

Chartist

SOCIALIST CHARTER MONTHLY NEWS REVIEW

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SELF DEFENCE IS NO OFFENCE

Implement Labour Party policy

THE MAGNIFICENT RESPONSE to the one-day strike call against racist attacks in London's East End was an important landmark in the struggle against racism and fascism. The 8000-strong strike shut shops and schools in the area and followed the sitdown demonstration of the previous day when the fascists had been denied the right to peddle their filth on the streets of Brick Lane by local Asians and anti-fascists from all over London.

The events of Sunday 16th and Monday 17th of July should serve as a reminder to the entire Labour movement that racism can be fought and fought boldly and imaginatively. For the ethnic communities these events were a proclamation that come what may — fascist attacks, racist police harassment, 'internal controls' or 'induced repatriation' — they are here to stay.

TARGET

The last few months immigrants, in general, and the Brick Lane Bengalis in particular have been the target of policies and pronouncements which have served to isolate them and encourage them to leave. From the leadership of the Tory Party to the Tory GLC, from a Government Select Committee to the racist thugs on the streets of the East End the message has been the same: coloured people are a problem, they are not welcomed here.

Mrs. Thatcher speaks of "our culture being somewhat swamped" and "allaying the fears of the majority". To defend that "culture" racist thugs run riot through Brick Lane. The Select Committee Report speaks of ending "primary immigration" the Tory GLC puts forward its "ghetto" scheme and a spate of racist murders develops.

Altab Ali was stabbed to death on the way home from work, Kenneth Singh returning from the corner shop with his mother's cigarettes on his tenth birthday is battered to death and left on a rubbish dump in Plaistow, Eshaque Ali dies, strangled with his own bootlace also in the East End, West Indian youth are shot at in Wolverhampton. Racism has its own twisted logic. It is this logic which is drawn out from Thatcher's "swamping" remarks, from the implications of the Select Committee Report and from the naked racism of the gutter press (to its final conclusions) in the deeds of the National Front and its supporters.

After all, if all parties agree that the problem with coloured immigration is one of numbers, when respectable politicians speak of induced repatriation what could be more coldly logical than to begin to reduce immigrant numbers and to "induce" repatriation by the kind of terror campaign which has been launched by racist thugs against communities like the Spitalfields Bengalis.

The events of Sunday 16th and Monday 17th July show that the Bengalis of the East End are going to take no more. The support of many Labour movement backed

anti-racist bodies was a welcome addition to the resources of the Asian community itself. But in far too many areas the Labour movement has stood by while the black community has come under attack.

One day strikes and demonstrations are a useful boost to the self-confidence and strength of the ethnic communities but the threat of racist attack is a 24 hour, 7 day a week reality for black people in the besieged communities like London's East End.

Despite the conservatism of the older generation in the Bengali community as in most Asian and many West Indian communities many of the younger generation have recognised that militant and organised self defence is the only way racist attacks can be repulsed.

The attitude shown by the labour movement to such self defence initiatives is crucial. Without labour movement support such self defence groups will be crushed, not by the fascists but by the police who have always shown more enthusiasm for hunting down "illegal immigrants" than racist attackers.

TRIBUNE POSITION

One section of the official left of the movement *Tribune* "Labour's independent weekly" has already made clear its position. In two editorial articles one dated June 30th and the other July 21st *Tribune* pleads with Home Secretary Merlyn Rees to do something quickly before the "leaders of immigrant communities" "lose control to some in their communities who, dangerously, argue that self-defence vigilante groups should be set up". (*Tribune*, July 21st, 1978).

Tribune's leader writers seem more scared of the self defence of the black communities which are under attack than their fascist attackers. In their June 30th edition they equate "self-defence groups" with (incredibly) "playing the racist game" and warn Mr. Rees that if he "does not act quickly... to check that police are doing their job... then the danger of counter-action arises".

Tribune's prescription: a purge of the local police, a few tough words from the Home Secretary and for the oppressed community a role of passivity-waiting for the police to "act promptly and without bias". We might venture to observe that any members of the minority naive enough to take such advice seriously should prepare for a very long wait.

To expect the same police who protected the fascists at Lewisham, who harass black youth through "sus laws",



Photo: Colin Chalmers

SCLV lobbies NEC

ABOUT 25 SUPPORTERS of the Socialist Campaign for Labour Victory lobbied the meeting of Labour's NEC on Tuesday 26th July. They were demanding that there be no Cabinet interference in the drafting of Labour's election manifesto. They called for the NEC to draw up the manifesto on the basis of the many progressive policies passed at Labour conferences; policies such as free abortion on request, support for black self-defence, repeal of the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts, support for the liberation struggles in Southern Africa and the nationalisation of banks and insurance companies.

who were prepared to arrest and assault hundreds to keep the Grunwick plant in business, a force which has consistently demonstrated racist arrogance in the highest degree and an equal determination to defend the 'rights' of the fascist at any cost to protect the Asians of Brick Lane or any other oppressed minority is to live in a dream world. Those facing racist attacks cannot afford the luxury of such dreams. For them it is a matter of survival.

If this needed any further proof it was surely given on Monday 17th. When a racist pulled up his car and began screaming racist abuse at the 2000 strong march he was approached by three marchers. They were immediately and violently arrested. Only after the entire demonstration by now 3000-strong had sat down for over an hour outside the police station were these brothers finally released.

SUPPORT

For the *Chartist* and the *Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory*, unlike the dreamers of *Tribune*, self defence is no offence. Over the next few months, as an integral part of the work of SCLV, we will be fighting up and down the country to build the most massive Labour movement support for the self defence of the ethnic minority communities in this country.

While doing this the SCLV will also attempt to explain to wider layers of the Labour movement the reactionary, divisive and racist character of immigration laws. During the election period itself the Campaign will organise to ensure that the fascists get no platform to spew forth their racist filth. Linking this issue with the struggle for a Labour Victory will be the best way to build the most massive and united movement against racism and to open up the fight against the racists in our own movement.

Conference boosts SCLV

OVER 200 PEOPLE gathered for the successful Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory conference at the Essex Road Library, in Islington on July 15th. Almost 80 Constituency Labour Parties were represented and over 30 trade union branches, making it one of the most representative conferences of Labour Party members outside official conferences.

The conference was addressed by Ken Livingstone, Prospective Parliamentary Candidate (PPC) for Hampstead and GLC member for Hackney North CLP, David Skinner ex-Clay Cross Councillor and Mike Davis on behalf of the SCLV steering committee. Ted Knight, PPC for Hornsey and leader of Lambeth Council chaired the conference.

After the plenary session which discussed the aims and direction of the Campaign, workshops were organised by the Labour Abortion Rights Campaign, Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, Labour Against the Immigration Acts and Ireland Socialist Review.

The final session debated future activities for the SCLV and passed resolutions calling for the formation of campaign groups based on the CLPs and trade unions open to all who want to work for the election of Labour candidates and the publication of a regular newsletter. Already SCLV groups have been formed from meetings in Islington, Lambeth, Hull, Manchester, Nottingham, Leeds, Hornsey, Coventry, Edinburgh and Leicester as we go to press.

The Campaign will attempt to work closely with CLPs, agents

and supporting candidates and fight for the formation of Manifesto committees to decide the local manifesto in as many CLPs as possible. A recall, post-election conference is also planned to discuss the work and future of the SCLV.

Several different tendencies of opinion in the Labour Party are supporting the Campaign, alongside many hundreds of individuals. SCLV is not founded on an exhaustive socialist programme but rather on a statement of aims and a platform of key socialist policies which can take forward the struggle of the working class and oppressed and create the best conditions — that is a re-elected Labour Government with a powerful class struggle opposition — in which to fight for a revolutionary leadership throughout the labour movement.

The SCLV is still appealing to socialist tendencies, newspapers and individuals to support and build the campaign. Within the organised framework of the SCLV and the fight for maximum unity in action in the general election supporters can argue out the merits of their various ideas and perspectives on the strategy for socialism. This political dialogue must go on.

The SCLV steering committee has planned a series of activities which include lobbying the National Executive Committee on the issue of who decides the Manifesto — no cabinet interference —, a press conference and a series of regional rallies with prominent campaign supporters.

write to SCLV, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

Chartist

SOCIALIST CHARTER MONTHLY NEWS REVIEW

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THE SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN for a Labour Victory (SCLV) Conference augured well for the future of the Campaign. 200 people from 76 CLPs attended this, the first conference of a new Campaign. There had been little pre-conference publicity, no advertising of 'Name speakers', no fanfares of publicity, no great promises, just a handful of ads in the classified columns of the left press and the patient groundwork of the Campaign's initial supporters.

This was sufficient to build such a Campaign conference because the Platform and founding statement of the Campaign found a real echo amongst labour movement activists, and because the Campaign meets a real material and ideological need of the working class movement at the present time.

UNITY

That need is the need to preserve unity in action of the working class movement while a determined fight is waged for the kind of policies which the SCLV offers, the kind of policies which we believe can give an answer to the betrayals of the present Labour Government.

Such a unity could rekindle the fighting spirit of 1974 within the ranks of the Labour Party and trade unions whilst, at the same time, providing a unity and political direction for the kind of struggles which have developed over the past few years—the struggle against fascism, the fight for black self defence against racist attacks, the political status battle of Irish prisoners of war—just the most recent in the long war for Irish self determination—and the struggle to defend and extend abortion rights

and make real the provisions of the Equal Pay Act and Sex Discrimination Act.

LINKED

Each one of these separate partial struggles can be linked to the fight for the return of a Labour Government, each one can contribute to and gain from a Campaign such as the SCLV. Above all, the opposition which has developed and fought outside (and at times against) the Labour Party and the trade unions can be linked up with the opposition within these bodies against the present leadership of the Labour movement.

The SCLV has been launched at a time of immense and probably unparalleled opportunities. Healey's attempt to push through a 5% phase four of non-statutory policy will stretch to the limit the loyalty of many Labour Party supporters yet there has not been the disastrous rupture between the Labour Government and the trade unions which helped to bring Labour crashing to defeat in 1970. Nor has there been the exodus of many of the best militants from the Constituency Labour Parties which took place in the late 60s as a protest against Wilson's policies.

Instead, many on Labour's left have decided to stand their ground and fight. Incredibly, on the electoral front, there has even been a marked resurgence in the Labour vote as the general election approaches.

