



## Littlejohns' stench in Labour's nostrils

The smell of Watergate is nothing to the stench of the Littlejohns. The CREEP creeps only burgled a few files. The bold brothers carried out a major bank robbery—and their activities point the finger to other British operations in the South of Ireland, such as the bombs which went off conveniently when the Irish Dail was discussing tightening up its repressive laws.

Few people in Ireland now doubt that Britain was responsible for these bombs. Even Union Jack Lynch has murmured that he is uneasy about them. But Keith and Kenneth are only the head of the boil—the real poison has still not burst through.

Right from Day One of the British Army intervention in 1969, the intelligence services were involved. The full extent of their dirty work can only be guessed at. But there is good reason to believe that they stirred up trouble between protestants and catholics, between Officials and Provisionals and that they actually initiated the sectarian assassination campaign.

They have churned out countless false news stories through their 'black propaganda' network.

James Wellbeloved MP has demanded an enquiry from the Security Commission. But even if this were granted, it would only produce an official cover-up, like the Compton Report on torture in the North of Ireland.

The labour movement has a direct interest in this kind of James Bondery, which can and will be used against any major working class challenge to capitalism in this country. The only way to expose the Littlejohns under the bed which Labour has just climbed into, is to organise an independent workers' enquiry into the whole affair.

Gavin Robinson

## CLAY CROSS - PHASE 3 - NIRC - SHREWSBURY 6

# LABOUR GOVT. - GUARD DOG FOR TORY LAWS

When Labour was in opposition they roundly denounced the vicious anti-working class laws introduced by the Tories—the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, the Immigration Act, the incomes policy.

But today the Labour Government is relying on many of these same laws, and it refuses to lift a finger to aid those who carried their opposition to the Tory laws beyond Labour's empty words to active resistance.

\*The former Clay Cross councillors remain barred from holding political office and have to live under the shadow of the £7,000 'surecharge' levied against them because of their fight against the Housing Finance Act. Despite a call from the Labour Party executive, the Government refuses to reverse these decisions.

\*Over £200,000 of engineering workers' money is in the hands of the capitalist state, because of fines imposed under the Industrial Relations Act. Instead of moving to repay this money, the Government is allowing the NIRC to turn another £50,000 over to the boss of Cou-Mech as 'compensation' for the losses he suffered

during the struggle for union recognition at his factory.

\*Phase 3 remains on the books—and not as a dead letter. Michael Foot is currently using this law to block the payment of an interim wage rise to London NALGO members, and is forcing them to wait for months (while prices rocket) until the Pay Board—another Tory creation—reports on their claim.

\*Labour's Home Secretary, Roy Jenkins, is prepared to use every dirty clause of the Tory Immigration Act to preserve this racist immigration policy. He has even denied women settled in Britain the right to have their husbands join them (despite the fact that immigrant men have the right to bring their wives in).

\*The workers jailed at Shrewsbury for their trade union activities remain in prison. Labour is talking about trying to steer a new picketing law through Parliament, but will not pick up its pen to free the Shrewsbury lads. Whatever new law

Labour enacts, the capitalist courts will continue to have vast powers over picketing. Only the release of the Shrewsbury workers will serve as a clear warning to them to keep their hands off trade union rights.

It is clear that the working class can expect no good from a Government such as this. Labour is only prepared to repeal certain Tory measures if it can be sure of doing the same job by other means—replacing Phase 3 by a 'social compact' with the union bureaucrats to hold wages down, for example.

Only the independent organisation of working people, and mass, united action to back up their demands can protect working class interests and conquer new gains.

Whether it is a question of forcing Labour to abandon its anti-working class policies, or of imposing measures on the capitalist bosses to preserve workers' living standards, such struggle is the only way forward.

## Need for mass action proved Labour underwrites Chile junta

Labour's announcement last week that all direct aid to Chile would be cut off immediately sounded impressive. Judith Hart's statement in the Commons was even enough to draw gasps of horror from some Tory backwoodsmen.

But no one said very much about what this would mean for the junta. After all, it might have spoiled the impact if the headlines had revealed that this aid amounted to a total of less than half a million pounds.

Everyone was very quiet, too, about another transaction which took place two days earlier. For on this occasion—the meeting of the twelve major capitalist countries who make up the 'Club of Paris'—the Labour Government's representative acquiesced without a murmur in the decision to allow the junta to postpone repayment of more than £300 million in credits.

As a demonstrator outside the meeting put it: 'The Club of Paris has given Pinochet's junta the necessary go-ahead to tighten the noose still further around the Chilean workers.'

These sordid dealings underline once more the correctness of the decision by the solidarity workshop at the Chile Solidarity Campaign Conference to call a de-

monstration for 5 May. Far from being concerned about 'rocking the boat' at this time, we obviously need to rock it a bit more until something which is actually of real value to the junta is scuppered.

As it is, the Government still recognises the junta; it has still failed to give any proper undertaking on the admission of refugees; and it is still dithering on the question of further arms deals. Nothing could be more timely than a bit of mass action calling for all links to be broken off immediately.

Already the International Socialists have decided to join the IMG in backing this demonstration, and the two organisations have issued a joint leaflet calling for the broadest possible support for it. A national Ad Hoc Committee has been set up, and mobilising committees are also being formed in Scotland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Greater London area.

All organisations and individuals interested in building the mobilisation are invited to the first meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee on Wednesday 10 April, at 8 p.m. in the General Picton pub on Caledonian Road (near Kings Cross).

For further information write to: Chile Ad Hoc Committee, c/o 97 Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

## Kent miners back Shrewsbury 6

A delegate conference is to be held in the Kent area within the next two weeks to discuss action in defence of the jailed Shrewsbury pickets. This proposal was adopted at a public meeting held in Aylesham, Kent, on Sunday 31 March.

Jack Collins, Kent Executive Member of the NUM (who spoke in a personal capacity), told the meeting how he had fought in the NUM Executive for the miners to take a lead in support of the jailed building workers.

The Shrewsbury lads had only adopted the same tactics as the miners used in 1972, he told the meeting:

'These six martyrs are the conscience of the working class movement and we should not rest until we get them out'. He said that the miners could give a lead, and achieve the kind of united effort required, but, unfortunately, the NUM Executive had lined up behind the leadership of UCATT, some of whom ought themselves to be in jail for treachery to the working class.

Amongst proposals for action made at the meeting were the circulation of a strongly worded petition round the pits calling for strike action by the NUM, and resolutions from the branches to the Area Secretary. A demonstration for 1 May was also proposed.

The meeting elected a committee to organise the delegate conference, including representatives from the Tilmaston and Snowdown NUM branches, Jack Collins, and Dave Winhurst from the Kent University students.

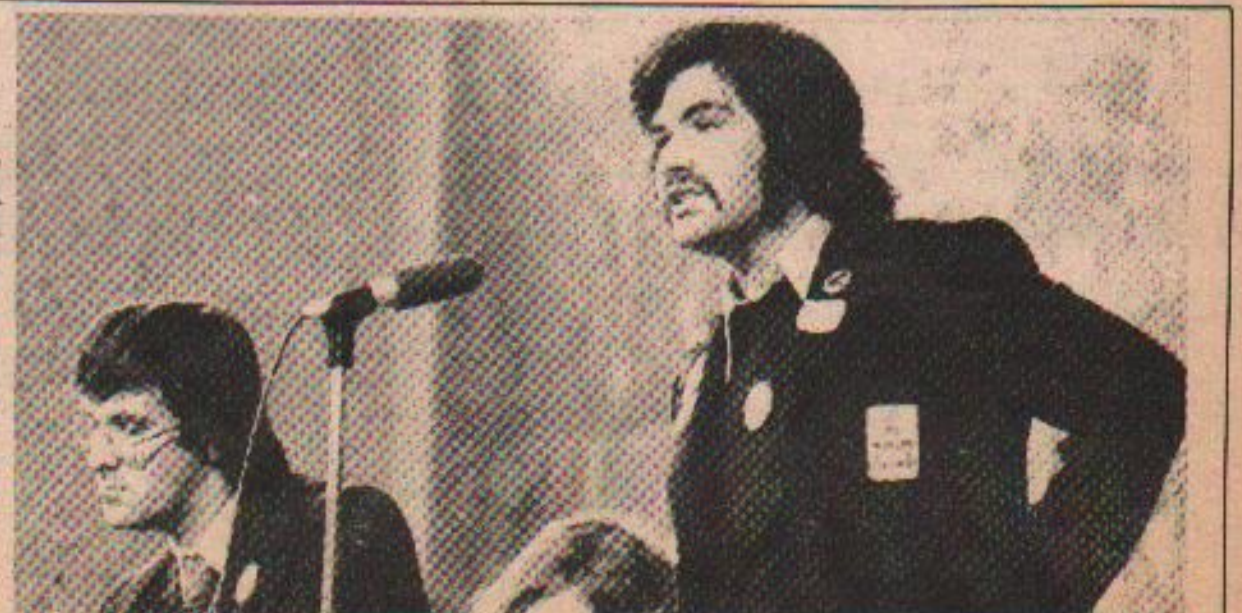


Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)

IMG candidate for National Union of Students President, John McGeown, addresses NUS conference Report p.8.

# COWLEY WORKERS FIGHT SPEED UP

Over the last ten days a series of disputes and strikes have hit the Marina assembly line at the British Leyland complex at Cowley. Workers' Press-paper of the Workers' Revolutionary Party has attacked the disruptive activities of the IMG, and the management has denounced 'extremists', an attack also directed at the IMG.

The employers aim to reduce the number of men on the Marina assembly lines by more than the cut in production. This means an increase in effort by 10 to 15 percent.

Production of cars for the American market is being increased from six cars in every 35 to 18 in every 30. The safety measures on American cars involve far more work than the less-safe British cars, so these workers face speed-up of 20 to 30 percent.

## WORK STUDY

The company is trying to put into practice the findings of their 'industrial engineers' (time and motion study). Three years ago, the management replaced the piece-work system by measured day work. The hourly flat rate was aimed at boosting production without increasing wages, and since 1971 wages have fallen behind the cost of living.

