

Union Leaders Spell It Out

CRACKDOWN ON THE WAY

Trade union conferences in the last couple of weeks have given the clearest indication yet of what is brewing behind the scenes of the TUC-Government talks.

At the recent conference of the General & Municipal Workers Union, the executive reported that low paid workers could not hope for a favourable award from the Pay Board, the latter being 'a creature of the Government.' Something 'broader' was needed - and the next day G&M leader Basnett spelt it out.

Basnett, who is one of the six TUC negotiators with the Government, argued that the trade union movement as a whole should be responsible for the level of wage increases. The Industrial Relations Act, Phase 3 and the Pay Board should all be swept away, to be replaced by ... the TUC. Under this plan, the TUC would go along to a body like the National Economic Development Corporation and work out a pay norm in line with the profit indicators of the capitalist class. Wage claims submitted by any group of workers affiliated to the TUC would then have to be vetted by them and would only be approved

if in line with the norm.

In return for unions surrendering their power in this way, the TUC in its capacity as agent for the capitalists would decide which groups (not too many) might qualify as 'special cases.' It would also give support to strikes ... just as long as they weren't for more than the norm.

Basnett's plan amounts to volunteering the TUC to do the capitalists' job for them - but with less 'unpleasantness,' of course. As he put it at the G&M conference: 'If intervention is inevitable, then let it be our own people implementing a policy we have helped to frame.' But Basnett maintained a

discreet silence as to what disciplinary powers he thought the TUC should be given to use against dissident members.

by BILL THOMAS

It is to men like Basnett that Vic Feather will be turning in the next few months as he tries to achieve his crowning ambition of a voluntary deal before he retires. It is men like Basnett and Tom Jackson of the UPW, leaders of poorly organised, low paid sections of workers who are in the best position to come up with such schemes. They can pose as the defenders of the poor and needy, while actually preparing to line up with the Government against their fellow trade unionists. By this

cowardly and divisive manoeuvre, the bureaucracy hopes to tart up its betrayal of the class as a whole.

To prepare this dangerous course, the bureaucracy has launched a series of attacks on those organised forces in the rank and file. The leadership of APEX pushed a motion through conference banning the APEX Action group and adding the International Socialists to its list of proscribed organisations. The ASTMS conference saw an attempt by Clive Jenkins and others to change the rules to give more power to the executive. The NUT conference was persuaded to restrict the power of local branches to take action on their own. Now Jackson with his violent attacks on the Communist Party at last week's UPW conference has ended up in the same camp as that notorious red-baiter, Frank Chapple of the EEPTU.

POLICIES

Trade unionists should, of course,

always defend the rights of any working class grouping to organise in the unions and put forward its views, and the rank and file should always be anxious to bring their leaders more directly under their control. But an effective fight against this offensive by the bureaucracy means fighting against the anti-working class policies which they are preparing to force on the movement by these means.

Ten days ago the Trades Council Conference at Southport, representing three million workers, demanded that the TUC should break off its talks with the Government. This was against the advice from the platform of such 'lefts' as Terry Parry of the Fire Brigades Union. This is the way to challenge the preparations of the bureaucrats for a 'voluntary' deal with the Government. This should be the focal demand coming from the next round of conferences, and delegates should, where possible, be elected on this platform.

SHREWSBURY - A NEW STAGE

The fight to free the Shrewsbury 24 goes on. These militants - all charged with offences linked with their involvement in flying pickets during last year's building strike - are in court again on Friday, 15 June.

Our response then should not simply be a repeat of the preceding two demonstrations. These were very important in bringing together those militants who understood the importance of the Shrewsbury trial and making wider circles within the trade union movement aware of what was going on. But it is necessary now, to go beyond making a token protest outside the courthouse and take up the task of organising a mass struggle in defence of the 24, building on the awareness our protests have aroused.

PROTEST

It should be clear, however, that protest alone will not free the Shrewsbury 24; protest alone will not drive back the attacks of the state on our picket lines; protest alone will not give us the facilities we need to carry on the class struggle in our own interests. After all, what has been the response so far of the state authorities to our actions? A massive display of police force combined

with a contemptible sneer from the judge about 'rentacrowd'. The lesson is clear. We will not affect what goes on *inside* the courtroom at Shrewsbury until we can gather *outside* in sufficient force that our shouts drown out the mutterings of senile magistrates and shake the building to its very foundations.

This is the task we must take up. Our watchword should be: 'June 15 - A Day of Explanation - A Day of Agitation.'

We must act on this day to prepare for the mobilisation of big sections of the class on the question of the 24 in the near future. We must make

sure that as many workers as possible are aware of the existence of the Shrewsbury 24; we must explain the significance of this trial; we must agitate among the mass of workers on the need for them to take up this cause in the interests of the entire working class movement.

Instead of assembling our limited forces outside the Shrewsbury courthouse, our first priority on 15 June should be to send those forces out to the sites, factories, offices, shopping districts and housing estates to agitate about the Shrewsbury 24.

The way in which this can best be done will vary from area to area: in

some places industrial stoppages coupled with a mass demonstration may be possible; in others mass leafletting and factory gate/street corner meetings will be more appropriate. In London, the IMG has proposed to the International Socialists and the Socialist Labour League that this would be an appropriate date for a joint, mass meeting of the left in defence of the 24. The important thing is that in every area of the country militants should be taking some action along these lines on June 15.

FUTURE

What of the future? Very little can

be expected from the trade union leaders. Both the TUC and UCATT have opposed any action to defend the 24.

The leadership in this struggle will have to come from the rank-and-file.

Some form of initiative from a body with national influence and prestige throughout the trade unions is urgently needed to push the fight forward. A decision by the Communist Party to give its full support to this fight would be very valuable.

Of even greater significance would be a commitment by the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions to launch a determined campaign to mobilise the rank-and-file of the trade union movement in defence of the Shrewsbury 24.

The LCDTU must not limit itself to resolution passing; the CP must go beyond sympathetic news stories in the *Morning Star*. Every organisation genuinely concerned with the interests of the working class must put all its energies into defeating the capitalist state on this question of burning importance for the future of the class struggle.

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They say that every picture tells a story and that certainly applies to the above study. The gentleman in question was one of almost a thousand who marched on 20 May from Clapham Common to Brixton Prison to demand the release of the Belfast Ten.

If his face doesn't quite fit as an activist, then his behaviour on the demonstration was even stranger. He was overheard to remark that protestors should get bricks ready to throw when they reached the prison.

Upon arrival there he took up a position where he could pay close attention to the speakers, observe the participants, and more sinister, make a succession of signs to an unseen colleague with a rolled-up copy of the Sunday Times.

He was one of the most vigorous in applauding the various speakers, saving his most emphatic gestures of applause for when it was announced that there were Special Branch agents provocateurs amongst the crowd. Then when the buckets came round for a Belfast Ten Defence Committee collection, he donated a pound note.

Afterwards, he followed the dispersing crowd back to Brixton tube station, but turned off along Brighton Terrace. He then disappeared into a large Victorian building with a wooden plaque outside describing it as the 'Metropolitan Police Central Store'.

So, whatever your name, we hope you enjoyed your Sunday afternoon out, but don't push your luck. Oh, and thanks for the pound.

Grants campaign

The occupation at Nottingham University in support of the Grants Campaign has been 'adjourned' until exams finish in the middle of June.

The occupation started after a series of small-scale actions (such as jamming the university switchboard) had failed to win guarantees from the Vice-Chancellor and university authorities that no action, disciplinary or legal, would be taken against the rent strikers. The occupation forced the Vice-Chancellor to negotiate on this question, but with no unconditional guarantees forthcoming it was decided to suspend the occupation temporarily until after the exams had been held.

The use of such tactics is obviously relevant to other colleges faced with the possible victimisation of rent strikers. Members of the action committee organising the Nottingham rent strike will be explaining the implications and asking for support at the NUS Special Conference on Saturday, 9 June.

Meanwhile, leading militants at Reading University face disciplinary charges following the occupation of the Admin block on 16 May. The occupation took place after letters had been sent to the parents of rent strikers threatening legal action if the money wasn't paid. Names of those occupying were taken down by several members of the University Senate, who also tried to eject students physically from the building.

A meeting of the Students Union at Reading decided on Tuesday to organise an emergency union meeting as soon as any disciplinary action was taken. It also called on the NUS to

COVENTRY 6

REPRESSION and DEFENCE

On Friday, 13 April, police around the country swooped on over 100 homes in one of the largest ever operations of its kind. Using the London car bombings in early March as a pretext, the raids were part of a new offensive against supporters of the Irish struggle in Britain. In Coventry six men, including a Roman Catholic priest, were arrested and charged with 'conspiracy to cause explosions'.