This strengthened unity of the traditional Labour movement has been matched and more than complemented by the tremendous developments of struggles outside

the framework of traditional labour movement politics and outside of the traditionally militant sections of the working class. The hospital occupations, the struggle at Trico, the hotels battles, the Grunwick battle, and the continuing fight in the catering trade represented by the Garners strikers, have all steered new, and often unlikely, fighters for the great battles ahead. Women, immigrants, low-paid public sector workers have all given a self-sacrificing example to the more conservative industrial trade unionists through their struggles.

OUTSIDE

Outside the official channels of the labour and trade union movement the last year has seen the turning of the fascist tide and the development of a really mass anti-fascist movement in the Anti-Nazi League. From last summer's street battles in Lewisham and Ladywood to the jubilant 80,000 strong Carnival Against the Nazis this April, the hard-pressed hard core of anti-fascist campaigners have been able to emerge from their backs-against-the-wall isolation into the broad daylight of the largest mass movement seen since the late 60s' Vietnam Solidarity Campaign. Despite the ANL's shaky politics, it has helped open the way to a youth radicalisation and to the involvement in political activity of tens of thousands not previously committed.

Meanwhile at the battlefield itself, in the Asian communities in Brick Lane, in Southall, in Bolton and elsewhere the youth have stood

up and organised against their racist oppressors. In Lewisham the West Indian youth too, took to the streets against the NF and the police. Above all, Brick Lane has now become a symbol of the struggle of immigrants in this country to live free from racist harassment. The 8000-strong strike in the area was the first of its kind and just one of the many means which the Asian community will need to defend itself in the coming period.

WOMEN

The struggles to defend abortion rights has drawn thousands of women into political activity, and the development in Britain, as throughout the world, of the women's movement has had a profoundly challenging effect on the politics of the left and the labour movement. Today, its debates reflect a new maturity and as the women's movement explores the links between women's oppression and other forms of oppression so the socialist feminist wing of the movement has come to the fore.

The SCLV draws inspiration from all these movements. It does not attempt to substitute itself for them nor to present any ultimatums. It unconditionally supports the struggles of the industrial workers, especially the low paid, against wage controls.

The SCLV unconditionally supports the struggles of women against their oppression, it fights for full Labour movement support for the self defence initiatives of the black and Asian communities in

Britain and for an end to immigration controls. It supports the demands for political status for Republican prisoners in the context of the fight for complete British withdrawal and Irish self determination.

We do not demand of participants in these struggles that they accept our platform nor that they commit themselves to a Labour vote before we support their demands and campaigns.

DEMONSTRATE

But it is not the job of the SCLV to provide an auxiliary service to existing campaigns and struggles. *The SCLV has a job of its own to do.* We have to demonstrate to Labour supporters the relevance of these campaigns and demands to securing a Labour vote: we have to demonstrate to the participants of these struggles the relevance of a Labour vote to their fight. If the SCLV can begin to succeed in this before the election it will stand at the heart of the fullest possible unity of the labour movement and the oppressed.

In the late 60s the left and the labour movement parted company. Today, on the threshold of a new radicalisation after the bitter lessons of the last three years, the movement cannot afford the dreams and illusions of those days. Today, the fight for socialist policies can only succeed if those putting them forward are seen as the greatest defenders of the unity in action of the working class movement. This is the role of the SCLV.

This conference of the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory endorses the general aims and policies contained in the original appeal statement and platform.

WHY WE CALL FOR A LABOUR VOTE:

Conference declares that the SCLV will campaign enthusiastically for the most massive Labour vote our movement and class can produce. A strengthened Labour vote will not only beat off the Tories but will provide the best conditions under which we can really begin to challenge the pro-capitalist policies of our existing leaders.

Unlike the Transport House organised campaign we will strive to campaign in as many areas and constituencies as possible on the basis of socialist, anti-capitalist policies.

THE POLICIES WE FIGHT FOR:

Where Labour Party conference has decided policies which are in the interests of the labour movement and the oppressed we will fight strenuously for constituencies, candidates and the official Manifesto to stand by them. Labour's conference policy against racism, fascism and immigration laws, for abortion and contraception on request, for solidarity and material aid to the liberation movements in Southern Africa, against public spending cuts, for public works programmes, for nationalisation of the land, banks, building industry under workers control — to name but a few — we will fight for.

Where Labour Party conference has not taken a position or has accepted the reactionary line of the Labour government, the right wing and the trade union bureaucracy; as on imperialist policies in Ireland, support for wage restraint or support for NATO and the IMF — we will fight for the maximum number of CLPs and candidates to adopt a contrary, socialist, policy.

THE ACTION WE SUPPORT:

The SCLV will fight to commit CLPs, candidates and the Manifesto to pledging active support for all working class and oppressed people taking action — strikes, pickets, demonstrations — against attacks by the Labour government or employers.

This conference condemns the massive attack on working class living standards and the rising level of unemployment that this Labour government has presided over and organised. This conference supports all struggles by trades unionists, tenants, minority communities and Labour Party members to oppose and roll back these attacks. We particularly oppose the idea common to both militants and trades union leaders that these working class

SCLV — Resolution on Political Aims and Direction



Photo: Colin Chalmers

struggles should be abandoned to prevent possible 'electoral damage' to Labour.

The SCLV believes individual candidates and MPs must be directly accountable to their CLPs and submit themselves to automatic reselection. The Labour government should be accountable to Labour Party conference and the labour movement as a whole.

Instead of a Labour government that administers capitalism at the expense of the working class and leaves all real power in the hands of big business, we will demand that Labour carries out its manifesto commitment to a "fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power and wealth in favour of working people", by implementing Clause IV part 4 of the Labour Party constitution. This can only be done by a government which bases itself on the organised strength of the labour movement and oppressed and takes all financial, industrial and state power from the ruling class.

Whilst the Socialist Campaign for a Labour Victory does not believe that the existing leaders of the Labour Party will carry out these policies, we recognise that the election of a Labour

government, even on Callaghan's policies, would — for a socialist alternative — provide the best conditions to pursue the struggle.

Throughout the campaign we will strive to recruit to the Labour Party, to entuse militants, trades unionists, women, immigrants and youth who have been downtrodden by the policies of the Callaghan government and draw them into an organised socialist fightback in the Labour Party.

As part of building such a fightback the Campaign will organise activity on the basis of its platform on the following issues and others.

RACISM AND FASCISM:

The SCLV recognises that the increase in racist attacks, the Tory immigration policy and the large number of NF candidates standing all make the twin issues of racialism and fascism key election issues. The failure of the Labour government to act on the 1976 conference policy of repealing the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts and the shameful support for the Select Committee report by six Labour MPs indicates that we cannot expect a serious lead in this fight from the Party

leadership and the Parliamentary Labour Party.

The SCLV therefore commits itself, and will try to commit other labour movement bodies, to a policy of full support for the organisation of self defence by coloured people under attack from the fascists or the police.

We will be involved and seek to involve local CLPs actively in the work of the Anti-Nazi League and local anti-fascist and anti-racist bodies. Before and during the election campaign we will attempt to commit Labour councils to a complete ban on fascist meetings in local government buildings, if necessary risking prosecution under the Representation of the People Act. Where NF meetings take place the SCLV will organise with other anti-fascist forces the largest possible pickets united around the policy of 'No platform for fascists'.

In addition to direct action against the fascists the SCLV recognises that a fight is needed against the more pervasive influence of racism. Central to the fight against racism is the question of the Immigration Laws. These divide and weaken the international strength of the labour movement and hold back the fight for socialism. The SCLV will therefore fight alongside bodies like Labour Against the Immigration Acts against existing and proposed immigration controls and for an end to all immigration controls.

A fight on these policies will bring us into conflict with the many racists and even fascists in the ranks of the labour movement. We are for organising through the labour movement to build workers defence groups which can come to the aid of minority communities in their self-defence against the fascists or the police.

WOMENS RIGHTS:

The Campaign will fight on the question of women's rights against the record of the Labour government which has presided over and organised massive cutbacks and a fall in working class living standards that has hit working women especially hard. Instead of expanding facilities or even defending gains made in the past the government bears the responsibility for cuts in NHS abortion facilities and attacks on women's rights to employment — attacks which threaten to shackle women even more firmly to

the home and family.

Callaghan has tried to justify these attacks by talk of protecting 'the sanctity of the family'. Against such squalid excuses the SCLV will demand the necessary expansion of social services and jobs to allow women the freedom to break out of the restrictions of the family the government's policies have helped reinforce — domestic drudgery, unwanted pregnancy, individual and isolated child care and enforced unemployment or low paid work. Against that we support the fight for women to have the right to control their own lives, bodies and fertility.

We thus support all campaigns and actions to ensure women's right to work, against discrimination in employment and for genuinely equal pay. We support all activity that seeks to draw women into the organised labour movement and support the organisation of women's groups within the movement as a way of drawing women in against the pressures of discrimination that all too often include those by sections of the movement.

We will fight, alongside LARC, NAC and the Working Womens Charter for the expansion of abortion rights and facilities. We will organise support for the National Abortion Campaign's forthcoming Trade Union Conference as part of this fight.

We will fight for the right of the Party conference to mandate Labour MPs to vote for the party policy of free abortion on request and against reactionary legislation. We fight any attempts to claim such an issue is a 'matter of conscience' and demand that party policy be carried out.

IRELAND:

Conference recognises that one of the central responsibilities facing the British labour movement today is the prevention of the military machine of the British state from continuing its bloody war of repression against the Catholic population of the 6 counties in an attempt to prop up the sectarian statelet there. The SCLV calls for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops and we will work to explain in the labour movement why this call should be taken up.

We will aim to counter the propaganda which presents those fighting to overthrow the sectarian statelet as mindless terrorists and to show on the contrary the systematic torture and brutality used by the army in its maintenance of that state. We will give support to those republican prisoners of war fighting for the restoration of their political status. The SCLV will thus build support in the labour movement for the activities and campaigns which further these aims.

Photo: Colin Chalmers

BETHNAL GREEN —

Keeping it open isn't enough

ONE OF THE main problems facing health service workers in the current crisis—apart from the savage cuts taking place throughout the country—is the total lack of positive initiative and action from the union leadership on a national scale.

Many socialists understand the situation and the collaboration between the Labour Government and the TUC, but for years the majority of rank and file health service workers have waited for the unions to take action from above to stop the cuts. It has been a long wait.

Militant rhetoric together with token strikes and demonstrations have been as far as any national executive has been prepared to go in sanctioning any form of action within the health service.