The use of the 'industrial engineers' is governed by an agreement won after nine months negotiations and several strikes. This lays down strict conditions for 'work timing' and stipulates that the results of the studies can only be implemented after reaching agreement with the stewards. This has stopped the company getting complete control over the shop floor. Every time the company has jacked-up output, the stewards have demanded an increase of men on the job.



Two issues of 'The Organiser', the IMG Cowley factory bulletin

BLMC has suffered losses in profit of £30 million because of the three-day week. Over 100,000 vehicles have been lost and £100 million in revenue.

The company faces a 25 percent increase in steel prices, higher petrol charges and a 30 percent hike in electricity prices. In the next year the British market will shrink by 30 percent, and British Leyland expects to sell 20 percent less units in Europe. The management see only one way out - cut production and increase productivity.

## FIGHT BACK

At first they got their way. The stewards' policy of refusing to accept management's job-sheets collapsed. The next week reorganisation of the assembly tracks took place. Small groups of workers started to resist, objecting to the breaking of agreements or not satisfied with new working conditions.

Support spread to the production system. Then the whole Marina assembly shop voted to back these groups. Four days later other sections came out.

At first the senior stewards lagged behind, uncertain whether the fragmented resistance could be coordinated into a

united fight. A key role was then played by the *Organiser* factory bulletin of the IMG. Coming out twice a day it reported what had happened on each shift. It exposed moves by the company to break agreements and argued for united action.

The workers decided to demonstrate outside the directors office. This forced the management to call in the stewards. However, only minor concessions were offered. Even the demonstration the next day, where the seniors met Whalen, complex director, in person it normally takes months of negotiations to see produced no real concessions.

Acting on instructions from the highest level, the management insisted on using the 'industrial engineers' at any time. However, the agreement states, studies can only be done when conditions are normal. Every time the 'industrial engineers' turned up on a track at reduced speed - to let new operatives learn their job-work stopped.

## LEADERSHIP

The senior stewards recommended neither acceptance nor rejection. This meant opening up the situation to a return to work and abandoning defence of the Industrial

Engineering Agreements. In their leader attacking 'extremists' the company claimed they were prepared to keep all agreements. With no lead from the stewards, and confused by the management's assurances, the night shift did not vote to support the day shift. Only the provocative and unprecedented use of 'industrial engineers' on nights led to a section on nights walking out.

Both shifts have now voted not to allow 'industrial engineers' on the tracks when there are 'abnormal' conditions. They refuse to allow tracks to go above a certain speed until mutual agreement has been reached on all jobs.

Last Monday 5/55 Branch of the TGWU heard a report from the senior stewards. The stewards had leaned over backwards, even to the point of being prepared to give away fundamental clauses in the Agreement. This included the clauses which have been at the root of the disputes. But still the company would not settle. BLMC are determined to destroy all the clauses that restrict work-study and obstruct their right to put its findings into practice. They cannot tolerate any element of mutual agreement over work-study.

At two mass meetings, both the night shift and the day shift have voted to strike and will meet on Thursday to review the position again.

The level of militancy has been high. Given a policy and a firm lead from the stewards, the workers will fight. Other sections in the factory are also showing an equal willingness to fight back.

At the neighbouring BLMC service Division, an indefinite strike has started over the company's refusal to bring forward the date of their annual wage review. Some militant stewards are pressing for a claim that would break Phase 3.

In the trim shop for the Marina assembly, a group of women workers faced with a 140 percent increase in work load started a sit-in. Despite lack of support from the rest of the trim-shop shop, their action paid off the company agreed to withdraw all the studies and negotiate with the stewards.

These individual struggles are bringing home to many BLMC workers the meaning of the management's attacks. What is required now is to coordinate and organise a united counter-offensive by the entire workforce.

## NALGO hammers at Phase 3

Michael Foot has faithfully carried out the letter of Phase 3 in refusing any interim deal on the NALGO London Weighting Claim.

He told union representatives at a meeting on 1 April that they would have to wait until the Pay Board's report on London Allowances is published some time in June before getting any increase.

The union leadership has responded by stepping up industrial action. Strikes, postponed before the meeting with Foot, are now in progress at Islington, and some departments in Tower Hamlets and Kensington and Chelsea. Other boroughs are now in the pipeline to join in

selective strike action and overtime bans, and the possibility of a ban on voluntary election duties is being discussed.

However the attempt by the union leadership to come to a deal with the employers and Foot on an interim agreement shows the necessity for strong organisation to put the struggle into the hands of those really fighting it. This means developing and building the campaign committees which have already been set up in a number of branches, generalising the strike action into branches where no activity is yet under way, and forming democratically elected strike committees to carry out and organise the struggle both in the branches and on an all London basis.

## Seize the Daily Express - for a workers' paper!

The prospects look stormy for the struggle of the 1,900 journalists, printers, and office staff sacked by the *Scottish Daily Express*, *Sunday Express*, and *Glasgow Evening Citizen*.

The sit-in being carried on by 40 workers is little more than a token gesture. Its aim is simply to maintain their presence in the building while negotiations continue with the Beaverbrook management and the Government to purchase the plant and set up a new Scottish daily newspaper run by a workers' co-operative.

## STATEMENT

On Saturday, the Action Committee attempted to insert a statement to this effect on the front page of the final issue of the *Scottish Sunday Express*. After a near-physical confrontation between the editor and the committee, the production workers were persuaded by the management to stop the presses, and only 400 copies of the paper were printed.

Production of Scottish editions of the Beaverbrook papers has now shifted to Manchester, where workers have refused to support demands from Glasgow to block the new publishing operation.

The idea of 'workers' co-operatives' has begun to gain an appeal within some sections of the labour movement over the past few months. It is possible, although unlikely, that certain co-operatives could

be made commercially viable. But even in such cases, as we pointed out last week, they would in no way be sheltered from the ill-winds of the capitalist market. Their viability would remain dependent on workers being prepared to sacrifice to meet the demands of bankers and the competition of the market.

In fact, co-operatives can fit in very well with the employers' plans. The Beaverbrook Group will no doubt be very happy to be able to rationalise its operations and get a good price for its old plant, at the same time as defusing any real resistance from its workers.

## DIVISIVE

The formation of a co-operative in response to redundancies proves in practice to be divisive. It does not pose a solution which the working class as a whole can take up, and very often even excludes wary workers who are closely involved.

The refusal of the Manchester chapels to respond to the appeals for backing from Glasgow is reinforced by the fact that the Glasgow workers have opted for a solution which does not require their support, except perhaps in raising cash.

Raising the demand for the nationalisation of the whole Beaverbrook Group without compensation is the only way in which the manoeuvres of the employers can be blocked, and a united struggle based on the interests of all the workers developed.

Whatever kind of operation is set up, it must be the capitalists and not the workforce who are made to pay for the capitalist crisis. Only nationalisation under workers' management can deal with these questions. If financial problems do arise, then a levy imposed by the Government on all capitalist newspapers would ensure that the cost of capitalist anarchy is borne by the capitalist class, and that the workers' operation is free of commercial pressures.

## A WORKERS' PAPER

We must not ignore, as the 'workers' cooperative' plan seems to be doing, the politics of the newspaper which should be produced. It is no use projecting a 'bright, new' version of the reactionary *Daily Express*. The labour movement has no need for such a revamped tool of the bourgeoisie.

Yet there is a desperate need for a mass workers' paper, which will support the struggles of the working class. What better to try to establish such a press than the expropriation of the plant and machinery of an employer who has sacked nearly two thousand workers!

If these demands were taken up by the Glasgow workers it could have the effect of not only unifying all the Beaverbrook workers, but the whole of the workers' movement, around their struggle.

The Labour Party has long decried the fact that it is confronted by a hostile, Tory press. What better opportunity for it to change this situation than by placing in the hands of the redundant Beaverbrook workers a mass newspaper which could be put to the service of the labour movement.

But the Beaverbrook workers should not wait for the Government to act - they should take over the Beaverbrook operations now and start the production of a workers' newspaper.

## The Action Committee's statement to our readers

THE following statement was issued by the Glasgow Action Committee yesterday:

"Today is the last edition of the *Scottish Daily Express* as 570,000 readers know it, and also the *Glasgow Evening Citizen*.

Taking its place on Sunday is an English version of the once great newspaper.

PRINTED in Manchester. Run from Manchester.

The cost has been almost 2,000 jobs in Scotland with all the misery that entails.

This Committee is determined to right that wrong. To make sure as many jobs as possible are saved. To make sure our many faithful SCOTTISH readers are not disappointed.

To this end the employees hope to start their own newspaper, one that will reflect the interests and thinking of its readers.

Already the Committee, which represents the employees' interests, has contacted the Government, unions and industry for their support. The reaction has been very encouraging.

Beaverbrook have offered

All correspondence should be addressed to the Action Committee, Albion Street, Glasgow.

In return we hope to resume contact with you soon through the columns of a bright new, Scottish newspaper.

The statement which the Action Committee representing 1,900 redundant newspaper workers attempted to publish on the front page of the final issue of the 'Scottish Sunday Express'. The management stopped the presses

## Women put the boot into Typhoo and Lucas in lay-off and redundancy struggles

Women workers were in action in Birmingham last week, resisting threats of lay-offs and redundancies.

At the Typhoo Tea factory, where the majority of workers are married women, the management has announced the cancellation of £2 million of investment, and warned that the plant will be closed down. This is because of the workers' refusal to agree to plans for a double-day shift system.

The workers have responded with a ban on overtime, and a policy of non-

cooperation. They have warned the management that there will be a stoppage if time-study personnel are introduced on to the shop-floor.

The women at Typhoo are determined not to accept the new system, which would mean alternating between 6 am to 2 pm and 2 pm to 10 pm shifts. They previously worked from 8 am to 4 pm, with an evening shift of 5 pm to 10 pm.

This kind of change hits especially hard at women with children, who are expected to look after them and at the same time adapt to new production requirements. The plant Cadbury-

Schweppe monopoly which owns Typhoo wants the new shifts to squeeze extra profit from more advanced machinery for producing tea bags.

