and Class*. It examines the politics of various immigration policies, ranging from the 'laissez-faire' era to recent legislation. It takes apart the 'philosophy' of the 1975 Labour Government White Paper on Race Relations, exposing its capitalist essence. Price 30p, post 7p.



Ever since the early 1930s when the Chinese Bolshevik-Leninists (or Left Opposition) were expelled from the party on the direct orders of Moscow, there have been no genuine internationalists in the highest levels of the CCP. This explains the narrow limits set to the political 'debate' within the party — why not even the most 'radical' faction can break out of the circle of nationalism, and why the 'moderates' are incapable of proposing the replacement of bureaucratic rule with that of proletarian democracy.

That is why, whichever faction wins out, it will be unable to achieve any long-term resolution of the existing contradictions in Chinese society. These contradictions boil down to the problem of how to build socialism — a social system which by its very nature requires an advanced degree of civilisation — within the borders of one country in which there are conditions of extreme poverty and backwardness.

CHINA AFTER MAO



HUA KUO-FENG

THE EFFECT OF MAO'S DEATH on China and the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] could be compared with the situation in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin. On the most basic issues there are no principled differences between the two factions now competing for power — as there was none between the Malenkov and Khrushchevite factions after Stalin's death.

Although in terms of method and policies there are many differences between the so-called 'radical' and 'moderate' factions in the top layers of the CCP, there is absolute agreement on basic orientation and long-term strategy. Both factions resolutely support the theory of socialism in one country; both equate the dictatorship of the proletariat with the dictatorship of the bureaucracy, and proletarian democracy with anarchism.

Abandoned

Having abandoned internationalism, and in this wake the strategic orientation of linking socialist reconstruction in China to the world revolution, the leaders of the various factions in the CCP concentrate instead on how most effectively to manipulate the workers and peasant — so that they produce more, consume less, and don't complain.

Neither the 'radicals' with their 'egalitarianism' and their philosophy of 'politics in command', nor the 'moderates' with their 'material incentives' and 'expertise', can fundamentally resolve the problems of building socialism in China.

The Chinese worker, peasant and student masses have been through the Hundred Flowers campaign of 1957, the Great Leap Forward and the People's Commune Movement, the

Cultural Revolution of the late 1960s, and many other movements and campaigns. They therefore know from their own experience that the promises of the CCP leaders are not to be taken at face value. As a result the masses' dissatisfaction with bureaucratic rule is growing apace.

During the middle period of the Cultural Revolution the broad masses rose up in a genuine struggle for their own interests. Subsequently they were cruelly suppressed and became extremely disillusioned and demoralised for a period of years. Recently, however, the mass struggle has once again erupted independently of any section

of the bureaucracy.

The most striking manifestation of the new mood was the struggle of the Hangchow workers and students in the early summer of 1975. According to the 'Resolution of the Central Committee of the CCP and the State Council on the Problems in Chekiang Province' of 4 July 1975, the strikers 'cut off water and electricity supplies, sabotaged communications, ambushed the army, attacked public security institutions (and) stole materials belonging to the state'.

Clearly the events in Hangchow acquired the dimensions of an armed insurrection. Even though the uprising

was soon crushed by tens of thousands of troops, the wave of unrest has spread through much of China. The riots in Tien-an-men Square in April of this year show that the hatred of the masses for the bureaucracy has not yet abated, but has positively grown in intensity and become increasingly politicised (it should be noted that wage demands were to the fore in the Hangchow disturbances).

In what way will Mao's death affect the mass struggle — will it weaken or strengthen it?

Weaken

In the short term, it will most probably weaken it. In the common interest of the ruling group taken as a whole, the two bureaucratic factions are bound to step up their attempts to deify the dead Mao. They will exploit the emotions which his death has aroused among the masses to give a new boost to the personality cult, and use it to cloak their own bureaucratic rule with a mantle of sanctity (just as Stalin, appealing to the backwardness of the Russian masses, skilfully manipulated the death of Lenin to make his power in the party absolute).

But the effects of the manoeuvre will be extremely transient. Indeed, another and opposite effect is equally (if not more) likely: the changes occasioned in the leadership by Mao's death could well create an expectancy of change in the psychology of the Chinese masses. The effect of this will be to increase popular dissatisfaction and heighten the struggle.

