

workers' ACTION

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TWO 'COLOURED' STUDENTS went to buy a take-away meal...and wound up lying in pools of their own blood, dying in an East End street, stabbed by four white youths.

The incident was part of a massive wave of racist reaction that is verging on mass hysteria. Their blood is on the hands of all those responsible for whipping up that hysteria. More importantly, it is on the hands of all those in the labour movement who are racists, condone racism, or live peacefully with it. The tragedy should focus the mind of the labour movement on the logic of racism. Just as there was a straight line between the 'mild' acts of anti-Semitism like daubing Jewish shops, and the gas-chambers of Auschwitz, the tragedy in East London is a product of the milder forms of racism (like Anti-black jokes) which permeate the British labour movement.

Who was directly responsible? The popular press. The Sun, Express, and Mail have deliberately incited their readers against Asian immigrants. The front-page "sensation" about two Asian families housed in a luxury hotel, the hysteria because 71 Malawi families are coming to Britain, the harping on about how many West Indians or Indians want to come to Britain when in fact entry is tightly controlled even for Asian holders of British passports, the endless witch-hunting over "illegal immigrants" — if anything like this campaign occurred in 'ordinary' politics it would be denounced as foul, gutter politics. Most "decent" politicians go along with it.

The political leaders in Britain are responsible also, for they are largely racists. The almost universal assumption is that 'coloured' immigration is bad, even though it brings in already-trained workers, or middle-class Asians with some capital. This assumption is inescapably and inextricably racist.

BLOOD ON THEIR HANDS

In turn, the general consensus that black immigration is bad, ranging from the racist pyro-maniac Powell through Labour ex-Chief Whip Mellish to 'liberal' Roy Jenkins, encourages and licenses "militant" racists and fascists to act against black immigrants. So, racism grows. So we have innumerable assaults and harassments of blacks — including the many British-born.

So two youths are stabbed to death.

Powell is the 'Godfather' of respectable racism. Yet his notorious 1968 speech came after Callaghan's racist exclusion of the British passport holding Kenya Asians.

Callaghan, then Home Secretary, did the racist deed; Powell, in political rivalry, advocated more of the same. But he did it more forcefully, and managed to upstage the Labour racists.

Labour, in opposition, denounced the first Tory Race Act in 1961. But Labour has a worse record than the Tories. In 1968 Heath had the decency to sack Powell from the Tory Shadow Cabinet. Now Callaghan sacks Alec Lyon — the Labour 'liberal' who tried to 'humanise' the working of the immigration laws that he supports in principle.

The Left of the Labour Party do nothing.

Whatever the outcome of the current legal proceedings against four youths,

the real murderers of the two Woodford students are sitting in Fleet Street and in the Palace of Westminster. They are, too, those 'socialists' who will not make all-out war on racism and fascism.

The murders, the rash of attacks on blacks, the undisguised racist expressions from press, politicians, and the 'public', the growth of fascist organisations — all suggest that the political sewage system of society is breaking down. A nightmarish outpouring is erupting. It is rising alarmingly fast. It can drown the labour movement — already more than smeared with its filth — unless we fight it now.

Powell says race conflict could reach Northern Ireland proportions. If

he has his way it will. There is a difference with Northern Ireland — we can still stop it by fighting racism and pulverising the fascist groups.

Racism is the main problem because it is so pervasive. Fascist organisations are growing — the rats grow fat on nourishment from the racist sewers. They are the most virulent, conscious, and implacable carriers of the racist disease.

The dangers of a mass fascist movement are negligible; the bosses don't need it so long as Labour can control the working-class. But every gain for fascism is money in the bank for the bosses and a spring-board for a mass fascist movement when the ruling class needs it.

Fascists are now terrorising the black communities. They have begun to break up labour movement meetings.

The best answer to them would be a united black and white trade union defence force. That is what we work for. It is uphill work because of the widespread racism amongst white workers. mass defence force is not, now, possible. Meanwhile immigrants are terrorised, killed, and labour movement meetings are broken up. Immigrant youth have begun to fight back against the organised racist gangs, as at Blackburn.

Socialists must give them active support. We have a two-fold job.

To make peaceful propaganda against racism inside the trade unions for black and white unity in struggle, for the expulsion of all fascists from the trade union movement.

And to organise specialised 'action squads', where possible composed of blacks and whites, to protect immigrant communities and labour movement meetings. We must deal with the fascists in a way they understand. Such squads could be the vanguard nucleus of those trade union defence squads, which it must be one of our central tasks to build. They are vitally necessary.

We can break the spirit of the fascist bully boys by breaking a few of their skulls. So far the left has engaged in 'town' anti-fascism: an unorganised crisscrossing lines of police — some wonder what would happen if we broke through.

Members of the National Front, the National Party, the British Movement and their Orange allies must be sought out and given a message they can't ignore, unless they can run very fast — that a membership card of one of the organisations is a ticket to a serious period of intensive re-education...in a hospital.

Adventurism? NO. It is suicidal cowardice to duck the challenge of the fascist eruption. It is also to put an ultimatum to those blacks who have already started to fight back that they must wait for the masses of white workers to take their side, or suffer desertion by the "revolutionaries".

We can and must forge limited vanguard unity in action now. And through such action a serious revolution.



Powell (above) vied with Callaghan (top) to be Britain's 'racist godfather'. Now Mellish (right) is trying to get in on the act

A 3000-strong rally in the Usher Hall, Edinburgh on the national day of action against unemployment, 26th May, will mark a focus for the surge of direct action against the cuts sparked by the students' occupation at Moray House college.

The Scottish NUM delegate conference last week came out in support of the students' action — and against the 4% pay deal. They will be represented at the meeting on the 26th, called by the Moray House occupation and Edinburgh Trades Council.

Parsons Peebles engineering workers will be striking on the 26th and participating in the rally. UCATT and all the public sector unions will be sending delegates.

Workers from the Redpath Dorman Long oil rig construction site at Methil, Fife, where 1,000 redundancies were recently announced, will also be there, showing their recognition of the need for a united fight for the right to work.

Speeches

Local Associations of the EIS (the Scottish teachers' union) in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen, have called for strike action on the 26th. Despite an EIS Executive decision against such action, several schools will be striking on the 26th and supporting the rally.

For month after month trade union leaders have been making speeches deploring the cuts. NUPE and NALGO both have their own official 'fight the cuts' campaigns. Yet those unions, with their massive resources, have not organised one-hundredth as much effective, hard-hitting action against the cuts as has been triggered off since the occupation of Moray House college of education started on 12th May.

Why? Because the Moray House students took direct action, instead of just pleading with the government. And because they made clear

Students take national action against Cuts

college, or for the education sector, but part of a general fight-back against the Labour government's attacks on working class conditions.

The Moray House students' occupation started from a situation where 2000 finishing student teachers, including 60% of those from Moray House, are likely to get no jobs next year, and where college intake is being cut 25%. But their demands put that situation in the context of the broader fight against the cuts:

■ For a campaign against all cuts in public spending. For the right to work — for all, not just for teachers.

■ That the college refuse to implement cuts.

■ That the college give an assur-



Not only has the action of the Scottish student teachers spread within Scotland — with over 20 colleges occupied — and had an important effect upon the teachers themselves, but it has now spread massively south of the Border.

Following a call on colleges in England and Wales to occupy in support of the Scottish action, Charles Clark, NUS president, declared there is "an overwhelming response from students teachers to

the Executive's call".

The importance of this action is not only in its boldness and its wide scope. It is the first nationally co-ordinated struggle against unemployment.

Coming at a time when the AUEW has also decided to consider industrial action over the unemployment situation, the NUS and EIS actions provide a pointer towards the need to wage militant anti-cuts and anti-unemployment struggles.

of training facilities.

■ For a meeting on policy against the cuts between students' representatives and the EIS and Lothian regional council.

■ For the EIS immediately to instruct all members not to teach any class over 33, and not to cover for staff absent for more than 3 days.

■ For the EIS to ensure that any teacher unemployed next session be entitled to the full facilities of the EIS.

The struggle has spread far further than Moray House. Every college of education in Scotland is now occupied, as is Heriot Watt university. Seven or eight English colleges of education are occupied at the time of writing, and more are ex-

in Scotland and England.

Scottish Secretary Bruce Millan will make a statement on behalf of the Government on Thursday 27th, and is expected to offer some concessions to the students. But the students are determined not to be bought off. Their fight is against the whole range of cuts affecting working class conditions, not just against their own particular grievances.

The students' action has stirred the heavier battalions of the trade union movement, particularly in the EIS. 400 rank and file EIS members attended a meeting called by the Moray House occupation on Monday 24th. The meeting passed a resolution calling for action on the 26th and laying the basis for the

AN INTERNATIONAL campaign has been launched to save the lives of AARON MUCHIMBA and HENDRIK SHIKONGO, who were sentenced to death on May 12 by the illegal South African court in Namibia.

Both the men are leaders of the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), which has been leading the struggle to end the South African occupation.

Under South African rule the Africans have been driven off their lands and corralled into 'reserves'. Almost half the land has been seized by the whites and parcelled up amongst 700 farmers. Some of the land is owned by the government of mining firms, and the remaining 39% comprises the 'reserves' where the Africans are forced to live.

This land is the worst in the country — of the 63,000 square miles given to the reserves, 45,000 are virtually waterless.

The Africans are unable to live on this arid and infertile land. Most of them are forced to migrate into the 'white areas', where they are employed as temporary labour. While away from the reserves, they have no civil and political rights, and are liable to be deported back to the reserve if they cause any trouble.

This was the fate that befell 14 Ovambo workers after a strike for higher wages at a transport company at Keetmanshoop. Their pay was £4.93 a week...

Split

By 1973 the South African government had decided to formalise the 'reserves' system and thus permanently split up the African population. They have attempted to do this by creating 'self-governing Bantustans' based on the various Namibian tribes.

These were supposed to form economically independent countries federated to the central government in Windhoek. But the uselessness of the land guaranteed that these entirely agricultural territories could not exercise any real measure of independence. South Africa's real aim in setting up the Bantustans was to split up the Namibian people and hand over their policing to the trad-

itional tribal chiefs, who cooperate closely with the South African regime.

When the first Bantustan was established in Ovamboland in 1973, SWAPO organised a boycott of elections to its assembly. In Windhoek only 4 out of 3000 Ovambos voted — and three of them were secret policemen...