At the Joseph Lucas factory in Birmingham, the production of the management for laying off women workers led to a sit-in. The women were in their first full week's work since Christmas when they were laid off due to a strike by night-shift workers. Two thousand women were involved in three factories.

They followed this by walking out, after an initial return to work, when the

management refused to pay lay-off money.

The occupation was the first result of a dispute which has begun to snowball throughout the car industry in the Birmingham area.

It started when a foreman was sacked after being spied on during a sick leave absence. Six hundred T&G/WU members worked to rule, and refused co-operation with management. They demanded that the spies - a supervisor and a foreman - be sacked. When management refused payment on the grounds that production had been almost nil, the shop-floor walked out and mounted

a 24-hour picket. Production throughout Birmingham car factories was threatened for lack of Lucas electrical components.

This dispute foreshadows future upheavals as the car industry tries to overcome the problems caused by the three day week, and workers take action to resist the effects of the crisis. Women workers will frequently find themselves at the top of their employers' lay-off lists, and subject to production re-scheduling. The women at Typhoo and Lucas are demonstrating their ability to fight back.

# ENGINEERS' CHANCE TO SMASH 'SOCIAL CONTRACT'

Almost one year after the AUEW National Committee decided to lodge a claim for better pay and conditions, the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has decided to do something about it. From the 15th of this month there will be a national overtime ban in the engineering industry.

The original resolution insisted on a reply from the employers within one month, but the Unions were kept waiting for three months. Meanwhile the Executive Council of the AUEW did nothing except distribute 200,000 leaflets, for over 1¼ million members. But the biggest crime of all was the failure to link up with the miners in an alliance which could have ended Phase 3 long ago.

This would have given a lead to all the other sections of workers who have been forced to settle their claims under the Tory pay laws. Now the Engineers will have to go it alone, with about 20% of the industry already settled under Phase 3.

## THE RATTLING SABRE

The official leadership aim to get

the whole thing settled as quickly and as quietly as possible, so that they can get on with constructing their 'social contract' with the Government. But Scanlon realises that simply accepting the employers' miserable offer of £2.50 is not possible. There is still too much pressure from militants in the engineering industry for that.

This explains his recent 'left-wing sabre-rattling', as one paper put it. He knows that his co-operation is essential if Labour's 'social contract' is to work. But he wants a small price for co-operation—a slightly increased offer from the employers, to allow him to accept without losing face. His hopes could be justified. The employers may decide that a couple of pounds on top of the present offer is a small price to pay.

## STOP SELL-OUT

The only thing that can stop this sort of sell-out is decisive action by the rank-and-file.

An overtime ban cannot win the full claim. It cannot hit a highly centralised organisation like the Engineering Employers Federation seriously. It would also split the workers, since piece workers can

avoid a serious loss of earnings, which others cannot avoid.

However it is necessary to ensure that the overtime ban is 100% solid. A poor response would be a sign of weakness, would stiffen the resistance of the employers, and give the Union leadership the excuse they seek to call off the struggle.

But only strike action on a national scale can break the resistance of the employers. The national convenors' conference which will meet in Manchester on the 5th of this month should resolve to prepare a national strike and elect a national strike committee.

District strikes should be launched where possible, to detonate national action. Local conferences of shop stewards should be called immediately (by major shop stewards committees if necessary) to organise district strike action.

A lead given by only one or two major factories could spark off a struggle if conscious efforts are made, through the use of flying pickets etc.

## WOMEN WORKERS

Women workers must ensure that

the demand for equal pay is not dropped from the claim. Special conferences of women workers in the industry, and the election of women representatives to all strike committees and shop stewards committees, would be a tremendous step forward.

Only this kind of action by the rank-and-file can launch a real struggle for the claim. If strike action can be launched even before the overtime ban starts, then so much the better.

Every day of delay increases the dangers of demoralisation amongst the workers and sell-out by the official leadership. Undoubtedly we will hear the familiar pless not to 'rock the boat', now that we have a Labour Government. But if the trade union leaders and the Government are allowed to implement their 'social contract', then the working class's boat will be in danger of sinking.

A victory for the Engineers would be the first major blow against the capitalist 'social contract' and a vital preparation for a renewed working class offensive in the Autumn.

TERRY CRAWFORD

Engineers' leader Hugh Scanlon: 'He wants a small price for co-operation—a slightly increased offer from the employers, to allow him to accept without losing face'



## Squatters win union support

United action by London squatters and tenants over the last few weeks has raised the possibility of winning active support from the trade union movement for struggles against property speculation.

Last week a series of pickets and meetings initiated jointly by squatters at 220 Camden High Street and Dover Street in Mayfair (properties owned by Joe Levy and Associates), culminated in a march to Downing Street. In an open letter to Harold Wilson, Labour MPs and Labour Councillors in Camden and Westminster they demanded that Labour: Reimpose the statutory obligation on local authorities to house the homeless (removed by the Tories on 1 April); requisition all empty property; guarantee the right of squatters to electricity, gas and water supplies; repeal the conspiracy laws, and release the Shrewsbury pickets and all those imprisoned under the laws.

Last week the shop stewards committee of the Strand McAlpine's site wrote a letter of support to the Camden squatters. They are considering such action as blacking Levy 'development' sites.

Further support came from the chairman of Camden Tenants' Federation, who spoke at a public meeting in the Dover Street squat and suggested the calling of a broad-based conference of the labour movement to discuss the housing question. The All London Squatters' Federation meeting on Sunday backed this, as did the Secretary of Brent Trades Council.

In the immediate future squatters and tenants are demanding an enquiry by the labour movement into the property speculation activities of Levy and his front companies.

Coming actions include a picket of the High Court, Strand, at 10 am on Friday 5 April and a rally at 220 Camden High Street, NW1 at 10 am on Saturday 6 April. Messages and enquiries should be sent: c/o Student Community Housing, 17 Prince of Wales Crescent, NW1. Phone: 01-485 8213.

PIERS CORBYN

## Immigration Act must go as well!

Sexual discrimination in regard to the admission of immigrants, was—Roy Jenkins had to admit in Parliament last week—'a little difficult to defend.' While a British man who marries a woman of whatever nationality can bring her to live in Britain, the foreign husbands of British women have no such rights of admission, and these couples are frequently forced to live abroad.

Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary, is of course a very reasonable man. He has no wish to tear asunder what God has ordained; still less to undermine the family, which so well serves to keep women in their place, and deals with the rearing of children.

But the admission of foreign

husbands presents a certain problem—some of them are black. Jenkins did not mince his words:

'Were I to admit husbands on the same basis as wives,' he said, 'this would undoubtedly lead to a substantial and continuing wave of male immigration, particularly from the Indian sub-continent.' It was, he had no hesitation in stating, men from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh to whom the Labour Government specifically wishes to deny British citizenship.

## DOUBLE ACT

This neat double act of racism and sexism—which should raise the fury of the women's movement as well as that of black militants—comes at a time when the labour movement urgently needs to take up the struggle against the second part of a notorious double act of the late Tory Government.

In 1971, two totally anti-working class laws were passed by the Tory Government: the Industrial Relations Act and the Immigration Act. The Immigration Act was a vicious piece of racism that attempted to cow a section of the working class. New immigrants were to be brought over on a work contract, just like the immigrant workers in the rest of the Common Market.

If they 'misbehaved' and became militant they could be deported. Police were allowed to detain blacks on suspicion that they were 'illegal' immigrants.

In 1968, Labour, then in Government, had introduced an immigration law that the European Commission for Human Rights had pronounced racist. But in 1971, when they were in opposition, they changed their minds. Shirley Williams, James Callaghan, and Roy Jenkins vied with each other to denounce racism in general and the Act in particular.

The reactionary nature of the '71 Immigration Act was reinforced in 1973 by the Lords' decision to make the legislation retrospective to March, 1968, thus declaring possibly ten thousand blacks 'illegal'. The police, with their new powers, instigated a witch hunt and carried out indiscriminate mass raids on the homes of black workers.

In a series of strikes black workers were threatened with deportation.

Asian workers at Standard Telephone and Cables in North London were intimidated from joining the strike of West Indian workers by threats that their legal status would be looked into.

During the recent strike by Asian workers at Art Castings in Nuneaton, the police justified their large numbers to control the picket line on the grounds that they were checking for the presence of 'illegals'—and consistently broke up the pickets by taking them off to examine their documents.

## DOCUMENTATION

In order that black workers should be able to prove that they are not 'illegal' they have to produce documentary evidence. Attempts have been made to make black workers produce passports before getting insurance cards or Social Security benefits. Recently, the engineering department of Nottingham Corporation has been sending the passports of all black applicants for jobs up to the Home Office so that they can be checked.

The '71 Act has given the green light to every petty racist tyrant involved in Immigration Control, and has encouraged National Front vigilantes to sniff out 'illegals'. The British Embassy in Pakistan has refused to allow two-year-old Misba Shah to join her parents in London until she has been interviewed about her national status. Whether she is expected to sign the statements that she will be required to make is not yet clear.

A West Indian who has lived in Nottingham for over 15 years recently went to the Caribbean for a holiday. On returning his passport was overstamp with a two month short term visa.

It is clear that the '71 Act must be scrapped in the interests of the working class as a whole. The Queen's speech promised to repeal the Industrial Relations Act, but there was no mention of dealing with its twin, the Immigration Act. Jenkins, in opposition, called on the Tories to withdraw their Act. Now his long, impatient wait to destroy this racist legislation is over. He can repeal the Act whenever he wants. It is clear, however, that he has no intention of doing this.

## AMNESTY

Jenkins appears to be considering an amnesty of those who 'illegally' entered the country between March 1968 and January 1973. This would not require even an amendment of the Act. But if he does only this, (and we are fully in favour of such an amnesty) then the essential elements of the '71 Act will still remain.

It is vital for the interests of the whole working class that the Act is completely scrapped. It is essential that the labour movement, and particularly those unions on record against the Act, such as the AUEW, should use all means necessary to bury it.

