

INTRODUCTION:

The bi-annual congress of I.W.A.(G.B.) is meeting after 2½ years, when the last congress took place at Leicester in 1967. This congress assumes great importance because it is meeting at a time when race relations, condition of the working class and socio-economic conditions etc. are not happy ones. Most of the delegates attending this conference must have attended the previous congress of I.W.A.(G.B.) in 1967. There were serious differences in the IWA(G.B.) and its delegates over the report and policy enunciated by the then general secretary and his group known as Joshi & Teja. The ~~report~~ report instead of presenting the policy of IWA, intended to enforce an adventurous line which had neither anything to do with the aims and objects of IWA nor the realities of the situation here. Thus the overwhelming majority of the delegates rejected the report.

It also categorised India as the 'semi-colony' of U.S.A. which was a gross distortion of the political situation there. Without reference to and getting the approval of the CEC he had presented the report. After getting isolated in the Congress, they assured to be loyal to the CEC. In reality they were not prepared to accept the verdict of the Congress, which was given by the delegates after our utmost efforts to keep the IWA united were rejected by Joshi & Teja. Immediately after the Conference, they started their rival centre and undermined the unity of IWA (GB). The previous section of Joshi and Teja in leading positions at that time, tried to disrupt the organisation and separatist activities were begun from that time onward in a couple of Midland towns, but now they are trying to create the tension in other branches though unsuccessfully.

As they stood fully exposed over their political line in the last Conference, London, Coventry, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, Bradford and Leeds branches stood firmly with the IWA(GB) and they did not fall prey to their disruption. In certain towns, such as Birmingham, Wolverhampton and Leamington Spa, to which towns they belong and commanded some influence, they were able to divide and weaken the previously united IWAs. It took sometime to fight out these disruptors and we combated the adventurists very successfully in these towns, although we cannot say that they are eliminated. Our members gave a determined fight, were able to consolidate the position of IWAs after some time. We gave political fight, exposed their real motives and defeated their anti-people slogans. Ultimately, we have isolated them and have very strong branches in all the towns, where it is quite difficult for Joshi and Co to stand in the masses.

Now we are meeting in this background as given above. The CEC of IWA(GB) is proud to present its report for the period since November 1967 to July, 1970, during which our geographical area has expanded with the formation of 3 new local branches in Hitchen, Dudley, Wellington; membership has doubled, a large number of activities were undertaken - have fought many battles on Trade Union Front and against the racialism. We also took due note of the deteriorating Indian situation by participating in a national demonstration in London against the dissolution of Progressive United Front Ministries, two national demonstrations were staged against racist acts and some of our branches took part in the national demonstration over the US aggression in Vietnam. While fighting disruptions, facing racialism, we had tasks before us at that time -

strained every nerve to handle the situation and events in the best possible way. It ~~has~~ seized every initiative to expand and develop this organisation. The developing situation - especially the deteriorating race relations demanded rapid reforging of unity in our ranks, as well as with other workers irrespective of race to fight against the capitalist attacks; and during this racist offensive our splinter brothers played a nefarious game which could go in favour of the mischief mongers. We did our best to unite the Indian masses and had to defeat the ultra elements when it became plain that to appease anybody was to help the racials and also disruptors, and misguide the movement and divide the working class unity. Even the elementary struggle of the working class plays a vital role in determining its capacity to discharge its progressive and anti-capitalist responsibilities. The struggle was waged ruthlessly. Soon the illusions faded away, and massive struggle was launched on all fronts. So now

He probed every possibility to bring ex-Secretary round and tried to persuade them not to disrupt the unity of I.M.A. which would give ammunition to the guns of the reactionaries. But he desired life secretayship which was quite against the norms and majority rules. Now the membership of local branches was getting confused due to these moves (behind the scene) as the new c.e.c. was made slow but on the other side Joshi had formed a new organisation—black people alliance to cover up his isolation and the exposure; so he installed himself as the convenor of B.P.A. to satisfy his hunger for the office. So this new de^{ceptive} manoeuvre ^{exposed} his ^{self} professed Marxist stand point. Some harm was done and they tried to split a couple of branches. They also accelerated their activities to set up rival organisations, but failed.