In Ovamboland itself the boycott was 97.5% successful and accompanied by strikes and demonstrations.

Since then SWAPO has stepped up their struggle, and have inflicted many casualties on the occupying South African troops. The South Africans have responded by launching a programme of forced resettlement in the densely populated areas on northern Namibia, to separate the guerillas from their base. And they have launched a wave of terror against SWAPO militants and supporters.

On August 16th last year the Chief Minister of Ovamboland, Filemon Elifas, was assassinated. Using this as a pretext the South African authorities arrested about 200 leaders, members and sympathisers of SWAPO.

Among them were the National Organiser, Aaron Muchimba; Hendrik Shikongo; and Reuben Hauwanga, the branch Secretary for northern Namibia.

In March, after his release, Hauwanga described the tortures and killings used to intimidate him and his comrades.

He recalled "When one morning I was locked up in a police van, I heard constant screams coming from an apartment. It was obvious that the victim was in extreme physical pain and agony: the voice was that of our National Organiser, Aaron

Muchimba." Later, Hauwanga too was tortured like Muchimba with electric shocks. At other times he was hung up by his feet and beaten.

Eventually 6 members of SWAPO were brought to trial on charges under the Terrorism Act. Only Shikongo was charged with involvement in the killing of Elifas. The others were accused of giving money and equipment to 'anti-government groups'. They were all found guilty and Shikongo and Muchimba sentenced to death.

Last week saw the launching of SWAPO's campaign to save them, with a conference attended by Ron Hayward, General Secretary of the

Labour Party, and Jack Jones. Both of them pledged their support for the campaign, but this probably won't amount to much more than pious declarations. When Jones was asked if he was in favour of the Labour Government breaking off relations with South Africa, he replied that he was "not in a position to answer."

But British capitalism has grown fat on the vast profits creamed off from the super-exploitation of black workers in South Africa, and the Labour government has not shown itself to have any inclination to challenge the bosses. It is unlikely that it will take any determined

steps to really undermine the white South African regime. More likely, given the massive British investment in apartheid, is that it will be drawn in on the side of the white terror regime.

Trade union militants and socialists, however, can take action directly against South Africa. They should follow the example of shop stewards representing workers in the ITV companies, who voted overwhelmingly to ban all TV material coming from, or promoting investment in, South Africa.

This is the sort of support which can really help to save the lives of the two SWAPO leaders.



SWAPO guerrillas in northern Namibia



20 prisoners 'disappear' a week

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY seven persons arrested in Chile between August and October 1975 have "disappeared". This information was provided by the families of 1,000 political prisoners...

Of 482 cases the families were able to verify, 187 persons were said to have "disappeared", 4 were officially reported dead, 1 had been sentenced, 10 were undergoing trial, 98 remained in jail untried, and 172 were eventually released.

According to the prisoners' families, the conditions of detention were brutal in the extreme. They provided the following information on one notorious hellhole, Tres Almos prison, where conditions are becoming even worse.

Six prisoners "disappeared" after intelligence agents removed them from the facility... Many women prisoners have given birth to children in the jail as a result of having been raped during their torture.

The 120 women have to share 80 beds and are kept alive on a diet of boiled vegetables... New prisoners are brought in blindfolded, wounded, and bleeding, and paraded before visitors. Agents of the intelligence service mingle with the visitors to intimidate them.

(From "Intercontinental Press")

THE continuing riots and demonstrations by Palestinians in the Israeli-occupied West Bank have made the Israelis look again at their policies toward the Arabs in the occupied areas.

Until the explosion of Arab protest occurred two months ago, most Israeli officials believed that support for the aims of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) was at a low ebb. Even up to the local West Bank elections that were held last month, Israeli Cabinet Ministers were confidently predicting resounding successes for the 'moderate' Palestinian candidates. They got a rude shock when the voters returned candidates mainly supporting the line of the PLO, or the Arab Israeli Communist Party Rakah.

No longer can the Zionists afford to be so complacent about the Arabs in the occupied territories. The recognition of this has led to a wide variety of responses from leading Zionists.

The most common view, and the one favoured by Prime Minister Rabin, is to make some concessions to the Palestinians and couple this with more sophisticated methods of riot control.

Last Monday Rabin announced his 'concessions'. These were limited to the setting up of a high level commission to look at ways of achieving greater equality for Arabs within Israel. Not surprisingly, the Arab community hasn't shown any great enthusiasm for Rabin's prop-

Open arms for Egypt Locked doors for critics

IN LAST WEEK'S WORKERS' ACTION we reported the planned meeting between the Syrian and Egyptian prime ministers to patch up the differences which have existed between the two countries since the Yom Kippur War. The meeting was supposed to take place in the Saudi Arabian capital, Riyadh, last week. So far it has not begun. The Egyptians are there — but the Syrians have not turned up.

The reason for this became clear last Friday when reports emerged from Damascus of several hundred arrests in the Syrian capital. This is an open sign of the disagreement that exists within the ruling Baath party and the army over the shifts in policy that President Assad is trying to undertake. The Syrian intervention in the Lebanon has badly

More Israeli settlements on West Bank

To go with this supposedly 'conciliatory' approach, the Israeli government also needs more 'flexible' methods of riot control. One of their problems at the moment is simply that they've been killing too many Arabs and it doesn't look good and creates further trouble.

At the moment, Israeli troops simply 'control' riots by opening fire on the demonstrators and laying into them with batons. To break out of the escalating spiral of violence and revolt, the Rabin government is now looking to methods used by the British army of occupation in Northern Ireland — rubber bullets, water cannon, tear gas and curfews.

But if the shootings have inflamed the situation, they are certainly not the cause of it. That is the continuing Israeli occupation of the West Bank, and the increasing settlement of it by Zionists.

After the 1967 war when the area was taken by Israel, most West Bank Palestinians thought that the occupation would only be temporary, with Israel using it as a bargaining counter. Now they see Zionist settlements springing up throughout the West Bank — a clear

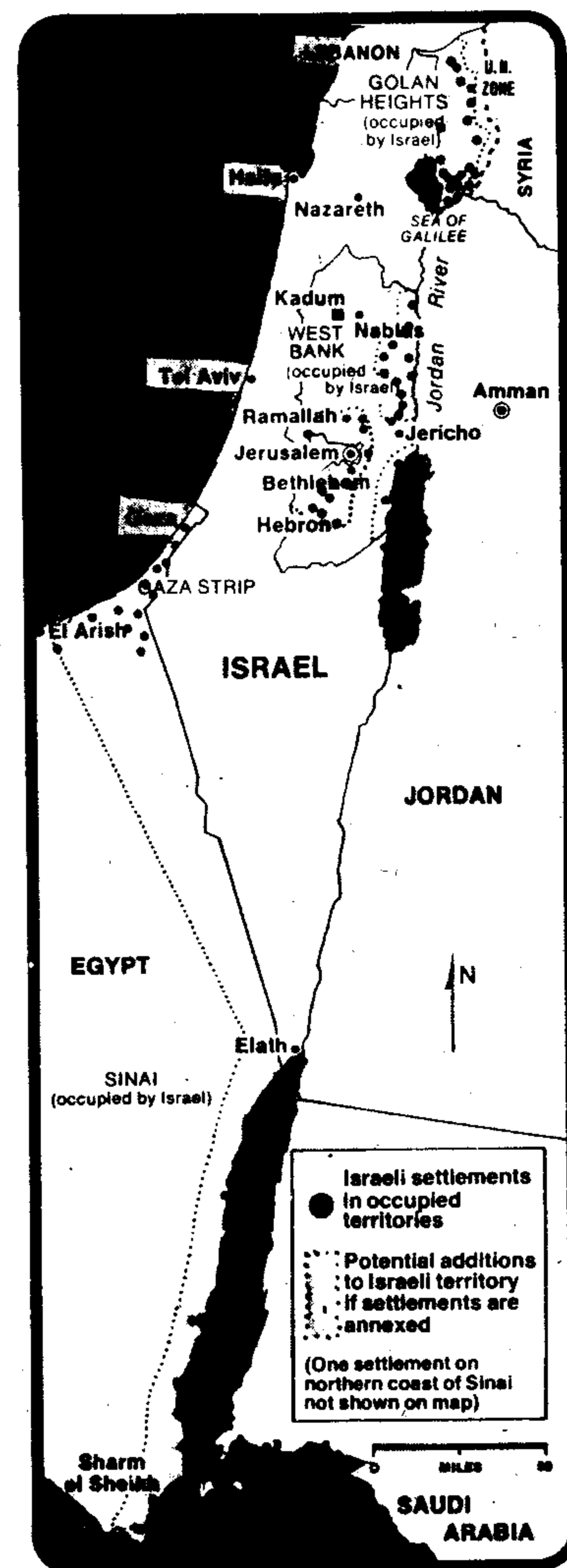
sign that there will be no quick withdrawal.

Many of the settlements have been built specifically to improve Israel's lines of defence. In Jerusalem, for example, a wall of Jewish settlements has been built separating Arab East Jerusalem from the rest of the West Bank. Despite its massive financial problems, the government has already spent an estimated 500 million dollars to construct the settlements. "I attach great importance to border settlements," says the Foreign Minister Yigal Allon. "Each of them can become a fortress."

The Zionist settlements are not temporary. Last month Rabin told settlers in the Jordan valley: "We don't establish new villages only to pull them down later." All the signs are that the Israeli government plans a controlled expansion of settlement, while at the same time trying to allay Arab fears of permanent occupation by keeping the settlers out of certain densely populated areas of the West Bank. But even here it looks like its hand will be forced by the direct action of extreme Zionists who have settled themselves — unauthorised but still not stopped by the army or police — in one of the 'forbidden' zones.

The major difference between the government and these right wing militants is that the latter want to see the settlements pressed ahead with more quickly, whatever the Arab reaction. And they stress that their view of this land grab is as much ideological as it is strategic. Ariel Sharon, founder of the right wing opposition bloc Likud and a Zionist folk-hero of the 1973 war, wants to bring 2 million Jews into the occupied areas by the turn of the century.

Some Likud members, such as Ezer Weizman, want to go even further. And, it seems, military strategy is as good an



excuse for some as 'Biblical right' is for others. He told an interviewer: "Our Prime Minister said the other day that the River Jordan is the 'defence border' of Israel. I can prove that from an air-defence view, such a border should be 500 miles further east..."