Next week we will look at the implications of this.



CHIANG CHING



YAO WEN-YUAN



7 DAYS in the 6 COUNTIES

JOHN MAGEE reports from Belfast



'The man who ended internment.' That is how the liberal Irish Times described Merlyn Rees in a farewell assessment of the British politician who has exercised British rule at Stormont Castle for the last 30 months. The paper wished to be generous to Rees by focussing on the one positive step taken by the Labour Government since its return in the general election of February 1974.

Rees leaves behind him a whole series of failed British solutions. The power-sharing executive fell in the wake of the Loyalist stoppage. The Constitutional Convention was never regarded as more than an expensive

farce, giving the semblance of political activity while violence reigned supreme all around.

Yet Rees, ironically, is probably the British politician who came closest to achieving a solution for Britain. Though on his appointment he pursued assiduously the policy of internment introduced by Brian Faulkner — doubling the number of female internees in the first year, and extending it to include 15-year-old youths — he came to recognise it as 'the greatest mistake made in Ireland's recent history'. In December 1975 he released the last of the remaining internees from Long Kesh.

The pundits of the media like to present Rees's decision to end internment as an essentially moral one, stemming from a strong revulsion at people being imprisoned without a 'fair trial'. The truth, however, was that it was pragmatism, not morality which moved Rees. In trying to put all Republican militants behind the wire, the policy of internment only succeeded in multiplying the number of militants on the streets.

Internment increased support for the Republican resistance while making it difficult to present British imperialism as the friend of democracy in Northern Ireland. It was in an attempt to reverse this situation that Rees freed the internees.

Rees's policy was one which he himself called 'depoliticisation'. Briefly stated, it was a policy of obscuring the real character of the anti-imperialist struggle and presenting it as a conspiracy of criminals.

The internees would always be seen as political hostages, so Rees let them out and turned his attention to gaining convictions in the courts. Much more thorough and 'democratic'. And if the non-jury courts where the accused have to prove their innocence won't work, well the internment powers are still on the statute book ready to be brought back into operation when circumstances are more favourable.



MERLYN REES

Rees's period as Secretary of State has always been marked by very slick propaganda pouring out from Stormont Castle. Full page ads have told us that the IRA are 'gangsters', the Provisional leadership 'Godfathers', the British Army 'peacekeepers', and the Royal Ulster Constabulary really 'community workers'.

This political offensive by Rees has

been quite effective. Of course, in the days of the no-go areas, the street committees and the mass demonstrations, this sort of propaganda would immediately have been recognised as the crude bluff it is. The mass of people in the anti-Unionist districts were actively involved in the struggle, and knew damn well that social workers didn't carry SLRs and Sterling sub-machine guns.

But in the most recent period, when the leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle has relied almost entirely on a military campaign, the people have been left at home in front of the box with only the much less sophisticated resistance publications to counter the lies and slanders of the media. The peace movement launched in the last few weeks is an example of how this aspect of the struggle is being lost by the Republicans. Rees can take a lot of the credit for this advance by Britain.

He now goes to Whitehall as Home Secretary. And despite the fact that his period in the Six Counties has witnessed ever increased repression and more incursions into the limited rights available to the working class, Rees goes with a liberal reputation carefully nurtured by the British press. He is now centrally placed to introduce his own style of peace-keeping on the streets of Manchester and Birmingham. British workers should be on their guard.

Students against repression

As a way of thanking the Queen for letting him stay in Buckingham Palace, the Brazilian dictator Geisel recently presented her with a two-toed sloth. The current joke giving Ministry of Defence officials belly-laughs is to ask how many toes it had before Geisel got hold of it. The MoD gentlemen may well find humour in the Brazilian situation, for they are no strangers to repression themselves.

Allegations of torture against British forces in North-East Ireland first hit the *Sunday Times* headlines in September 1971. They were immediately dismissed as products of the 'IRA propaganda machine'. When they were later confirmed in a report by Amnesty International, Britain found it necessary to mount a slander campaign led by the *Daily Mirror* against Amnesty's director Sean MacBride. Mr MacBride's father had been a leader of the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin, and this 'Irish connection' was enough to clear British liberalism's conscience about what 'our boys' could possibly be getting up to in Belfast.