Meanwhile central government has continued the drastic cuts—relying on the consciences of health workers and their subsequent reluctance to stage large scale stoppages which could seriously affect patients.

OCCUPATION

The Elizabeth Garrett Anderson

by JANET ROBINSON

occupation created a new angle of struggle to health service workers, and showed that they could take the initiative from below. The EGA occupation gave a lead to the Hounslow and Plaistow work-ins, and on July 1st this year, only days before the drudge of “celebrations” of the 30th anniversary of the NHS, the Bethnal Green Hospital (BGH) workers began an occupation of the casualty department on the day that it was due to be closed down by the City and East London Area Health Authority.

Despite all attempts at sabotage by the Area Health Authority, the co-operation between GPs, the public and ambulance workers in the area, has meant that the hospital has actually had an increase in patients since the work began.

GERIATRIC

The closure of the casualty department was to be the first step in converting the BGH into a purely geriatric hospital. The usual excuses had been made for the change—falling population, increasing number of old people in need of

care. But what sort of care? And at the expense of whom?

The kind of geriatric “care” being offered by the AHA at the BGH would probably not have been necessary had the health service truly represented the needs of the people. The whole emphasis of the NHS in 30 years of “carrot-baiting” to the working class and labour movement, has been towards cure rather than prevention.

Build a new hospital and you've supposedly solved the health problems of a whole area. This method of approach totally ignores the most efficient way to tackle disease—by means of primary care, in the community itself, and relieving the poor environmental conditions which in the East End of London are the main causes of disease and death. Tuberculosis, pneumonia and infant mortality (now higher in Tower Hamlets, Hackney and Newham than it was when the NHS was founded) are the main killers in the area which the BGH serves.

The social bias of the health service—away from the interests of the working class—has been a root cause of its failure. The political influence of the medical profession

has always been a strong factor in the running of the NHS. A compromise was made in 1948 in allowing private practice to continue inside the health service.

Entry into medical schools is still class discriminatory—only 5.6% of medical students come from social classes 3, 4 and 5 (82% of the population). You can't make money as a doctor in the health service by being a GP in a working class area—the way up is through the hospital hierarchy to a consultancy and a lucrative private practice—hence the influence of the doctor/professional class has tended to be as follows:

- A concentration on hospital care

rather than community-based medicine. Effective prevention and early treatment of disease requires that priority be given to medicine within the community itself. This includes proper care of the elderly in the home—an area greatly neglected.

It may be a solution for local authorities to throw old people into geriatric units of the sort that the authorities would like the BGH to be—but at the expense of the community as a whole who would lose a general hospital, and at the expense of the old who would be left to suffer the degradation of a Victorian style infirmary.

● The most efficient primary and secondary care facilities are to be found in the “nicer” areas—to the detriment of working class areas such as East London. The idea of medicine as a ‘vocation’ is only true for a small minority of doctors and other professional staff. Lack of housing for nurses and other grades of health workers leads to staff shortages—particularly in the primary care sectors.

● The best facilities often go hand in hand with private medicine, for example the concentration of specialised teaching hospitals around Harley Street.

STRIKE TO SAVE THE GREEN

MASS RALLY AUGUST 1st

BETHNAL GREEN GARDENS
12.30

Meanwhile inner urban areas such as Tower Hamlets, are left with run down, 100 year-old hospitals, but vital services nevertheless.

When the City & East London Area Health Authority discussed and voted on the proposed change of use for the BGH, many of the members of the AHA didn't even think the decision as being important enough to turn up. An ex-National Officer of ASTMS refused to vote against the change of use. Hackney Trades Council has not politically disassociated itself from the AHA, having decided no longer to receive reports from the one, token trade union delegate on the AHA.

EXPOSE

The task of socialists must be to expose the health service for what it has always been—the greatest carrot of all time held before the working class and labour movement of this country—and also to expose the ways in which the collaboration of the Labour Government and the TUC has licensed the cuts taking place.

The only effective form of action within the health service against the cuts has been occupations of hospitals due for closure and this obviously must happen whenever any unit is threatened.

But at the same time, the hospital occupation is not the sole direction for socialists to take. Dispelling the myths of the so-called “victory for socialism” that the NHS is seen to be still by many people must be just as important for socialists within the health service.

Meaning of Immigration laws

238 held without trial

BEHIND THE GATES of Britain's prisons 238 people are being held without being sentenced by a court, with no prospect of trial, and with no certain date of release. They have not received a sentence and therefore have none of the rights of ordinary prisoners. They cannot work and are often locked up in their cells for 22 hours a day. Their cases will never be publicly aired and they could be kept in prison for up to 15 months.

The people are being held under the 1971 Immigration Act which allows the police to detain indefinitely people suspected of being illegal immigrants or overstayers whilst awaiting the making or execution of a deportation order — or what is technically called a “removal”. Since the Act came into operation in 1973, there have been more than 5,326 detentions. The number of prisoners held each day has risen from 121 in 1976, to 238 now. According to the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI) not only are the numbers increasing, but the time they spend in prison is too. The average now is 3 months.

NOT GUILTY

The situation is alarming because the Home Office has admitted that people have served terms of imprisonment and have subsequently been found not to be illegal immigrants. The JCWI wants courts set up to find out if the immigrant is in Britain illegally or not. At the moment the Home Office is under no obligation to prove their case against a suspect. A spokesperson for the JCWI said “At present, it is possible for someone to be taken into custody and put on a plane without the case ever being put before a court and without any right of appeal before removal”.

A worker at the Lucas Aerospace Factory, in Shaftmoor Lane, Birmingham, was removed in this way recently. He was called from his truck to the Personnel Dept. and was then rushed to the airport and put on a plane before Lucas shop stewards were able to make a complaint. The JCWI are pressing for more humane methods of treating the suspects. The Home Office at present only gives bail or temporary release pending investigation to only a few cases, and have refused to comment on the issue.



Merlyn Rees—orchestrating Home Office racism

Clearly the method of detention often produces extreme strain, both financially and emotionally on the dependants of the detainee and can prevent the suspect himself/herself from providing evidence about his/her case, or from setting affairs in order before he/she has to leave the country. The disturbing increase in the number of detained suspects has not been caused by any change in the law. It is the increase of racialism that is generally believed to have altered the way the Home Office, Immigration Office and the Police are using the Act. Now a request to the police for assistance by black people can produce demands for documents, and investigation of their rights to be in the country, and sudden arrest.

SECURICOR

A further disturbing feature in the operation of the Act is that Securicor, the private security firm, is employed by the Home Office to transport detainees to and from prison and to the airport, and to staff the detention centres at Heathrow and Gatwick airports. The use of Securicor means that there is no public accountability at all in the execution of their paid duties. To run the detention centre at the airports they are paid £21,000 a month by the Home Office, and the money paid to escort prisoners is thought to be much more.

The unbridled power of the Home

Office and the lack of civil rights for prisoners held under the Immigration Act can be illustrated by the case of an African prisoner now held in Birmingham's Winson Green Prison. Winson Green (notorious for the alleged maltreatment of the Birmingham Pub Bombers: see PNS 139) is one of the main detention centres for this category of detainees. 60 people are currently held there and the unbroken boredom and anxiety have already caused one suicide and several other attempts. Over 50% of these prisoners are receiving ‘psychiatric’ treatment, usually just drugs.

The African prisoner (who cannot be named for obvious reasons) had settled in Britain in 1961 — long before the Act came into being — and had lived and worked here for 11 years. His residence was more than enough to qualify him for citizenship. The passport that he entered on was, however, out of date. He applied to his country's Commission for a new one, which was given, but unfortunately stolen. He reported this to the police, received a new one and left for his home country.

SENT BACK

Eighteen months later he returned as what is officially called a “returning resident”. He was refused entry and sent back. The reason: he had only a new passport which did not show that he had settled since 1961. He was given no advice or assistance. At his own expense he returned

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again with his old and new passport and was admitted without hesitation.

One year later he met and married a girl from his own country visiting England and sent to the Home Office his passport with hers so that her “visitors” status could be revoked. He was then arrested as an illegal immigrant and after three months in prison is still no nearer being released. He will never be brought before any trial or tribunal to prove his innocence. An application for temporary release whilst his case was being considered has so far failed. All the trade union cards proving he was a citizen of eleven year's standing plus a marriage certificate are still in the possession of the Home Office.

The Home Office case against the man was that he is not the same person as the one who lived here in the 60's. When this was disproved they switched tack and altered the charge to say that he had left the country for two years and therefore under the Immigration Law lost his status as a returning resident. On no other area of the law would the prosecuting authorities be allowed to change the grounds of an action during the progress of the case. The travelling dates given by the Home Office have since been effectively disputed by evidence of different dates of departures and returns and the charges that the man entered illegally have not been substantiated.

INHUMANE

There are hundreds of cases equally as distressing and few people expect the Home Office to alter the inhumane and unjust procedures of the Immigration Act. The combined pressure now being applied by several MPs who are championing the cause of the prisoners and the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants is, however, bringing to light what is fast becoming a major public scandal.

A JCWI spokesperson told Birmingham Broadside: “The numbers held in prison and the reasons for holding them were never intended by parliament during the passage of the Act. They are detained without a trial in most cases and for unknown periods. This must be an area of British law most seriously in breach of every notion of civil liberties”.

Immigration and post war boom

BRITISH CAPITAL'S STRATEGY

AS ARGUED in a previous *Chartist* article (June 1978), State intervention in the areas of race relations and immigration controls laid much of the basis for the current crisis because of its *contradictory* nature. This contradiction lay essentially in the attempt to reconcile two conflicting tasks: on the one hand to integrate the immigrant communities in the interests of urban social and political stability, to avoid a repetition of the racial violence that swept American cities in late 1960s; and on the other hand to preserve the role of blacks and other immigrants as cheap labour.

RESOLVE

The 1960s strategy attempted to resolve this contradiction through a two-pronged policy. The settled New Commonwealth population was to be integrated to minimise racial conflict in the cities and also the alienation of second generation black youth who, it was understood, would, through socialisation, come to reject in any case the low wage labour role that their parents had 'accepted'.

At the same time the low wage labour force would be maintained by an army of *Gastarbeiter* (the German name for immigrant workers) recruited on short term labour permits and insulated by a battery of immigration regulations and police surveillance from the effects of racial harmony and integration bestowed upon the older immigrant community.