From the Day of Action to the TUC Recall Conference

WHEN the call for a Day of Action on May 26th first went out, it centred on one principal slogan: for a Recall Conference of the TUC to discuss the unemployment situation. So long as the demand came from the rank and file, and so long as the aim was to fight the Government's current policies, the TUC leaders wouldn't budge.

Then the sharp downward drift of the pound meant the TUC-Government negotiations would have to be quick. In addition, the way Healey phrased his Budget, making the tax concessions conditional on the TUC's agreement on a new package of poverty, forced the pace of the negotiations.



Basnett

Break up

The moment it became clear those negotiations would finish well before the beginning of June, the TUC leaders announced they were in favour of a Recall Conference.

But this Recall Conference was not going to challenge Government policy on employment. It wasn't even going to talk about unemploy-

ment. It was not going to break up the "affair" between the TUC and the Government, but would simply be a mass-witnessing of the declaration of surrender by the TUC of working class interests to the "nation's interests" and the "need to keep Labour in".

Thus what has been called for June 16th under the title of a Recall Conference will discuss nothing. It will have about as much debate as a revivalist rally. It has been called to rubber-stamp the new wage

cut proposals, and rubber stamp them it will.

A lesson must be learnt from the TUC Conference two years ago which agreed to the Social Contract. Having pushed the Social Contract through, the TUC leaders then tried to pull everyone into line with a call for unity. And to a large extent they succeeded.

The same call went out a little while ago from Jones, Scanlon and Basnett. But this time we must reject it. Unity in working-class action is strength. Unity behind a policy of betrayal means strength for the bosses and their lieutenants in the labour movement.

New deal

Militants must show the trade union leaders, and those rank and file workers who think everyone is in favour of the new deal, that there is a big body of opposition that is prepared to fight.

The report-back meetings from the May 26th Day of Action must be used to organise the mass picketing of the Recall Conference.

TUC 'Social Contract' document: ANOTHER THREE YEARS PENAL SERVITUDE

THE INK is barely dry on the signatures to the TUC's dirty deal with Healey. The agreement has yet to be endorsed by Congress. And yet the TUC General Council, partly encouraged by their success in selling the deal so far, and partly fearful of what might happen when this deal has run its course, is already signing up for another three years!

On the opening page of their new document, "The Social Contract 1976-77", the General Council writes that it "welcomes the decision of the TUC-Labour Party liaison committee... to draw up a joint statement on the priorities for the Labour Government in the coming three years".

The Government, claims the document, has fulfilled its side of the Social Contract. Jack Jones recently wrote that it had fulfilled two-thirds of the Election programme! It admits, of course, that "much needs to be done" — on unemployment, on wages.

In other words, Labour has fulfilled its legislative obligations. As regards items like the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, there is some truth in that — though the release of Des Warren from jail would have been a more important act of solidarity with the working class than a whole mass of its legislation.

Wage cut

The Government has reduced the standard of living of the working class and continues to attack it in the name of profit. It is sheer humbug to talk of "progress being made" on the question of employment while there are over a million and a quarter on the dole. It is malicious distortion to talk of "progress on pay" when even the individual trade union leaders appealing to their memberships to support the new deal with Healey were bound to admit that the new agreement meant an extra wage cut on top of the wage cut the working class has suffered with the £5 limit.

The points of progress are completely notional. Jack Jones wrote last week, for instance, that there had been "progress" because the Government had accepted import controls in principle. But the Government has no intention of adopting the TUC's demand for import controls — and it would be no sort of progress if it did!

Likewise on prices, the document talks of "progress" being made, whereas in fact only a week ago Callaghan announced that the Price Code — feeble at its best — was going to be loosened further.

The original TUC document on the Social Contract didn't concentrate on the legislative promises made by the Labour leaders. It focused on the idea of the 'social wage'.

This document, significantly, doesn't mention that. To do so would mean to mention the cuts in

social services — and it doesn't do that either!

The document finishes with the confident assurance that "the Government will continue its broad programme of legislative, economic and social advance, and that a decisive vote in favour of this report at the Special Congress will give a major impetus to this programme".

What better reason for rejecting this report! The Government's programme has been a catalogue of attacks on the working class.



Fateful vote for Social Contract

BULLDOZER BUREAUCRACY

THE ONLY WAY THE TUC could avoid a total defeat for its policy at the Annual Conference of Trades Councils on Saturday May 22nd, was to rule out of order everything that criticised them.

The order paper circulated to delegates begins with the following ridiculous statement: "38 motions were received from County Associations. Six motions, on Government Policies (from Lancashire County Association of Trades Councils), Cuts in Public Expenditure (Avon CATC), Cuts in Local Government Expenditure (Notts CATC), Government Economic Policies (Cleveland CATC), Government Policies (Greater London ATC) and Cuts in Public Expenditure (Bucks CATC) were considered out of order because they conflicted with the policy declared by Congress and/or dealt with matters which were the concern of affiliated unions only..."

Despite this ban on all the major issues, the Conference did debate a motion from West Yorkshire which innocently "calls on the TUC to re-examine its commitment to the Social Contract".

This was passed by an overwhelming majority. Seizing their opportunity, the

delegates then pressed for discussion of an emergency resolution from Bethnal Green and Stepney Trades Council which criticised the proposed pay deal with Healey. The chairman ruled that out of order too, saying it contradicted TUC policy. But delegates pointed out that the Chairman was jumping the gun — it wasn't official policy yet!

Suspension of standing orders was moved, and passed overwhelmingly. All that chairman Parry could do now was to dispense with the rule book and simply insist: "If this conference decides it is going to put this motion before it, I am wrapping this up".

The delegates gave way at this point. But the victory of the West Yorkshire motion and of the motion to suspend standing orders was confirmation enough that the TUC-Government deal would have been roundly condemned.

The bulldozer-bureaucracy at the conference is part of the same picture as Rule 14. But they stem from a recognition that Trades Councils can play an important role in coordinating opposition to the new pay deal, the social service cuts, and other attacks on the working class.

The fever of race-hatred

IN 1966 the number of people migrating from Britain exceeded the number coming in by about 80,000. In 1969 emigration again exceeded immigration by about 80,000. In 1972 the massive immigration of Ugandan Asian refugees narrowed the gap, but even in that year emigration exceeded immigration. Since then the gap has widened again.

Tell that to someone complaining about "overcrowding" and "over-population", and in nearly every case he won't be impressed. "Yes, but those people who are coming in are blacks and the people who are leaving are white", is the usual reply.

In this way, the "immigration" argument immediately shows itself to be really about race.

Robert Mellish, the MP for Bermondsey, is a former Government Chief Whip. He knows the figures. He even knows that the number of people emigrating to the West Indies outnumbers the immigrants from those islands. It isn't numbers that worry him. He is completely in favour of the Government's urging Rhodesia's 150,000 white settlers to come to Britain. Like any non-parliamentary racist, it is the colour, not the number, that counts.

When, in the parliamentary debate on immigration from Malawi, he declared, "Enough is enough", Mellish clearly and openly took his stand with the gutter-racists, the street thugs, and the 'Paki-bashers'.

Of course, Mellish isn't going to stab two Asians outside a Chinese restaurant. But then Powell doesn't spend his time at Heathrow Airport shrieking at any black-faced arrival, "Don't unpack, get back". That sort of thing is left to the fascists and the gutter thugs and the mindless "bover boys".

It is precisely their distance from the "scene of the crime", their parliamentary authority, that allows Mellish and those like him to add so much weight and licence to the growing racist fever.

In Birmingham, Councillor William Jarvis, long-time Labour Party stalwart and President of the Trades Council, has also called for a stop to immigration. Jarvis like Mellish is a right-winger, but he has a much better record than Mellish on the race question. Why has Jarvis shifted into the camp of barely disguised racism? After all, he was one of the labour movement figures who protested at the racist edition of BBC's "Open Door" programme a couple of months ago.

One commentator suggested that he is "shell-shocked" after the recent local election defeats for Labour nationally and in Birmingham. Perhaps. What is more important, however, is that his shift to the right indicates that the racists' victory was not limited to the few seats that went to fascists. It also made "race" an issue and pushed Labour rightwards.

For a long time the Labour and Tory councillors in Birmingham had kept to a tacit agreement that "race" was not to be made an issue, and that the immigration question was to be taken out of politics. All that has meant is that the open and most poisonous racists have been able to monopolise comment on the issue, without being answered.

Mellish is a national labour movement figure, Jarvis a prominent local one. Their racism is a direct echo of the racism so deeply ingrained within the working class. For the working class has not learnt the first and most obvious lesson: know your enemy! Our enemy is the class of exploiters and oppressors the world over; the British ruling class is our oldest and most direct enemy. Our actual and potential brothers and sisters in struggle against our enemy are the world-wide working class.

Workers Action is against any immigration controls. We are for the absolute freedom of movement.

Resolutions have been passed condemning Jarvis' statement at Birmingham District Labour Party, Birmingham Trades Council, and Coventry Borough Labour Party. This has built up enough pressure to force the Labour group on the County Council also to dissociate themselves from Jarvis.

THE THINLY-VEILED RACISM of Mellish and Jarvis has already provoked scores of demands that they withdraw their statements and resign their positions. Many of these protests come from supporters of the 'Tribunite' left in the Labour party or of the Communist Party.

We support those protests. But we ask militants also to reflect on what this eruption of racism shows about the state of the labour movement. Both Tribunites and CP members often laud the strength and the socialist consciousness of the British labour movement. They do not see the racist rotteness until it explodes in their faces. And why? Because they frame their own politics in nationalistic terms, terms which bolster or at the very least fail to challenge that racism.

Last week Workers Action argued that the demand for import controls was nationalist. It argued too that the import controls demand was inextricably linked up with the anti-Common Market line, which was also chauvinistic.

Those and other left-Labour and CP ideas are often couched in the same jingoistic language as that of the Tory "Blimps". "Safeguarding sterling", "making Britain competitive", "regenerating British industry", "strengthening the economy" — these are the catchphrases as much of the Left as of the Tory Right. In his pamphlet on "The Common Market: why Britain should not join", John Gollan, then General Secretary of the Communist Party, wrote, "as one sixth of the population of 300 million involved... we would be sunk without trace".

This nerveless socialism, in which every fibre of internationalism has withered through disuse, is the common thread of "English Socialism" and even "English Marxism". Only on the basis of a regenerated, internationalist, socialism, can we hope to arm militants for the ideological fight we need to cleanse the labour movement of racism.