ANDREW JENKINS



Photo: EZRA NATHAN (Red Weekly)

Picketing during the STC strike last summer—Asian workers were intimidated from joining in by threats that their legal status would be looked into.

REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT
SAT. MAY 4

RALLY
CONWAY HALL, WC1

FOR MORE DETAILS RETURN THIS TO 97 Caledonian Road, N1.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

**S**ince the Chilean coup last September, the problem of 'the unity of the resistance' and of 'the unity of the forces opposed to the dictatorship' has been continually posed.

We are among those who believe that such unity is absolutely necessary. Moreover, it undoubtedly corresponds to the deep-felt mood of the masses after their defeat.

But that is only to pose the problem, and not to solve it. What is really at stake is the character and content of this unity.

### PRESENT SITUATION

Six months after the coup, what does the present situation hold out in this respect?

At the present time, despite many efforts as well as concessions, such



MIR propaganda is distributed through leaflets small enough to hold in the hand. Unity has not been achieved in Chile between the various workers' and revolutionary organisations.

It is true that this has not been made any easier by the brutal repression and the destruction of the party apparatuses which followed the coup. But contacts were maintained or have been renewed. If there has so far been no significant agreement—and no united structure has yet seen the light of day inside Chile—the reason is to be found not in so-called 'technical' or 'organisational' difficulties, but in fundamental differences on questions of political strategy, which divide the reformist and revolutionary workers' organisations and sometimes—as in the case of the Socialist Party—even run through these organisations themselves.

In this regard, we should not be fooled by the two united appeals signed by the representatives abroad

of all the parties of Popular Unity and the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left]. These do not correspond to any stage which has been reached in the process of uniting the various forces inside Chile.

On the contrary, these appeals simply correspond to the 'necessities' of work outside Chile—or rather, to what these organisations or their representatives believe to be the necessities of work abroad (ie to present a united front to the various solidarity and fund-raising movements).

### STRATEGY

But before dealing with the significance of these appeals, we should first look rather more closely at the reason for the lack of unity inside Chile: the differences in strategy.

In the days following the coup, the MIR put forward as one of its most important tasks the achievement of unity, and the establishment of a united structure which would comprise the various different parties of Popular Unity and itself. This step was correct and totally justified, given the offensive of the victorious reactionaries and semi-fascist elements.

Since then, the MIR has on several occasions outlined its positions, although not going very far towards clarifying them.

On the one hand, in a leaflet signed by its national secretariat and widely distributed in Santiago at the end of December and the beginning of January, it called for the creation of a 'Popular Anti-Gorilla [as military dictators] are generally known in Latin America] Resistance Movement'.

'This popular resistance movement, with a programme of struggles for the restoration of democratic freedoms and for the defence of the standard of living of the masses, will regroup all those who are prepared to struggle against the junta, militants of any political party or none', explained MIR leader Miguel Enriquez recently (declaration of 20 January).

The movement, described in the same declaration as 'a large bloc of social forces opposed to the dictatorship', must be based on 'committees in each factory, estate, ghetto, school, university'.

On the other hand, the MIR also calls for the formation of a Political Front of the Resistance—an 'urgent task', according to Miguel Enriquez.

This would be made up of all the political forces prepared to fight the gorilla dictatorship—and specifically, 'Popular Unity, the progressive sector of Christian Democracy [the main bourgeois party], and the MIR'.

In outlining these two ways of approaching the problem, however, there is much ambiguity and above all confusion as to the exact class nature of these alliances. This could very quickly lead to serious mistakes and changes in direction not intended or even foreseen by the comrades of the MIR.

### REVOLUTIONARY TASKS

We say 'not intended or even foreseen', because they imply a conflict with the fundamental positions of the MIR as to the tasks of revolutionaries and the nature of the revolution to be made—positions which have been made clear many times both before and after the coup:

—The dictatorship will not simply collapse as a result of its own contradictions.

—Any illusions that its fall can be brought about by a heightened struggle between different sections of the bourgeoisie, any illusions that its orientation can be changed by peaceful means, will only lead to a second catastrophe.

—Only a fight under the leadership of the proletariat of the towns and countryside—the only class capable of leading it—a fight including different methods of struggle and most importantly the armed struggle of the masses, will be able to get rid of the military dictatorship.

—This overthrow of the dictatorship must be seen as the vital moment of struggle for the proletarian dictatorship (according to various declarations issued by the national secretariat and Miguel Enriquez since 11 September).

Given these basically correct positions (which determine the priorities around which the MIR's own work is organised today—concentration on work inside the working class, rebuilding nuclei of underground trade unions, preparing the organisation for the tasks of the armed struggle) how can one explain the ambiguity and confusion on the question of moves towards unity?

### REFORMISM

Some would argue that these ambiguities can be explained on

tactical grounds by the need to 'make things easier'.

But in fact they are grounded in an incorrect understanding of the political relationship of forces inside the workers' movement and, flowing from that, between the workers' movement and what the MIR calls the 'progressive sector of Christian Democracy'.

'The defeat of 11 September was not a defeat of the working class, but that of a reformist strategy, of reformism', the comrades of the MIR tell us.

That is true. The military coup which overthrew Allende's Government also overthrew the idea that one could march forward to socialism by the peaceful road, limiting the independent organisation of the working class, keeping strictly to the channels marked out by the (capitalist) State apparatus, and sacrificing the interests of the working class in an effort to conciliate the 'progressive' capitalists.

But having said that, we must not forget that the reformism of the Communist and social democratic parties has deep roots in the history of the Chilean workers' movement. Moreover, the present situation paradoxically provides it with an opportunity once more to extend its hold, despite the political and organisational defeat which it suffered at the time of the coup, and despite the previous radicalisation of the working class during the three years of the Popular Unity Government.

### ALLIANCE

This opportunity for reformism arises because the immediate concerns of the working class understandably centre around the struggle for democratic freedoms and defence of the standard of living. The fact that a section of the Chilean capitalist class—symbolised by the Christian Democracy—is also opposed to the present policies of the junta for its own reasons, means that the reformists can once again attempt to pose an alliance with them as the way forward in the present situation.

Hence any attempt to establish a common front with the other workers' organisations must be preceded by an insistence on the working class character of such a front. This in turn requires an open political struggle against the Communist Party, whose strategy of making political



MIR leader Miguel Enriquez: 'Two radicals confront each other in Chile'

# CH

## Uniting th

concessions to sections of the capitalists temporarily opposed to the junta would put the whole operation at the mercy of the latter.

Only once the clear class character of such a front is established, in its programme and in its organisation, can one begin to talk about the possibility of tactical alliances with the capitalist sectors opposed to the dictatorship—or as comrade Enriquez puts it, 'the progressive sectors of the Christian Democracy'. However, the evidence available suggests that this is not the approach adopted by the

# The struggle for socialism in Ireland

**BOB PURDIE discusses Eamonn McCann's book 'War and an Irish Town' (Penguin, 40p)**

**INCIDENT IN THE BOGSIDE:** 1. Factory is set on fire, Saracen chases watching crowd; 2. It stops at Craggan, troops jump out and attack crowd with CS gas; 3. Crowd refuses to break up, soldiers beat hasty retreat into Saracen; their shields jam in the panic as Bogsideers attack and, 4. drag soldier from Saracen; 5. Saracen roars off, leaving helmets and shields behind.



Eamonn McCann was one of the small group of people who struck fire to tinder in Derry in October, 1968, and his book describes how that modest civil rights demonstration led to the current war between the IRA and the British Army. Highly readable, witty, crammed with information, it is the best popular account of the Irish struggle that has been written.

It is broken up into three parts: the struggle since 1968; the historical background to the Irish crisis; and a section on the political problems faced by revolutionaries in Ireland.

As a work of 'pop' propaganda the book would be unsurpassed, were it not for the fact that Eamonn has set it a much more ambitious task: 'The future in Ireland lies with the small, but at last steadily growing forces of Marxism. To make

this (Irish) revolution we need a revolutionary party. This book is intended as a contribution to discussion of how best to build it.'

Whatever the book's other merits, as an attempt to deepen the theoretical analysis of revolutionary strategy in Ireland it is a failure. Every so often Eamonn self-consciously halts the flow of narrative to pontificate about what Irish revolutionaries should have done, or ought to do. But almost always he gets it wrong.

### CONNOLLY AND ON

For example, he makes the by now ritual criticism that Connolly did not leave behind a revolutionary party, and the reformist labour leaders were able to dominate the workers' movement because 'there was no organisation which was clearly seen as the repository of his thoughts...'

But Connolly left behind not one, but three organisations which were a 'repository of his thoughts': the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, the Irish Labour Party, and the Irish Citizen Army.

The problem was not simply the 'repository', but also the 'thoughts'. Connolly made a correct turn towards the national question when the Home Rule crisis posed partition. But he did not prepare his followers for the new tasks which were posed, and in making the turn he accepted the national struggle too much in the same terms as the petit-bourgeois nationalists.

Sean O'Casey in his *The Story of the Irish Citizen Army* recounts the utter confusion in the ranks of the ICA when Connolly led them towards an alliance with the Irish Volunteers, whom they had been denouncing as





different strategies now

# CHILE resistance

comrades of the MIR.

However, the MIR's proposals do have a certain logic, insofar as it is their intention that the militant unity brought about at the base in the 'Popular Anti-Gorilla Resistance Movement' will determine the real political relationship of forces between the revolutionaries and the reformists. This will be sealed in the nature and direction of the Political Front of the Resistance.

These proposals therefore make sense for the comrades of the MIR. They believe that after the crushing

defeat suffered by reformism, and with the strength of their own organisation (its prestige, its character, and its ability to act in the present situation) they will be able—together with the most radicalised sections of the parties of Popular Unity (in particular the left wing of the Socialist Party and MAPU)—to impose in practice, in the struggle itself, a relationship of forces favourable to the revolutionaries.