FAILED

This strategy has failed. The steady decline in economic growth during the late sixties coupled with rising public opposition to further immigration meant that the low wage labour force still had to be recruited from the *existing* black community. Thus the apparatus of anti-discrimination law and Community Relations bodies had to avoid any fundamental disruption of these processes, including racial discrimination, which forced blacks into low wage jobs.

In such a context 'racial integration' became a matter not of social mobility and equality but the attempt to politically neutralise the black community through a 'partnership' between State and black middle class emerging through the community relations machinery.

Such a stratum however, though it undoubtedly exists, has in no way been in a position, because of the lack of any real gains for black people with which its leadership could be associated, to cement itself in a position of political and social hegemony over the black community.

ALIENATION

Indeed the last few years have seen a progressive political alienation of all sections of the black community from the State. Precisely because the black community as a whole has felt the weight of the increasingly arbitrary actions of the immigration authorities and the police the rhetoric of both Labour and Tory governments that "successful integration requires the limitation of further immigration" has been lost on black people.

Only if the existing black community was experiencing a high degree of social mobility and a stabilisation of its family structure and thus increasingly being only marginally affected by matters of immigration law could it be persuaded to accept such a



Photo: Colin Chalmers

Bengali immigrants protest against attacks on July 16.

formulation.

As it is, in the words of the Race Relations Board report for 1973 "while official policy asserts the two objectives, meant to be complementary, of tight, immigration control and equality of treatment once in Britain, the emphasis that has been placed on the former has led to scepticism about the latter objective."

The second area in which, from the point of view of Capital, race relations policy has collapsed, is that of the rising militancy of Black workers. The experience of Western Europe (eg the militancy of Turkish workers in Germany and France during 1973-4) showed that even a system of stringent work permit controls such as characterised the continental system could not, in the long run, prevent the socialisation and increasing militancy of immigrant workers against low wages and unsocial working conditions.

In Britain, in the absence of such direct controls (prior to the 1971 Act) the problem was greater.

Governments watched the rise of black worker militancy in the early 1970s in foundries, textiles (the Mansfield Hosiery strike in 1971) and light engineering (Imperial Typewriters 1974) with apprehension. The Race Relations Board warned after the Mansfield Hosiery events

"Firms which withhold equal opportunity because of opposition from groups of (white) workers may secure an uneasy peace in the short term but only at considerable risk of serious conflict in the future."

OPERATION

As the 1971 Immigration Act came into effective operation to secure a supply of contract labour for 'really low wage occupations' and the police surveillance apparatus was perfected (establishment of the Immigration Intelligence Unit in 1973)

governments pushed the TU bureaucracy to take a more effective role in workplace integration. The aim was to bring militant black workers under closer control of the bureaucracy (a disturbing feature of the early 1970s militancy had been the capacity to act, on the part of blacks irrespective of lack of support from racist local TU officials).

However, incorporation into the trade unions does *not* increase the submissiveness of black workers (as some journals like *Race Today* and *Race and Class* have attempted to argue) but at least as much increases their organisational strength. Thus in the last analysis British capital breathed a sigh of relief with the *defeat* of a struggle for 'incorporation' into the Labour Movement by black workers at Grunwicks.

The area in which the collapse of state policy has had the most devastating effects has been in the area of the relation between black youth and the police.

Structural changes in capitalism have resulted in disproportionately high unemployment rates for young people during the present crisis. Racial discrimination pushes the rate for black youth even higher. The very situation that 1960s integration hoped to avoid has come about. A generation of black youth has emerged *refusing* the dead end low pay jobs assigned to their parents and increasingly preferring unemployment to such slavery.

A survey by the Community Relations Commission in 1972 in one area of London estimated that at least 50% of young black unemployed were not even bothering to register. The black middle class is able to offer them nothing. The youth find themselves increasingly on the streets and in confrontation with the police.

In some inner city areas of high unemployment the role of the police becomes openly and

By JOHN LAYTON

blatantly the naked suppression of a potentially rebellious population. Among black youth the PEP 1976 report *The Facts of Racial Discrimination* warned the government of

"the first signs of a more profound disillusionment which might eventually form the basis of a new political force are to be found among West Indian teenagers, an alarming proportion of whom are unemployed and homeless."

RELATIONS

The deterioration in police-black youth relations (or rather their changing nature) is viewed by the State with alarm. Open warfare on the American model in inner city areas and the consequent grist to the mill of the fascists is at this moment in time of no particular benefit to Capital. Hence the mid 1970s saw a concerted effort on the part of the State to halt the deterioration in the form of the 1976 Race Relations Act.

It was by now clear that state policy had to come off the fence and choose one side of its contradiction: *either* blacks were going to be forced to remain a low wage labour force by state repression supplemented by an increasing wave of urban racial violence, *or* violence was going to be moderated and contained through a renewed drive for racial integration. But not both.

The 1976 Act embodied the latter choice. Paradoxically, increasing unemployment *in general*, made the choice easier for Capital. With the rise in general youth unemployment blacks were less crucial as the *sole* source of cheap labour. Bodies like the Manpower Services Commission began in 1974 to elaborate strategies to train and socialise youth generally for such work.

Hence on the race relations front a renewed drive for integration could now be consistently undertaken in the knowledge that if boom returned the immigration of contract labour could fill the gap.

TOO LATE

But the new policy has come too late to save the deterioration of race relations in the inner cities. The ideological focus of British politics has in the meantime moved sharply to the right on the question of racism and nationalism as illustrated in the recent behaviour of Thatcher and the failure of Tory 'liberals' like Heath and Walker to openly denounce Thatcher's adoption of National Front arguments.

One of the key provisions of the 1976 Act was for positive training for blacks to attempt to reverse the 'downward spiral' of discrimination and poverty. Camden Council's attempt to activate such provisions in the Act last January was met with a howl of 'racism in reverse' from the media and even semi-official race research bodies like the Runnymede Trust balked at supporting what had been government policy in the USA for years (though not with much effect, and recently dealt the death blow by the *Bakke* case).

The 1976 Act quite apart from its other weaknesses has fallen victim to the very growth in racism which it was a pathetic last ditch attempt to contain.

TEN YEARS SINCE 'PRAGUE SPRING'

ON AUGUST 21st 1968, armed forces of the USSR and its loyal Warsaw Pact allies crossed into Czechoslovakia to depose its sovereign government and terminate a unique political experiment known to the world as 'Socialism with a Human Face'.

We need not waste time here with the feeble excuses offered by the Russian leadership for their aggression against a supposed 'ally'—No-one but the most slavish sycophants could have taken them seriously in the first place. Nor to denounce the 10 years of renewed bureaucratic oppression and persecution of dissidents under Gustav Husak. More relevant at present is to ask what lay behind the 'Prague Spring', and what lessons it might hold for the development of a revolutionary socialist opposition in Eastern Europe today.

SPECIFIC

While there are many problems common to all the East European regimes, the notable features of the Czech events of 1968 sprang from the specific national background. Czechoslovakia was the most economically advanced of these countries (after East Germany). Despite its small population it had strong labour movement and liberal democratic traditions after its founding in 1919 from the wreckage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCz) had a genuine popular base—a million or more votes. The Soviet liberation from Nazism and the changes ushered in by the Prague coup of February 1948 were not simply alien impositions at the point of

Charter

TEN YEARS AFTER the fleeting vision of 'socialism with a human face' the reimposition and consolidation of bureaucratic rule seems complete. This is not to suggest however that opposition to the monolithic regime does not exist. Even at this time memories of the brave new world of the 'Prague Spring' of 1968 still continue to inspire a determined struggle for a de facto realisation of socialist democracy and socialist legality.

One such movement is Charter 77, formed in January 1977. Consisting of workers and intellectuals, this group has been actively campaigning for those basic democratic rights, like freedom of speech, assembly, independence of trade unions, against censorship and repression etc, *which are in fact enshrined in the constitution*.

It is not generally recognised that the bureaucracy in fact maintains its rule by *systematically violating the constitution*.

The signatories of Charter 77—the 'Chartists'—have rejected from the start what passivity and common sense had finally led many others to accept. Namely, that it could be taken for granted that the law and its enforcement were the private property of the ruling

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Russian intervention (above) plays into the hands of imperialism and the pro-capitalist forces of Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union.



Dubček (right) and Brezhnev at the Bratislava talks where the Kremlin demanded "normalisation" in Czechoslovakia.

Russian bayonets. The overthrow of capitalism and the Russian alliance enjoyed a broad measure of public sympathy.

Of course, the heavy hand of Moscow was to cruelly disappoint many hopes in the new Czecho-slovak Socialist Republic (CSSR). At once a series of purge trials began (as elsewhere in the bloc at this time) in which more independent-minded Communist leaders such as Jan Sling were arraigned on trumped-up charges and imprisoned or shot. (Over 1% of the adult population were political prisoners for a time.)

A leadership of Kremlin-loyal hacks was installed, exemplified by Antonin Novotny—a colourless and mediocre bureaucrat who by the late 1960s was the last of the Stalin-era leaders still in the saddle. The liberalisation ('thaw') of the Khrushchev era had largely passed Czechoslovakia by.

The Stalinist take-over was accompanied by a programme of

crash heavy industrialisation in the 1949-53 period. Whatever virtues this might have had in a backward economy such as Russia in the 1920s, this slavish implementation of the Soviet economic model was lunacy in a country already industrialised, and where the problem was now to develop the high-technology advanced sectors (chemicals, electronics, plastics) essential for the world of the late 20th century.

The 'extensive' growth that took place involved an ever increasing volume of capital goods and expansion of the range of products—as opposed to the 'intensive' approach of specialisation and making more efficient use of existing plant and labour resources.

Despite sporadic attempts by the Party leadership to rectify matters with greater production of consumer goods, decentralisation of decision-making and more stress on efficiency, stagnation and low growth rates became the norm.

Capitalist features such as the market and incentives via wage differentials would persist in any socialist society—until such time as the level of technology, productivity and culture allowed them to be transcended (implying socialism on a world scale).

By bureaucratically suppressing such phenomena, the Stalinists in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere merely ensured waste and incompetence, rationing and the black market would exist instead.

Most Czech economists—led by Ota Sik, head of the Institute of Economics—recognised the evils of bureaucratic rigidity and argued for decentralisation, specialisation and the re-introduction of market mechanisms. But Novotny's cautious and timid rule meant that reforms were instituted so half-heartedly as to have no effect at all. Political paralysis ensued.