FLEET STREET'S pack of hate-hounds have been baying for blood for a long time now. The two murders in South Woodford on Saturday night are the latest "successes" of the Tory press's racist campaign.

On May 4th, the Sun headlined "Scandal of the £600-a-week immigrants". They were followed by the rest of the journalistic pack. The press's campaign rose to a well-orchestrated crescendo. The Daily Mail editorialised under the heading "Four-star provocation", and urged that "Coloured immigrants should be restricted to a minimum".

"Scandals" and "provocations"? That is what those articles were. They successfully sought to concentrate the attention of an entire nation on two newly arrived families. Their hotel "home" was used by the press to suggest that they were living in luxury, and doing much better than any English family would be if they went to the Social Security.

How about "Scandal of the hotel that charges £600 a week"? Or "Scandal of the council with no homes"? Or "Refugees forced to pay £600 a week by white hotel owner"? Certainly none of those headlines sums up the whole story fairly. But they are no less accurate — on the contrary, they are more accurate — than the ones that actually were used.

Filth

Only a few days before, the Sun was harping on the same theme with "Storm as Migrants pick up £145 a week on the State" — "storm" being the fact that "Now Sir George Young, Tory MP for Acton, is trying to get the law changed to cut back the number of dependents admitted with a voucher holder". Some storm! And not that anybody got £145. Seven adult members of one family (if you include the grandfather) got £145 together — exactly what any other seven adults would get in the same situation.

The crescendo was carefully timed to coincide with the local elections. The "Airport Asians" story broke two days before the elections. It had been fed to the press by a member of the National Party (an ex-policeman) who explicitly said he thought it would help defeat Labour in the elections.

The morning of the elections the Sun followed up its filth of the previous days with "A storm over the two-wife immigrants". Like the other storm, it all came down to the racist spite of one MP, this time the splenetic Jill Knight.

No paper saw fit to print the facts: that immigrants draw less on Social Security than the long-settled population. Instead the Sun also carried a story headlined, "Another 20,000 Asians are on the way", and the Mirror, not to be outdone, raged, "New Flood of Asians to Britain".

THE ARTICLE written by Stuart White (1) for the News of the World was probably the most perversely poisonous of them all. White describes his treatment at the hands of Malawi state officials. It is "A far cry from the welcome given by Britain to Asian arrivals from Malawi. They have been given the red carpet treatment of immediate accommodation on the taxpayer, often (1) in luxury hotels, as well as instant welfare benefits".

But why was it that White was told to get the next plane back to Britain (assuming he was telling the truth about that)? Of course, because President Hastings Banda did not want even an anti-Asian racist journalist like White to see how viciously the Malawi regime treats Asians. The only contrast between the way White was treated by Malawi officials and the way the Asian refugees were treated by them is that White was allowed to leave without being subjected to harassment, beatings and imprisonment.

To imply that the contrast is between the welcome the Malawi Asians got here and the welcome White got in Malawi is to evade on purpose the main issue: the persecution of the Malawi Asians by the Malawi regime.

What the arrivals at Gatwick got was their rights. The touch of "red carpet" was not the evidence of welcome at all. The welcome the incoming families got was the malicious articles in the press, the feeling that 50 million pairs of hate-filled eyes were looking at them, a sharp rise in racist violence blamed on their arrival, and their unceremonious removal from the airport hotel to a hostel where they were met by anger, abuse and threats.

As for the "hotel home", that was as a part of the council's generosity and a part of its general indifference to finding proper accommodation.

HOW THE PRESS FUELED THE FLAMES OF RACE HATE

The Sun, finding its story lacked the "living off the state" angle, decided to drag it in all the same. So, after quoting Tory MP Nevill Trotter, who had joined Sir George Young and Jill Knight, it quoted John Bartlett, Labour leader of Hillingdon council. "Hillingdon is going to take a tough line with them. If they think Hillingdon is an easy touch, they are in for a big surprise". Hillingdon council's entire bill for housing immigrants last year was... £2500.

Now the hunt was in full halloo; there was the race issue, the immigration issue, the "living off the state" issue, the "getting treated better than the English" line, and now the "thinking we're an easy touch" angle.

Nothing was left to the imagination. The Express declared that the "basic problem is that newly arriving immigrants... tap the Welfare State for a better deal, in real terms, than millions of British people can earn, after taxes, at the end of a fair day's work". Certainly this was the first time the Express had admitted that workers do a "fair day's work". Instead of the anger being turned against those employers who, after getting "a fair day's work", pay less in wages than the Social Security pittance, once again the anger was turned against the immigrants.

Daubing

In case anybody missed this rubbish, the Express followed it up the next day with "Queue-jumping rumpus".

As the "Airport Asians" story died, others came up. "Aid plea from Asians with £1000" fumed the Sun, while the Mirror exposed another "scandal": "Scandal of the day-tripper immigrants", a re-run of the same story it had run several times in the previous month.

This "freedom loving" press, always expressing its concern that "the truth is told", took a different line on Robert Relf. Relf, who was prosecuted for advertising his house as "For sale to an English family", is a fascist. Twelve years ago he was jailed for daubing racist slogans on a wall. At that time he was a Nazi. A year later he was back in jail... for helping the Ku Klux Klan. After that he joined the National Front, but has since joined the latest British Nazi outfit, the National Socialist Movement.

Apparently that is not news. It isn't, it seems, worth reporting. In fact the Birmingham Sunday Mercury has depicted him as a cross between your friendly neighbourhood pal and a folk-hero for freedom. The Daily Mail (a paper which in the 30s supported Hitler and Mussolini) supported him, describing the charges against Relf as "all too typical of the fatuousness one might expect from a government body intended to compel, cajole or friendlyly persuade us to be multi-racial and like it".

Now there are daily beatings-up of Asians in Blackburn. And there have been two deaths in East London. The fascist parties have bounded forward both in their public support and in their boldness. And one of the main reasons for this has been the "free" press.

"THERE ARE now places where by day, let alone after dark, many ordinary citizens are unwilling or afraid to go abroad. There are places where people are obliged to live in terror."

EVERY black person living in Britain today knows the truth of Enoch Powell's statement — even if that man's twisted mind refuses to recognise that his words refer to the experience of a frightened minority, not a bullying and callous majority.

To Enoch Powell, to the property-owners, shopkeepers and policemen, the spectre of 'race violence' which terrifies them is that of the 'long hot summers' of America's late '60s, when long oppressed and downcast black communities stood up and threw everything they had at white capitalist authority.

But the real spectre that is haunting Britain's cities — a spectre that grows daily more tangible and more visible — is that of the Ku Klux Klan dominated southern states of America or of Hitlerite 1930s Germany.

In Blackburn — recently described as 'a town like Alabama' — where two fascists have just won council seats, there are daily beatings of immigrants. Local white trade union-

The march union jacob

ists who have tried to come to the defence of their Asian workmates have been threatened. And shoppers applauded ecstatically as the fascists marched through the town last Saturday to claim the town as 'theirs'. In Birmingham and at Fords, Dagenham, petitions and letters have been circulating, against the Malawi

Asian families who have come to the country, and in support of the 'martyred' fascist Robert Relf. There have even been work stoppages on these issues — while the Government yet again gets away with cutting workers' wages, they're looking the other way. In Birmingham, too, young black



"THE MOST menacing threat to Birmingham's attempts to develop a peaceful, multi-racial community is the association springing up between the extremists on the left and the more militant coloured groups." (Birmingham Evening Mail)

If your idea of 'peace' is for the immigrant community to sit back and do nothing while its members are abused, attacked, beaten up and now murdered, then the sight of black people fighting back is indeed alarming. And if you represent a class that has built its wealth out of dividing and ruling, you will indeed think that white militants fighting together with black militants is a menacing development.

In the last three weeks, members of immigrant communities have poured onto the streets to join anti-fascist demonstrations. In Bradford, immigrant youth were among those who barricaded their streets to stop the National Front marching through, and pelted police who tried to disperse them. In Birmingham they were a mainstay of the 1,800 strong march to oppose the fascists at Winson Green, where they were demonstrating in support of imprisoned racist Robert Relf.

And at Blackburn last Saturday they formed the majority on an anti-fascist march through a town that's virtually fallen to the racists since the National Party won two council seats in the recent local elections.

No doubt some people in the immigrant communities are counselling caution, advising that if they keep quiet all the problems will disappear. These are the people that Mr. John Ennals of the UK Immigrants' Advisory Service claims "will say that if they can get killed on the streets of Woodford they should stay at home. They will tell their people to keep off the streets and not to mix with white people."

But others are not content with creeping about and keeping their heads down. They are realising the need for militancy, organisation and self defence.

And the 'menacing threat' of unity that the Birmingham Evening Mail talks about is not just between black and revolutionary socialist organisations, but is also being built between black organisations previously divided. This shouldn't be over-estimated — there are still many disagreements. But a common acceptance of the need for self defence is emerging.

Two major questions remain. How far developed is the unity with white socialists? And on what basis is that unity to be forged?

The Campaign to Defend the Handsworth 28 (those arrested at the Winson Green demonstration) is already creating unity for immediate defence, and promises to build something lasting for the future.

At shop floor level, collections have been made for the 28; and a collection of leading local trade unionists have sponsored a Trade Union appeal form which 1) condemns the police attacks on the demonstration and 2) calls for all charges to be dropped.

The Defence Campaign is to call a demonstration on the basis of *Defend the 28

*Against racism — against all immigration controls

*Against the racist Evening Mail.

This demonstration will be the test of the strength of the anti-racist stand in the labour movement and whether black and white organisations can mobilise for this united front demonstration together.

Racists fe 'threat' o



h of the k boots

BRUTALITY COMES IN A BLUE SUIT

POLICE PROTECTION? Few in the increasingly besieged Asian communities believe in that any more. After an attack by young thugs in East London, police told those who had been beaten: 'We don't prosecute juveniles!' Since when? After a concerted series of petrol bomb attacks in South London, the police concluded that it was probably the work of 'one lone motor cyclist' and declined to pursue their inquiries any further.

But if the police are slow to arrive when a black per-

son is being attacked, it's quite a different story when they smell the chance of a dust-up with young black people. Then they descend for the chase, all rigged out with dogs, truncheons and black marias, ready to cart off their 'haul' for the next show trial, when a steady stream of coppers will get up and tell the story they've rigged up with their mates and the magistrate will send kids down for a few years for 'assault', 'affray', 'grievous bodily harm' and generally causing trouble.