It is this perspective which enables comrade Enriquez to state in relation to the 'Popular Anti-Gorilla Resistance Movement' that it will be on the basis of this, 'and of armed detachments of the parties, whose actions will be directed towards the defence of the immediate interests of the masses, taking tactical actions of armed propaganda in the countryside and the towns, that it will be possible to build the revolutionary army of the people, the only force capable of taking on the officer corps and the reactionary army, of destroying the dictatorship and opening the way to the proletarian revolution' (Miguel Enriquez—*To the workers and revolutionaries of Germany*, 20 January 1974).

## POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The achievement of such a plan requires one thing, however: the political dominance of the revolutionaries in the ranks of the resistance movement and therefore in the Front.

And it is there the problem lies. In the present situation in Chile, where there is an objective basis for the re-birth and development of reformism, militant struggle and the ability of the revolutionaries to take action are not on their own enough to ensure this political dominance.

A political struggle against the strategy of the reformists—which does not exclude the tactic of a common front—is just as necessary.

The present attitude of the MIR, expressed by Miguel Enriquez in a way which is both ambiguous and contradictory, is therefore both dangerous and mistaken: 'It is not in our interest to focus all our politics around the polemic with the other organisations of the left; the Chilean experience must be a lesson for the peoples of the world.'

## POLEMIC

Of course it would be wrong for the MIR to concentrate all political

discussion around such a polemic. But polemic, the political struggle, must be one of the main political priorities for the MIR; moreover, it can't be separated from the total revolutionary practice of the MIR, in view of the strategical differences inside the left.

It is for this reason that there must from the start be a clear programmatic and organisational definition of the Front, a Front whose class character must be constantly emphasised. Only within this framework, and proceeding from a clear definition of its class character, will the revolutionaries and the militants of the MIR be able to take real advantage of the relationship of forces produced through struggle and a political confrontation.

If, on the other hand, the policy of the united front put forward by the revolutionaries remains unclear and confused; if it is stripped in practice of its revolutionary political content; if the united front, a tactical method, is elevated to become an over-riding principle—then the dice will be loaded against them.

The reformists—be they Stalinists or social democrats—will then be on their own ground. They will be able to play on this ambiguity and confusion to impose as a fact and in action their strategy of an alliance between the classes. They will, thanks to their alliance with the bourgeois liberal sectors, be able to win a position of complete political dominance inside the Front.

## ABSTRACT?

These are abstract prophecies, the comrades of the MIR will say. Unfortunately not. The first sign of such a development, though not too significant since it comes from abroad, can be found very clearly in the second declaration of the United Committee in Rome.

The political 'mistakes' in this text, its open as well as implicit thrust, is much closer to the policies expressed by the Chilean Communist Party in its manifesto than it is to those expressed by the MIR in all its declarations since the coup. It is only a small sign, but it must be recognised as a real and rather alarming one.

The dangers of such a development are all the more real since in the present situation in Chile, after such a defeat and with its significance for the entire world working class, con-

tinued ambiguity is out of the question in the long term.

Very quickly, the choice will be brutally posed: to capitulate politically or to break with this front. And such a break would take place in the worst possible conditions for revolutionaries—without a previous political struggle, and without any political clarification.

In such a situation, it would be the reformists who would appear to be the defenders of unity in the struggle against the dictatorship—even though each day of struggle shows that it is in fact the political line of the reformists which is the principle obstacle to achieving the unity of the Chilean workers.

## BASIC QUESTION

This is the basic question facing revolutionary militants today in the task of building the Chilean resistance. In contributing to this debate, we do not pretend to have a solution to what are often extremely complicated tactical problems.

We understand the reasons for this complexity, which is partly produced by the continuing fierceness of the repression and the conditions of work which it imposes. We do not think that this complexity can be made to disappear, as if by a wave of the magician's wand, simply by restating certain fundamental truths. But we do believe that serious dangers exist as a result of the present ambiguity and confusion.

In relation to this, we have a dual perspective. We will continue to take part in and contribute to these debates, because that is a vital part of our most elementary internationalist duty. As Miguel Enriquez has said, 'the Chilean experience must be a lesson for the peoples of the world'.

But at the same time, as militants of the solidarity movement with the revolutionary struggle of the Chilean workers, we will do everything possible to ensure that this solidarity is directed towards those who, despite their present ambiguities, are in their basic positions, the best placed today to lead the struggle against the strategy of the reformists.

Because, however much we may criticise their present ambiguities, the MIR stands for the revolutionary road in a situation where, to quote comrade Enriquez once more, 'two radically different strategies now confront each other'.

# JOINT STATEMENT REFLECTS CP LINE

The latest joint declaration issued by the parties of Popular Unity and the MIR, published in Rome on 12 February and reprinted in the 23 March issue of the Communist Party fortnightly *Comment*, reflects almost entirely the line of the Communist Party. In many places it goes directly against the positions which have always been put forward by the MIR, and it is therefore a matter of real concern that the representative of the latter should have signed it.

Thus this declaration, unlike the previous one, starts off with a tribute to the 'profound and historic change' wrought by the Popular Unity government and that 'consistent revolutionary' Salvador Allende.

There is no mention of the past role or future importance of workers' and peasants' assemblies or committees for struggle at the base. Instead, the whole emphasis is placed on the role of the 'popular parties' and the importance of 'restructuring their organisation and leadership'.

One word that does not occur at all in the declaration is 'socialism'. Far from posing the task of overthrowing the military dictatorship and that of achieving workers' power as indissolubly linked, the perspective outlined is simply 'the patriotic national task of fighting fascism'—one which 'many of the military can be expected to join'.

Indeed, we are told: 'Today, all democrats, of whatever ideological, religious or cultural colour, stand against the dictatorship. All of them have their part to play in isolating, containing and defeating fascism'. Hence major stress is laid in the declaration on the need for an alliance with those sections of the capitalist Christian Democracy who have come out in opposition to the policies of the junta. This opposition is analysed not in terms of their present exclusion from the fruits of capitalist rule, but rather as evidence of their 'democratic, humanitarian conscience'.

Such a policy is of the utmost danger for the working masses of Chile. It places the struggle for their interests at the mercy of sections of the capitalist class who oppose the junta's policies for purely tactical reasons. It is therefore alarming that the representatives of the revolutionary forces in Chile should have had anything to do with it.

reactionary. Eamonn's criticism adds nothing to our understanding of the problems faced by Connolly, and his references to the need for a 'revolutionary party' merely cover his inability to pose a political solution.

## NO REVOLUTIONARY CRITICISM

The book fails to make a consistent criticism of the policies of those revolutionaries who helped to set the Irish struggle into motion, but were thrown overboard at the first bend in the road. Eamonn concedes that they failed to understand the national question, and that:

'The primary reason why the Provisionals exist is that socialism as we presented it was shown to be irrelevant. The Provisionals are the inrush which filled the vacuum left by the absence of a socialist option.'

Very good, as far as it goes, but

nowhere does he outline the policies which revolutionaries ought to have pursued, in the given situation, and the given balance of forces. Instead there is a great deal of 'it might have been' speculation about alternative scenarios.

Thus when he discusses the effect of the catholic clerical influence in the South after partition in exacerbating protestant sectarianism in the North, he says:

'No-one was actively canvassing a third alternative. No-one was with equal vigour fighting sectarianism North and South; no-one was actively supporting and attempting to politicise the economic militancy of Protestant trade unionists and at the same time seeking to destroy clerical conservatism in the South.'

'There was no anti-partitionist organisation which the Protestant (unemployed) rioters of 1932, for example, could have turned to, because there was no anti-

partitionist organisation which had put up even a token fight against the lengthening list of objectively anti-protestant laws in the South, none which had clearly detached itself from bourgeois-nationalist policies.'

## PATH TO UNITY

But the protestant workers were not looking for an anti-clerical movement in the South. They were looking for an immediate solution to the problem of unemployment—unity with catholic workers seemed to be a means of achieving that. But unity was not extended beyond those struggles, and the Northern state was able to break that unity through its institutions.

Any challenge to the status quo was bound at first to take a sectarian form. Instead of looking for the clearest non-sectarian propaganda initiative to these workers, revolutionaries should have been considering how to

attack and weaken these institutions.

McCann half admits this when he explains that the demands of the civil rights movement for equality in jobs and housing increased sectarianism, because the protestants saw this as an attack on their share. But the conclusions he draws are equally propagandist:

'In terms of strict economics the only programme to undercut sectarianism would have been one which linked the demand for fair distribution of the relevant commodities to demands designed to increase absolutely the amount of jobs and houses available for distribution... If any group had fought consistently... for such a programme, the all-class catholic alliance, which is what the civil rights movement became, could not have held together.'

'And such a programme, hardly the normal stuff of Irish politics, would not have attracted immediate mass support; but it might have enabled those of us in

Derry at least to go on talking to Protestants in the Fountain in 1969.'

Eamonn and his comrades set their sights at talking to the Protestant workers—the Provisionals set theirs on *smashing the State*. That is why they took the leadership of the struggle.

The revolutionary socialists might have led the struggle if they had understood that the contradictions within Ireland posed not simply an opportunity for revolutionary propaganda but an opportunity to lead mass action. And that, despite the limitations imposed by the objective situation, this action could bring about a much more real hope of working class unity than propaganda ever could.

Unfortunately Eamonn's book shows that he still does not understand that.



# Labour's Budget: The Hand in Your Pocket

What a low opinion the Labour Government must have of the TUC leaders' intelligence!

Denis Healey's budget, which was served up to them as God's gift to the trade unions, the kiss that would seal the social compact, held enough anti-working class measures to heat a mid-winter Tory Party conference.

It is all very well to carry out such much-heralded moves as the increase in old age pensions, food subsidies, and increased tax allowances. But while Healey's left hand is performing all these marvellous tricks for the entertainment of Len Murray and Jack ('a good socialist budget') Jones, just whose pockets is his right hand rummaging around in?

## WORKING CLASS POCKETS

The budget not only set out to increase certain benefits, but also to reduce the total Government debt—so obviously a lot of money has to come in from somewhere.