What finally cooked his goose was probably the removal of Slovakia's autonomy in 1960. This

gradually intensified Slovak suspicions of chauvinism by the Czechs in Prague (in reality the bureaucracy's fetish for supercentralisation was at fault).

After a series of protests in 1967 by writers and students (brutally suppressed as usual), Slovaks and reformists in the CPCz leadership united to defeat Novotny on the Party Central Committee—he was replaced as First Secretary by Alexander Dubček and later as President by Ludvik Svoboda.

The new regime under Dubček moved quickly to implement the long-overdue reforms. The economic changes were designed to produce a system on the Yugoslav model—but many of these decentralising measures had already been taken in other East European countries, and were in fact implemented after August 1968 under Husak. Really noteworthy were the POLITICAL changes—and the extent to which the reform process was carried through within the Communist Party.

This should be a lesson for all those who would see the CPs simply as monolithic agents of Moscow rule. Undoubtedly, as well as cynical careerists and time-serving hacks, there were many 'honest' pragmatists in the CPCz hierarchy—working from within the system to make the best of a bad job.

MOMENTUM

During the first half of 1968 the liberalising process built up its own momentum, and (with overwhelming support from the Czech people) went much further than anyone can have intended. Open political debate spread like wildfire, within and without the Party. The prospect of a 'humanist', democratic and pluralist socialism (as if socialism could in fact be otherwise) seemed to open up.

The April '68 Action Programme of the CPCz (adopted at its Central Committee) is a remarkable testament to the mood. Its modest spirit of self-criticism and lack of pomposity must be quite unique in the annals of ruling CPs. Among its proposals were included freedom of the press and of movement abroad, democratisation of the Party to ensure control by its elected organs as well as right of dissent (even of tendency), abolition of the political police, an independent judiciary, federal autonomy for Slovakia and a greater role for the minority parties.

Other key statements in the Action Programme included: 'Socialist state power cannot be monopolised either by a single party, or by a coalition of parties. It must be open to all political organisations of the people.' 'Socialism cannot mean only liberation of the working people from the domination of exploiting class relations, but must make more provisions for a fuller life of the personality than any bourgeois democracy.' (Spokesman edition,

p9). (One major omission in the document is of any reference to the position of women or gays.)

It may of course be that much of the programme represented playing to the gallery. Nevertheless it will not do to regard the Dubček-led reform movement as simply a devious ploy to pull wool over the eyes of the workers.

Many of the political reforms proposed were taking place anyway on the streets and in the factories (eg workers taking over their 'own' trade unions). Equally, they were measures it was certainly right to support (rather than stand on the sidelines drawing up blueprints of perfect soviet democracy).

Is 'self-reform of the bureaucracy' then a viable route to socialism in Eastern Europe? It has to be said that the popular roots of the CPCz, purged though they have been, were pretty unique. And there can be no long-run substitute for the practical activity of men and women, workers, students and technicians, in taking control over their own destinies in a free and conscious way—not as a privilege handed from on high.

Certainly, the ruling bureaucracy is not just a set of misguided individuals, but a definite social layer (like higher civil servants, army brass, TU officials) with its own interests. Genuine socialist democracy would lose it not only its monopoly of political power but all kinds of social and economic privileges.

INTERNATIONALISM

The most devastating gap in the Dubček project was its lack of internationalism—rather imagining that Czechoslovakia could solve its own problems left to itself. On the one hand, this ignored the tremendous economic disparity with the capitalist West in terms of productivity (which the proposed opening up of foreign trade would have sharply exposed). On the other, it assumed the Soviet Union would stand idly by so long as the CPCz professed loyalty to COMECON and the Warsaw Pact.

In fact, of course, the almost total lifting of restraints on political activity and the idea that the CP's position in society should depend on its ability to actually gain mass support for its programme would have rapidly subverted the whole Soviet bloc. Brezhnev felt he had to move the troops in before the scheduled 14th CPCz Congress completed the removal of the Stalinists and opened the floodgates to democratisation of Party and State.

Whatever we think of the 'Prague Spring', the fact remains that socialism has no chance of gaining credibility—East or West—unless a viable 'Socialist Model' in place of the totalitarian one-party state of Stalinism can be developed. One way of doing this is via studying the lessons of Czechoslovakia, and another is by dialogue with some of the 'Euro-Communists' in the West.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA TEN YEARS ON

77 Czech opposition lives

bureaucracy.

By demanding strict enforcement of the constitution, the 'Chartists' are challenging this stranglehold of the state in practice and in theory. They are, as oppositionists in the DDR would have it, challenging those who view society as one big automated enterprise at their disposal.

There is a sound logic behind these tactics. For in the bureaucrat-ised workers states, violating the constitution, Stalinist as it is, is an unending necessity for the maintenance of bureaucratic rule; for if independent trade unions or freedom of association, or of the Press were in fact permitted, it is highly probable that such practices would precipitate an organised opposition to the regime.

The bureaucracy's reaction to this opposition has been to subject it to incessant police harassment and blacklisting. Taking a cue from the West German regime where the practice of Berufsverbot is used (blacklisting of radicals in the professions and state employment) the Czech authorities have used a similar system of blacklisting.

Charter 77 signatories are systematically debarred from all but the most menial occupations; it is probable that this blacklist

stretches well beyond Charter 77 signatories ranging from censure to partial blacklisting in artistic fields (see Charter Document No 13 on the current situation of pop music in Czechoslovakia) to outright permanent dismissals.

Blatant Stalinist methods of control—frame-up trials followed by 'liquidations'—common currency in the years between 1936 and 1952 are no longer an option open to the bureaucracy. Opposition to the regime is now castigated as a form of political, social and even psychic deviance.

The logic is as simple as it is specious; in a state that belongs to the whole people, if the oppositionists are no longer spies on a foreign payroll (as was 'typical' from the Great Terror to the Slansky trial) then they can be nothing else but deviants, abnormal individuals, in short—lunatics.

This method of control, widespread in the Soviet Union, has not been used in Czechoslovakia for fear of provoking a reaction from the general population. The smear remains however. The position of the bureaucracy is far from certain.

Sitting on a powder-keg of social contradictions it is a good deal less secure than its Soviet counterpart. For in Czechoslovakia, in contrast

to the USSR, the opposition is characterised by its widespread and popular nature including many former CP members. While politically it is highly variegated, the absence of pro-bourgeois (a la Solzhenitsyn) sentiments and currents should be noted.

Thus beneath a formal appearance of bureaucratic hegemony (an appearance which conceals a very real and very well founded apprehension and weakness) widespread opposition continues to grow and flourish.

The future of the working class and socialism in the 'people's democracies' Czechoslovakia, Poland, DDR and even the USSR itself lies in the opposition movements—it is precisely these movements which, albeit embryonically, represent the traditions of 'October'—traditions which the Stalinist bureaucracy has historically arrogated to itself.

Ten years after the demise of 'socialism with a human face' the revolutionary spirit is as strong, if not stronger than ever; this in spite of the tanks, blacklisting, police intimidation and harassment. The Czech opposition movement shines like a beacon for democratic socialism; a beacon that should set an example to the working classes of Europe—East and West.



British Mandatory Forces harassing Palestinian Arabs



AL-FATAH'S YASSER ARAFAT

Have the Palestinians a Future?

THE SURVIVAL OF a coherent Palestinian resistance is a matter of great importance for socialists. Its continuing existence threatens the demographic balance within Israel by discouraging immigration; poisons Israeli relations with much of the undeveloped world; provides an inherently destabilising focus in pro-imperialist Arab regimes and, not least, gives hope to Palestinians under occupation or destitute in exile.

The resistance has its antecedents before the foundation of Israel. Even before the Balfour Declaration of 1917 it was apparent to Lord Curzon that the indigenous people:

will not be content to be expropriated for Jewish immigrants, or to act merely as hewers of wood and drawers of water to the latter.

SETTLEMENT

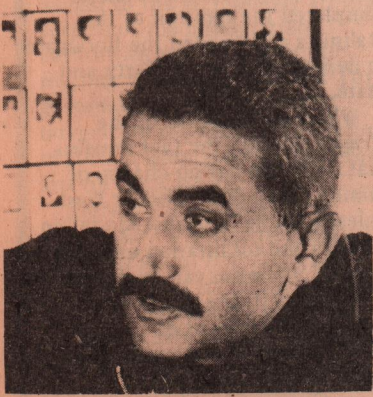
The seizure of power by Hitler and the controls put upon immigration into the metropolitan countries saw Jewish settlement build up rapidly, under the leadership of the Zionists. But as late as 1946 the settlers owned less than 7% of the land, most of that having been purchased from absentee Arab landlords rather than from the peasant masses who, as ever, clung tenaciously to the soil.

The earliest guerrilla responses in the 1930s in the West Bank were put down by the British, who underwrote Jewish settlement until the Zionist leaders could rely on their own strength. The traditional Palestinian worthies, given to warning their communities of 'Jewish Bolshevism', turned to the Nazis, Britain's enemies, for support but both British and German imperialism had other priorities.

The United Nations had agreed to the partition of Palestine, but the crushing military campaign leading to the founding of Israel left the remainder of Palestine (Gaza and the West Bank) under Egyptian and Jordanian control, respectively. As Geoff Bender showed in our last issue, Arab politics post-1948 was dominated by rival pan-Arab movements to which conscious Palestinians looked for redress. It fell to the radical nationalist movements, especially Nasserism, to be the custodians of the Palestinians' future, or so it seemed.

HEAD OFF

So it was that the Palestinian Liberation Organisation was established in 1963 by the Arab League partly to head off the development of Palestinian self-organisation which was most



POPULAR FRONT'S GEORGE HABASH



by BRYNLEY HEAVEN

powerfully advanced in the Fatah group. Fatah's strengths lay in its flexible and broad based bourgeois nationalism pledging non-intervention in internal Arab affairs, and initially associated with Egyptian influence in the Gaza strip from where a cadre emerged.

Fatah entertained links with the victorious Syrian Ba'ath revolution, but never came under the single or complete hegemony of any one Arab power. Indeed Arab governments were on occasion attacked for "lethargy, diplomacy and defeatism". Fatah's inspiration came from the revolutionary FLN, whose guerrilla struggle they began to emulate in the mid-60s.