Below we give brief accounts of some of these 'riots'.

workers who have talked at work about the Winson Green anti-fascist demonstration have been told they'll lose their jobs — by shop stewards, not by management. And a number of serious physical attacks have taken place. Thurlock Chan, 27, was attacked by a gang of about 10 whites after leaving a pub in Darlaston last week; he spent three days in hospital unconscious.

Attacks on Bengalis have been common in Walsall and Wednesbury.

In East London, there are areas where rampaging gangs of thugs just descend on black people, beat them and rob them and retreat with impunity. The police show little interest in white muggers. Rather than defend black people, they are more likely to attack them.

Who will defend the black workers and their families so that they do not 'live in terror' while the fascists run amok?

Fascists

The labour movement is by and large callous and indifferent, and is streaked through with racialism itself. Nevertheless, apart from the immigrant communities themselves, it is the only section of society with a clear interest, founded in its basic principles of class solidarity, in defending black fellow workers and defeating the fascists, mortal enemies of the working class.

Socialists must take the lead in convincing their workplace union organisations, their branches, trades councils and union rank and file organisations of the need to defend our black brothers and sisters. And we must assert the rights of the immigrant communities to take whatever action they see fit to secure their safety, and offer what assistance we can in that work.

ar the f unity



PHOTO: Race Today

Supporters of the Brockwell Park 3



Below and right —
The Winson Green demo



NEAR THE exit from Brockwell Park, South London, a fight broke out in a chip shop queue and a man was stabbed. A crowd gathered; police arrived.

Lloyd JAMES, passing on his way to the Brockwell Park fair, found himself pushed to the front of the crowd, and face to face with Harper, a cop he'd once been arrested by. Harper grabbed hold of Lloyd by his coat and kned him in the groin. Not wanting to be pulled in again by Harper, Lloyd hit out and turned to run. But he couldn't get far in the crowd. Harper and two other cops got him, pushed him back against a wall and threw him to the ground. With two of them sitting on his legs, the third banged his head against the pavement.

People got angry. Before long there was a full scale fight on, with, of course, a massive police invasion and the necessity of making some arrests.

Horace PARKINSON was picked up as he walked to his car near the fish shop. "Get that one!" he heard one cop shout, as he was dragged away and beaten.

Near the entrance to the park, young Robin STIRLING was walking with his sisters and three friends. Two policemen came over towards him. "That's one of them" said one. "No he isn't" replied the other "But he'll do". Without a struggle Robin was arrested and put in the van with Lloyd and Horace.

At Brixton police station, the boys were dragged out of the van, taken into the general office, and set on by a crowd of semi-hysterical policemen. They were punched and kicked until a senior officer came in and told his men: "That's enough". Horace's wounds needed stitches — but they didn't bother with a local anaesthetic...

At Camberwell Magistrates Court, the three were charged with ... assaulting the policemen who had arrested them. And after conviction by an all-white jury at the Old Bailey in March 1974, they were sent down for three years each.

An appeal later freed Robin Stirling. But Horace Parkinson and Lloyd James are still inside.

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MELTING POT, a youth hostel at Kellet Road in Brixton, was raided by the heavies of the Brixton Special Patrol Group on 14th July last year.

At 4 in the morning, there were only three black youths in the hostel. A fourth arrived to visit his friends, bringing with him an air gun. Together they played around with it, firing pellets at tin cans.

Neighbours rang the police — who sent out the SPG: 15 of them, 7 armed!

By then the boys had gone to sleep. One was woken by a policeman poking at gun at his head. They were strip-searched, and the cops proceeded to wreck the house. Windows were smashed, doors kicked down, and the telephone ripped out. Then they took all four youths to the local nick where two of them were charged with possessing an offensive weapon (the air gun...)

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CHAPELTOWN is an area of north Leeds which traditionally has had an immigrant community. Once it was mainly Jewish. Today it is black. In the mid-fifties, West Indian and Asian immigrants were sucked into the area to fill vacancies in the labour-hungry textile and engineering industries.

On bonfire night last year it was the scene of a running fight between 300 young people and the police.

November 5th has in the past often seen confrontations between the local youth and the police. Over the years, black youth in the area have been systematically harassed, intimidated and attacked by the police; but on bonfire nights, the large numbers on the streets give them the confidence to challenge the physical presence of the police and get a bit of their own back.

Last year the police agreed with representatives of the local community that they would keep a 'low profile' on November 5th. But it seems they never intended to keep the agreement: there was once again a heavy police presence in Chapel town, and scores more were organised on standby throughout West Yorkshire.

By the time the bonfires had started, a police personnel carrier, two dog patrol vans and four other police cars had been spotted in the area of a bonfire in Spencer Place.

The presence of the police in such huge numbers, and the breaking of the agreement in such a flagrant manner, provoked some local youths into stoning a police car. The inevitable confrontation flared up, with police making baton charges on groups of young people and beating up members of the local community.

The day after, scores of police roamed the area, taking statements and raiding homes. As a result of this, 12 black youths were charged with rioting and creating an affray. Many of them were forced to sign statements under duress, and others were beaten into signing statements already written.

The trial of the 12 began in Leeds on April 13th. It looks like being a long affair. A Defence Committee is organising support and a picket of the next hearings on June 21st.

□ □ □

ON A Thursday night in July last year a pitched battle took place between police and residents in the Mervin Road area of Brixton. Three policemen in plain clothes stopped a 14-year old black youth, Dennis Wilson, and jacked him up against a wall. A white woman, Mrs. Roberts, cleaning her windows over the road, saw one of the cops keep trying to put something into Dennis's pocket; Dennis screamed out in pain as the cops laid into him.

Mrs. Roberts and her family rushed out into the street demanding that Dennis be released. White and black neighbours rushed from their houses. A fight broke out between them and the police, who radioed for assistance.

Over 20 police turned up and 8 people were arrested, including the Roberts family. They were charged with causing an affray and assault on the police.

The following day Det. Chief Superintendent James Smyth said: "I will not stand for mob rule in my division no matter who is involved..." and especially, it seems, if it is black and white working class people who would not stand by and see an innocent person victimised.

□ □ □

ON OCTOBER 12th 1974, black people from all over London were enjoying themselves at the Carib Club in Cricklewood, North London.

While the disco was in full swing, police entered the club supposedly searching for someone who had stolen a car. (This is the classic excuse, used over and over again, for police invasions of black youth clubs.)

They began to harass the dancers, then called in extra police, with dogs.

The roads leading to the Club were sealed off and the police set on the kids, chasing them into the night and beating them with their truncheons. As the kids ran out, the police lined the stairs leading from the club, making those leaving run the gauntlet of foul racist and sexist abuse and blows from the truncheons. And in the club yard, some of those who had come for a peaceful night out found themselves thrown over the fence into waiting police vans.

In the days after the raid, the police toured the local area taking names and statements. As a result, 12 black people were charged with offences ranging from causing an affray to possessing offensive weapons.

Police seemed particularly keen to single out the DJ, Dennis Bovell, who they claimed had 'incited' the riot.

After an 83-day trial none of the men was convicted. It turned out that some of the statements the police produced had been given under duress at police stations. Some of their accusations were blatantly contradictory.

8 of the defendants were found not guilty; one was discharged. But on three of the defendants, including Bovell, the jury failed to agree. They had to stand trial all over again.

At the end of their marathon ordeal, one of them was found not guilty, but the police got what they wanted: Bovell and Royfield Dockery were found guilty by majority verdicts and sentenced to a savage three years each.

The real guilty men — the police — got off scot free. They had harassed and bullied the black community, intimidated witnesses, and broken up a perfectly peaceful disco at the Carib.

And it wasn't the first time: the raid was the fifth the police had mounted on the Carib in the space of a few months.

PHOTOS: Eric Harrison

REVIEW

Black man, white state: the politics of pacification

IT'S SATURDAY night peak-time TV and Sir David Pitt is doing a commercial for the Government's new Race Relations Bill. Five minutes after the news won't do; neither will an hour after the Epilogue.

This is obviously important to someone. And it isn't just, as the BBC claim, a response to the angry protests about the racist edition of the 'Open Door' programme screened a few weeks ago.

Pitt's nervous face switches alternately from anguished concern to warm enthusiasm and back again. Concern over anti-black racism and warm enthusiasm over "the successes of racial integration" — Trevor MacDonald is Britain's first black TV Newsmen, Larry Cunningham plays for Leyton Orient, and (though of course, out of modesty, this is not mentioned) Lord Pitt is a real live lord and a black West Indian.

This is part of the Government's campaign in support of its White Paper of September 1975 and its subsequent Race Relations Bill which is going through Parliament now.

In the face of the racists hysterical and well-orchestrated opposition (who hasn't heard of 'race bill rebel Relf' by now?) such a campaign would seem welcome. But what is it really about? And should socialists in fact welcome it?

A pamphlet by A. Sivanandan (RACE, CLASS & THE STATE: the Black Experience in Britain) published this week, explains.

Sivanandan places the latest piece of legislation within the overall "race relations strategy" of the British state since the second world war. His conclusion is that the present legislation constitutes a two-pronged attack: "domestic neo-colonialism" — the 'pacification' and 'integration' of the black settled community; plus immigration control — the reduction of

the immigrant worker to the status of contract labourer.

In the 1950s, Commonwealth immigration meant that British capitalism could fuel its expansion with almost unlimited supplies of cheap labour, without bearing the cost of a pool of unemployed 'reserves' within Britain.

"Everyone made money out of the immigrant worker ... He represented a saving for Britain of all the expenses involved in feeding and clothing and housing him till he had come of working age. For, as Andre Gorz has pointed out, 'the import of "ready made" workers amounts to a saving for the country of immigration of between £8,000 and £16,000 per migrant worker... And the fact that in the early years of mig-

'within the gates'.

The fact that black immigrant workers were given the worst jobs, the lowest wages, the poorest living conditions and effectively were deprived of a mass of 'rights' enjoyed by white workers was justified by the view that 'the blacks are inferior' — a view nurtured over centuries of slave trade and colonialism to justify outrageous treatment and super exploitation.

The White Paper itself testifies to some of the conditions suffered by immigrants: "There is clear evidence that, within [the] major areas of settlement, an excessively high proportion of coloured people live in the relatively more deprived inner city areas."