Much will come straight out of

working class pockets through increased direct taxes on beer, cigarettes and petrol. But the picture isn't much rosier as far as income tax is concerned. Those being forced to pay higher taxes go well beyond the bounds of the 'rich'. Any single worker earning more than £18 a week now has to pay increased taxes, as does any married worker earning above £34. Certainly the *increases* in living expenses as a result of the budget—higher taxes, higher electricity charges, etc.—will offset the *benefits* for the bulk of working class families.

The poor will be among the worst hit, because, already paying little tax, they gain little from the new tax allowances, while having to carry the full brunt of increased prices. Thus a worker trying to support a wife and two children on £25 a week gross, will now find himself with 20 p a week less to do it on.

This is not likely to be his idea of a very good socialist budget.

## £3600 MILLION FOR WHAT?

The big cuts in social service spending brought in by the Tories will, for the most part, stand. The food subsidies will flow into the pockets of the big food monopolies, and a big chunk of the increased funds for housing will not go to building new houses at all, but to ensure the construction companies profits on the 30,000 houses they have built but not been able

to sell.

But at least we can all sleep safely in our beds, protected by the great North Atlantic Treaty and the £3600 million which Labour plans to spend on 'defence' this next year.

What can you get for £3600 million these days? A 40% reduction in food prices. An extra 12% across-the-board wage rise for every worker. A £20 a week old age pension. Or a stake in a great project like perfecting machines that can blow millions of people to pieces at the touch of a button. Whose interests does Labour's choice serve?

## JOINING THE QUEUE

Even Labour's supposedly 'tough' prices policy will do nothing to prevent all the increases in nationalised industry charges—for steel, electricity, transport, etc.—and the increases in employers' National Insurance contributions, being paid for directly out of workers' pockets through higher prices.

All that Labour can do is *delay* such price rises for a few months. But the effect of this—combined with other changes contained in the budget (such as the larger sums which must be paid in advance for corporation tax)—will be to drive many companies already in tough straits to the wall.

The working class should shed no tears at the sight of their class enemies in trouble, but Labour has no policy designed to deal with the wave of redundancies this will produce.

Coming at a time when the economy is slowing down anyway under the weight of its own, capitalist contradictions the budget spells massive unemployment in the immediate future.

Well, if we must join the dole queue, at least it will be because of a 'very

good socialist budget'.

## SOCIALIST PLANNING

Of course, this whole idea of a 'socialist budget' is nonsense. The problems of capitalism cannot be resolved and moves made towards socialism by a 'budget'. What is needed on the economic front are measures designed to replace the anarchy of capitalism with a planned, socialised economy.

This can only take place once the power of the capitalist class and the hold of the capitalist market over the economy are broken through the nationalisation of the big industrial monopolies, financial institutions (banks, insurance companies) and other essential economic industrial operations (transport, fuel).

Only then can a Government—based itself on the organised power of the working class, directly managing the nationalised firms and exercising control and supervision over those that remain in private hands—actually *plan* the operations of the economy.

The full utilisation of all resources (both workers and machines) and the smooth shifting of resources away from absurd and wasteful projects like Concorde and most defence spending, into socially useful work could then be ensured. Genuinely democratic and rational decisions could be made about how output should be distributed between present consumption and investment for future growth, and equal access for all basic consumption needs such as food, housing, clothing, medical care, education and culture would be guaranteed.

This is the real face of socialism—but it has nothing in common with the features of a Wilson, a Healey or a Foot.

CARL OWEN

# WHAT'S ON

**LONDON RED FORUM:** Every Tuesday at 8 pm in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, N1. (5 mins Kings X tube).

**BENGALI FRIENDS** in Europe and elsewhere, for Bengali books and *Lani* (Fourth International paper), contact: Bengali, Mullvadon, Box 3274, 10365 Stockholm, Sweden.

**RED BOOKS:** Revolutionary literature—Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Eastern Europe, Third World, Ireland, Women's Liberation. 81a Renshaw Street, Liverpool. Tues-Fri: 12.30–3 pm. Sat: 11 am–3 pm.

**NOTTINGHAM RED CRICLES:** Wide-ranging series of discussions based on the politics of the Fourth International. Every 2nd and 4th Tuesday in the month at 8 pm in the Lion Hotel, Clumber Street.

**CHILE AD HOC COMMITTEE:** Planning meeting Wednesday 10 April for 5 May demonstration to demand that Labour Government breaks all links with the Chilean Junta. Supported by IMG and IS and open to all organisations and individuals supporting the demo. 8 pm in General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (5 mins Kings X tube).

**FREE IRELAND FORUMS:** Friday 5 April—'The Origins of the Crisis in Ireland'; Friday 12 April—'The Orange Monolith—the Question of the Protestants'. 8 pm in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (5 mins Kings X tube).

**CEYLON SOLIDARITY CAMPAIGN:** Public Forum on 'Ceylon—Why the Continuing Repression?', Friday 5 April at 7.30 pm in Conway Hall (Holborn). Speakers: Tariq Ali (IMG), Achca de Lanerolle (Ginipupura), Rock Tansey (Haldane Society), John Chowcat (trade unionist). The 'World in Action' TV documentary on conditions on the British company-owned tea estates in Ceylon will also be shown.

**PICKET SRI LANKA** High Commission in solidarity with oppressed tea estate workers and all victims of repression in Ceylon—Friday 5 April from 12.30 to 2.30 pm at 13 Hyde Park Gardens, W2. (Marble Arch or Lancaster Gate tube). Organised by Ceylon Solidarity Campaign.

**MARXIST CONFERENCE** on Eastern Europe and the USSR sponsored by *Critique de l'Economie Politique*, in Brussels 4-5 May, Saturday 4 May: 'Transitional Society' with Ernest Mandel, J.L.O'Allemagne, H.H. Ticktin, Sunday 5 May: 'The Working Class and Economic Reform'. For more information, transport and accommodation write to: Brussels Conference, 97 Caledonian Road, London N1. (English translation available at conference).

# FASCISTS EMBARRASS ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE

Emigre political groupings from Eastern Europe, China, and Cuba are often treated with great sympathy by the press. They are greeted too with cash from various Western governments to help them defend the 'free world'.

To the embarrassment of some, these fighters for 'freedom'—whether they know it or not—are now giving financial aid to some of the most violent fascists in various parts of the globe.

The World Anti-Communist League (WACL) groups together anti-communists in many countries. The ghost of the Albanian Agrarian-Democratic Party distributes the paper *Fleamari* from Rome. From Munich, the European Congress of Free Hungarians sends propaganda to Africa warning against

communism.

In London, Polish nationalist organisations, with their contacts inside the Monday Club, operate from the Ognisko social centre in Kensington. The US affiliate to WACL is the 'American Council for World Freedom', and the British section is called the 'Foreign Affairs Circle', led by Geoffrey Stewart-Smith, publisher of *East-West Digest* (which boringly reprints dated 'exposures' of the International Marxist Group and the International Socialists).

The British and Americans are becoming increasingly worried by the distinctly 'anti-democratic' and terrorist tendencies of some of their friends abroad. The 'Ustashe' of Croatia, for example, who once ruled part of what is now Yugoslavia with a terrible barbarity for the Third Reich, recently carried out armed attacks

on Yugoslav embassies in Europe.

The 'Ustashe' have linked up with the remnants of the fascist Rumanian 'Iron Guard', and together they have close ties with Tecos, a secret society of the Mexican extreme right.

## 'JEWISH CONSPIRACY'

Tecos claims to be the true 'Legion of Christ' and regards the Roman Catholic Church as infiltrated by Jews and Freemasons, denouncing the Pope as a concealed semitic drug-addict. Tecos, which is thought to favour acts of guerrilla warfare, now controls the Mexican section of WACL. The problem is that the Mexican section, Federacion Mexicana Anticomunista, controls the whole international work of the WACL.

The American Council for Freedom has been complaining of the appearance of 'several neo-fascist movements' in the

WACL. The British urged the Mexican section to ruthlessly kick out 'neo-Nazis, fascists and anti-semites', but were ignored. The latest embarrassment is the distribution by Saudi Arabian affiliates of copies of the 'Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion', the most infamous of anti-semitic tracts.

The Americans fear that all this could severely damage the image emigre propaganda groups have in the West and could frighten off from WACL some of its more important sympathisers, such as the nationalists of Taiwan.

The Americans recently warned that if the reports of terrorism were true, then WACL 'needs to be sure that that the "white" guerrillas fight red communists, and not the targets outlined in the Tecos' [anti-semitic] books'.

TOM CAMERON



I am sympathetic to most of the ideas you put forward, but I am rather disturbed by your tendency to condone violence towards fascists.

Much as I despise these 'people', I feel that the prevention of them having a 'platform' could best be achieved by shouting them down and out-arguing them, rather than 'driving them against park railings and breaking their tables' (see *Red Weekly* 43).

I believe it is the task of every revolutionary member of the left to awaken the consciousness of the workers, but I also believe that our objective will not be achieved if we show ourselves to be perpetrators of violence.

We must show that the violence used by the capitalists is futile in the face of popular opinion which condemns it. We must show that our society would not be based on violence. If we use violence in order to suppress opposition now, what guarantee have workers got that violence will not be used to perpetuate revolutionary society?

David Waugh

Unfortunately, it is not true that the violence used by the capitalists is

# VIOLENCE AGAINST FASCISTS



The workers' movement must prevent fascist forces such as the National Front from being able to present themselves to the victims of capitalist chaos as a serious political alternative

Photo: MIKE NEWTON (*Red Weekly*)

futile in the face of popular opinion which condemns it—as the recent bloody events in Chile remind us only too forcefully.

The capitalist class is always ready to indulge in murder and repression to preserve its political power. The only sure defence is the organised might of the workers' movement, which, eventually, must become an armed might, capable of replying to the capitalists' attacks blow

for blow.

Any refusal to confront the violence of the capitalists head-on will only strengthen the power of the capitalist system, and ensure that bloodshed and violence remain permanent features of our daily lives.