Tide

The sensory deprivation techniques were used too systematically against the Catholic population for the facts to be hidden for long, however. The massive tide of indignant anger that swept Ireland forced the Republic's Government to bring its British paymaster before the European Human Rights Commission at Strasbourg in order to keep its 'green cover'. The Commission finally reported last month, finding Britain guilty of using 'a modern system of torture'.

But the use of the media to whip up anti-Irish chauvinism in this country has been so successful that the British Government no longer finds it necessary even to deny such methods. As Brian Faulkner said on TV, it is necessary only to justify their use 'by results'. Nevertheless the war continues. And the result most needed by British imperialism — the defeat of the resistance in the nationalist ghettos — has not yet been attained.

So the repression continues too. Every male over the age of 15 in Andersonstown has been picked up at least once, and the recent binge by troops in Derry suggests that the 1,000 or more violent deaths caused since the military intervention in 1969 will not be the last.

Repression

It is against the background of the twin realities of continuing repression in Ireland and the growth of anti-Irish chauvinism in this country that the University of Kent Students Union has called a Student Movement Conference on Ireland 'to plan a campaign against British repression in



the Broad Left leadership of the NUS have begun to retreat even from their 'withdrawal to barracks' position on the troops. Instead, at the Teacher Training Colleges conference they combined their call for a 'Bill of Rights' with support for the much heralded 'Peace People'.

Solution

The conference at Canterbury (to be held on 13 November) will be working out a political basis for a campaign by the British student movement to oppose repression. We believe that it can come out with a better solution than the ones promoted by the *Daily Telegraph* and similar rags. If the Broad Left seriously believe that Ms Betty Williams is the mass leader that is required for such a solidarity movement, then we would expect them to test out their positions at this conference. However, as an Irishman who knew a little bit more about the consequences of British imperialism than do the Broad Left once said: 'Ireland unfree shall never be at peace.'

That sums up the position that supporters of the Troops Out Movement will be fighting for on 13 November. We do not expect that every socialist current in the NUS will agree with that position, but we do expect them to fight for their alternatives at the conference, and to build the conference on that basis so that it can come to a clear position through broad, democratic debate. Because while acts of repression against the Irish people are carried out in our name, then Whitehall's belly-laughs at



Second generation black people reject the discrimination that their parents tolerated. They are prepared to fight for their rights.

RACISM: WHO PROFITS

NO-ONE should be surprised at the confrontation between blacks and the police at Notting Hill on 30 August. In *Racism — Who Profits*, CIS and the Institute of Race Relations explain why Britain is a racist state.

'The state's racism is implemented by immigration officers, the police, the courts, and local authority officials. The targets are blacks born here as well as immigrants.' The report also describes how black youth is increasingly determined to fight for its rights, rejecting 'shit jobs', defending itself against harassment, refusing to accept the status of a 'problem' which can be eradicated by either the punitive tactics of the police or the assimilative and passive techniques of the race relations industry. Notting Hill amply demonstrated both the racism of the state and the fight-back.

Black immigration, says the report, was deliberately encouraged in the Fifties to meet the economic needs of British employers. 'It was the labour hungry textile and engineering industries... the short-staffed hospitals and transport services, which sought out and sucked in a new immigrant population... London Transport set up centres in the West Indies to recruit bus crews... In India and Pakistan Birmid Qualcast had agents to find workers for its foundries.'

Racism — Who Profits shows how racist immigration controls aim to reduce 'the social costs' of the black workforce. 'All immigration legislation from 1962 to 1971 has been geared not to cutting down the numbers, but reducing the rights of settlement, citizenship and permanency — moving Britain into line with the rest of Europe.' After the 1971 Immigration Act 'the immigrant was finally a migrant, the citizen an alien. There is no such thing as a "Commonwealth immigrant" any more. There are those who came from the Commonwealth before the 1971 Act came into force (January 1973) but these are not immigrants; they are simply settlers, black settlers. There are others who came after the Act — they are migrant workers, black migrant workers.'

Employers profit from racial divisions in the workforce. Without the full support of white workers, and, frequently, trade union organisations, blacks are an easy target for short time, redundancies, and 'rationalisation'. Black unemployment is proportionally many times higher than white, despite a higher level of union activity. 61 per cent of male employed blacks belong to a trade union, compared with 47 per cent of whites.