No, talk here of four-star

It was, says Sivanandan "a system which took discrimination out of the market place and gave it the sanction of the state."

Over the next few years, governments connived to narrow the existing definitions of British nationality so as to put the black Commonwealth immigrant "on the same footing as the foreign worker: he could only come in on a permit to do a specific job in a specific place for an initial period of not longer than 12 months. He could not change his job without the permission of the government — which meant that he was dependent upon his employer for recommendation: he had to be a good little wage slave."

"The basic intention of the government" Sivanandan arg-

particular."

But to what extent has it succeeded in this? The daily harassment of black youth by the police, involving several major confrontations and frame up trials [see elsewhere on this page] seems to argue against Sivanandan's conclusion that this process is fixed and final.

Spanner

He writes: "The Commission took up the black cause and killed it... The Commission's task is over. The Race Relations Bill (Feb. '76) sees that its work is good and its work is done. It has taught the white power structure to accept blacks and it has taught the blacks to accept the white power structure."

The 1976 Race Relations Bill aims to shield the well-oiled works of "integration" from the filthy spanner of racism. The race-baiters are too disruptive of the Government's designs.

The effect of the seduction of a layer of black leaders, their incorporation into the white power structure and their elevation to an 'aristocracy', has to a large degree, quite literally, outlawed the still dissident black: the implacable, intransigent and politically committed 'second generation black youth'.

These new "black Jacobins" "... have picked up the gun — not of course in the organised manner of a revolutionary political party ... but as self-ordained soldiers of the people. That is not to romanticise their futile ambition to lay siege to the state but to acknowledge, even while acknowledging the romanticism of the act, the deep, dark concern out of which their commitment springs. It is to acknowledge their resistance as a new language of resistance — and to refute the definition which the state through years of indoctrination has persuaded the black under-class to accept as the language of gangsterism."

Tide

Sivanandan is deeply pessimistic of the situation. He seems to feel that the 'outlaws' such as the Spaghetti House raiders and the youth on that wavelength are the only forms of rebellion left above the high-water mark of the integrationist tide. And, though he respects their commitment and anger, he rightly refuses to endorse their 'do-your-own-thing' ideology or their nihilistic projects.

But is he right about the 'height of the tide'? West Indian communities have rallied around defence campaigns for youth rounded up by the police; and Asian communities (which were far more open to assimilation, far closer to the ethic of the British establishment and which came with their ready-made 'aristocracy' of professionals) have clearly seen the class issues involved in Asian workers' struggles for better wages and conditions, and given solid support to them as militant trade unionists.

And in the last few weeks, we have seen both communities on the streets, battling with police who were escorting fascists through the streets.

Moreover, if we look forward into the deepening crisis rather than back at the sixties, we must ask whether the shallow 'aristocracy' established in the boom can withstand the recession and the inevitable cuts in the financial props that have held up and greased the 'race relations industry'.

JACK PRICE



Government's plan: 'they can come to work'...

ration, the 'coloured' worker came to Britain as a single man — as a unit of labour — unaccompanied by his family, meant an additional saving to the country in terms of schools, housing, hospitals, transport etc."

In the first fifteen years after the Second World War, immigration regulated itself according to the pulse of the economy. There seemed little reason to alter this in favour of either control of immigration 'at the gates' or control of immigrants

hotels or of Asian immigrants "doing the Ritz", as the racist gutter press would have it. On the contrary, a catalogue of (to quote the White Paper again) "cumulative disadvantages by which relatively low paid or low status jobs for the first generation of immigrants go hand in hand with poor and overcrowded living conditions and a depressed environment... The wheel then comes full circle, as the second generation find themselves trapped in poor jobs and poor housing. If, at each stage of this process, an element of racial discrimination enters in, then an entire group of people are launched on a vicious downward spiral of deprivation."

After the experience of the 1958 "race riots" and the evidence presented by the explosion of black anger in the United States in the late '60s, the state changed tack slightly.

Boom

Sivanandan writes "The first step was to slow down immigration, thin out the black presence; the second to manage racism, keep it within profitable proportions — relief for the depressed areas, urban aid, would follow."

With the slowing down of the post war boom "the aim ... was to move gradually towards the European model of contract labour". After all "the crux of the problem ... was not migration" (that had proved tremendously profitable for British capitalism) "but settlement."

"Accordingly the Commonwealth Immigrants Act of 1962 restricted the admission of Commonwealth immigrants for settlement to those who had been issued with employment vouchers." This was followed in 1965 by a further set of restrictions aimed mainly at eliminating unskilled labour.

ues "was to anchor in legislation an institutionalised system of discrimination against foreign labour, but because that labour happened to be black, it ended up by institutionalising racism."

In this way, even though, at the same time as tightening immigration controls the government was working on ways of making racial discrimination illegal, it actually endorsed the basic principle of that discrimination.

Roy Hattersley expressed well the government's double-think: "Without integration, limitation is inexcusable; without limitation, integration is impossible" he summed it up in Parliament. But the fact was (and any immigrant could see it) that the act of limitation — that is, immigration control — strengthened and legitimised just those attitudes that were the biggest obstacles to integration.

The 1965 Commonwealth Immigrants Act found its "integrationist" parallel in the 1965 Race Relations Act "the first piece of anti-discriminatory legislation". After that "the 1968 Act extended the scope of the 1965 Act to include discrimination in employment ... housing... credit and insurance facilities and places of public resort."

Meanwhile the Community Relations Commission, of which Sir David Pitt is the vice-chairman, set out to campaign for 'integration' defined as "the absorption and negation of black discontent."

Buffer

The British state set out to create a 'black aristocracy' which would act as a buffer between the state and the black community and to which "the state can now hand over control of black dissidents in general and black youth in



but not to stay

CSSI conference 'Militant' still in another world

THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION for Ireland is unity of Catholic and Protestant workers on wages, unemployment and other economic issues. The 'isolated, desperate, small bands of "individual terrorists"' should be countered by a 'Trade Union Defence Force'.

That was the message from the 'Militant'-dominated platform at the Campaign for a Socialist Solution in Ireland London conference on Saturday 22nd May, attended by 90 delegates and visitors.

The essence of Militant's position is their evasion of the question of Ireland's right to national self-determination, leading practice to support for continued partition and national oppression. This question was taken up repeatedly from the floor by WORKERS ACTION supporters.

Sue Carlyle (Tower Hamlets CLP) pointed out that "Catholic workers can't organise on the same class lines as British workers can - Catholic workers have been physically driven out of trade unions and their jobs". Those facts can't be overlooked by blandly equating the positions of Catholic and Protestant workers - "they're both exploited".

Peter Firmin (Brent East LPYS) explained that the northern Irish state had institutionalised sectarianism, and that any fight for the end of discrimination would mean questioning the existence of the state itself. In such conditions, even limited reforms would be seen as a threat to the marginally privi-

leged Protestant workers, and thus a massive Loyalist backlash has been the inevitable response.

Militant's proposal for a Trade Union Defence Force to fight sectarianism follows from their idiotic analysis of the Irish situation. How do you construct such a force when the trade unions are riddled with sectarianism? Do they think that trade unionists exist in a world apart, somehow removed from sectarianism?

Militant's description of the Provisionals as 'individual terrorists' reflects their attempt to ignore the national struggle. The term "individual terrorist" as used by Marxists, is not applied to a grouping that has spearheaded a mass movement against the Orange statelet. Indeed, it is the mass feeling of outrage against that state that has furnished the armed campaign with such vast quantities of moral and physical support.

But Militant don't even recognise the real origins of the armed campaign. One of the main Conference speakers, Dave Cotterill, referred to the Official-Provisional split in the Republican movement as due to southern Irish middle class elements promoting Provisional Sinn Fein. He failed to mention the Loyalist pogroms of 1969! The pogrom attempts claimed many Catholic lives and prompted the Provisional Republicans to revolt against the passivity of the heavily Stalinist-influenced Official movement. The effort to organise more effective self-defence contributed importantly to the split of the old IRA.

It was left to Workers Action supporter Kevin Feintuck (Woolwich LPYS) to argue for the real tasks that British socialists must take up in the labour movement, demanding the immediate withdrawal of troops. They are not peacekeepers, they are a provocation and the main prop to the undemocratic Orange state.

Socialists must also support those who fight to undermine that state. That is the essence of self-determination for the Irish people - the right to rid their country of the imperialist and racist institutions of the North by whatever means they think fit.

It is indicative of Militant's mode of operation that they chose to counter Kevin Feintuck's remarks by continually calling him an "idiot", and by insisting that national self-determination does not apply to Ireland today.

BERNIE McADAM

AUEW

Broad Left takes yet another hammering

LAST WEEK's AUEW Engineering Section National Committee marked a further serious blow to the Broad Left and another step forward for the right wing in the union.

On all major issues the Engineering Section backed down from the prospect of a fight with the Labour Government. By 29-22 the Government's wage-cutting incomes policy was accepted.

The vote highlighted the retreat of Hugh Scanlon from any policies for mobilising the membership. He complained a little - but only that the Government were making it difficult for him to police wage restraint. "If there is a substantial modification of the Price Code", he argued while urging the NC to support the deal, "which promises price rises which affect the ordinary housewife, I say in all seriousness, it will place an even more difficult responsibility on ourselves".

An important move was defeated to implement an immediate overtime ban and to fight to commit the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to support for it. If implemented the call would have provided an important focus in the struggle against unemployment.

Instead, the National Committee passed a call for a voluntary curb

on overtime, with Scanlon making it clear that it would be down to District Committees to implement the call.