- (a) From that time onward, the C.E.C. had to fight against these splinter groups and the devisive activities of these adventurists.
- (b) To establish itself (new C.E.C.) and to prove its capabilities to lead I.W.A. most efficiently and thus exploded the myth of Joshi's indispensabilities.
- (c) To unite all the branches under c.e.c.
- (d) To pull the organisation out of static and self contained situation into a dynamic and challenging one.
- (e) To reach the grass roots and involve as many people as possible.
- (f) To muster every energy to combat the rising tide of racialism and to forge an alliance with all the left wing and progressive forces to defeat this capitalist trick and also to support the workers ~~and~~ at shop floor and other levels, and thus contribute to the workers struggle.
- (g) To urge Indians to join the Trade Unions and play an active part in them, and also to register our people as voters to pressurise the authority.
- (h) To keep very close contact and ties with our mother country and be prepared to support progressive working class movement in India to change the existing capitalis structure.
- (i) To give every possible support to the national liberation movements, to Negro's struggle in America and other international working class movements.
- (j) To foster brotherly relations among the Indian and White workers, as their interes^{ts} are the same. ('INDIAN' here means all coloured and black brothers)

The past two and a half years were the most eventful ones during which I.R.A. strained every nerve to handle the situation and events in the best possible way. It ~~xxx~~ seized every initiative to expand and develop this organisation. The developing situation—especially the deteriorating race relations demanded rapid re forging of unity in our ranks, as well as with other workers irrespective of race to fight against the capitalist attacks; and during this racialist offensive our splinter brothers played a nefarious game which could go in favour of the mischief mongers. We did our best to unite the Indian masses and had to defeat the ultra elements when it became plain that to appease anybody was to help the racialists and also disruptors, and misguide the movement and divide the working class unity. Even the elementary struggle of the working class plays a vital role in determining its capacity to discharge its progressive and ant-capitalist responsibilities. The struggle was waged ruthlessly. Soon the illusions faded away, and massive struggle was launched on all fronts. So new energy was released.

...were feeling uncertain about their future. Now outpouring and propaganda by Duncan Sandy and others encouraged the public demands to stop the entry of British Kenyan Asians. The British citizenship was offered to Kenyan Asians by the Tory government, but now instead of honouring its pledge and undertaking, were trying to absolve itself (Labour Government) of the responsibilities of British citizens in an absolutely shameful and dishonourable way. The propaganda that 250,000 Kenyan Asians were waiting to flood Britain though the actual figures turned out to be 5,000 was most malicious. The blow came and the free entry right of coloured British citizens was snatched on 1st March, 1968. Along with this restrictions were imposed upon commonwealth dependents-children's age of entry was lowered to 16 and parents' age was raised to 65 years. This was obvious racism and anti-semitism. This Act was condemned by the International Jurists. The government did not even consult its 'brain-child', NCCI. The I.W.A. came out against this racist act, condemned it in the press and staged protests marches and demonstration in all the towns. We were successful in mobilising other people as well, along with I.W.A. membership. It was really a magnificent performance by our local branches.

POWELLISM: (since 20th April, 1968.)

On this date the ex-health minister of Tories blurted out venomous speech concerning the coloured immigrants. He attacked, insulted and humiliated the coloured people residing in Britain. Many fibs and concocted stories were circulated by him. It was most inflammatory and should have been put behind the bars like Michael X. But he is the spokesman of the capitalists and no body can touch him. Though he was sacked from the shadow cabinet not due to the contents, but due to the presentation. Mr. Heath the Tory leader, endorsed the contents and the substance later on. The demonstrations followed, organised by I.W.A. (G.B.) in various towns and the support was sought of other organisations to defeat this new racist move. His speech made the racialism a respectable item. Though T.U. condemned him, yet some dockers and butchers also marched in favour of Mr. Powell. This was the beginning of a most shameful and racist era. 39 immigration officers of London Airport also sent letter to Mr. Powell in his favour. But on the other side students, progressive white individuals and organisations also marched against Mr. Powell. He again injected more poison in the body politic of Britain by calling for the repatriation of the coloured immigrants in Nov. 1968. He is only concerned with the coloured numbers and dreams the spoliation of English greenery. So he created the ghost of increasing domination by the coloured people as Hitler saw the conspiracy in Jews and later on the Trade Unions. He intends to ban the entry of dependant children and wives, and more than that, he wants the repatriation of coloured immigrants.