Another discernible strand in the resistance movement emerged from within the Arab Nationalist Movement among exiles studying in Lebanon. They stressed progressive unity against the traditional leaders of the Arab world who they held responsible for the 1948 debacle. George Habash broke with rightward moving Nasserism from 1959, his current groping towards Marxism laying the ground for the emergence of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine after the trauma of the Six Day War in 1967.

The PFLP was based on the rejection of a compromise involving only the West Bank and had strong links with the revolutionary movements in Aden and Oman. A splinter formed Nayif Hawatmeh's Popular Democratic Front in 1969.

TRIUMPH

It was the Israeli triumph in the Six Day War, in which they captured the West Bank and all Sinai, which paradoxically introduced the period of the greatest guerrilla effectiveness. The war broke the spell of Nasserism, enhanced the standing of the resistance and their own resolve to set the pace. Fatah took control of the PLO in 1969 and has comprised its backbone ever since.

For a moment Fatah and the regular Jordanian Army stood side by side against Israeli harassment, but the growth of the independent resistance on Jordanian soil threatened the outnumbered Hashemite monarchy who, in the face of Israeli military strength and with a little help from the CIA, turned on the resistance and won a debilitating civil war in 1970-71. At its height the Moscow influenced Popular Democratic Front proclaimed a 'Soviet' in Irbid, Northern Jordan.

Jordan was effectively removed as an organising base. Syria which had hesitated too for similar reasons to give the Palestinians full support (Iraq remained neutral) kept the resistance on a tighter rein. The PLO began to rebuild in Southern Lebanon. These dark days for the resistance were reflected in such desperate acts as the killing of athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972.

Furthermore, the front line Arab states regained some of their nerve in the war of 1973 which saw Israeli positions rolled back from the Suez canal in an imaginative military initiative. Subsequently, while US arms flooded into Israel gratis, the lift in morale was capped by Yasser Arafat, leading public figure of the PLO, receiving a rapturous welcome at the United Nations. It was a diplomatic triumph of the first order masking a weak military position.

As war clouds gathered over Lebanon, less than two years later the sharpest edge of the resistance found itself fighting for survival alongside the Lebanese left. The reluctant and growing presence of the Palestinians was one of the contributory factors pushing the Lebanese right into initiating the civil war. The Syrians invaded Lebanon to prevent the Palestinian-

leftist alliance from winning, clearly fearing Israeli intervention, regional destabilisation and a radical radical Lebanese regime.

HARDENING

At the present time the *de facto* partition of Lebanon exacerbated by the Israeli incursion into South Lebanon earlier this year, is hardening. The central state has no real authority. While today the Syrians keep the rightists in check, preventing them from attempting to re-unite Lebanon on their own terms, their presence is hastening the day when the rightist enclave goes for independence with tacit Israeli backing.

Such pressure will leave the Palestinians dangerously isolated in West Beirut/Southern Lebanon or subject to more intense Syrian tutelage as they have been in Syria itself. Should that occur, with Sadat against the odds still in control, the Palestinian revolution will be in real danger.

After thirty years, Israel is now a modern economy with a formidable military machine and a penchant for using it. Secure in unconditional support from the United States to date, much depends on the unbroken pro-Zionist consensus in her Jewish population. Unambiguously anti-Zionist currents among Israeli Jews, such as *Matzpen*, have been small. *Rakah*, the mainly Arab communist party, which commands real support is pursuing a bloc with liberal Zionists rather than a united front of anti-Zionists.

The Palestine Arabs (for a majority of the Jewish immigrants are of Arab origins) are about four millions in all; a racially heterogeneous people approaching two millions of whom live inside Greater Israel. They face the most extreme conditions for political organisation, from the crushing of the *El-Ard* movement to the repeated and unsuccessful Israeli

attempts to promote tame local leaders, to the summary deportation (or worse) of political activists.

Economically the West Bank is being ingested into the Israeli economy, the labour force proletarianised and many professional groups being forced to emigrate.

DEBARRED

A similar number of Palestinians live in the nations adjoining Greater Israel. They are, of course, debarred from returning to Israel, the vast majority living in subsistence conditions with one of the highest birthrates in the world (contraception is not encouraged). Staying only briefly in their camps, I impressionistically understood something of the hopelessness and *sense of robbery* which motivated terrorist campaigns. A smaller number of Palestinians working in the Gulf (1/3 population of Kuwait) and in Arab commerce generally provide useful incomes sent back to run the PLO's public services appropriate to displaced people.

The consolidation of Greater Israel has seen pressure to modify Palestinian aims. In the absence of such an option, the debate over an interim West Bank state attracts only muted interest. After all Israeli settlement programmes have been accelerated. Likewise, President Sadat's 'peace initiative' which undermines the PLO's hard-won recognition as an essential party to the wider dispute, runs into the problem of its own irrelevance as far as tangible results are concerned.

PERSPECTIVE

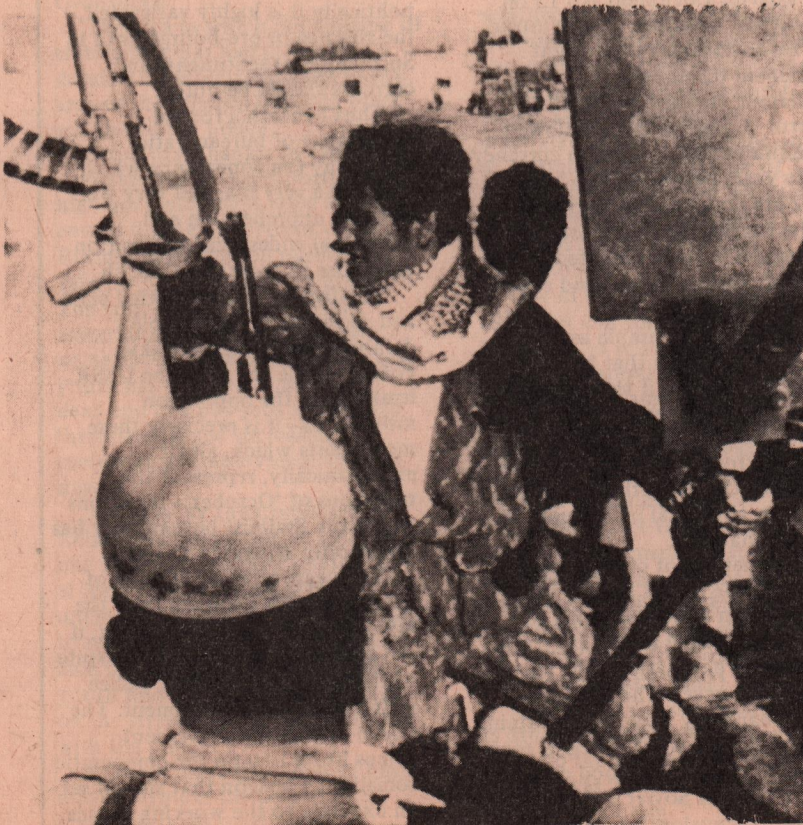
What perspective can be held out for the Palestinians? Some of the obvious pitfalls have been avoided. Anti-Jewish sentiment is never condoned. Islamic chauvinism is resisted too. *Ibna al-Balad* has begun to take up some of the social questions within the Palestinians in Israel.

The PFLP have decided to remain within the PLO umbrella overall. The existence of 'secondary conflicts' with host nations cannot be avoided as some of the conservatives in the PLO had hoped. (*Saiqa* (Syria) and the ALF (Iraq) bring the policies of individual regimes directly within the resistance movement.) It is one thing to stand for the political independence of the resistance, quite another to defend it in practice.

CONSTRAINTS

As one Fatah leader told me when I insisted that they might distance themselves further from the Syrians: 'my friend, they could kill me.' And the Syrian tanks and shell-holes in Lebanon were testimony to the constraints within which the PLO operates, the Arab world having shifted visibly rightwards.

So long as the resistance survives, Israel will remain a leper among nations. The best sources on the Arab world are the expensive MERIP reports, distributed in Britain by MERAG, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1.



GUERRILLAS SETTING UP MACHINE GUN FOR THE DEFENSE OF IRBID



Book Review

An inadequate critique of reformism

THE RECESSION of the middle and late seventies marking the termination of the post-war boom has occasioned a revival of interest in Marxist economic theory. A recent publication — *Marxist Economics for Socialists/A Critique of Reformism* by John Harrison (Pluto Press) — provides a useful introduction to Marx's basic (economic) categories, but at the same time suffers from some rather rudimentary shortcomings — particularly in the latter chapters.

The book itself is divided into two parts: (1) The Social relations of commodity production: the critique of bourgeois socialism. And (2) Capitalism and the productive forces: the critique of social democracy.

CRITIQUE

In the first section Harrison utilises the Marxist critique of bourgeois socialism in general, and Proudhon in particular, to outline Marx's basic categories. Namely, the law of value, exploitation and surplus value, commodity production, commodity fetishism and so forth. Additionally the materialist concept of history is introduced: stages in human development are traced from the neolithic 'revolution' to modern capitalism.

Though some parts of this section tend to be somewhat simplistic and schematic, Harrison's rebuttal of the bourgeois socialism of Proudhon is particularly cogent.

Proudhon was a romantic inasmuch as he advocated a return to a form of production (simple commodity production) and producers (independent artisans) which were becoming historically outmoded and anachronistic. Proudhon's opposition to modern large scale industry was backward looking and thus ultimately reactionary — a longing to return to a 'golden age' of freely associated individual producers. Intrinsically reactionary because such a 'golden age' never existed as a golden age — but was merely a chimerical construct in Proudhon's head.

ERROR

Proudhon also committed the error of locating the source of class dominance and inequality in the area of circulation. He therefore argued that egalitarian rectification in this area would lead to an equitable social order. What he did not understand was that the fundamental social (class) relation of capital is established in the

process of production rather than circulation. Harrison points this out thus:

"Capitalists and workers do not only enter into economic relations with each other on the market. They continue relating after exchange has taken place. These social relations are not ones of freedom and equality. On the contrary, they are hierarchical and coercive. The capitalist no longer confronts the workers as an equal, as in the market place, but as a superior. He is in a position of authority and control. Because he has purchased the workers' labour-power, he is able to tell them how to work and how hard to work. He runs the show." (p56)

Harrison points out that in the area of exchange and circulation freedom and equality do exist; this standing in sharp contrast to the class relations of dominance and inequality in the area of production. This is how Harrison puts it:

"The freedom and equality of the market place are the means of imposing and maintaining the unfreedom and inequality of the labour process." (p89)

DEVELOPMENT

The second half of the book is less impressive. Starting from the emergence of large scale capitalist production Harrison traces the development of the world market, the development of cartels, finance capitalism and Imperialism, and the genesis of the working class. He then goes on to describe the capitalism of the inter-war period, 'Rotten Capitalism' as he calls it, the post-war boom, the current crisis, and the effect of all this on the working class.