In the seven weeks since their arrest these men have not been forgotten. A defence committee set up in the days following the raids has been active in mounting pickets of the court when they have appeared, producing regular bulletins publicising the case, and generally campaigning to mobilise support for them. In the course of

Thirdly, the way in which the raids took place and have continued has the obvious purpose of harassing and intimidating those who might be sympathetic to the Irish struggle. In general the raids have been almost completely random, with some people being visited two or three times. The questions asked show that the police have no idea what they are supposed to be looking for. It is not a question of trying to find more evidence, but of trying to intimidate people who have been active in the Defence Committee, or collecting money for the prisoners' families, etc.

NOT NEUTRAL

The Defence Committee has been working on the basis, amply verified by the above goings-on, that the courts and police must be treated as weapons of the ruling class, not as neutral



Crowd surges forward as Coventry 6 arrive in well-guarded police convoy at court.

this activity, certain aspects of the case have shed an interesting light on the alleged 'neutrality' of the law, police, courts, etc.

CONSPIRACY

The first point of interest is the use of conspiracy charges. To prove a conspiracy to cause explosions, the police don't actually have to prove that there were any explosives or even that there was any arrangement to procure any. They don't have to prove, either, that anyone had specific buildings in mind. All they have to prove is that there was an agreement of some sort. On the other hand, they can use the seriousness of the charges to oppose bail, keep the prisoners in solitary confinement, etc. The use of conspiracy charges is ideally suited to cases like that of the Coventry 6.

Secondly, the press coverage has been specifically aimed at surrounding the case with hysteria. Considerable emphasis has been laid on the armed marksmen outside the court, the cordoned off roads from the jail in Birmingham to the court, etc. All this is designed to promote the idea that the men must be guilty, otherwise the police would not take all these precautions. The same, of course, applies to the Belfast 10.

organise a national demonstration to coincide with any disciplinary hearings that take place.

Next week's issue of *Red Weekly*, appearing on the eve of the NUS Special Conference, will be carrying a special article looking at the present stage of the Grants Campaign and ways in which it can be carried forward.

CHRIS CALDWELL

upholders of the law. The defence of the prisoners does not simply happen inside the court. The arrests are an attempt to smash political opposition to the policies of the government. The best way to fight this and to get the prisoners off is to show the Tories that they will not succeed in intimidating the movement as a whole by the arrest of a few individuals; that in fact they are only creating more problems for themselves. The weekly pickets outside the court have been an extremely important way of showing this in practice, of demonstrating the level of support which has been built up in response to the arrests.

Of course the usual cries have come from sections of the left that 'we can't defend these men because they may be guilty, and that would mean that we would be supporting terrorists.' In other words, 'we accept the law as laid down by the ruling class.' For the Defence Committee, however, the issue is not whether the men are 'guilty' or 'innocent,' but the fact that to gain their release would be an enormous step forward in defeating the current wave of repression.

As yet there is no indication as to when the trial will start, but the Defence Committee will be calling for a major demonstration outside the court on the day it opens. It is hoped that all groups and organisations will support this show of force, which can act as a real focus in the fight back against the repression. Further details will be published in *Red Weekly* as soon as they are known.

The Defence Committee can be contacted at: 27 Paynes Lane, Hillfields, Coventry (0203-58991).

CURRENT ACCOUNT



The CBI and tripartitism

Of the three sides now participating in the talk about Phase Three of the wage laws it is the CBI (Confederation of British Industry) whose nature and role is least discussed. Yet it is an organisation of growing importance, and its role is an essential complement to that not only of the Government but also of the TUC.

An organisation claiming to represent the whole of British capital is relatively new. The CBI was brought to birth in 1965, partly due to some energetic midwifery by George Brown, and comprised three existing organisations — the Federation of British Industry and the British Employers' Confederation (both on the whole representing big capital) and the National Association of British Manufacturers (more representative of small capital). It symbolised not only the increasing integration of capital and the government but also the growing dominance of big capital. Some small manufacturers resisted the merger and have continued to press for more attention to their problems within the organisation.

MERGERS

Of course they are spitting in the wind. Even in 1965 small capital was forced to renounce its independent political existence. And the eight years since then have seen the most gigantic merger movement in British history. The following figures show roughly the value of assets taken over each year in mergers and takeovers:

1955-60	£150m. average
1961-67	£400m. average
1968	£1700m.
1969-71	£1000m. average
1972	£2500m.

In the extraordinary conglomeration of capital since 1968 about a quarter of all industrial assets have become centralised in mergers or takeovers. By 1970 the 100 largest companies produced over 50 per cent of national output. The history of the CBI since 1965 reflects another important structural change inside British capitalism — the increasing association of industrial and financial interests (especially commercial banks and insurance companies). To begin with, the CBI membership came almost exclusively from manufacturing and transport. In 1969 membership was opened to the financial sector. The liquidity problems of many industries and the increase in the proportion of industrial investment financed by borrowing has brought the interests of finance and industry much closer together.

But the CBI is still not the uncontested voice of all British capital: the small industrialists inside it still protest a little; some financial interests still contemplate forming a separate organisation; the retailers have their own organisation, the Retail Consortium; and some industrial monopolists maintain the Industrial Policy Group, a small group which issues much more full-blooded capitalist statements.

The more 'reasonable' and conciliatory style of the leaders of the CBI (Michael Clapham, the President, and the much-televised Campbell Adamson, the Director General) is a carefully selected tactic designed to let the CBI play the maximum role in the Government's attack on the working class through the fraud of tripartitism. This is the idea that the CBI speaks for the capitalists, the TUC for the workers and the Government stands between as a neutral referee sometimes needing to impose emergency rules.

In fact the CBI is not fully representative nor does it have any real power apart from making propaganda; it cannot enforce decisions on its members. The central command of the capitalist attack on the working class is the Tory government, which uses the CBI as a useful front.

The apparent role of the CBI in this charade, however, accords very well with the politics of the TUC. It helps it to disguise the fully political nature of the present struggle over wages and to rationalise its collaboration in the strategy of the Tory government. It is no wonder that the CBI was as much the creation of a Labour government as it was a creation of the capitalists themselves.

Michael Price

ON THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ZIONIST STATE

This year, within the space of a few weeks, two great events in the contemporary history of the Jewish people will be commemorated — the thirtieth anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the proclamation of the state of Israel. The coincidence is not accidental, for the two historic dates are intimately related. One symbolises the way in which the fate of the Jews came to represent the human condition under Nazi barbarism. The other is explainable by these sufferings; it took Auschwitz to push the Jewish masses — and with them Western public opinion — into the Zionist camp.

But at the same time, what a contrast! In the Warsaw ghetto the survivors of the genocide against Polish Jewry embodied the dignity of humanity, resisting oppression, even without immediate hope of success; a revolt that ennobled all humanity, a tragic epic that prefigured the victories of the Indochinese revolution which, under different and more favourable circumstances, was able to triumph over bestial imperialism.

But the creation of the state of Israel, on the other hand, symbolises the spiritual degeneration of this same Jewish community, which has become the colonial oppressor in Arab lands, reducing a whole people, the Palestinians, to exile, poverty, and powerlessness.

The militants of the young 'socialist' movements, who, at the sides of their comrades of the Jewish workers' movement, led the Jewish Combat Organisation in the Warsaw ghetto from beginning to end, realised, in action, the great historic role of the Jewish spirit in the modern world. The Spinozas, the Freuds, the Einsteins, sons of a community embedded like a hinge between various cultures, undertook the critique of established values. The Marxes, the Rosa Luxemburgs, the Trotskys brought this process to its culmination by forging the ideology and the instrument of the proletariat's struggle, pointing out in the particularities of the Jewish condition the road to the emancipation of humanity — the revolutionary action of the conscious workers. The insurrection of the survivors of the Warsaw ghetto (as well as those of other ghettos, unjustly unrecognised) is part of this proud tradition. It belongs to the most glorious pages of history; it constitutes the Promethian dimension of the Jewish tradition. It taught its generation that man struggles and never gives up.

NO HEIRS

There is no longer any Jewish community in Poland to pay homage to the monument of the ghetto. The bureaucratic Warsaw regime has 'purged' the country of Jews, relying on the old reactionary anti-Semitism to try to quell the social rage of the shipyard workers, which was unleashed in the wake of the revolt in the Baltic ports.

The Warsaw ghetto insurrection will not be commemorated by a single Jewish daily in the Soviet Union; since the deportation of Jewish writers in 1952, the Jewish community in the Soviet Union has been deprived of its own cultural life, subjected to subtle and varied forms of discrimination that push it toward emigration. And in the West, the commemorative ceremonies will strike a false note; the official leaders of the Jewish community are closely associated with the existing regimes — too busy organising the pro-Israeli lobby to bother about the traditions of the revolt; too well integrated into the cogs of the system of exploitation to recognise the lines that bind the Warsaw ghetto revolt to the revolution. Their camp is not that of humanity in struggle for its dignity.