Mr. Heath told in York in 1969, that coloured immigrants won't be forced to repatriate but he will encourage voluntary repatriation. He will cut out the voucher system and will issue one year work permits for the local needs. It will be for a specific job, specific place and specific time. So he approved whatever Powell was outlining since April, 1968. He has adopted most of the Powell's policies and is now steering Powell's machine. Now all this is written in Tory Manifesto. The Labour Party did not lag behind and also tried to take the wind out of the sails of

that voluntary repatriation is already in operation. He also brought in the rule to stop the entry of male fiances for the coloured girls (irrespective of their British citizenship). He also made the entry certificate compulsory to reduce the number of coloured immigrants. The allotment of vouchers was reduced (not by law) in practice. He made much fuss about coloured illegal entrance though 10,000 White illegal people have disappeared and settled in Britain, nothing is said or written about them.

The figures for alien work permits and dependents in 1968 was 98796 (excluding Republic of Ireland) almost twice as many as were admitted from the commonwealth in the same year. The number of aliens entering with work permits (excluding au-pairs etc.) was 45142 more than 11 times as many as were admitted from the commonwealth. There are 134000 Germans; 110000 Poles and 87,000 Americans but this alien culture does not hurt Powell. Mr. Powell is whipping up large scale anti-coloured campaign and his gang has become more rabid. The Labour Government has also proved itself as good and as racist as Tories because the race was to win the white vote in 1970 general election (but alas it did not help).

Vouchers issued in 1967 (first nine months) = 3703
" " " 1968 (first eleven months) = 4658
" " " 1969 (first eleven months) = 3727.

The new commonwealth citizens arriving ~~from~~^{for} settlement in 1969 decreased by over 32% compared to the same period in 1968.

Public meetings, rallies and protest marches were organised by local I.W.A.'s. Racism, its causes and consequences were discussed and our members were warned of more restrictions and discriminations. The I.W.A. took itself to the people and has made a very good impact upon the masses. It has really progressed, increased its membership, lot more people attend its meetings and has earned the respect of Indians and other progressive people. We did whatever we could.

FIANCES & HUSBANDS:

The Home Secretary, Mr. Callaghan introduced new rules concerning the admission of male fiances and husbands on 31 January, 1969. Under the pressure of fascist elements. Before that "would be husbands were allowed to come in and settle. But to stop the so called fraud, entry permits were made compulsory and if any British born coloured girl returns to her native land for marriage, then she is not allowed to bring in her husband. ~~but a monstrous freedom and democracy!~~ Entry permits are not sanctioned easily - arguing that bride should go to her husband and settle there. But it must be remembered that alien husbands and fiances (of course white) are permitted to come and remain with their wives in Britain. Our local I.W.A.'s sent protest letters to the Home Office and later on I.W.A. (G.B.) mobilised its branches by visiting various towns and speaking at local meetings to organise a mammoth demonstration. This demonstration against the fiances' ban took place on 23rd March, 1969 in Birmingham on a national scale. Many other organisations gave their cooperations but the militant adventurists, Joshi & CO. opposed it. Memorandum concerning this Act was handed to the Indian Assistant High Commissioner, Lord Mayor and was despatched to the Home Office.

IMMIGRATION OFFICERS & DETENTIONS:

The Immigration Officers are more authoratarian when dealing with the coloured immigrants. While using discretionary (subject to prejudice and

...pective immigrants and thus treated in a most disgusting manner. The Immigration officers make every effort to refuse entry at the slightest inconsistency. Appeal system is also controlled by the Home Office and ~~xxxxxxx~~ we don't see much bright line in it. I.W.A.(G.B.) has sent a memorandum to the Parliamentary Select Committee concerning the immigration officers and their behaviour.