The biggest beneficiaries of black labour and racial divisions are the multinational companies. 'The systematic exploitation of the low status of immigrant workers is carried out by large employers. 43 per cent of black workers are employed in plants of 500 workers or more, compared to only 29 per cent of white workers. This is an essential function of a highly capitalised company, which demands shift work so that its expensive machinery is worked the longest possible hours. Almost a third of black workers work shifts, more than twice the percentage of white workers.'

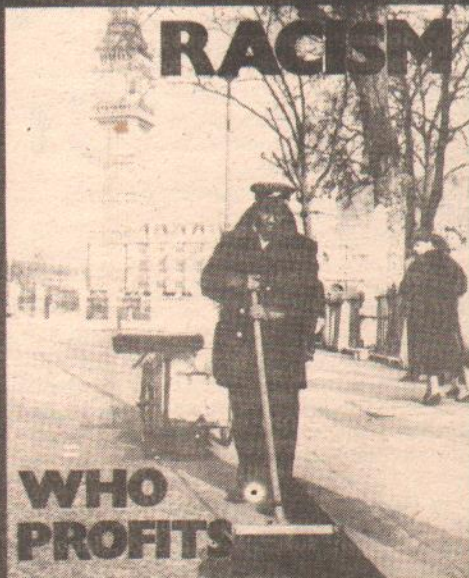
Racism — Who Profits places its analysis squarely in the con-

anti-racist rhetoric the Labour Government is creating an ideal environment for racism to flourish.

'Despite all the evidence to the contrary the view is encouraged that if only the blacks would go away, the problems would go with them. In this way the blacks are isolated, the frustrations and anger generated by real social grievances are diverted from the real culprits and channelled onto a convenient and identifiable target... Under the guise of controlling immigration in the interests of all, a racist state apparatus has been created which deals with people in a callous and brutal fashion. And a climate is created in which sections of the workforce can be paid lower wages, laid off and harassed. The black community is identified as the scapegoat for Britain's economic ills. Racism is a very real danger to the whole working class; the only way in which it can be defeated is by a concerted offensive at all levels, on the shop floor, in union organisations and on the streets.'

CRISIS CIS SPECIAL REPORT 45p

In co-operation with the Institute of Race Relations



CIS An affiliate of the Transnational Institute

Political problems with 'Jang' occupation

In the offices of the Urdu daily newspaper, *Jang*, the fifteen striking workers are still in control. But what would constitute a victory? FoC Yehia Syed is in no doubt: 'We are trying to set up a workers co-operative.'

The workers are convinced that if they can get £100,000, which would guarantee publication for a year, they would be able to make the paper work. They claim that their union, SOGAT, and other unions have offered to help. Appeals have also been made to the Department of Employment. Direct appeals to Pakistani businessmen have so far not met with any substantial response — which is hardly surprising, as businessmen of whatever colour or nationality do not look kindly on factory occupations.

The problem with the *Jang* occupation is the total political weakness of the workers, which could well turn out to be fatal.

Let us expand this point somewhat. *Jang* is an Urdu word meaning war, and the papers of boss Mir Khalilur Rehman in both Pakistan and Britain have certainly waged a war against the working class. The daily *Jang* in Britain supported the establishment in Pakistan and in Britain. That is their basic policy: support those in power. If tomorrow Thatcher replaced Callaghan, her profile would adorn the pages of *Jang*.

Unfortunately the reactionary ideology of the *Jang* owners is shared to a large extent by many of the journalists and workers. That is why they direct their appeals to the monied Asians and not to the mass of Asian workers. Essentially a paper for first generation immigrants, *Jang* failed to identify with the aspirations of the

Asian youth. It treated the police as 'neutral', it waged no campaign against racism. Its staff saw themselves as the Asian equivalent of a paper like the *Telegraph*.

Thus in the four-page broadsheet put out by the workers after the occupation, the first page explains their strike, the nature of SOGAT, etc. — in other words, good trade union material. The next two pages are full of the most reactionary, religious gibberish. The final page is in English — mainly consisting of reproductions of news stories about the strike from the *Morning Star*, *News Line*, *Socialist Worker* and the *Guardian*. The inability of the journalists to see that you cannot isolate these pages from each other in practice explains in a nutshell the key problem they confront.