In Israel the monument erected to the glory of the commander of the ghetto insurrection, Mordechai Anielewicz, is located in the kibbutz whose name evokes his memory: Yad Mordechai. This 'socialist' village was founded along the (1948) borders as a military outpost. Today, its economic existence is based on the exploitation of the wage-labour of Palestinian refugees in the Gaza Strip, and especially on the wage-labour of school-age children. What a symbol! What a mockery!

CONSTANT FEATURES

This, in a nutshell, was the Zionist programme:

to construct a Jewish state in Palestine, which implied refusal to fight anti-Semitism wherever it arose, and instead involved the exaltation of Jewish chauvinism as a counter-weight to prevailing racism. It necessarily presupposed the dispossession of the inhabitants of the Promised Land. This was well understood by Theodore Herzl, theoretician of the Zionist movement, when he wrote in his 'diary' (on June 12, 1895) that it would be necessary 'to try to transfer the poorest section of the [indigenous] popula-

By NATHAN WEINSTOCK

tion to the other side of the border without conflict, by offering them work in the neighbouring countries and denying them any employment in our country'.

On the same day he also entered in his list of things to do: 'prepare a special helmet like Stanley's for the ceremony inaugurating the colonisation'. Some enlightened spirits warned the Zionists against the consequences of their undertaking; such as the writer Akhad Ha'am, an advocate of a Jewish 'spiritual' centre (but not a political body) in Palestine, who, as early as 1891, predicted Palestinian resistance. In 1936, Dr. Ruppin, a well-known sociologist and a workhorse in the Zionist cause, admitted that because of the Palestinian masses' hostility, a 'state of continuous war with the Arabs' was inevitable.

The openly fascist-like wing of the Zionist movement, headed by Jabotinsky, had understood things immediately. There were no basic differences, Jabotinsky explained, between 'vegetarian' Zionism and 'carnivorous' Zionism. The only thing to discuss was whether it would be necessary to rely on British bayonets to colonise the country or whether it would be preferable to directly arm the colonists. And, from his point of view, he was right.

Back in 1940, Joseph Weitz, a leader of the Zionist agricultural colonisation, and a 'socialist' Zionist, had come to the conclusion that 'there is no other way than to transfer the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer all of them: Not one village, not one tribe, should be left.' (*Bevir*, 29 September, 1967.)

The dispossession of the Palestinians, a necessary precondition for Zionist profit, is being continued today by colonisation in the occupied territories. As Moshe Dayan put it, with the brutal frankness for which he is known: 'During the last 100 years our people have been in the process of building up the nation, of expansion, of getting additional Jews and settlements in order to expand the borders. Let no Jew say that we are near the end of the road.' (From a speech given on the 'liberated' Syrian Golan Heights and reported in *Maariv*, 7 July, 1968.)

RESULTS

Such was the programme on which the Zionist leaders based themselves when they proclaimed the birth of the Zionist state twenty-five years ago in Tel Aviv. As for the aftermath, here are the findings of a report distributed by Dr. Israel Shahak, president of the Israeli Human Rights League — since 1948, within the borders of the state of Israel, the following Arab villages have been destroyed and the tribes expelled:

Districts	Arab villages in 1948	Arab villages destroyed
Jerusalem	33	29
Be'thlehem	7	7
Hebron	16	16
Jaffa	23	23
Ramleh	31	31
Lydda	28	28
Jenin	8	4
Tul-Karem	33	21
Haifa*	43	35
Saint-Jean-d'Acre	32	20
Nazareth	26	6
Safad	75	68
Tiberiad	26	23
Beisan	28	28
Gaza	46	46
Total	475	385

*Ten tribes located here have disappeared.

In addition, in the Beersheba district, where on the eve of the birth of the Jewish state there were five tribes comprised of seventy-three sub-tribes, three-quarters of the population was expelled.

In the case of the el-Azazmeh tribe, the expulsion dates from 1953-54, well after the end of hostilities, and was preceded by the machine-gun massacre of women and children perpetrated by the notorious 'Unit 101' of the Israeli army.

Even the Druzes, a Palestinian religious community that has collaborated with the Zionist regime — they supply a large part of the foot-troops for the notorious 'frontier police' — have not been spared: 60 per cent of their land has been expropriated (according to *Haaretz*, 8 February, 1971).

WILL GO ON

This development will roll on fatally, because Israeli capital is desperately searching for new markets in the occupied territory. Hence the authorisation granted to the Jewish National Fund (the organ of Zionist colonisation) to acquire land in the West Bank.

The question for the Zionist leaders therefore is whether to move to a complete annexation, which would involve instituting some form of apartheid (already, at Nahriya, separate maternity facilities have been constructed for Jews and Arabs), as the 'Dayan plan' envisages, or to annex the maximum amount of territory con-



Map shows steady expansion of the Zionist state since UN partition resolution in 1947.

taining a minimum number of inhabitants, as the 'Allon plan' recommends.

Even calculating on the basis of a massive Jewish immigration (50,000 per year), in 1982 the proportion of Arabs, because of their higher birthrate, would still be very significant if a total annexation of the occupied territory takes place.

It is therefore understandable that the 'socialist' General Yitzhak Rabin is an advocate of creating conditions for a massive displacement of Palestinians and that General Yadin (also a 'socialist' Zionist) expresses his approval for what he actually dares to call the 'final solution' to the problem. (*Maariv*, 16 February, 1973.)

THOSE RESPONSIBLE

Such is the cynical reality of the real face of Zionism — neither the national liberation of the Jewish people, nor the self-determination of the Israeli masses, but the institutionalisation of Israeli hegemony over the Arabs, a process of capitalist exploitation in a specifically colonial context.

Are they liberated, the Israelis in their Fort Chabrol-type superghetto? Are they liberated, the Oriental Jews crushed by discrimination? Are they liberated, the Israeli workers under the yoke of a greedy capitalist class, aided by its labour bureaucracy that serves up anti-working class measures? It is to the creation of this colonial bastion, this imperialist bridgehead in

the Arab world, that the United States — which has diverted thousands of millions of dollars into the coffers of the Zionist state — has committed itself, in consistent imperialist fashion.

But the first state to recognise Israel was the Soviet Union. And it was at Stalin's command that Czechoslovakia delivered armaments and Messerschmidt aircraft to the new state in 1948. Thus, the Soviet bureaucracy is fully responsible for the tragedy of the Palestinian people — and this was well before the revisionist Khrushchev came to power, comrade Maoists! Anyway, why should Khrushchev take offence at the fate of the Palestinian people, when the Crimean Tartars, deported en masse by the Father of the Peoples, are still not allowed to return to their native land? The Stalinist degeneration has its own Palestinians!

A TRADITION

From the moment of the partition of Palestine in 1947 — and this is no idle boast — the Fourth International has been the *only* tendency in the whole workers' movement to struggle ceaselessly against Zionist colonialism, a struggle that it has never stopped waging in a consistent way, just as it has always been in the forefront of support to the Arab revolution, especially during the Algerian war.

Today, we can say — and of this we are proud — that the very existence of an anti-Zionist front within the Israeli population is the result of the continuity of our presence there, embodied in Israel by the action of our Jewish and Arab militants who came out of the old Palestinian Trotskyist group.

Nothing in history is lost. The rise of a new vanguard in the ranks of Israeli youth is the harvest of seeds that we have been patiently sowing for years, since all the anti-Zionist groups in Israel originated from Matzpen, whose theoretical achievements are a reflection of the work of our comrades. And because any Marxist analysis of the Jewish question must take as its point of departure the remarkable work of our comrade Abram Leon.

Inside the Hebrew bastion, the struggle has only just begun, with much larger forces and a much more solid organisation than before — and a much more hardened one as well — with our comrades, organised in the Matzpen-Marxist group, directly confronting the oppressive Zionist apparatus at its bases.

In the Arab states, our nuclei and sections are working to build a revolutionary-Marxist vanguard, fighting a hard struggle aimed at forging the basis of a single party of the Arab world (transcending all ethnic and religious divisions), uniting Arabs and national minorities in a common struggle against imperialism and its local allies, both Zionist and Arab, and against all varieties of reaction.

If we are to find in the Middle East today the legitimate heirs of the Warsaw ghetto fighters, it is in the ranks of the Palestinians in struggle that we must look — and also among the Israeli anti-Zionist militants who have taken on the heritage of generations of Jewish thinkers and militants who opposed obscurantism and institutionalised disorder.

In struggling against the stream, against the worst chauvinism — their own country's — these comrades are upholding the great democratic Jewish tradition which has contributed so much to the progress of the working class and of humanity. (*La Gauche*.)

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COMBAT RACIALISM

by
Roger
Tanner

1 Capitalism and immigrant workers

Since the late 1950s, a common feature of the advanced capitalist countries of Europe has been the growth of a large immigrant worker population. In Britain and Germany they account for over 6 per cent of the active population, and 14 per cent of manual workers; in Belgium, 10 per cent of the active population, and 25 per cent of industrial labour; in France, 11 per cent of the active population, and 25 per cent of industrial labour; and in Switzerland, 26 per cent of the active population, and 35 per cent of industrial labour.