COLOURED SCHOOL LEAVERS:

Thousands (10,000) of coloured school leavers—educated in this system are leaving schools every year and ^{are} entering the employment market (perhaps it is estimated that forty thousands coloured children will leave school every year after 1980). No proper career guidance is given in schools, discrimination is practised in apprenticeships and it takes four to ten folds time to get an apprenticeship for the coloured children though their English is perfect and the qualifications are equivalent to British ones. On this problem, I.W.A.(G.B.) submitted the memorandum and Mr. Pannu and our president gave the oral evidence to select committee on Race Relations and Immigration. Our Wolverhampton branch gave the evidence to the visiting Select Committee as well. We should be prepared to face and take up the coming Indian generation born and bred here, and should orientate ourselves to involve them as well.

JOBS:

There is discrimination in jobs, at shop floor and at the level of promotions. Dirty work and sweat labour is reserved for the coloureds. Even there is discrimination in teaching and medical profession as well. The average wage of the coloured person is lowest—£13 per week on the average. The immigrants are replacements for sweat labour rather than additions. Their work involves either shift work or awkward hours. See the unpleasant working conditions in foundaries—there nearly a fifth of foundaries' labour come from the coloured commonwealth. For virtually all Europes' foundaries are manned by the immigrants. In the wool and textile industries about 11% of all the workers come from the coloured commonwealth. The coloured people are not lazy as said, rather they are extremely ambitious in economic sense and are willing to work longer hours. They are made to concentrate in low paying industries, so they earn less than a British born worker. Sometimes T.U. also discriminates while dealing with the coloured people; for example, strikes in which majority of coloureds are involved. I.W.A.(G.B.) and the local branches have fought persistently on this front (Birmingham, Derby, Wolverhampton, Leamington Spa, Coventry and Bradford). The failure or the success depends upon T.U. officials attitude, our cadre and force. We have always encouraged Indians to join their respective trade unions, attend its meetings and also play an active role in it. We should also provide or arrange the education on the trade union front as well.

Two myths have been nailed securely that Britain did not need a labour, and that high proportion of immigrants are unemployed by NIESR (national institute for economic and social research). The immigrants tend to be young and unmarried, a higher percentage of them are in the productive work than the rest of the population. Immigrants (coloured) contributed a fifth of the total addition (very needed) to the work force. The immigrants are not adding to the overcrowding in biggest cities,

because the natives are leaving those places or moving to outskirts and better jobs. Immigrants receive less from social service benefit than they provide to the Britishers through their contributions. The cost in national insurance and benefit is 28.3% over the native born and 16.2% on the immigrants. The total expenditure on the white population is 62% where as it is 49% on the coloureds. So immigrants needed less help than the native born Britains, because the immigrants are younger than the national average and they cost far less than average in health services and pensions etc. The coloured immigrants occupy very few council houses (about 2%), so they cost the English society much less than average in housing subsidies. Juvenile delinquency and crime rate is far less (rare) in existence than the British people. The Sunday Times of 5 July, 1970 has commented appropriately by writing, "The beginning of the same kind (like U.S. oppressed Negroes) of bitter alienation from the wider society is appearing here (Britain) as it has in New York or Chicago".

Public bars have also been discriminating against the coloureds by refusing entry or herding in a specified room, though it is illegal yet local I.W.A.s and individuals had to fight and are fighting against the public bars through mass action and through the Race Relation Board. The police attitude and behaviour is also not above suspicion.

To dispel certain hysteria, a massive survey was conducted and was published under the title (colour and citizenship) and the Runnymede Trust has also conducted the campaign (in writing) to dispel the falsehood and myths concerning coloured people.

RACE RELATIONS BOARD:

The Race Relations Act 1965 and 1968 is operating under the government instructions and its jurisdiction is very limited. Hundreds of complaints fall out of its scope. It is a conciliation machinery with no enquiry or judicial powers. Even certain procedures for complaints are very tedious, bureaucratic and time consuming. Rather it is a show piece and is to take the edge off of the working class struggle. It should have judicial powers and every kind of discrimination be brought within its sphere and racial discrimination be made a criminal offence.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS ~~XX~~ COMMISSION:

It is an old wine in new bottles and is an heir^{to} ~~the~~ defunct NCCI. It is a statutory body fully controlled and selected by the Home Office and so no sign of independence at all. It is a window dressing and an effort is made to pull the wool over the eyes of the coloured people. It has branches under the name of community relations councils and what these organisations do for the people, is not clear at all. Some times it seems to be a wastage of money.