Quite an ambitious project considering the whole book is less than 200 pages long. Quite naturally in this respect the book must be deemed inadequate — perhaps inevitably so. What was particularly disturbing however was the explanation of the present crisis.

Harrison rules out the orthodox theory of overaccumulation — i.e. a falling rate of profit brought about by the rising organic composition of capital on the basis of two arguments: (1) Although the technical composition of capital may increase — that is the mass of plant, machinery, raw material (C) etc. compared to living labour (V) — it does not necessarily follow that the value composition of capital will increase — i.e. the ratio between dead and living labour: this being due to increases in

By FRANK LEE

productivity.

This seems plausible at first sight; for it we have an annual growth in (C) of say 4% and an annual growth in (V) of say 1% while productivity increases at the rate of 3% per annum, then the value composition of capital will remain unaltered in spite of the increase in technical composition. However this thesis is predicated upon the idea that (V) remains constant — which is patently untrue.

The tendency for (C) to grow is accompanied by a tendency for (V) to diminish. So that even if a greater mass of Constant Capital contains the same dead labour input (this being due to increases in productivity), the ratio of dead to living labour, the value composition or organic composition of capital will increase due to the diminution of (V) in the productive process. Thus Harrison's first premise falls.

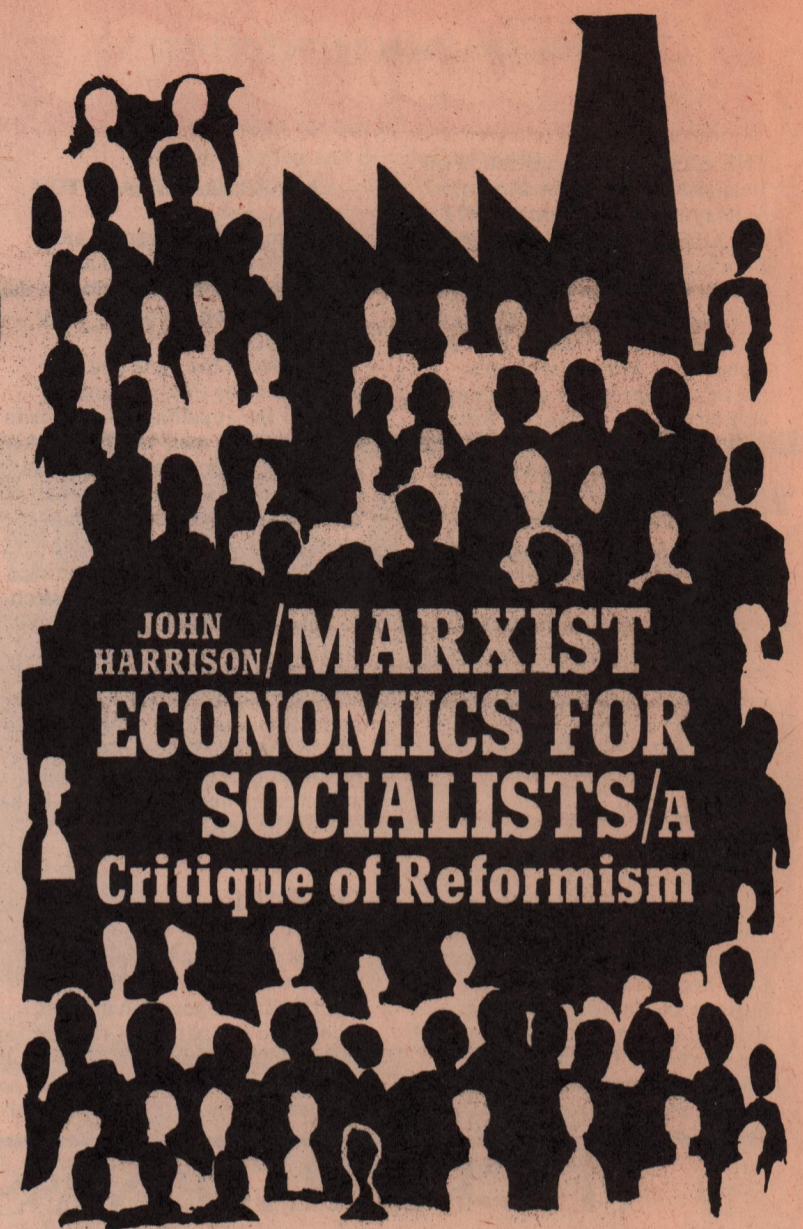
DEVASTATING

(2) Harrison describes this second critique as 'devastating'. This 'devastating' critique is as follows:

"Suppose a capitalist discovers a new technique of production. If it is more expensive than the old method he will have no incentive to introduce it. If it is cheaper, he will. In the latter case, his profits rise. Soon all capitalists in the industry adopt the new technique because it reduces costs. So long as output remains the same, the rate of profit in the industry rises above that in the economy as a whole. But other capitalists are attracted into the industry by high profits. Output rises and price falls until the rate of profit is brought down to that of other industries." (P116)

This is wrong from start to finish. Firstly, the capitalist will have every incentive to introduce more expensive techniques of production if such techniques improve productivity. New techniques of production require additional capital outlay and it is extremely unlikely that such improved productive techniques will involve lower costs than the present productive techniques.

The capitalist, if forced to install more efficient and costly productive techniques in order to increase the productivity of his labour force, must also reduce necessary labour time and increase the rate of surplus value. However the same tendency which leads to a rise in the rate of surplus value leads to a



fall in the rate of profit.

Harrison's view that reducing costs is the capitalist's method of increasing profit really turns Marxism on its head. If that were the case capitalism would never revolutionise the instruments of production. No doubt using inferior instruments of production and outmoded machinery would reduce costs — it would also reduce productivity, lengthen necessary labour time, and lead to a fall in both the rate of surplus value and the rate of profit! This second notion of Harrison's is even more objectionable than the first... and equally as untenable from a Marxist viewpoint.

As an explanation of the current crisis Harrison opts for the second Marxist theory of overaccumulation. That is, the exhaustion of the industrial reserve army brought about by the long upswing in the world economy resulting in the price of labour-power rising above its value. This in its turn has led to a profits squeeze. This may constitute an aspect of the crisis, but it is insufficient to explain the present crisis of stagnation and inflation.

Wage rises cannot explain the profitability crises in those industries where wage costs represent a negligible portion of capital expenditure. (For example, wages in the petro-chemical industry

represent 0.25% of costs). Similarly by restricting the current crisis to a profits squeeze caused by high wages, Harrison cannot explain the phenomenon of inflation. In fact throughout the entire book not one mention is made of inflation!

HALLMARK

The book ends in the blustering, question-begging tone that has become the hallmark of the revolutionary left — for example:

"The crisis has given reformism quite a buffeting. It has exposed the theoretical bankruptcy of Crosland and his followers and posed their successors problems which they are incapable of solving. The movement is divided on analysis of policy. Organisational splits may follow. Neither wing offers a programme adequate to workers' needs." And characteristically:

"Reformism's inability to offer a realistic way forward has weakened its political hold on the working class." Hence, four years of Labour Government with no successful national challenge to the social contract!

All in all, the book is a useful introduction (though not the best) to Marx's basic categories — Trotskyist bluster, and 'devastating' critiques of the orthodox theory of overaccumulation notwithstanding.

ලංකා සමසමාජ පක්ෂය லங்கா சமசமாளக் கட்சி LANKA SAMASAMAJA PARTY

EROSION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS IN SRI LANKA

THE FOLLOWING APPEAL was received by the *Chartist* from London supporters of the Sri Lankan LSSP (Lanka Sama Samaja Party). Despite our political differences with the comrades of the LSSP we are pleased to be able to open our columns to them to protest at and oppose the repressive policies of the Jayawardene government which are aimed at the whole workers' movement. We therefore publish the following as an act of international solidarity in the global struggle for the defence and extension of democratic rights in the interests of the struggle for socialism.

Dear Comrade,
YOU ARE NO DOUBT already aware of the reactionary nature of the UNP Government presently installed in Sri Lanka. With the enactment of two recent Bills, the anti-democratic intentions of the Jayawardene regime have become crystal clear. One Bill gives the President the uncontested right to proscribe any organisation which in his opinion is 'either directly or indirectly concurred in or engaged in unlawful activity'. 'Unlawful activity' itself is defined as any action 'prejudicial to the internal security of Sri Lanka'. The terms of the Bill are vague and wide and it is common knowledge that even major strikes will be interpreted as 'unlawful

activity'. Thus trade unions and political parties supporting such industrial actions will be proscribed by means of the Bill. There is no provision for an organisation to be given a hearing before it is banned and even to protest against its banning would constitute an offence.
CUSTODY
The other Bill enables the police to keep anybody in custody indefinitely. Bail will henceforth be granted only in 'exceptional circumstances' in respect of a long list of offences, including section 120 of the Penal Code. The Civil Rights Movement of Sri Lanka has condemned this Bill

and in particular its application to section 120, as a very drastic step because it punishes the innocent as well as the guilty and that where the bread winner is so held for months on end a whole family may starve.
They have described section 120 as an antiquated colonial provision which involves neither violence nor ordinary criminality and which would be used to stifle legitimate political protest.
DESTROY
Attempts were made recently to effectively destroy the trade union movement by legislation. This has been so far thwarted only by the united efforts of the entire trade

union movement. Communal feelings have also been aroused and the minorities are being used to further the reactionary aims of the Government.
We are writing to you to solicit your moral and material help for the defence of democratic rights in Sri Lanka. The mobilising of public opinion in Britain, particularly within the Labour Party, would be of tremendous help to us. Please do whatever you can to publicise our struggle.
Fraternally Yours,
Dr. Vickramabahu Karunaratne
Secretary LSSP,
17 Barrack Lane
Colombo 2, Sri Lanka.

Chartist

THE BIGGEST demonstration on Ireland in Britain since Bloody Sunday and internment in 1972 was held in London on July 9th. Between four and five thousand people marched in support of the demand for Prisoner of War status for Republican prisoners held in Long Kesh, Armagh women's prison and elsewhere and for an amnesty in the context of British withdrawal from Ireland.