Immigrant workers in France on hunger strike for better conditions.

Immigrant workers play a crucial role in modern capitalist production. During the period of post-war economic expansion they were brought into Western Europe to meet the serious shortage of labour. Recruited from the 'Third World' and southern Europe, they came as a result of the initiatives of governments and individual employers, such as London Transport for example, who opened special recruiting offices in the West Indies.

These workers filled the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs left by indigenous workers because of low wages, bad conditions or insecurity during this period of full employment. Such jobs were to be found mainly in the textile industry, transport, and the health service. Employment

was also found in expanding industries which suffered most severely from the general labour shortage, such as the engineering industry in the West Midlands.

But modern capitalism remains unstable, and with the end of long term growth after the mid-1960s, immigrant labour began to fill a new role. As the French employers' magazine, *Usine Nouvelle*, put it: 'The existence of this immigration gives our economy greater flexibility, since the immigrants are very mobile, are willing to switch factories or regions, and if it becomes necessary, to become compensated unemployed.'

METHODS OF CONTROL

It is this characteristic of 'flexibility' which is the most important feature of immigrant labour for capitalism in a period of economic difficulty. This 'flexibility' is guaranteed by a series of measures which vary in relative importance between one country and another.

The contract system has been developed furthest in Germany and France: this ties entry to the needs of the employers, since it is they who authorise the contracts. Immigrant workers are thus prevented from entering the country without a specified job, and from changing jobs. The contract has to be renewed every one or two years, which means that employers can use the threat of deportation to force acceptance of speed-up, wage-cuts, etc. They can also get rid of 'troublemakers' - workers who join unions or political organisations, or who go on strike - in this way. In Germany in 1967, during a recession, 250,000 workers were deported; in France, after May '68, thousands of immigrant workers who had taken part in the General Strike were similarly deported.

A method of control that has recently emerged in France is the active encouragement by employers, and the passive acceptance by the government, of 'illegal' immigrants. Their illegal status is then used as a threat against these workers should they try to challenge their exploitation or improve their conditions.

The super-exploitation of immigrant workers forces them to live in slums and ghettos, where they come to suffer from a higher rate of such diseases as tuberculosis than indigenous workers and inevitably a higher death rate. These conditions serve to demoralise immigrant workers and make it easier for the ruling class to 'use' them as it sees fit.

A final method of control is that inherent in the climate of racialism and prejudice common to all Western European countries. At one level this leads to attacks on immigrant workers by police and fascist thugs; on another, it isolates immigrant workers from other workers, thus reducing the possibility of effective organisation.

These 'controls' enable the ruling class to super-exploit immigrant workers, to force them into those areas of industry where capitalism needs them, and to increase divisions in the working class.

2 Racialism in the working class

The roots of racialism lie in the ideas developed by the ruling class to justify the exploitation of black people's land and labour from the 16th century onwards. As Earl Grey wrote, in the 19th century, of British imperialism in Africa: 'Throughout this part of the British Dominions the coloured people are generally looked upon by the whites as an inferior race, whose interests ought to be systematically disregarded when they come into competition with their own, and who ought to be governed mainly with a view of the advantage of the superior race. And for this advantage two things are considered to be especially necessary; first, that facilities

should be afforded to the white colonists for obtaining possession of land hitherto occupied by the native tribes, and secondly, that the Kaffir population should be made to furnish as large and as cheap a supply of labour as possible.'

The social basis of racialism is the exploitation of black people. But historically it has gained some autonomy from this economic root. The crude racialism of the last century does not go well with neo-colonialism, but racialism has now embedded itself firmly in Western culture, and is continually strengthened by the persistence of imperialist exploitation.

The working class itself is by no means free from racialism. The way in which bourgeois culture dominates the whole of society ensures this. But the social roots of working class racialism differ from those of racialism in the ruling class. In the working class it is fuelled by the insecurities imposed on workers by capitalism: fears of unemployment, wage-cutting, inadequate housing, and loss of status as rationalisation replaces skills. Such insecurity is the breeding ground for racialist attitudes as they are transmitted via education, the mass media, and political demagogues like Enoch Powell. This racialism has two functions for capitalism - it disunites the class, and leads to the isolation of black workers and other immigrant workers. Thus the ability of both black and white workers to resist their exploitation is weakened.

3 Racialism and the trade unions

The ideal of the 'universal brotherhood of man' to which the labour movement subscribes is in sharp contradiction to the reality of deep divisions within the working class. Behind the empty resolutions against racial discrimination passed by the TUC and other trade union conferences since the 1950s, lies the reality of frequent capitulation to the racialism embedded in the working class. Workers and unions too often react to their real problems with attacks on the potential victims of the employers, rather than the employers themselves.

Thus in the 19th century it was the fear that immigrant workers, then mainly Jewish and Irish, would be used to cut wages or cause dilution in the skilled trades which led to such incidents as the anti-Irish riots in Liverpool and Birmingham. The discrimination against Jewish workers led them to form their own breakaway unions in the garment trade at the turn of the century. In 1919, fears of unemployment by white seamen in a declining 'industry' led to the riots against black seamen in Cardiff, and to the imposition of quotas for blacks by the National Union of Seamen in the 1920s. Quotas were again imposed in the 1950s and 1960s against black workers. At the Mansfield Hosiery Mills in Loughborough, white workers reacted to real threats of unemployment by attacking black workers in the factory. In London, in 1968, it was redundancy fears which underlay the big turnout of dockers in support of Enoch Powell.

TRADE UNION RESPONSE

In general, the response of trade unions to racialism among their members has been to turn a blind eye. At Mansfield Hosiery Mills, officials of the National Union of Hosiery and Knitwear Workers refused to condemn white workers who carried on working after their fellow black trade unionists had come out. The NUHKW officials had previously failed to help black workers challenge a system of union organisation which denied adequate representa-



One of the 'cattle-boats' used for ferrying Arab-Jewish workers from Marseilles to service Israeli capitalism. On the return journey they pick up Greek, Italian and Turkish workers for use in Northern Europe. The ships are overloaded, and families have to camp out on deck for over a week, providing their own food and shelter.



PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE

Part of the demonstration in London last September against attempts by the Monday Club and National Front to whip up racism over the Ugandan Asians issue.

tion to black workers at any level and in which their demands were ignored by white-dominated factory committees.

When Pakistani workers at Crepe Sizes Ltd. in Nottingham joined the T&GWU they were put in a branch about 15 miles outside the city. The union never adequately discussed their problems of pay, hours and conditions. When the workers finally went on strike the refusal by union officials to make it official almost resulted in the workers leaving the union altogether. Again, at Jaffe & Sons Ltd. in Nottingham, T&GWU officials never once, over a period of ten months, discussed with the workers how to improve their appalling pay and conditions. When the workers finally came out on strike these bureaucrats refused to make it official.

Despite this lack of support from the official structures, black workers have played a big part in unionising small factories. For example, at Hardwood Cash Ltd. in Mansfield, a few dozen Asian workers have unionised more than half of the predominantly white labour force in a few months. But the lack of union democracy and the apathetic, or openly racist attitudes of union officials and national organisations to the special problems of these workers has often led to a general disillusionment with unions. The danger of breakaway unions being formed in this situation is a real and immediate one. Such moves would be a step backwards, since breakaway groups become isolated very rapidly, and are then either smashed or swing to the right. This would also give the trade union movement an easy excuse for ignoring the problems of racialism which they must tackle if the working class movement is to be united.

4 Approaches to racialism

Before discussing the steps which must be taken to combat racialism effectively, it is worth looking at a number of frequently proposed 'solutions'.

(i) **Legislation.** The belief that racialism can somehow be made illegal and its open manifestation suppressed by law is still widespread. But the experience gained since the passing of the Race Relations Act quickly destroys this myth. Not only does the Act fail to cover adequately all areas in which racialism is manifested, but it is almost unworkable because of the lack of power given to its agency, the Race Relations Board. It comes as no surprise to learn that the

first prosecution under the Act was of two black people arrested for demonstrating against a colour-bar.

The Act fails to attack the root causes of racialism: the exploitation of black and immigrant workers. It can only attack the symptoms — a guaranteed recipe for ineffectiveness. The failure of such legislation is inevitable: it is an attempt to use a section of the capitalist state apparatus (parliament and the courts) to attack a basic need of the capitalist economy.

In the Mansfield Hosiery Mills strike, for instance, the Race Relations Board was extremely hesitant to make public its findings on the situation in the factory. Yet the strike was in large part won because of widespread public sympathy with the dispute — something that was due almost exclusively to the initiatives of the strikers themselves. Again, at Hardwood Cash in Mansfield, the Board's report on instances of discrimination was given no publicity.

(ii) **Trade union leadership.** Pressure on the trade union leaders is frequently proposed as the way to make the labour movement face up to the reality of racialism. But while we should demand that the trade union leaders take up the matter seriously, this is in no way a sufficient answer to the problem.