INTEGRATION:

It is a vague term and it has led towards confusion. It is for the status quo and thus no dynamic change. It is to accept the inferior status and encourages to conform to the existing social structure. This concept serves the purpose of the ruling class. Is^{nt} it correct "integration does not speak to all the problems of discrimination-poverty, unemployment, inferior education etc. It is based upon the acceptance of the fact that coloured people must go over to the values, behaviour and ideas of the white dominant people. So it reinforces the notion that the white is superior and coloureds by definition inferior. Conformity ^{to the} dominant values

The Home Office announced that entry certificates for all categories of dependents. This meant nothing except a substantial reduction in the number of coloured commonwealth immigrants being admitted. This entry certificate business has been used for the phased entry. It is an impossible task to satisfy the British High Commissioner to establish oneself a genuine dependent. Marriage and birth certificates are demanded which a large number of cases are non-existent. The totals for the first four months (Jan. to April, 1970) represent a decrease of nearly 44% over the same period in 1969. Sometimes the entry permit is refused and prospective immigrants are allowed to appeal against the refusal. This application will be forwarded to London to be handled by the appeals's machinery. This appeal system is in the initial stage yet. Its adjudicators are appointed by the Home office and so their independence is in doubt. There should be a body set up by the combined efforts of all genuine mass based voluntary bodies to deal with the Advisory and Appeals service. I.W.A. (G.B.) has submitted the detailed memorandum concerning the difficulties to the parliamentary select committee and an oral evidence was given to it by our president. We should try to set up advisory centres at the embarkation and entry ports but are restricted due to the shortage of funds. Can this be done by joint efforts with other voluntary bodies?

SKINHEADS:

In April, 1970 'Paki-bashing' was seen in East London and then the skinheads started trouble in "Orverhampton. This is the encouragement given to them by the racist speeches of Powell and growing fascist organisations in this country. As a fascist leader said that what Mr. Powell is saying now we have been telling the same for a long time. They could be straightened if the law and order is enforced properly by the police authorities. The skinheads (call them by any name) are the product of crisis ridden British socio-economic system in which the bottom strata feel alienated and excluded. They lack every kind of facility which is enjoyed by the ~~upper~~ top strata. They have no prospect of education or work or proper home. They are the symptoms of the deteriorating situation. So their only way of asserting their presence and existence in society is to indulge in reckless violence against the vulnerable groups. The racials who reject coloureds are providing the ammunition and with the weak victims. So the ultimate aim should be to change the society to wipe out racialism, exploitation, inequality and alienation.

SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET TOUR:

South African-all white team selected on the basis of apartheid was to start that tour of Britain on 18th June, 1970. Many racials and ruling class representatives were supporting this tour. There are 36 Tory M.P.S who have interests in South Africa, do the lobbying for South African concerns. They support the South African pass laws and the policy of anti-semitism and keeping the native majority suppressed. Lord Home's grand son was noted in the times of 10.10.69: "It is hard to avoid the suspicion that the Conservative party is mortgaged to the obviously partisan attitude of those who have investments in south Africa." They don't end here and support the fascist regime as is clear from Julian Amery former Tory cabinet minister, was reported in the Daily Telegraph on 3 & 4 May, 1968: "The British arms embargo looks like a positive encouragement to the communist aggression (to National Liberation at terrorists (liberators))

against the Europeans or do we support Europeans against the terrorists (NLF)? our economic interests require us to help South Africa against communist fascist-second, that our responsibilities will be best fulfilled by exercising such influences as we can as the friends and allies of South African Government. Even the present Premier Mr. Heath cleared his mind in the House of Commons by saying: "There must also be a recognition that we have vital defence interests in South Africa which we cannot ignore and of which account must be taken." (The Guardian 3rd July, 1970.) Against all these heavy odds, progressive elements and anti-apartheid organisations took the lead to get this tour cancelled. I.W.A. (G.B.) issued detailed circulars concerning South Africa, its team and the urgent need to stop this tour. Our organisation mobilised all the branches to participate and play an active part in the local SSTC. I.W.A. (G.B.) was on the national committee of the Stop the 70 Tour, and fund raising committee. All the preparations were made and the unprecedented upsurge of the coloured and the white forced the government to cancel this tour, and it was our great victory-sharing with others. Last year our Leicester Branch took the lead in organising National Demonstration against the Springbok ~~xxxxxx~~ Rugby team and against South African trade mission.