Of course, when the capitalist class as a whole is still attempting to rule on the basis of a phony capitalist 'democracy',

and the fascists are as yet still only a small force, there are important tactical questions involved in how the left deals with them (see *Red Weekly* 45 for a discussion of some of these).

But the task facing the workers' movement is clear: to prevent fascist forces from being able to present themselves either as a serious political alternative to the victims of capitalist chaos, or as

7th FEBRUARY 1974

SOUTH ASIA

# Marxist

THE ART REVIEW

A MEMBER OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY PARTY FOR THE WORKING CLASS IN THE WEST AND IN CHINA

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a useful instrument for the capitalist attacks on the organised working class.

This will often require 'ungentlemanly' conduct, and, as the fascists increasingly resort to violence, even organised counter-violence. The alternative, however, is to paralyse the workers' movement in the face of growing, organised fascist currents, at the service of the capitalist class.

# Military crisis rocks Portugal

Portuguese premier Marcelo Caetano is now fighting to hold on to his position following last month's military crisis, when the military chief of staff, General Costa Gomes, and his deputy, General Antonio de Spínola, both lost their jobs.

The crisis developed following the publication of General Spínola's book, *Portugal and the Future*, in which he argued for a drastic change in Portugal's colonial policy. The immediate controversy which it aroused dramatically illustrated the divisions in the ruling class, brought about by the army's failure to crush the African resistance movements.

Spínola outlined his proposals from a position of immense national prestige, gained during four years in which he commanded the Portuguese military campaign against the PAIGC guerrillas in Guine-Bissau.

His main conclusion—based largely on this experience—was that Portugal cannot hope for an outright military victory in any of its African colonies—Guine-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. Instead, he argued, a political solution must be found.

It is known that Caetano himself is sympathetic to such views, and has recently begun to try to win African support for a possible federal solution. In Mozambique, for instance, he has permitted African teachers and professionals to form a nationalist pressure group for 'Africanising' the state and achieving nominal 'independence'.

## MILITARY SETBACKS

The military background to this situation lies in the steady series of setbacks suffered by the Portuguese armed forces in Africa. No less than 166,000 troops are now tied up by the guerrillas.

In Guine-Bissau, three-quarters of the territory is controlled by the PAIGC, and since a national assembly in liberated territory declared independence in late 1972, it has been recognised as the legal authority by 93 of the 153 states belonging to the United Nations.

Progress has also been made by the two guerrilla groupings in Angola, MPLA and SLNA, although circumstances are more unfavourable here due to heavy imperialist investment in oil installations.

However, it is in Mozambique that the most striking advances have been made by the African guerrillas of Frelimo. Since the New Year the vital rail link between Rhodesia and the port of Beira has come under attack almost every week.

Moreover, the guerrillas are also winning support even further south, putting at risk the vital oil supply route between the capital, Lourenço Marques, and Rhodesia. This has badly shaken the settlers' faith in the army's defensive capability, as well as underlining the policy divisions in Lisbon.

## COMMON MARKET

The debate has taken on such importance because it actually poses an ultimatum for the Portuguese capitalist class: integration into the Common Market, or continued stagnation as a result of the colonial wars.

At the moment, defence spending accounts for at least 40% of Portugal's annual budget. The economy—dominated by foreign and particularly British capital—has a low rate of investment. Portuguese workers, low paid and lacking the most elementary trade union rights, are leaving in droves since they can get better wages as immigrant labour in countries like France.

In 1972, Portugal made an agreement with the Common Market, and will lose

its protection from competition in mid-1977. Hence it is not surprising to find Spínola writing that: 'we need an increase in investment to the order of 40 per cent of national expenditure'.

Such views coincide with those of two major commercial groupings with whom Spínola's name has been frequently linked—the Companhia União Fabril (CUF) and the Champalmaud group, both of which have large investments in the colonies.

Their opposition to Portugal's policy can be summed up in another quote from Spínola's book: 'Any strategy founded on the rigid pursuit of a policy of imposing such a heavy defence burden will end up by jeopardising the very goals of national survival to which such expense is devoted.'

## ULTRA-RIGHT

The importance of this debate, and the pressing nature of the problems facing the Portuguese ruling class, is shown by the sharp reaction of the ultra-right. Gathered around the president, Admiral Tomas, they moved quickly to dismiss Spínola and his superior Costa Gomes, and to neutralise their supporters in the middle ranks of the army. An abortive attempt to march on the capital by 200 troops of the 5th Infantry Regiment was halted, and dissident elements confined to barracks.

The new chief of staff is General Luz Cunha, a firm supporter of Tomas and of Portugal's current policy in Africa. As a purge begins of unreliable elements in the army, Caetano's position too is in doubt. He has now disavowed the case for autonomy in hopes that this will prevent his dismissal by Admiral Tomas.

Thus Portugal's brief flirtation with the idea of pursuing a neo-colonial policy seems to have come to an end for the moment. This was probably inevitable, since unlike Britain it has taken no steps to prepare for such a solution by developing an African petty bourgeois layer to rule in its interests after independence.

In any case, the guerrilla groups are well aware of the importance of combating any such ploy—thanks in particular to the writings of Amílcar Cabral, the leader of the PAIGC who was assassinated in January 1973.

## IMPERIALIST ALLIES

Portugal is also under heavy pressure from its imperialist allies—the US, Britain, NATO and South Africa—to maintain its military presence in Africa. This is necessary to defend the growing imperialist investment in oil and diamonds, and to shore up the white settler states of south-



Maintaining a policy of brutal repression in Africa—soldier is seen here burning down native huts—accounts for at least 40% of Portugal's annual budget

ern Africa.

But as the dismissal of Spínola, his backing from middle ranking officers,

and the abortive coup of 16 March all show, the strain is beginning to tell.

PETER JENKINS

# Hundreds of casualties in Indian food riots

A civil war atmosphere now exists in the Indian state of Gujarat, following weeks of brutal repression by Government forces against protests aimed at lowering prices.

What started over two months ago as a simple demonstration by students in Ahmedabad against increased food charges in their canteens has now developed into a state-wide upsurge involving all sections of the population. The Congress Government led by Chimanbhai Patel has been forced to resign, and the direct rule of the President has been imposed on the state.

More than 60 innocent lives have been claimed by police marksmen in various towns, including Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat, Rajket and Bhavnagar. The movement has spread to the remotest towns and villages. A revolt of such proportions has not been seen in Gujarat since the days before independence.

The movement against the Congress Government is led, significantly enough, not by any organised political party but by a non-party organisation—the Nav Nirman Samiti (NNS—New Order Committee). This is a united front of various youth bodies, and is also supported by the '14th August Committee', an ad hoc united front of trade union organisations in Ahmedabad, the state capital, and various other centres.

In this way the masses have strikingly demonstrated their lack of faith in the traditional political parties. However, the mass movement is supported separately by left parties like the Communist Party of India (pro-Moscow), the CPI (Marxist)—a centrist group, the Socialist Party, the Communist League (Indian section of the Fourth International), etc.

One of the first targets of the youth upsurge were the corrupt state ministers, known to be in league with the manufacturers of edible oil and the big traders. Prime minister Patel also came under attack because of his controlling interest in several educational institutions.

As a first step, the NNS organised an 'Ahmedabad Bandh' (strike) on 10 January against rising prices and police repression. This was very effective, the only opposition coming from the Congress 'Majur Mahajan' union, which, with the support of the police and owners, kept the textile mills going.

The Government's response was to step up the repression. In Ahmedabad, police opened fire on a demonstration, killing a 22-year-old student leader. There was also shooting in other parts of Gujarat as a series of local 'Bandhs' took place.

With a successful state-wide general strike—'Gujarat Bandh'—called by the NNS on 25 January, the struggle took on the form of a state-wide confrontation between the masses and the repressive forces of the bourgeois state.

## QUESTION OF POWER

But despite this explosion, none of the traditional parties of the working class posed the question of power—the need to overthrow capitalist rule—even though it was implicit in the most basic demands of the movement, concerning the distribution of adequate rations at controlled prices, action against black market speculators, etc.

However, the NNS appear to have the possibility of developing into organs of alternative power or popular assemblies, although so far they are still self-appointed ad hoc committees. The Trotskyists of the Communist League were the first to recognise

this revolutionary potential, and have called for the formation of elected bodies of workers, peasants, and rural poor at all levels.

The Communist League, which is involved in the youth and workers' movement in Ahmedabad, Baroda and Surat, has also called for the formation of people's defence guards to defend the mass movement against the violence of the police and the proprietors.

The latter—in particular the Khedut Samaj farmers' organisation in Surat—have been trying to exploit the chaos by refusing to sell grain to the state agencies. But they were soon forced to retreat when faced with the organised strength of the rural poor.

## PRESIDENT'S RULE

In fact, it was not long before the entire Congress Party, representing the capitalist class and the rich farmers, began to beat a retreat. The army was called in to restore 'law and order', but could not control the situation. So finally, after a good deal of hesitation, the central Government was forced to dismiss the Patel ministry and impose President's rule on Gujarat.

This was a partial victory for the movement, and the NNS attempted to take advantage of it by raising a new demand for the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly and fresh elections.

However, some of the right-wing political parties, and also capitalist bodies like the Ahmedabad Millowners' Association, are also supporting this demand. They hope to divert this unprecedented popular upsurge into an electoral channel, by holding out hopes of 'replacing the present corrupt legislators and ministers with honest representatives of the people'.

Against this, however, some sections of the youth and trade union leaders in the NNS are trying to deep-

en the struggle by raising the more basic class demands of the workers and rural poor. . .

There are also attempts to extend the struggle in Gujarat to neighbouring Maharashtra and other states.

The anti-Government agitation in Maharashtra is led by the Joint Action Council of Central Trade Unions, which organised a successful state-wide general strike on 2 January demanding effective Government measures to control prices.

On 22 February, in response to a call from this body, the citizens of Bombay organised a spontaneous 'thali beating' operation (a method of enthusiastic protest developed in Gujarat, in which there is a mass beating of 'thalis'—metal dinner plates—to sound the 'death-knell' for the Government). But the reaction of the authorities soon turned this innocent form of protest into a serious confrontation. Police gunfire killed at least eight young people, and scores more were injured.