The first problem is that an effective fight to smash racialism in the unions must be based on rank and file democracy, which is an erosion of the position of power held by the bureaucracy. It is thus unlikely to receive a welcome from them. Secondly, racialism can only be smashed in the working class by a clear challenge to the system which spawns it, capitalism. This challenge is unlikely to be spearheaded by a trade union leadership which acts as a broker between the employers and the working class.

(iii) **Economic Militancy.** A number of examples over the last year have shown how black and white can fight together against the employers. Particularly outstanding in this respect was the building workers' strike; in Birmingham this unity in action was extended when building workers helped to break up a meeting organised by racists. In London, dockers refused this time to join anti-immigrant marches, after their struggles during the summer had shown quite conclusively who the real enemies were.

But while militancy often cuts across racial divisions, it does not automatically destroy the hold of racist ideas. These ideas must be deliberately rooted out and exposed, and forms of organisation developed to ensure that they do not reappear in the future.

Moreover, racialism exists at all levels of society, not just in the factory; and solidarity there

can be undermined by outside pressures unless the struggle is carried on throughout the whole of society — something the Birmingham building workers clearly understood.

5 The way ahead

Certain essential tasks confront the labour movement in the struggle to smash racialism.

The right to independent black organisation must be fought for as essential in a situation where black workers find themselves in a largely racist working class. As the Black Power movement showed, such independent organisation can be the means for black people gaining the self-respect and strength of which they have hitherto been deprived by centuries of capitalist oppression.



Police lay into black militants during Notting Hill demonstration over Mangrove case.

At Mansfield Hosiery Mills, for example, the Asian workers found that it was from fellow black workers in the industry that they gained strongest support. This also gave them a perspective of fighting in stronger numbers for democracy and representation in the union, and for better conditions for all black workers in the industry. This co-operation has been extended since the strike ended to cover the whole East Midlands area and to include workers in the T&GWU as well as those in the NUHKW. This has greatly strengthened the workers' fighting ability in such struggles as that at Jaffe's in Nottingham.

Crucial in this process, however, was the simultaneous recognition by the Asian workers in Loughborough of the need to remain united with white workers within the organisations of the working class, the trade unions. But they realised that this unity could only become something real if it was based on a recognition of the rights and equal status of all the parties involved.

Support for independent black organisation must not be confined to the union situation, either, but must be extended to similar organisations in the community which are an essential form of protection against constant racist attacks by the police, the law, landlords, white hoodlums, etc.

(ii) The labour movement must be involved in active steps to fight racialism at all levels of society. Racialism is manifested in the community through bad housing conditions, colour bars in lodgings and pubs, police attacks on black youth (as in Notting Hill and Dalston), and in much of what passes for 'education' in

schools. One immediate step which must be taken is to challenge the growing fascist movements like the National Front which provide an organisational form for racist tendencies among white workers, as well as posing an immediate physical threat to black people.

PROBLEMS

(iii) To play any effective role in combatting racialism the labour movement must organise far more black workers into the unions than it does at present. This will only be achieved if the unions face up to the problems of black workers and show that they are actually prepared to fight for real solutions.

Such problems include the need for standard conditions in industry, adequate safety and hygiene, better eating and toilet facilities, standard break times, overtime payments, and even proper wage slips in the pay packets. Abuses in this field play an important part in the exploitation of black workers by the em-

ployers, and their removal would be a victory for all workers. This is also true of the demand for training facilities for all workers, which was central in Loughborough.

From past experience it seems unlikely that such demands will be seriously taken up by the official union organisations. The key role at this stage, both in pressurising such bodies and in initiating independent activity on the question, will be played by black workers' organisation, local rank-and-file action committees, trades council sub-committees, etc.

The unions must also take seriously the reality of racialism within their own ranks. It is counter-productive and dangerous to talk of unity when it does not exist. The study of racialism and the special problems of black workers must become part of every educational programme for shop stewards and union officials. Adequate literature in immigrants' own languages must also be made available to assist the unionisation and involvement in union organisation of black workers. In some unions this process has already begun but there is still a long way to go in the labour movement as a whole.

Finally it is necessary to stress the need for democracy in the unions as a crucial step in involving minority groups. One black worker on an executive does not mean that black workers are represented adequately. The general problem of democracy, and representation at all levels, can only be solved by rank-and-file activity. The formation of action committees against racialism, and support committees for black workers in struggle, will be central tasks for all rank-and-file militants in the coming period.



Women workers at Mansfield Hosiery played an important part in the strike. Photo: Chris Davies (Report).

The 'Actuality' of Revolution

Imperialism, Stalinism and the Permanent Revolution, by John Robens (IMG Red Pamphlets, 30p)/Brian Grogan

What is Permanent Revolution? The popular stalinist version is that it is no more than an injunction everywhere and at all times to make the insurrection. Maoists claim that it is a story about the continuing anti-bureaucratic struggles after the revolution. And state capitalists limit the theory to the colonial revolution when led directly by the working class.

In fact it is none of these. As John Robens points out in this pamphlet: 'The theory of Permanent Revolution as developed by Trotsky is the political expression of the fundamental economic realities of capitalism as it exists in the epoch of imperialism. In particular it analyses the operation within the imperialist epoch of the law of uneven and combined development.' (p.8) The pamphlet aims to examine the adequacy of this expression of historic processes in the light of the realities of the 1970's, not only in the colonial and semi-colonial countries but also in the bureaucratised workers' states and even in the advanced imperialist countries themselves.

THE 'WHOLE'

The author's fundamental approach is the insistence that the world can only be scientifically understood from the point of view of the

'whole'. In this way every concrete event, every economy, every social formation is merely an 'original combination' of elements which are operative on a world scale. It is totally incorrect — and leads to disastrous political consequences — to examine in isolation, as do the Communist parties of the world, the specific features of any particular country and proceed from there. In fact the various 'roads to socialism' flow from the way that world processes combine in a particular country, and not by way of exception from some abstract 'norm'.

For instance, it does not flow from the fact that there is a predominance of peasants in the colonial world, that the economy is at a particularly low level of development, etc., that a socialist revolution is ruled out. On the contrary, because of the role of the bourgeoisie on a world scale, the role of imperialism on a world scale and the level of development of the productive forces on a world scale, not only is it possible for a socialist revolution to take place, but it is only through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat that the anti-feudal, anti-imperialist and democratic tasks can be brought to successful fruition. Such is the lesson of the October Revolution. Such is the continuing message of the Chinese, Cuban, and Vietnamese revolutions.

COVER

None of this, however, means that it is possible to establish a socialist society in one or a small group of countries whilst imperialism is still dominant on a world scale. Socialism means the abolition of all classes. It is ludicrous to believe that the incomparably greater division of labour required for this could be achieved in one country alone. In reality, the theory that socialism could be built in a single country turns out to be no more than a cover to further the interests of a small bureaucratic caste which has crystallised in the workers' states, signifying their degeneration.

The pamphlet documents the implications of this, not only for the workers' states themselves but also for the world revolution. The peculiar need of the bureaucracy to accommodate itself to imperialism whilst preventing any independent activity of the masses in the workers' states, finds its expression in the politics of the Communist parties of the various countries equally opposed to the independent activity of the masses and seeking collaboration with 'their' bourgeoisie. The attempt to straitjacket

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the world revolution in the interests of 'peaceful coexistence' in this way, can only weaken the workers' states. Consequently, both the defence of the workers' states and the furthering of the world revolution demands a political revolution in these states to smash the bureaucracy and to re-establish the norms of workers' democracy.

ACTUALITY

It is only by taking account of all these features of the colonial and bureaucratised workers' states that we can even begin to make sense of the advanced imperialist countries themselves. Without understanding the intimate relation of politics and economics on a world scale, the fact of the long boom in the advanced capitalist countries can appear, and indeed for many so-called Marxists did appear, to invalidate Marxism and the thesis of the Permanent Revolution. It is true that some of Trotsky's conjunctural projections were in error and, in some cases, grossly in error. However, it is not... the test of Trotsky's theory... whether he made a precisely correct analysis of a given conjuncture. It is a question of whether the concepts of the theory of permanent revolution are capable of

revealing the laws of motion of the process or whether they must be replaced with a different problematic.' (p.61)

Nothing which has happened since 1945 defies explanation within Trotsky's fundamental categories — as Robens shows through an analysis of the economic and political development since that time. The combined nature of post-war development could only lay the basis for new and more severe crises, the beginnings of which we are witnessing today. It is this which underlies the present rise of workers' struggles throughout the advanced capitalist countries, placing on the agenda in the next period the conquest of power by the working class in the imperialist heartlands themselves.

In sum the pamphlet shows that the central core of the thesis of Permanent Revolution is the 'actuality of the revolution' on a world scale. The problem is that to attempt such a task in 130 pages demands tremendous compression of the very complicated argumentation required. Nevertheless the pamphlet repays careful study and fulfils its opening promise to show us the power of Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution.