General Election June, 1970.

In the recent general election, the Tories have won the election unexpectedly. The Tories used also sorts of weapons to beat the Labours. Such as immigration, arising prices, and danger to the pound. Though the Labour Party ~~xxxx~~ succumbed to the racialist pressure and enacted most atrocious acts such as the Kenyan Asians and fiances ban, yet trade union the pivot of the Labour Party and militant ranks in it alongwith leftwing Labour M.P.s also exert their pressure and exercise their influence to fight some of the anti-worker and anti-immigrant policies of the Tory party. The victory of the Tory party has engendered the felling of insecurity among the coloured immigrants due to its voluntary repatriation and other moves. ~~large freeze, postponing raising school age etc. are the markers of the Labour~~ Party. In foreign policy, it is the disciple of America. There is a tactical difference from the Tories. As the trade union is the pivot of the Labour Party, and has got militant ranks in it, alongwith about forty left-wing labour m.p.'s, So it is sometimes forced to do a bit ~~xxxx~~ for the labour. But Labour is by no means a socialist party though the workers have been mesmerised to feel bourgeois ~~ried~~. So class struggle is not allowed to sharpen and is derailed.

The Tories are outright capitalists and are committed to serve it. The Tory Party receives millions of pounds donation from big firms. It is for keeping army in the east, prepare to help U.S.A. in Vietnam, Combodia or Israel etc. It is planning to lift the ban on arms sale to South Africa, and perhaps preparing for the recognition of Rhodesia. They have pledged to reform the industrial relations and it remains "at the heart of their economic strategy." Cooling of period and decision of strike by ballot, stricter supervision of union rules and the possibility of actions for damages caused by inter-union disputes, sympathy strikes and the strikes called to deny work to qualified workers. So these proposals amount to compulsory legal sanctions, as Mr. Heath has said: "The public will be protected by an application to the courts for a cooling off period." Alongwith this slave labour will be created under the new rules for the commonwealth immigrants as one year work permit for

The Common Market is another move to create monopoly market and weaken the inter-capitalist conflict (but it is impossible as the basic contradictions between the capitalists can never be annihilated). It will also endanger the worker (especially the coloureds). Most of our branches passed the resolutions against the common market entry. They are also ^{not} talking about industrial anarchy at all levels which is just a figment of their own.

The Tory Prime Minister is in favour of encouraging voluntary repatriation of the coloured people and in future aliens and commonwealth immigrants will be banded together. The one year (New) work permit holder will not be allowed to bring their families nor they will automatically become citizens as at present, just by living for five years. Coloureds are the symptoms and not the cause of the economic and political ills.

The ^{millions} of white workers are homeless and virtually standing in queues waiting for the council housing. Forty percent people own no house of their own. Nearly 33% of the nation now lives in council houses. 5½ million houses need replacement and 15-16 million of the English people live in substandard and overcrowded houses. 1800000 ^{houses} in Britain are unfit for human habitation. Million and a half English people live below the poverty line. 300000 children get free meals each day. The average wage is lower in Europe. The 42% workers receive less than £15 a week, and only 14% above £20 a week, but the sons and relatives of the rich-directors etc get hundreds of pounds per week such as -the director of A.B. Hampton receive £364 a week; the director of Baker Perkins Firm £724 a week; Chairman of Lister and Co, Bradford £1555 per week; Chairman National Finance Corporation £2398 per week, and R.W. Rowland, chairman of Lonrho (African Mining and Trading Company) takes £10413 a week (£260 per hour for a forty hour week). It is quite correct as Robin Blackburn has said: "The concentration of the wealth in Britain is still one of the highest in the world," For the richest ten percent of the population actually receive 99% of all property income. Professor J.E. Meade has commented appropriately, "That as far as the net ownership of real wealth is concerned we live not in a semi-socialist state but in an anti-socialist state." So it is quite clear that the workers - black & white are exploited and suppressed equally, though sometime, the white worker can be misguided to feel oneself at least above the coloured people.