If they had produced a liberated *Jang*, reporting on the conditions of political prisoners at home, supporting the anti-racist struggles in Britain, citing numerous instances of police brutality and government callousness, they would certainly have offended the Establishment. But at the same time they could have won themselves a real base in the Asian community and thus encouraged a campaign to raise money for the paper — by no means an impossible task.

While *Red Weekly* continues to support their struggle against Rehman and his local cohorts, we feel honour bound to point out some of the weaknesses of the struggle. Naturally if any of the workers or Bro. Syed wishes to respond, our pages will be open.

Tariq Ali



Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

4,000 ANTI-RACISTS MARCH

IF YOU WANT to know what's happened to Britain's rain, ask the anti-racists who marched through it in Blackburn last Saturday. But the 4,000 militants were not depressed by the downpour. Headed by a contingent of Asian youth, the march was disciplined and militant.

The response from Blackburn's shoppers was very different as well. Last May some had booed and heckled a march against racism and then cheered a National Party demo headed by Kingsley Read. This time they listened in quiet respect, a few even buying 'Fight Racism' badges. The display of solidarity with Blackburn's Asian community was an impressive sight.

It's not hard to discover why the fascists have flourished in Blackburn in recent months. Despite the new shopping centre, the town's prospects are not good. A string of redundancies over the last year have put 7.1 per cent of the workers on the dole.

More are threatened. Edgar Pickering, who employs 1,000 workers on the White-birk Industrial Estate, recently picked up a Queen's Award for Industry for Exports — and promptly celebrated by threatening the whole workforce with the sack if there was any trouble.

Housing tells the same story. Some poky

new homes have been built, but many streets have been unchanged for decades. The immigrants are crowded into streets like those of Whalley Range, stepping out of their houses onto the still cobbled roads that rise steeply up the hillsides. It's a bleak place at the best of times.

Sabotage

Racism has also been fed by the local rag, the *Lancashire Evening Telegraph*. It has retailed the racists' lies without any critical comment, and did its best to sabotage Saturday's demonstration. On Tuesday 7 September a banner headline read 'Keep Away' — a reference to an appeal by Tory, Labour, Liberal and Ratepayer party chiefs to boycott the demonstration. Apparently the Labour leaders in Blackburn think that when Barbara Castle gets a bullet through the post from the fascists, the best way to respond is to run like a rabbit.

The *Telegraph* finished its run-up to the demo with a front page comment column echoing the church leaders, the erstwhile vicar friends of the Communist Party who

had withdrawn any support from the demo: 'Perhaps we should all be on our knees in church, rather than on our feet in the streets.'

'On their knees' is undoubtedly where these scribblers would prefer the Asian population of Blackburn to be. There might be a few Uncle Toms in the leadership of the Asian community who accept this, but the message from the militant youth is a different one: 'Stand Up and Fight.'

A clear demonstration of where their roots lie is in the cafes of Whalley Range. Three quarters of the records on the juke boxes might be in Asian languages, but they prefer to play the Rolling Stones. They don't share the more deferential attitude of their immigrant parents. They were born and bred here, and they're determined to stay.

On the demonstration itself this was clearly reflected in the enthusiastic welcome given to the slogans of the 700-strong contingent of the International Marxist Group. The slogan 'Labour movement must support black self-defence' was particularly important.