'There are of course, a thousand and one explanations of particular parts of this process. Theories range from the invisible nature of Mao-Tsetung thought to Shachtmanite theories of advancing barbarism from the East. However, none of these can explain the real relation of processes as diverse as the events of May-June in France, the Tet offensive in Vietnam and the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia to take the events only of one year. Only the theory of permanent revolution allows us to analyse beyond the 'external appearance' of these events and analyse their 'inner coherence'. In short only Trotsky's concept of the world revolutionary process satisfies the conditions which Marx laid down for a truly scientific theory of world revolution.' (p.6)



INSIDE LEFT

Inside Left is an occasional column of polemic and debate. It will appear from time to time in order to take up some of the more important statements made by other organisations of the left.

RAMELSON'S CARICATURE

The Morning Star of Friday, 25 May, carried an interesting piece by Bert Ramelson (Industrial Organiser of the Communist Party) under the title of 'Ultra-left tactics hold back advance'.

Ramelson's attitude to the 'ultra-left' flows from his rather one-sided view of the recent history of the working-class movement: 'It is generally agreed that over the past five or six years there has been a considerable shift to the left in the labour movement.' He tends to see future developments as a happy progression of this pattern, liable to disruption only by the hysterical rantings of the ultra-lefts who do not understand that history is on our side.

TWO ELEMENTS

But this is a caricature of the real history of events. What Ramelson does not understand is that this 'shift to the left' has two quite different elements to it. On the one hand, under the impact of the growing economic crisis of British capitalism and the growing inability of the capitalist class to meet the needs and expectations of the working class, the rank-and-file of the trade union movement has acquired a new level of political understanding and combativity in the class struggle. On the other hand, the old right-wing bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions, increasingly unable to offer even a show of leadership to the rank-and-file under these circumstances, is being edged out by a new, 'left' bureaucratic leadership.

Ramelson fails to grasp that these two elements can coexist only for a short period of time; then they will come into explosive conflict. Left-wing bureaucrats may engage in much more militant talk, say nice words about socialism and workers' control at testimonial dinners, and treat their pet Communists kindly, but when it comes to the crunch they remain bureaucrats — more interested in finding a comfortable niche

within the capitalist system than in leading a mass struggle against that system. But the dynamic of the rank-and-file's struggle leads in the opposite direction: they may not care so much now about the fine words, but when it comes to the crunch the objective needs of their own lives will drive them towards a break with capitalism.

What then must be the central task of revolutionaries? Not to centre our activity around electing more 'left' bureaucrats, but in organising and preparing the rank-and-file (and its most politically-conscious sections — the vanguard) for the coming mass struggles. These will be struggles in which the bulk of the trade union bureaucracy — 'left' and right — will be on the other side. Of course we must support the 'lefts' against the right wing; but we support them — to use a well-chosen phrase of Lenin's — 'as the rope supports a hanging man'. That is, we support them by organising the broadest possible movement in the trade unions around those correct positions which they demagogically support (wage rises above government norms, kick out the Tories, etc.). But at the same time we prepare for their eventual sell-out of these positions.

We build unity not around the need for left 'leaders', but around the need for class struggle policies. Thus, when the inevitable betrayal of the 'lefts' comes, the movement is not defused by the loss of its great personalities but is fully equipped to sweep aside these phonies.

LIAISON COMMITTEE

Ramelson also argues that revolutionaries want to turn the Liaison Committee and other rank-and-file organisations into 'alternative organisation'. This is absurd. No revolutionary is mad enough to suggest that we could try to replace the British trade union movement with our own organisations. The only current in the history of the British left that was ever so deluded as that was... the Communist Party in the early 1930's! Revolutionaries are seeking to build an alternative all right, but a rank-and-file alternative to the bureaucratic leadership within the working class movement. If Ramelson sees this as building an alternative to the TUC, it can only be because he has sunk to the point where he equates the movement with the 'left' bureaucrats.

Ramelson is unbelievably kind to the 'lefts'. He correctly states that it is not fruitful to attack the 'lefts' as if they were the main enemy. But he bases this on the incredible assertion that they are not part of the enemy at all: 'the hallmark of genuine revolutionaries is to distinguish between allies who commit errors of judgement from enemies of the working class'.

Perhaps 'little' incidents like the last year's engineering wage struggle can be dismissed as an 'error of judgement'; but what about the Jones-Addington report on the docks? Surely the 'error' of lining up with the capitalist state against your own rank-and-file has a more descriptive name? What about the role of Jones and Scanlon in the secret talks leading up to the new round of TUC-Government negotiations, indeed their presence in those very negotiations? Perhaps the Communist Party plans to campaign against the talks under the slogan, 'No More Errors of Judgement'?

The danger of the present manoeuvres between the TUC leadership and the Government for the mass of workers is very great. A mass campaign throughout the movement against these talks is a key task for all militants. But such a movement cannot be led effectively by those who see in the actions of Scanlon,

Jones and the other 'lefts' only 'errors of judgement'. The salvation of the working-class movement — the only way to reverse the defeats of the past six months (sustained despite Ramelson's 'considerable shift to the left') in the struggles that lie ahead — will be the effective organisation of the mass of the working-class and their potential allies.

The crucial questions facing the trade union movement are those that flow from this fact: how can the struggle of the rank-and-file develop the broadest unity? on what basis can it draw in allies from other social groups? what types of institutions must be developed to carry the struggle forward? how can they be related to the present struggles of the working-class?

Those who are interested in discussion — and some answers — on these questions must seek it from the 'ultra-left', particularly the International Marxist Group. From Ramelson and his ilk they get only the stale old phrases about 'the leading role of the Communist Party', 'political objectives narrow the base of the movement', 'bring pressure on the official movement' — phrases which have served to confuse and disorient the left wing of the working-class movement for the past forty years.



N.U.T. CONFERENCE

Your article on the NUT Conference in the issue of 12 May correctly denounces the failure of the Executive to lead any serious fight on the national claim or the London (really, 'large city') allowance. It explained how, therefore, it was the fault of the leadership that frustration built up, as the events at Central Hall showed.

However, the writer says, 'angry teachers took over the platform from the Executive'. This is not true. This tale about the platform being rushed, embroidered by hints of 'outside influences', not to say 'violence', was made up after the event, out of a combination of shaken nerves and malice, by members of the platform, at the situation they had created. They irritated and provoked the audience, and finally lost control of it. Among those from the floor who tried to restore order were the members of the Wandsworth Association, whom the combination of Tories, Right-Wing Labour and Stalinists have long wanted to drive out of the union, not least with the vision of Phases Two and Three ahead. Three of these members are therefore charged with disorderly behaviour, on the ground that they led a rush to the platform which never took place.

The real reasons behind the attack on them, in the light of the facts, suggests itself: first, to distract attention from the disastrous bungling by the platform at the Central Hall, and secondly to silence

critics by threatening them with expulsion from the union. Surely the NUT bureaucracy has friends enough in the press already, without Red Weekly making their propaganda for them!

London Teacher

LEEDS CONFERENCE ON 'THE FAMILY'

With reference to the article on the Leeds conference on 'The Family', as a CP member I would like to clarify the point that Maria Loftus never stated that the Women's Liberation movement — The Genotdel — was abolished in Russia because 'a separate women's organisation was no longer necessary', but because the male bureaucracy wanted to silence the awakenings of women's liberation. She illustrated that the concern to stabilise Soviet society and the threat of war were seen as important reasons why the family should be strengthened; hence the reversal of the laws passed in the 1920s which had concentrated on women's emancipation.

In reality of course, there was a great need to study the relations of reproduction as well as production, as indeed there is today.

A revolution does not automatically change sexual relationships. As Alexandra Kollontai wrote — a new morality of sexual freedom will grow, not be imposed in the process of developing towards a communist society.

That is why it is vital to have an autonomous women's movement today and a need for women in political groups to challenge all forms of sexism and oppression of women.

Lastly, I would like to make clear that there is no 'official CP position' on women's oppression — however, much work is being done by Women's Advisory and groups all over the country, who challenge any CP member who says that the family must be defended from 'Tory attack'.

The 'glorious socialist family' — [whose quotes?] is just as much an oppressive institution as the family under capitalism, and no-one who attended the conference, and certainly not Maria, believes otherwise.

Barbara Boyton





During the last few weeks more than 200 workers' leaders, socialists and students have been rounded up, imprisoned and tortured by the Velasco regime in Peru. Despite the attempts of the regime to suppress any news of this wave of repression, information about many of those arrested has been smuggled out.

The regime was forced to release three of the students after students throughout the country had threatened to occupy the universities. But the rest of the prisoners are being subjected to brutal torture by electric shocks. Many are being held outside Lima in the Lurigancho prison for ordinary criminals. They have no means of contacting their families and little hope of being brought to trial.