The Liberal Party is in the mid-way but has taken a firm stand over race relations and has condemned racialist commonwealth immigrant laws. The C.P.G.B. is a tiny party and does not carry much weight among the workers, but C.P.G.B. has taken a firm stand against the racism, fascist elements, immigration acts, common market and Vietnam etc. The C.P.B.G. has supported the demonstrations launched by I.W.A. (G.B.) or its branches. The left wing organisations and individuals have no coherent centre to direct their energy. They are scattered and have not been able to present a unified opposition and a solid fight against the existing capitalist structure. Still we have tried to cooperate with them and took part in a two-day meeting off all the left wing organisations of Britain. We have sought their co-operation during our fights, lobbies and demonstrations against racialism or anti-working class policies of the government. At this moment we should make better relations with the left wing organisations.

The Ulster problem is at bottom not an Irish problem but an English problem and its solution lies in the annihilation of the ruling aristocracy and top bourgeoisie. Ireland has been under the British for the last 750 years, and according to ^{the} English, the characteristic of this country is ruins. It has suffered great pillage industry destruction and transplantation of the population at the hands of the English ruling class. Penal Laws were made which forbade the Catholics to compete economically in Ulster. The Catholics are kept uneducated, deprived of houses, locked in low-paid jobs (mostly unemployed) and firms have black listed union militants due to the a pool of reserve labour force. Catholics are homeless and so they are deprived of voting rights in north Ireland. Ward & constituency boundaries are rigged either by concentrating all Catholics in one ward or distributing them in minority wards. The Protestants as they plot to misuse poor protestants against Catholics, ^{by} creating stereotyped ideas and the myths. The poor protestants are made to play as tools for the ruling aristocracy. The Catholic church has always ^{played} a defensive and reactionary role in relation to mass movements. The Catholic proletariat is shifting towards Republicanism. The effort could be to give concessions to Catholic middle class and then isolate radical currents in the movement. The national question has been derailed and mystified in by religion. No national bourgeoisie is ready to fight British imperialism. The Unionist Party is of the landlords and lackeys of British ruling parties. Paisley revolt is of petty-bourgeoisie against the Unionist Oligarchy. Paisleyism has mobilised workers, peasants and unemployed protestants and thus has exploited the genuine social and economic resentment of the petty-bourgeoisie, powerless youth (though powerful) and the power against the landed aristocracy, and the weak victim is the Catholic minority. Paisleyism has resemblances with fascism. The religious and tribal warfare is instigated to deflect the class struggle and no militant M.P. will be able to do anything unless real mass movement is formed as Miss Devlin has said: "If people thought that by sending me to Westminster, I or anyone else was capable of doing anything for them, there they were quite mistaken. All I could do was to prove by trying that nothing could be done in such parliament." So the task is to win protestant working class away from the Unionist Party, and Catholic working class away from ineffectual churches and the Labour party and then form a united socialist opposition to bring the radical change as Marx pinpointed correctly: "Irish need is self-government, independence from England and an agrarian revolution."

INTERNATIONAL SCENE:

We have been keenly interested in national liberation movements and support at least morally, all the revolutionary struggles and wars going on in Latin America, Middle East, Africa and Asia. In local branch meetings, our speakers have spoken about and elicited the support of the masses for the N.L.M-special topics Vietnam, Cambodia, South Africa, South Rhodesia, Negro problem in U.S.A. and Arab-Israel conflict etc. Great atrocities have ^{been} perpetrated and wholesale massacres were conducted by the Imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism. Poisonous gases and mortal weapons are used. Still there is no end to it. The imperialist fought their wars of aggression to a finish, resulting either in their rout and triumph of the national liberation forces and sometimes cruel suppression of movements temporarily and mass massacres. The imperialists are not reconciled to the defeats forced on

existence of economic domination, political blackmail, strings and military subversion. Though there has been reverses and betrayals by old national leaders, yet the struggles give great inspiration for the bright future. Cuba is the revolutionary symbol in Latin America and is inspiring heroic struggles of Dominican People and other national liberation activities in Latin America. The N.L.F. activities, peasant demonstrations etc. are the proof of the people's desire to throw off the existing structure, and end imperialistic exploitation. The armed struggle of guerillas is advancing in Peru, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Portuguese occupied Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and especially Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos on a tremendous scale. Various efforts have been made to organise coups in Ghana, Indonesia, Greece etc. The U.S. naked aggression has earned great condemnation and also the people have given a great rebuff to the intervention.