The demonstration was organised by the Prisoners in Ireland sub-committee of the Prisoners Aid Committee, which comprised representatives of the PAC, Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Socialist Party, the United Troops Out Movement, the Women and Ireland group and various left-wing organisations in Britain. In addition, there were several trade union banners on the march.

CENTRAL

The question of the prisoners is central to the struggle being waged by the nationalist community in Ireland against the British presence. Both because the prisoners are those in the forefront of the struggle and have traditionally been the symbol of Ireland's own enslavement but also because the Labour administration itself has

by P. Chalk, Haringey UTOM

chosen to brutally degrade and 'criminalise' the prisoners as an integral part of its repression of the national aspirations of the Irish people.

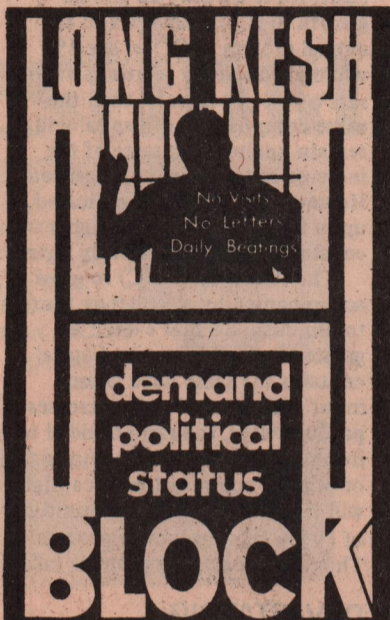
Articles in the June and July editions of the *Chartist* have detailed the appalling conditions in which the 300 men 'on the blanket' in H-Block, Long Kesh are forced to live. Roy Mason's determination to crush their protest was again highlighted on July 13th when Joan Maynard and Tom Litterick asked in Parliament for permission to hold a 'general interest' visit by MPs to Long Kesh. Northern Ireland Minister Don Concannon contemptuously brushed them aside, accusing them of 'wanting to add to the troubles' and the prisoners of 'deliberately fouling and messing up what I believe to be one of the best prisons in Europe' (sic).

CHARADE

This disgusting charade should not go unchallenged in Britain. It was the British government that recognised the nature of the war for national liberation when, in 1972, it granted 'Special Category Status' to political prisoners. The withdrawal

Prisoner of War Status for Irish Political Prisoners

of this status serves also as a propaganda attempt to deny the legitimacy of the aim and ideal for a united Ireland. To ensure its



success, the direct rule team are going to extraordinary lengths - solitary confinement, stripping the prisoners naked, allowing torture and degrading treatment by warders, watching the spread of disease and prisoners nearing death etc.

Solidarity with the prisoners must be seen as a number one priority in Britain now and an effective campaign launched that can challenge the government before a prisoner dies.

SET-BACK

The demonstration and its broad range of support shows the possibility of an extensive support committee, despite the low level of national initiative from the largest left-wing groups such as the SWP.

Because of this, the decision by the PAC to overrule the sub-committee and ban the SWP speaker on July 9th, to denounce the UTOM speaker for criticising this and, further, to disband the Prisoners in Ireland sub-committee amid denunciations of those involved in publicity actions (in the House of Commons and elsewhere) must be a set-back to the organisation of this campaign.

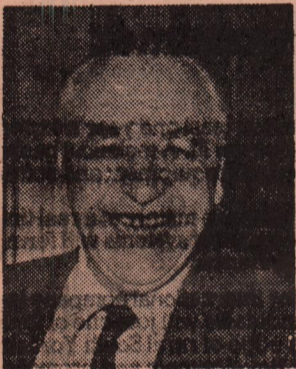
The campaign of all those in solidarity with the prisoners should not be allowed to fizzle out, or to remain an uncoordinated series of individual actions or events. Such a campaign could focus further pressure on the British left (including the Communist Party and sympathetic Labour MPs) to make this issue a number one priority.

PEACE & HAPPINESS IN HULL

"All is not peace and happiness in the ranks of Hull's Socialists. Not that there's anything wrong or unusual about that. It's an expected hazard in a party which prides itself on a high degree of internal democracy..."

That was the verdict of the Tory Hull *Daily Mail* of 27/6/78 after the City Labour Party had voted for a token suspension of seven prominent councillors for having "flouted local and national Labour Party policy" by voting against the selling of the university's shares in South Africa.

The sequel was less than democratic and glaringly exposes one of the many structural weaknesses in the party's organisation: in the final analysis a stropky and unrepentant Labour



SIR LEO SCHULTZ

Group can ignore their party completely. As veteran Labour Group leader, Sir Leo Schultz, said of Hull Central GMC "nobody takes much notice of them

anyway." A week later he was chiding the local official Arts Association, "we have too many nutters in Hull already". And so on.

The last word belongs to the editorial in the local rag because it bluntly illustrates how these junior spokespeople for the capitalist class are not slow to point out the importance of such seemingly parochial arguments:

"What does frequently disturb uncommitted voters... is the sort of pressures attempted on seven leading Labour councillors... Party dogma is deemed to over-ride all, including conscience... Who in the end really runs the city? Party caucus or elected councillor?"

We shall keep *Chartist* readers briefed on the outcome.

Reselection rumpus in Wood Green

WOODGREEN CONSTITUENCY Labour Party is the latest scene of the Labour right wing's efforts to obstruct reselection of parliamentary candidates. Hard on the heels of Stockport North CLP (see July *Chartist*) where Tom McNally supporters turned the selection process back to square one, a similar, though unsuccessful attempt has been made in Wood Green CLP in North London. This time the careerist in question is one Bryn Jones, a Capital radio-broadcaster.

Reselection in Wood Green was set in motion in June by Joyce Butler's decision to retire at the next General Election. The right-wing controlled Executive Committee drew up a short-list of five which excluded ward nominees like Reg Race, Mike Ward (an SCLV sponsor), and NCCL secretary Patricia Hewitt.

The General Committee

successfully moved inclusion of these and others making a shortlist of ten.

The July selection conference after a heated meeting finally voted on Reg Race (a NUPE sponsored candidate) by 24 votes to Bryn Jones's 22. During the meeting Jones had answered the standard question on candidates labour movement activity by saying he had none. A subsequent question on his defence of David McAlden (ex-Editor of the National Front paper *Britain First*) against the National Union of Journalists decision to refuse the fascist membership, revealed the nature of his trade union views.

But the democratic decision not to select Jones sent him into a fit of pique. He rushed off to the NUR conference in Llandudno (he is an NUR sponsored candidate) and appealed to Sid Weighell to write to the Labour Party NEC on the grounds that a smear campaign had been waged against him.

The substance of the allegation was that Bernie Grant (a West Indian councillor and SCLV sponsor) had called him a racist at the selection conference.

Bernie Grant told *Chartist* that he has since met Ron Hayward and

made a statement about the question he asked. It was: "Immigrant groups in Haringey have said that you are at best suspect on race and at worst a racist. If you were selected as PPC how would you convince these groups you were not a racist?" Jones replied saying this was a smear and accused CLR Grant of wanting a punch-up with the National Front on the streets.

The Labour Party Regional Organiser, Terry Ashton was present throughout the selection conference and said everything at the meeting had been in order. The NEC is likely to kick Jones' appeal out. But Jones has gone further. Emulating the McCormick/Lewis antics of Newham N.E., he has threatened to sue Bernie Grant for defamation of character unless he received an apology within 14 days.

Most Jones supporters have now abandoned him and Wood Green CLP is treating this legal threat as an attack on the whole party. Indeed if the courts are brought into Wood Green CLP it will be yet another intolerable attack on the whole Labour Party to which all members must respond!

EXISTING IMMIGRATION CONTROLS. Ann Dummett speaking at the 'Roebuck', Tottenham Court Road, (nr Warren St) Wednesday, 9th August, 7.30

The SELECT COMMITTEE REPORT. Ian Martin will be explaining the proposals of the recent report of the Select Committee on immigration, at Camden Labour Rooms, Camden Road, NW1. Wednesday, 13th September, 8.00.

These meetings are organised by *Labour Against The Immigration Acts*. LATIA was set up recently by Labour Party members concerned that the Government had no answer to the Tory proposals on immigration because they were implementing racist controls themselves.

The Labour Government have ignored the resolution passed by the 1976 Annual Conference which demanded the repeal of the 1968 and 1971 Immigration Acts. They continue to obstruct the few black people who are entitled to exercise their right to enter this country. They have issued a Green Paper on Nationalities Law which will remove rights even from those who

don't want to migrate here at present. They agree with the basic premise of the Tories that 'race relations' are improved by keeping black people out.

Some of us oppose ALL controls. Others believe that it is possible to devise non-racist controls. We all agree that not only should the 1968 and 1971 Acts be repealed but that the March 21st Report of the Select Committee be scrapped and that the proposals of the Green Paper be ignored by the Government.

We tried to persuade as many CLPs as possible to send resolutions along these lines to Annual Conference. We will be organising a fringe meeting on immigration controls at Conference. (Whenever and wherever it is held.) We encourage GMCs and branches to discuss these issues and offer to send speakers. Naturally we work together with organisations outside the Labour Party fighting to the same end and with broader movements like the Labour Party Race Relations Action Group.

Ann Dummett and Ian Martin, who have campaigned against this legislation for years, have agreed to speak at our meetings and explain the details we need to know to fight against these particularly racist controls more effectively. All Labour Party members are welcome to come to these meetings and join the Campaign.

For more information, contact: Bernard Misrahi, secretary LATIA, 170 Wandsworth Road, London SW8 0J7-20 2328.

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SCLV resolution continued

IN CONCLUSION:

Conference reiterates that it is the responsibility of socialists in the Labour Party and of the SCLV to condemn the pro-capitalist record of the Labour government before the labour movement and to present and fight for policies that answer the needs of the working class in the present situation. We fight for these policies at the same time as we work in the election to defeat the party of the class enemies of the labour movement, the Tories. Our purpose in the elections is to ensure the defeat of the Tories and the re-election of a Labour government - but to do this without supporting or lending credence to the dominant right wing policies of the Labour and TUC leadership, who will try in the election to gain labour movement support for their record and their politics by contrasting themselves favourably with the Thatcher Tories.

For a Labour vote - YES!
For the policies and record of the Party leaders and the TUC - NO!

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