In response, a massive demonstration of more than 50,000 industrial workers, women, office employees and others marched through Bombay three days later.

Among the demands of the demonstrators were: 12 kilogrammes of grain for every adult person each month; compulsory purchase of sufficient grain; price controls on basic necessities; a special wage for the unemployed; and employment for the landless in the rural areas.

Gujarat and Maharashtra are by no means isolated cases. In states like Kerala and Bihar the public food distribution system has virtually collapsed, and the market prices of food-stuffs and other basic necessities have soared to dizzy heights. Protest at this situation has been reflected in the defeats suffered by the ruling Congress Party in recent state elect-

ions.

For the first time, now, large sections of the people are beginning to realise that the food situation cannot be satisfactorily sorted out within the existing capitalist framework.

But what is lacking is a mass revolutionary party capable of leading these emerging struggles towards a socialist transformation and establishment of a workers' and peasants' government in India. The traditional working class parties like the CPI and CPI(M) are caught up in the concept of a two-stage revolution (the first stage being the 'national democratic' struggle) and are thus unable to make any clean break with the present apparatus.

However, the revolutionary Marxist forces—despite their numerical weakness—can intervene in these struggles and give them a socialist orientation. The immediate task is to encourage the masses in action to develop their own alternative leadership in the form of Soviet-type popular organs of dual power.

Stress must also be laid on the need for the masses to build up their own defence militia against semi-fascist thugs like the Shiva Sena in Bombay, who are out to foment conflicts based on communal, caste, and linguistic differences.

One thing, however, is already clear—that Gujarat and Maharashtra reflect a pre-revolutionary situation which is developing all over India today.

Kailas Chandra

**DEMONSTRATION**  
against Gujarat killings  
Sunday 7 April

Assemble Speakers Corner 1 p.m.  
March to Indian High Commission  
2 p.m.  
Organised by Indian Workers  
Association and supported by IMG

# FRANCE IS

# Red Weekly

## PLUNGED INTO CRISIS

The death of French President Pompidou was long expected. But its arrival creates a huge crisis for the French capitalist class.

The whole French political system is based on the almost unlimited power wielded by the President. As the *Financial Times* delicately put it: 'The Constitution of the Fifth Republic [in France] is fundamentally lacking in the kind of checks and balances characteristic of most democratic systems.'

To have a strong President is vital for capitalist rule in France. With Pompidou's death, the chances of getting this are slim.

### GAULLISTS

In the first place, it is not at all clear that the factions in the Gaullist government will be able to agree on a single candidate to be Pompidou's successor.

One wing, the 'liberal' one, wants a return to something nearer a normal Parliamentary democracy. Its candidate will probably be Giscard d'Estaing, the present Finance Minister and leader of the 'Independent Republicans.'

Another section of the ruling class, however, wants to move closer to an open dictatorship. This is the Pompidou wing of the Gaullist party which in recent years has taken to banning revolutionary left organisations—notably the Communist League, turning a blind eye to murders of immigrant workers, and so on.

In opposition to both the so-called liberals and the right-wing Gaullists is the alliance of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party in the Union of the Left. Their candidate will be Francois Mitterand, the leader of the Socialist Party.

Mitterand stands quite a good chance of winning the election, but of course he remains wedded to reformist policies. And the Communist Party is now beginning to retreat even on the programme of the Union of the Left. In the latest

declaration, Party secretary Marchais put forward the idea that the Union of the Left's programme is not a programme for the President.

### THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT

The third vital force in the elections will be the revolutionary left. France this spring has already seen a whole series of struggles—of school students and bank workers, for example—in which revolutionaries have played a key role.

Basing themselves on support for these non-electoral struggles, the French revolutionaries will be able to challenge not simply the Gaullists but also Mitterand.

The perspectives in France are now clearly for massive class struggles. The French Trotskyists who support the newspaper *Rouge* will be calling for the revolutionary left to grasp these possibilities by presenting a common candidate in the election. If this cannot be done they will run their own candidate.

In any case, however, it will not be the elections which will decide things but the class struggle before and after the election. If Mitterand should win the election the elements of a situation like Chile might begin to gather in France. The coming months will be vital not just for France but for the whole of Europe.

## Miners' leader for 'Troops Out' conference

David Bolton, the Vice President of the Scottish Miners, has agreed to speak at the Troops Out Movement Conference on the Army and Repression in Ireland.

The Conference is being held at the Collegiate Theatre, Gordon St., London WC1, on Saturday 11 May starting at 10.15 a.m.

Other speakers will include Mike Cooley, of AUEW/TASS, Fred Halliday, well known writer on the British Army and its colonial wars, Eamonn McCann, author of the best-selling Penguin, *War and an Irish Town*, John McGuffin, author of *Interment*, Jack Dromey of the National Council for Civil Liberties, and Jonathan Rosenhead of the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science.

The Irish Political Hostages Campaign is to take up with the NCCL letters which have appeared in the Belfast *Irish News* from an English ex-prisoner, detailing brutality against Republican prisoners in British jails. It seems that one of the worst victims has been Hugh Feeney, who is currently held in Gartree in solitary confinement for six days per week and without clothes.

The IPHC will be showing its solidarity with Hugh Feeney outside Gartree prison this Sunday. A coach leaving York Way, Kings Cross, at 10 a.m., and Quex Rd., Kilburn at 11 a.m., will take supporters to link up with a picket being organised by activists in the Midlands. Return fare £1.25.

On Saturday there will be a picket outside Holloway prison, at 3 p.m., in solidarity with Pat Arrowsmith, who is being held as a result of charges arising from her distribution of leaflets to British soldiers.

For information on the Troops Out Movement, contact Alastair Renwick, 28 Lammas Park Rd., W.5./01-567 4963.

For IPHC: Maureen Maguire, 88 Roslyn Rd., N.15./01-800 9392.

## Leyland blacking supports Jepson

The fight to win reinstatement of the victimised TGWU convenor at the Armstrong Patents factory in Hull took a big step forward last week with the decision by members of Transport & General Workers 5/55 branch, covering some 600 workers at British Leyland, Oxford, to black Armstrong shock absorbers.

Already several lorries containing Armstrong equipment have been turned back from the Cowley factory.

The branch sent a telegram to the TGWU executive, demanding support for the Armstrong strike, and has made an immediate donation of £25 to the Strike Fund.

Jean Jepson, the sacked convenor at Armstrongs, has also been invited to address the next 5/55 branch meeting.

These important initiatives should now be followed up throughout the car industry.

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An earlier demonstration in support of the Brockwell Park Three last Saturday

Photo: PETER HARRAP (Report)

## School students defy head to join solidarity strike

More than 1,100 school students, most of them black, swarmed on to the streets of South London on Wednesday. They were on strike in solidarity with the Brockwell Park Three (Robin Stirling, Horace Parkinson, and Lloyd James), black youths railroaded into jail for three years on charges of assaulting 100 policemen.

The demonstration and strike was called by the Black Students' Action Collective (SAC), and supported by the National Union of School Students. Five hundred students assembled at Kennington Park, and, picking up another 300 on the way, marched past Camberwell Magistrates Court, and Brixton Police Station, to Tulse Hill Comprehensive School, where Robin Stirling had been a student.

The police tried to stop them reaching the school, but they forced a way through, and were joined by 300 students from the school, who leapt over fences in order to join the demonstration. The headmaster had to be restrained by the police from attacking one student, and two others were arrested on his orders.

They then marched to Brockwell Park, where a rally was addressed by speakers from Black SAC, local Black organisations, and the NUSS. A delegation was sent to Brixton Police Station with a message of protest.

For the NUSS this showed a welcome ability to rouse itself from its previous state of relative inactivity. The decision to back the demonstration was taken, almost unanimously, at a conference last Sunday, in response to a call from the Black SAC.

Meetings were held at a large number of schools, flying pickets were organised, and 20,000 leaflets and 1,000 posters produced. The NUS conference at Liverpool donated £60.

IMG schools militants played an important part in the leadership of the strike. They will be fighting to ensure that support committees are formed in as many schools as possible to work for mass walk-outs of students and teachers when the appeals of the Brockwell Park Three are heard.

## NUS election encourages right

John Randall, so-called 'non-aligned' socialist has been re-elected President of the National Union of Students.

Randall's support came from the 'moderate' right wing of the Student Union. His victory will increase his room for manoeuvre against the militants in the colleges, and lay the basis for the driving of a wedge between the militants and the broad mass of students. The right wing will be given a boost everywhere in the

It is for these reasons that the actions of the International Socialists must be severely condemned. In this conference, exactly as at last year's conference, they refused to draw any distinction between the Broad Left (the Communist Party and left Labour), and Randall and his allies. In the event, 79 of the 106 IS 'first preference' votes went to Randall as their

second choice, and the rest abstained.

This not only allowed Randall in with a slim 21 vote majority on the final count, but severely miseducated those who look to the IS for leadership.

It is true that there is no fundamental programme difference between Randall and the CP-backed Broad Left, but there is a big difference between the political forces that they represent. This confusion of the IS follows from their whole approach, which consists of bashing the Executive verbally, whilst seeing the only road ahead as the election of further IS members to the Executive.

It is because of this bureaucratically-oriented approach that the IS has been in the background of the building of a real alternative leadership in the heat of the past months' struggles, and why they neglect the impact of the voting of the militants in the colleges.

Of course the fundamental reason for the defeat of the left is the lack of confidence which the broad mass of students have in the Communist Party leadership. The CP's scabbing role in recent struggles at Oxford, Kent and Essex, are only the most glaring examples of the type of action that lost the left this election.

These elections are not, however, the absolute disaster that the CP makes them out to be. If any Executive, whether dominated by the right-wing or the CP, fails to lead, then a real rank-and-file leadership can be built through the student struggles which will inevitably erupt over the next period.

The IMG has already shown in the course of this year that it is equal to the tasks thrown up by the failure of the NUS Executive to give a lead to the mass struggle.