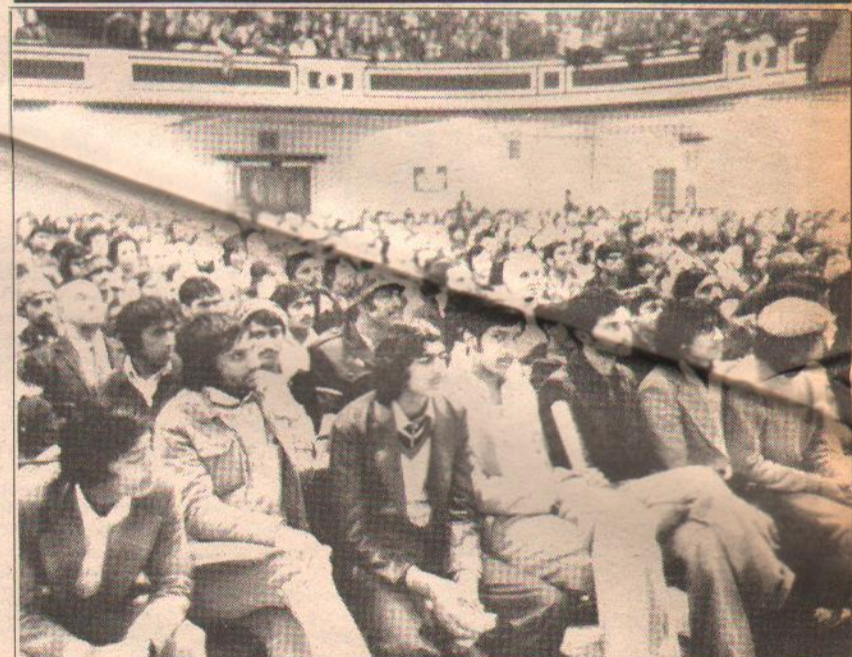
The IMG's attitude that blacks and anti-racists must defend themselves was underlined by the three rows of helmeted stewards who headed the IMG contingent and by the helmeted stewards who flanked each line. Any fascist thinking of provoking an incident would have thought twice. The demonstrators imposed their own order on the march, not that of the police.

Far left

The International Socialists provided a similar number, with the organisations of the far left as a whole making up about half the demonstration. However, this was not reflected in the platform at the packed rally in King George's Hall.

In the vast hall the Broadside Mobile Theatre found it difficult to get their anti-racist street theatre across, and then the Communist Party-organised platform defused the militancy of the meeting with a speech from Vishnu Sharma (president of the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants) and songs from the Spinners. More speeches followed, but by this time the militant youth were streaming out of the hall to find out what the National Front was doing up at its meeting in Accrington Road.

Saturday's march probably did much to guarantee that it will be a Labour candidate and not a National Party or NF thug that is returned in Thursday's local by-election, caused by the hasty resignation of one of the NP's two councillors. What remains to be seen after Saturday is whether the leaders of the local labour movement will take their heads out of the sand and confront the racists head-on.



Asian Youth Organisation militants at Saturday's Blackburn meeting.

'We must make a stand'

ALI DASSU, a leading militant in the Asian Youth Organisation, explained to *Red Weekly* how the AYO came to be formed in Blackburn:

'Racism has been reaching monstrous proportions in Blackburn. Youths have been beaten up on the streets, and blacks have been the first sacked when redundancies have been made. The whole Asian community has been intimidated.'

'We were frustrated with the attitudes of our elders, of the local right-wing Indian Workers Association and all the rest. We thought the time was right to start organising ourselves and start working within the community and the unions. The election of two

made it urgent.

'We were for action while our leaders were pacifist. We weren't prepared to go into Action Against Racism around slogans of peace and 'One Race — The Human Race'. When the International Socialists challenged these slogans inside AAR they were thrown out.'

'We wanted to make a stand so we formed the Asian Youth Organisation. The black elders were very hostile and some of our members were beaten up. At the time when racist attacks were at their height we went to the bus stops to defend our people on their way back home. The idea of black self-defence must be spread and

BRIGHTENING UP BRIGHTON

Not a great deal happened in Brighton last week which the working class could get excited about. The supposed 'leadership' of the trade union movement distinguished itself not with threats against the right-wing Labour Government, but by threatening the seamen if they dared to strike for an adequate wage.

More than ever a revolutionary paper is needed to thrash out the means and policies to fight the quislings of the TUC and Labour Party. And if such a message did not find much response in the Brighton Dome, at least the intervention of *Red Weekly* supporters made a mark. We received a donation of £20 from a TUC delegate, and three other Brighton donations. All in all, our Fighting Fund total this week amounted to £78.40.

But our intervention at Brighton also cost a great deal of money — money we need to recoup immediately. There are other ways of showing contempt for the Brighton Domesters, but few are as effective as rushing money to: *Red Weekly* Fighting Fund, 97 Caledonian Rd., London N1. Our thanks this week to: James Carrol, 50p; Keith Robinson, £3; Leeds IMG, £5; Brighton supporter, £1; Brighton comrade's tax rebate, £1.50; W. London anon., £26; TUC delegate, £20; Brighton anon., £20.



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