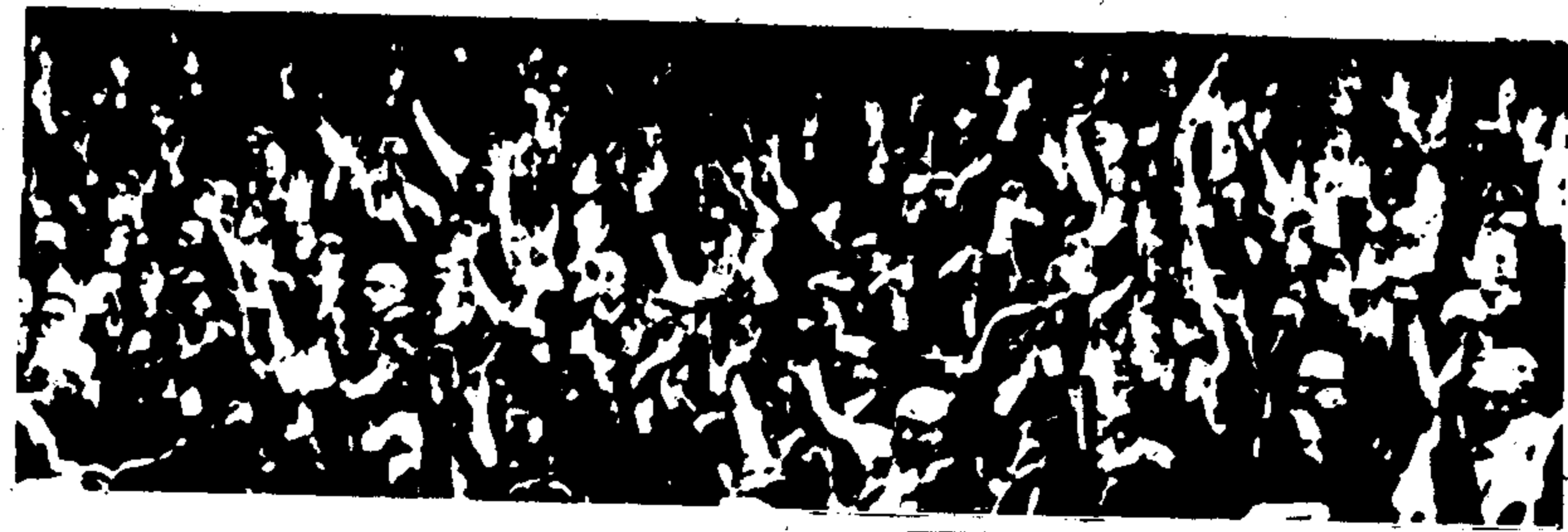
In this way the NC avoided taking decisive action. Already a number of AUEW District Committees nominally are committed to oppose overtime. A clear call from the National Committee would have pushed them forward. It would have made it clear that national backing would be available for all engineers taking action. It could have provided the start for a united campaign against unemployment in engineering.

Once again, moves to amalgamate the four sections of the AUEW effectively were blocked. The traditional aloofness of the skilled engineers towards other groups of workers and the suspicion of the AUEW right wing towards the CP-led TASS, has blocked the path to further integration.

The right wing in the AUEW has made important gains again. The official leadership of the Broad Left, which connived in the redundancies at Chrysler, via Bob Wright, and which instructed the SU Carburators workers to return to work, has no real alternative policies to the right wing.

The defeats of the Broad Left, the absence of any clear alternative,

mobilising policies to the steadily advancing Right, makes more important than ever the building of genuine united-left caucuses in the AUEW, to hammer out new policies and a new way forward against the right wing. JAMES ROGERS



THE UNIONS



Automat, Swinton: 18 weeks and "we're still solid"

AFTER 18 weeks on official strike, the 24 members of the AUEW at Automat, Swinton, near Manchester, are still fighting for reinstatement.

The strike began when 9 members of the union, including the convenor, were

sacked after a unionisation drive in the factory. Automat is a small electrical firm, whose major customers are GEC and the Chloride group. It employs about 100 manual workers, the majority of whom are women, and 80 office staff.

Over the years management have strongly resisted any attempts to unionise the place. Previous attempts have met with victimisations and sackings. When workers are taken on they are warned against joining, or attempting to organise, a union.

Last year 50 workers were organised into the union. It was as a result of this that the 9 were sacked. Other union members struck against this victimisation and have been out ever since. Although 18 weeks on strike pay of £9 has taken its toll of some of the strikers, the majority remain solid and determined to carry on.

They have called a series of pickets which have been supported by local trade unionists. The latest was last week, when 70 people blocked the main entrance, and barracked scabs coming out of the works.

Bonus

Inside the factory, management have managed to keep production going by drafting office workers onto the benches, and giving special bonuses to those still working. In an attempt to discredit and demoralise the strikers, management claimed to have 72 signatures from people still working expressing satisfaction with the "firm's organisation". These were collected by foreman and charge hands at private individual 'interviews' with workers...

Newham school students ask for more

NOT CONTENT with a 100% cutback in the school building programme, and other cutbacks affecting the whole education system, Newham Local Education Authority has now reduced the amount of dinner given to the school students of Trinity Comprehensive in Canning Town.

As a result of this, on Thursday 20th May some 200 of the school's 1000 students decided to take action,

Much more pressure needs to be brought on those still working to get them to come out to support the strikers. So far the only success the strikers have had is in getting deliveries stopped to the firm by drivers from other unions. Management, however, have to some extent got round this by bringing in goods in private cars, or by using their own non-union drivers.

Tribunal

In a bid to put an end to the dispute, local union officials have tried all the official channels. They have approached the Advisory and Conciliation Service - but that was rejected by the Automat management. They have taken the firm to the Industrial Tribunal - only to find that the Tribunal ruled in favour of management!

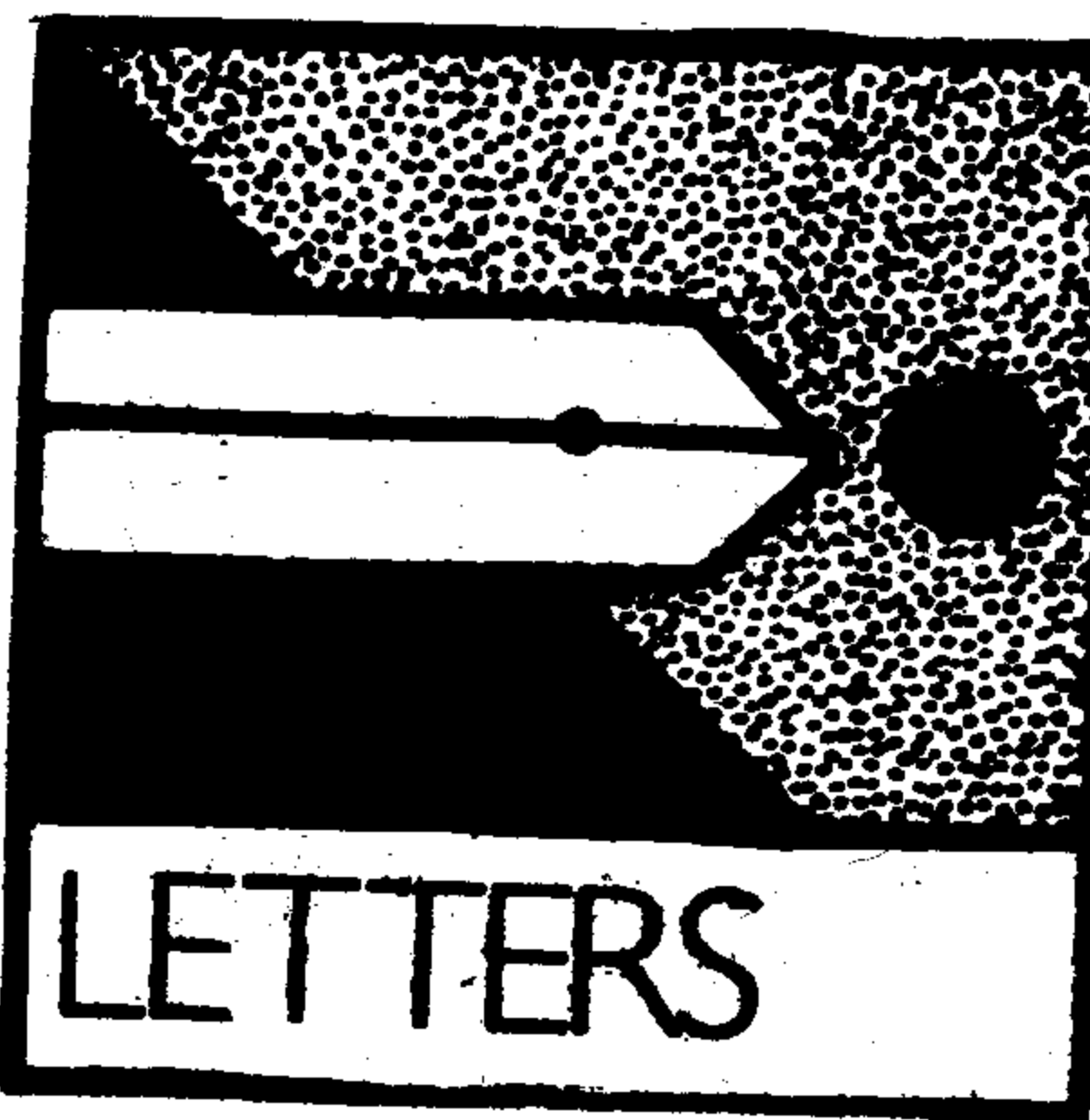
All these procedures have, of course, not helped the strikers one bit. The kind of help they need is really effective solidarity from the trade union movement. The strikers recognise this, and they sent delegates to the national AUEW conference in Scarborough, who came away hopeful that blacking or Automat goods can be extended. If that can be done throughout the GEC and Chloride groups, it would really put the squeeze on the bosses.

Locally, the CSEU stewards are going to meet to discuss what help they can give to the strikers.

Messages of support and donations to: T. Smith, 549 Liverpool Rd, Irlam, Manchester.

BILL COPPOCK

protesting to the headmaster. Leaflets have been printed and distributed, and petitions are being sent round, which will be submitted to the Newham LEA. Further action will depend upon the NUSS providing a lead to this struggle and generalising it into a fighting campaign against the cuts. STEVE GOLDSTONE (Sec, E. London NUSS - in personal capacity)



Dear comrades,
WORKERS ACTION two weeks ago gave the impression that it supported the struggle for different-

ial payments and staff status for skilled and craft workers in the engineering and motor industries.

I fail to understand how socialists can support wage demands prompted by the elitism and separatism of such groups of workers. As the strikes at SU Carburetors and Rover showed, these demands can only further divide the workforce among itself. Workers at Rover were crossing picket lines of members of their own union.

At a time when a united offensive is more and more necessary against the employers, surely Workers Action should dissociate itself from such claims and argue for policies that can really unite the workforce? DAVID BARNES Wolverhampton.

workers' ACTION supporters' groups

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Write for details of meetings & activities to:
WASG, 49 Carnac Street, London SE27

EVENTS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Send copy to 'Events', 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's paper.