These arrests have come at a time when the Government faces the most serious challenge to its power since the coup d'etat. There have been big movements in the mining areas against government attempts to bring the unions under State control and to raise the pensionable age, leading to a general strike in the province of Arequipa and solidarity strikes throughout the south of the country.

Velasco's military government originally won support because of its promises to redress the balance in favour of the oppressed masses, release political prisoners, etc. But it never broke with the Peruvian capitalists, and after some early anti-imperialist measures has now been forced to grant substantial concessions to British, US and Japanese firms in various fields. With its support now disappearing, it is tacking between open repression and trying to cajole the union leaders into dissolving the independent trade unions into the safe confines of Sinamos - the corporate state union.

What is at stake here is not just the release of the prisoners but the defence of the immediate struggle of the Peruvian workers and peasants to maintain their independent organisations. Letters and resolutions of protest should be sent to the Peruvian Embassy, 52 Sloane Street, London S.W.1. There will also be a picket organised by the LPYS this Saturday, 2 June, outside the Embassy from 2 to 6 pm.

Chile: call for workers' militia

It has been a month of violence and mounting tension in Chile. On 27 April a contingent of workers on their way to a CUT (trade union federation) demonstration were stoned and machine-gunned from the Christian Democrat headquarters, and a young CP worker, Jose Ricardo Ahumada, was killed.

The demonstrations in response to this murder cleared the fascist and National Party vermin off the streets for two days; but then came street attacks by the 'Patria y Libertad' extreme right group, and revelations from the government about their relations with the military of Brazil and Bolivia. Yet again, on 4 May, a State of Emergency was declared: Allende chose, as he did in the lorry owners' boycott last October, to clear the streets and keep the military and police in control, rather than allow workers' action to deal with the counter-revolutionaries. While the Christian Democrats and the National Party continue their sabotage and agitation in Congress, in the right-wing press and on the streets, with increasingly open threats against the Popular Unity government, Allende and the leaders of the Chilean Communist Party appeal for restraint and order on

the part of the working class. Luis Corvalan, the Communist Party general secretary, is even sowing the illusion that the Christian Democrats will listen to his appeals to them not to 'add fuel to the fire' (*El Siglo*, the CP paper).

But while the leadership of Allende's Socialist Party, like the CP, appeals for collaboration with the police and army, and urges workers to resist the temptation to take the law into their own hands 'because that is just what the fascists want,' the Central Santiago branch of the SP has called for the formation of anti-fascist brigades.

Some indication of the mood of many Chilean workers is indicated in an interview published by *Chile Hoy* with one of the workers who was attacked outside the Christian Democrat headquarters on 27 April. 'From now on,' he said, 'we shan't march empty-handed, or defend the government unprotected. We can't go on like this. I think the time is coming when we shan't obey the central committees or any type of authority any more, because we can't go on letting them kill us like sheep, comrades.'



MIR (Revolutionary Left Movement) peasants hold down meeting on collective farm.

LMR accuse Swiss Government

In Switzerland last year, *La Breche*, paper of the LMR (Revolutionary Marxist League), section of the Fourth International, was successfully prosecuted for slander for the crime of saying that the workers in a particular factory were exploited: the court ruled that it was not convinced of the validity of the labour theory of value! The intentions of the ruling class are however quite serious. This was confirmed by the discovery of the bugging of the LMR's recent Congress, followed by the announcement of a full-scale government inquiry into the legality of the organisation.

La Breche has responded with a denunciation of the activity of the police and the Federal Government. Three years ago the government assured the employers' federation of its collaboration in maintaining 'labour peace,' now threatened by wage restriction; and, says the *La Breche* article, it has spared no expense to keep that promise. The Federal police have been greatly strengthened, special anti-riot squads have been formed, there has been systematic phone-tapping and interference with

correspondence. Left-wing militants have been arrested and kept in secret detention for painting slogans on walls, and there has been close collaboration against leafletters by police and factory bosses (General Motors recently had some LMR members arrested simply for distributing material at the gates in Lausanne). Employers' blacklists of militants have been systematised, and private espionage against workers is not unknown.

The Swiss university authorities have been quick to show their hand: shortly after the bugging incident a leading LMR member was jailed for 10 days for delivering a lecture on the North Vietnamese economy at the University of Lausanne. The university authorities accused him of violating a police order to refrain from political activity on campus.

The Swiss bourgeoisie aims to use selective repression against revolutionaries as a weapon against the whole working class: the LMR aims to turn it against them, and in defending itself to alert Swiss workers to the intentions of the ruling class.

For Unconditional Political Opposition to Campora

The following statement was issued on 15 May by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The March 11 elections marked a turning point in the political situation in Argentina. The Peronist ground swell undermined the attempt of the Lanusse regime to put across the Gran Acuerdo Nacional and compelled the Argentine bourgeoisie to accept a neo-Peronist government. The incoming Campora administration will seek to exploit inter-imperialist contradictions and to gain mass support through populist demagoguery.

In the final analysis, the turn in Argentina came as a consequence of the powerful mobilisations of the masses and the courageous actions of the vanguard. The resulting new situation will serve to step up the militancy of the working class and other exploited layers still further.

Sectors of the army have not yet renounced attempts at a reactionary coup d'etat even before the inauguration of Campora. This is because they fear that the new government will be swept aside in the near future. Nonetheless, a coup appears unlikely inasmuch as the decisive sectors of the ruling class are aware that it could provoke a very sharp response from the masses and the outbreak of a civil war, the outcome of which would be in doubt.

In the new stage now opening up, the Argentine revolutionists will take their place in the front ranks of the coming mass mobilisations with the perspective of a major confrontation and a struggle for power. Their objective will be to influence and to organise the vanguard layers that are slipping out of the control of the union bureaucracy and the demagogic ideology of Peronism. They will at the same time call



Hector Campora, new Argentinian president.

for vigilance against any military coup d'etat and propose the development of workers' self-defence. They will warn against any illusions in parliamentarism and gradualism.

While not excluding critical support for possible anti-imperialist measures that might be enacted by the Campora government, they will maintain an attitude of unconditional political opposition to this new bourgeois government. They will carry on an unceasing struggle for the emancipation of the working class from the influence of bourgeois ideology, the bourgeois political organisations, and the grip of the super-bureaucratised union apparatus. They will fight for the independent organisation of the proletariat and other exploited layers with the perspective of establishing popular committees. They will battle for the building of a mass revolutionary Leninist party.

'Free' State grants extradition order

An Irish Free State court has granted an order to extradite a republican woman to the North. The woman, Mrs. Roisin McLaughlin, is wanted for questioning in connection with the execution earlier this year of three British soldiers by resistance fighters. If her appeal against extradition fails, Roisin McLaughlin will be the first person to be extradited from the 'Republic' for a political offence.

NEW TURN

This act represents a new turn in the level of collaboration between the Dublin government and Britain. In the period immediately after internment in August 1971, the South was a relatively safe haven for the resistance fighters. But since then the Dublin governments have taken a whole series of measures to change this situation. The army has been reorganised to make it a suitable instrument for dealing with social discontent: its size has been significantly increased; pay for soldiers has more than trebled since the early sixties; a great deal of new equipment has been purchased; and crowd control and anti-riot training has been started.

Restrictions have also been imposed on the press and TV to prevent the republican case from getting an adequate hearing. Armed with a whole new range of repressive legislation, the police have waged a continuous campaign of harassment and internment against republicans. Under the new Fine Gael-Labour coalition government this campaign has been

accelerated. The extradition order against Roisin McLaughlin is the conclusive proof of this.

UNPREPARED

The tragedy has been that the main political groupings leading the anti-imperialist struggle in the North were caught unprepared for this outcome. As the Provisionals themselves admit in the 25 May issue of *An Phoblacht*: 'Despite this continuous provocation and harassment, Republicans have until now remained passive in the unlikely hope of some meaningful political initiative from the new government on the national situation.'

However the Provisionals have now decided to launch both in Ireland and internationally an anti-government campaign against repression, collaboration and extradition. They have called for the support of 'all organisations and individuals everywhere who support freedom, equality and justice.'

If the British government succeeds in getting Roisin McLaughlin extradited it will be a grave setback for the resistance struggle. They will then have an open licence to go for other anti-imperialist militants in the South. Clearly it is in the interests of all republican and socialist organisations to campaign against this extradition attempt.

In Britain, too, the question of this and other extradition attempts must be made a central part of the campaign against the repression of militants who support the Irish struggle.



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WHO IS THE THIRD MAN?

Red Notes

By CHRIS BALFOUR

'Sex in High Places' scandals have long been the staple of the sensationalist press. If the last week has put a few nasty dents in the image of capitalist politicians, it has carried with it the compensation of a nice increase in revenue for the capitalist press magnates.

What is most amazing about these events is not the shocking revelation that cabinet ministers use the relevant portions of their anatomy in much the same way as other members of their sex, but that such a fact should be deemed worthy of front page news and that its public admission should make governments tremble.