Tuesday 1st June. Warwick University Socialist Society meeting: "What is the I-CL?" 7.30pm at Warwick University Students Union.

Tuesday 1st June. Revolutionary Communist Group meeting on 'The Marxist Theory of Crisis'. 7.30pm at the Earl Russell, 2 Pancras Rd, Kings Cross.

Wednesday 2nd June. North London Workers Action readers' meeting: Chris Gray on "Ireland since the UWC strike". 8pm at the Earl Russell, Pancras Rd, Kings X.

Thursday 3rd June. Reading Socialist Forum on 'The Fourth International'. 8pm at St Davids Hall, London Rd.

Thursday 3rd June. "No to the Healey Deal! For a Socialist Alternative to the Crisis!". Joint Workers Action/Red Weekly/RMC public meeting. 7.45pm at the 'Dolphin', Canning St, Liverpool.

Friday 4th June. Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation meeting to commemorate 20th anniversary of the publication of Khrushchev's 'secret speech' and to celebrate publication of Medvedev's 'Let History Judge'. 7.30pm at Holborn Assembly Rooms, back of Holborn Central Library, Theobalds Rd, WC1. Adm. 30p.

Saturday-Sunday-Monday 5th-6th-7th June. Lutte Ouvriere fete at Meriel, near Paris. A group of WA supporters will be going over for the fete. If you wish to go, please contact WA at 49 Carnac St, SE27.

Manningham Defendants' Fund, in aid of the 21 arrested on the anti-NF demonstration of April 24th. Please send donations to the fund at 41 Athol Rd, Bradford 9.

WIDENERS IN ACTION

Miners need big NO vote in ballot

BUSMEN GET SUPPORT IN JOBS FIGHT

THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINERS Executive has voted, by a 13 to 11 majority, to recommend acceptance of the savage wage cuts implicit in the latest phase of the Government/TUC pay pact.

The ballot of NUM members will take place over a period of two days, 27-28 May, but the 'Left', after a few initial condemnations of the policy, have done virtually nothing to campaign for a rejection vote. One old 'darling of the Left', Lawrence Daly, has actually been one of the most vociferous in the campaign for acceptance.

It would certainly appear that Left wingers on the Executive have been cowed into submission by the public rebuke heaped upon Bros Scargill and McGahey after the NEC reprimanded them for campaigning against the £6 limit. No reprimand or complaint, however, was levelled at North West area official Sid Vincent, who abstained on the NEC vote, flouting the clear mandate of his Area Council to reject the Healey deal.

The Left's weakness, combined with the national interest, flag-waving campaign of the Press and TV, who have made great play of the policy being accepted by the big battalions of the TUC and the AUEW, could lead to a "Yes" vote by the miners.

But it is by no means certain. Most of the faceworkers I have spoken to have indicated that the NEC, the TUC, and the Government should "shove their Incomes Policy where monkeys shove their nuts".

And even if the ballot shows acceptance of a deal which would preclude the possibility of attaining the £100 faceworker until 1978 at least, there will be a lot of rank and file resentment — which could be expressed at the forthcoming national conference on the issue of early retirement.

Conference after conference has seen resolutions calling for a reduction of the retirement age. All have been passed unanimously and all have been subsequently pigeon-holed. This year, three areas have submitted resolutions on the issue which include the call for industrial action to secure the demand.

The National Executive has stated that "although there is no way in which these resolutions can be ruled out of order, the NEC deplures the number of resolutions containing the threat of industrial action".

It is a distinct possibility that there will be an attempt to cook up some sort of composite which will omit the industrial action clause.

There are also a number of right wing inspired resolutions on the agenda which may get through, given the lack of meaningful organisation of the Left. One would necessitate a ballot before any industrial action.

The Broad Left alliance in the NUM expend the whole of their energy in pushing their own (often meaningless) resolutions, and make little effort to concert opposition to the right wing resolutions.

A meaningful and genuine rank and file movement must be built within the NUM, using as a barometer for success the ability to mobilise FOR militant policies for the defence and advancement of the members' interests, and AGAINST the sell-outs and betrayals which characterise the Right-wing leadership, and, by default, also the Left.

Right now NUM militants must pull out all the stops to make sure that there's a resounding 'NO' vote.

STEVE ABBOTT
(Calverton NUM)



PHOTO: News Line

THE 50th anniversary of the General Strike was celebrated in style on Saturday, as over 2,000 South Yorkshire and Derbyshire miners marched through the centre of Sheffield. Marching side by side with the miners were contingents from UCATT, the AUEW, and other unions in the Sheffield region.

The magnificent procession, which, apart from the colourful banners of the NUM lodges, included no less than 20 brass bands, wound its way through Sheffield city centre to the City Hall, where a mass rally was addressed by Michael Foot MP, and Will Paynter, and chaired by Arthur Scargill.

Scargill declared firm opposition to the proposed 'stage 2' incomes policy, and called for a "No" vote in the coming NUM ballot. Paynter, despite his disgusting scab history as former general secretary of the NUM, obviously felt it was opportune to go with the mood of the day, and he secured a standing ovation when he, too, spoke against the pay curbs.

If the meeting was anything to go by, South Yorkshire NUM will be saying "no" loud and clear come ballot day.

Orlake women confident they'll go on to win

139 people work at Orlake Plastics at Dagenham. That includes the management. 112 of this total have joined the union — yet management have insisted, through the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) that they be balloted on whether they want to be in the union. It is insisting on this as a condition of settling a dispute with the workers over union recognition and their claim for a £6 rise all round.

All the production workers are women. They draw a basic pay of £15 a week — and because there are no male production workers, they can't put in for 'equal pay'. This is of course one of the many loopholes in the Equal Pay Act, and the reason why so many women's pay packets are less than half the value of men's, even after the Act has come into force.

The women, who have been out for three weeks now, keep up a picket from 8 in the morning until 11 at night. Working in shifts, they keep up a steady 30 on the gate, and have the place completely closed down.

They've been threatened that the factory will close. But it's having no effect on their morale. They say there was no downturn in the work

require a massive campaign in the working class movement. There is a danger that members of organisations such as the Communist Party, which opposed the Right to Work march, may attempt to sabotage such a campaign. But defence of workers arrested while campaigning against unemployment is a basic question of defence of the working class as a whole.

Workers Action urges its readers to fight to get the widest support possible for the 43 in the labour movement, and to support the defence committee. Send donations to: Right to Work Marchers Defence Fund, 265a Seven Sisters Rd, London N4.

STUDENT TEACHERS

from page 1

formation of an independent rank and file action committee if the EIS Executive continues to stall. The EIS Executive's present position is that it supports the student occupations, but opposes action on the 26th.

The vital next steps are:
* Extend the occupations throughout England and Wales. Every college of education should be occupied.
* Trade unions to give support to the student actions — and to take a

The strike is official and they have the support of all the major firms on the Stirling Industrial Estate where the factory is sited — even non-union places.

Send messages of support to: Margaret Stevely, 90 Guisfield Drive, Rainham, Essex.

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NAME _____

LONDON TRANSPORT's plans to phase out all bus conductors by 1985 received their first setback last week, when bus crews at Willesden garage struck against new rotas which would have led to both a reduction in the number of buses on the road and the number of busmen employed.

London Transport's overall plan has not yet been published or approved by the union. However, the proposals to the GLC for a 25% fare increase in July show the way they are thinking.

The original scheme to get rid of conductors had to be called off in 1972 because of the slowness of fare collection and the traffic congestion it caused. Since then, LT have been working out how to get over this problem. Their new proposals state that "pre-paid ticket systems offer the best chance of speeding up boarding sufficiently to enable one man buses to operate efficiently..."

Because these pre-paid tickets are sold at a discount it is quite obvious that the fare increases in July will lead to an increase in the number of passengers who use them, thus preparing the ground for getting rid of conductors.

At the same time LT want to institutionalise the cuts already made in services because of low recruitment. This is to be done through the introduction of the so-called primary and secondary schedules. The strike at Willesden lasted for three days and forced LT to withdraw the new duty rotas. The following Thursday saw the first of a series of weekly one-day strikes at Wandsworth Garage against the new rotas. This strike was in fact extended to cover Friday as well, when the early-turn crews refused to work with one bus man who had blacklegged the day before. He has since been disciplined by the union branch.

The action taken by both Willesden and Wandsworth is in sharp contrast to the lack of fight shown by the Union officials, who forced acceptance of the new schedules and rotas at the Central Bus Conference in March. Now that LT's long term plans are known it is more urgent than ever to prevent the introduction of the new schedules and fare rises.

Because LT plan to introduce them gradually — nine now, another nine in July and a further eleven in October — it is vital that links between garages are built immediately so that garages are not isolated. All attempts to introduce the new schedules should be met with strikes, backed by the Union and the Central Bus Conference, and supported by a fleetwide campaign of industrial action. Official or not, this fight is a must.

Cricklewood Garage have issued a financial appeal in support of Willesden. This could be an important way of spreading the resistance to the cuts and proving the support of the rank and file for militant action.

LT's proposals, of course, affect not only the bus crews themselves but also the travelling public. The campaign must include efforts to mobilise support among the public and to explain the real nature of the proposals.

The Willesden strike gives an example of how this can be done. A local factory, part of the Rolls-Royce combine, was informed of the strike and immediately demanded of their own management that there be no penalties for lateness during the strike; early finishing; and compensation for the expense of alternative transport. Waltham Forest Trades Council is starting a campaign in the area against the coming fare increases.

Actions like these can build the sort of campaign that is needed where busmen

MASSIVE CAMPAIGN NEEDED TO SAVE 43

LAST FRIDAY, May 21st, 1500 people assembled outside Hendon magistrates court to demand that all charges be dropped against the Right to Work marchers arrested two months ago. The picket was supported by several Trades Councils, Hull and London dockers, and many other working class organisations.

43 marchers were again remanded on bail. They face an array of charges, most seriously one of Grievous Bodily Harm against John Deason, secretary of the Right to Work campaign.

After the hearing, the demo marched to Staples Corner, site of one of the police attacks on the Right to Work marchers. John Phillips, chairman of Barnet Trades Council, was among the speakers there. He reported that the trade union enquiry into the attack had met, and that its report would be available within a few weeks.

Shrewsbury picket Ricky Tomlinson warned of the danger of