SUPERIORS

There certainly was a time when the

sexual adventures of government ministers were treated with the same attitude as those of film stars or pop musicians are today. But in those days the rulers of the common horde were recruited from an aristocracy who were widely looked on as the natural superiors of the man in the street. Today, however, we live in an era of 'equality' and 'democracy.' Yet the divisions between the governed and the governors continues, although it is no longer possible to explain these on the basis of a god-given or natural 'station in life.'

Instead our 'rulers' are enshrouded in the myth of their supra-human, almost divine, personal qualities. They are the men who can stand above the play of petty personal interests, who can administer 'democracy' with complete

and total impartiality. They must be truly exceptional individuals: otherwise why are they up there and we down here?

The problem is, individuals of such alleged qualities can never be admitted to be under the influence of ordinary human instincts. It just does not fit the image. For this reason sexual transgressions are often looked on with even greater horror than fiddling the books - sex is a much more human instinct than is avarice, which has long-standing capitalist credentials.

CASTING-OUT

Once the state apparatus has been caught with its pants down it becomes necessary to heal the breach. This is done through a ceremonial denunciation of the offenders by their as-yet

untainted colleagues, and a casting-out of the impure from the circles of governmental purity. If properly done, this serves to heighten the aura of righteousness surrounding those who can claim to have remained untouched by such human frailty.

So far the Heath Cabinet has executed this ritual quite well. The potentially fatal flaw is the question of the 'Third Man.' It can only be that this sinner is of too much importance to the government to be thrown over with the rest of the ballast, or that his position is so prominent that the effect of his exposure might contaminate the reputation of the rest of the government. Heath is gambling that the security services will be able to keep his identity hidden and the government can bluff its way through the present storm. But that was what Nixon thought.

Supporters of *The Hospital Worker*, a new rank and file paper for health workers, held their first national conference on Sunday in Birmingham. A programme was adopted of which the main points concerned union democracy, wages and conditions, and defence of the health service.

It was also decided to launch an immediate campaign around the coming NHS re-organisation, against redundancies and in defence of the Health Service. There will be a boycott of joint staff/management committees set up to implement the re-organisation, and a campaign in the trade unions to defend the NHS against the attacks of the State. The new Editorial Board will also be arranging a public meeting and picket in defence of Mark Palmer, the shop steward from St. George's, Hyde Park, arrested during the strike.

Further information from *The Hospital Worker*, 86 Mount Grove Road, London, N.5.

Michael Farrell, a leader of People's Democracy in the North of Ireland, was sentenced to eight months in jail last Friday for 'causing a breach of the peace' during a march through Belfast last February.

On the same day it was announced that charges of 'promoting the aims of the IRA' against Republican Labour MP Paddy Kennedy had been dropped. The contrast in treatment of these two men has of course nothing to do with the fact that 'Republican Labour' are playing Britain's game by fielding candidates in the local and Assembly elections, whereas PD have been in the forefront of the campaign to boycott them.

The Royal Berkshire and Wiltshire Regiment is about to undertake its first tour of duty in the North of Ireland and according to its commanding officer, 'can't wait' to get there. As a morale booster, the Regimental band is giving a display in Reading town centre on 23 June. The local Anti-Internment League is organising a demonstration against this charade, and is appealing for support from the London/Home Counties area. Provisional assembly point is Forbury Gardens (near Reading station) at 11.30 a.m.

Three more Irishmen have been arrested in the mounting police offensive, this time in Blackburn. Sean Colley (30), Patrick John McCabe (21), and Michael Kneaseley (23) appeared in court twice last week charged with conspiracy to commit criminal damage, and have been remanded in custody to appear again this Friday.

Socialists in Canterbury are mounting a campaign against the National Front, which for the first time is putting up a candidate in the local elections. Recently a picket was organised outside the main hotel where the NF were holding a meeting, as a result of which the fascists were asked to leave by an embarrassed management who feared that their trade might suffer. An anti-fascist united front has been established on the University campus to fight the NF propaganda and if necessary to break up their meetings.

Case-Con conference

'We must argue for a democratically controlled Welfare State', a hundred social workers attending the Case-Con conference on 19-20 May were told by guest speaker Lionel Sims, a member of IS. And for Cressey Cannan, another guest speaker, the path for radical social workers was to struggle in the unions for the implementation of universal welfare benefits; support for claimants' and clients' unions; and to demand 'control over our work situation'.

The conference revealed the conflict between those social workers who believe that it is possible to democratise a part of the State apparatus, while anxious to shed their role as social policemen, and those who are attempting to formulate a revolutionary strategy for social workers, which would include resistance to the erosion of welfare benefits.

As a militant from Camden argued: 'It is not sufficient to have a class analysis. Case-Con must work out a political strategy which social workers can relate to their day-to-day experiences, for example around issues such as homelessness, and which would include alliances with other workers in struggle.'

The newly elected editorial collective for the Case-Con journal was instructed to organise a campaign against the proposed legislation which will remove the legal obligation for local authorities to provide accommodation for homeless families. It was also agreed to support demonstrations and pickets in support of the Shrewsbury building workers, and to organise a coach to attend the Birmingham conference against racism.

BELFAST 10 HARASSMENT AT COURT

The relatives and friends of the Belfast 10, the people arrested after the London car bombings in March, are having to undergo a series of aggravations before they are allowed in the committal proceedings now taking place at Lambeth Magistrates' Court. This is a blatant attempt to discourage them from attending.



Photo shows workers in the process of tearing down a management-erected barricade in the dispatch department of Gardner's engineering works in Manchester, parts of which have been occupied for nearly two months. The action took place during a mass picket on Wednesday, 23 May, which was well supported by other engineering workers in the area.



On Wednesday morning last week, all women visitors were subjected to 'strip searches' - they had to stand in only their underwear while they were examined in close detail. Similarly, two days later, all male visitors were required to undergo the same humiliating procedure in a room underneath the court.

Two babies carried in their mothers' arms had their nappies removed to permit searches by those masters of subtlety, Special Branch officers.

These renewed attempts at harassment, aimed at weakening morale all round, coincided with the arrival at Lambeth of an Irish member of the British Special Branch, who personally ordered the searches.



Visits to the 10 by their relatives during lunchtime recessions are also being made unnecessarily difficult as part of a deliberate policy of demoralisation.

When these matters were raised in court by a defending solicitor, the magistrate, Sir Frank Milton, replied that they were outside his jurisdiction as they concerned security issues. We must presume, therefore, that such treatment will continue for the duration of committal proceedings.



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'THE IRISH WORKER IN BRITAIN': Public meeting organised by Clann na h'Eireann and Highgate ICRA; speakers invited from Irish Embassy, Irish Post, Irish Centre, Clann, ICRA, Northampton NICRA, and PAC. Conway Hall, 8 June, at 8.00 pm.

LSE LATIN AMERICAN SOCIETY together with the Latin American Front organisation are holding a series of weekly talks on Mondays at 7.00 pm in Room 509, Main Building, LSE. This Monday, 4th: Chile - Achievements and Prospects. General discussion will follow. All welcome.

'WOMEN'S OPPRESSION and the Struggle for Socialism' - Hull Red Circle on Thursday, 14 June, at 8.00 pm in 'The Rose', Beverley Road.

IMG RED FORUM: Series of introductory discussions for those in the London area on the politics of the Fourth International. Every Tuesday, 8.00 pm at the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road (5 minutes from Kings X tube). This week (5 June): 'The Revolutionary Party'.

DEFY the 600-year 'alliance of exploitation' between Britain and Portugal. Public meeting on Thursday, 7 June, 7.30 pm at Friends House, Euston, to decide on forms of action. Trade union and other speakers. Organised by Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee.

WORKERS' FIGHT LITERATURE: Permanent Revolution No.1, includes critique of 'Permanent Arms Economy', 5 articles by Ross Luxembourg on the Belgian General Strike, 1902, and articles on Programmes of the Irish Republicans, and History of Trotskyism in Palestine. 30 p including postage. Phoenix Pamphlet No 2, 'James Connolly and Ireland's Struggle for Freedom', 13 p including postage. Both available from Phoenix Press, 98 Gifford St., London N1 0DF.

RAFTT: National conference of socialist teachers in ATTI sponsored by local Rank and File Technical Teacher groups, 16 June in Birmingham; Room 3, Digbeth Civic Hall, 11-1, 2-5. ATTI members only. More information: 81 Lansdowne Road, London W. 11.

ALMOST FREE THEATRE: 9 Rupert St. W.1. C.P Taylor's political satire on political satire 'THE GRAND ADULTERY CONVENTION'. 8.15 pm nightly, 485 6224 (memba).

'JOHN MACLEAN AND RED CLYDESIDE': John MacLean Commemoration Committee Forum on Monday, 4 June, at 8.00 pm in the General Picton pub, Caledonian Road, Kings X.