In the Arab world, Israel aggression with the help of U.S. imperialist continues; but the final defeat of this imperialist stooge-Israel depend upon the strengthening of democratic and working class forces in the Arab countries.

The illegal intervention and aggression by U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is the gross violation of 1954 Geneva Agreement and the escalation of war into Cambodia and Laos are the diabolical activities of the Imperialist strategy and expansionist aims. Gross injustices are reported in the papers worked up by the puppet ^{govt.} of South Vietnam as in the daily express of 8th July 1970: "Horror conditions on South Vietnamese island prison of Con Son, where 10,000 political prisoners are held—they are held in windowless cages and dusted with lime for punishment—it is most shocking in terms of treatment of human beings we have ever seen—they are often kept without water for days and drink their own urine. Mostly their crime was to speak for peace and against the government (South Vietnamese Puppets). Great Ho chi Minh's experiences in the prison, expressed in a poem whose two lines are quite appropriate here:

What crime have I committed, I keep on asking?
The crime of being devoted to my people. (from Prison Diary)

U.S.A. & NEGROES:

U.S. imperialism is heading the aggression against independent countries, suppressing revolutionary movement and oppressing its coloured minority—the Negroes. Its economy is wargear and has led ~~towards~~ crisis—danger to dollar, unemployment and minority revolt. Its students and unwilling workers are drafted for the war. The students and progressive elements along with twenty two million exploited negroes have staged most impressive and massive demonstrations against the ruling clique. The people are alienated and rebellious ^{occur} (at work and in the universities). The racist imperialists have taken monstrous measures against the negroes. The Black Panther leaders are arrested, beaten up or murdered at will by U.S. authorities at various levels and by the other racists. The progressive movement in the beginning failed to fight for the negroes very effectively. The ill-educated (politically) and misguided—exploited white worker feels itself ~~xxxxx~~ above the negroes and thus this superiority leads towards the association with the capitalist power structure. They need to be reminded about the class struggle.

Now we think it will not be out of place to dig out the origin and development of the Black Power Movement.

of conflicting goals and strategy. It was coined in U.S.A. which is associated with Pan Africanism and Afro-Americans concerning their agitations and political behaviour. Noble Drew Ali and Marcus Garvey were pioneers of black nationalism after the First World War. Garvey's ideology was nationalist but he sought to organise negroes in U.S.A. into a vanguard for Africa's redemption from colonialism and hoped eventually to lead back to Africa. Mr. Brown wanted political self-determination in America. Black nationalism identifies sympathies with the countries of origin. The negroes have developed a distrust for ^{the} existing institutions and the apathy has given rise to this movement. So its roots are in inferiority, suppression, frustration and poverty. Black power is the latest swing in the pendulum which ~~marks~~ ^{marks} permanent oscillation between integration on one side and separation nationalism on the other. To a degree it is a reaction to non-violence doctrine and white paternalism which has made them to turn inward and begin talking black consciousness. But for black power advocates, the underprivileged, poor, oppressed and exploited sections of humanity are the coloured people everywhere at the hands of the white oppressors. According to Stokely Carmichael, it means that the black people should unite, recognise the heritage, build a sense of community and lead their own organisations. So it is a way of life and an implicit rejection of the alien white culture. According to them the coloureds cannot hope for peace and dignity while they reside in the white society and so create black consciousness. On the other side white backlash is incited by creating prejudice, fear and insecurity against the blacks. Racism is justification for the act of economic exploitation. Really the phenomena of race relations arose out of European attempt to exploit ^{foreign} territories which later on became the integral part of colonialism and imperialist politico-economic policy. The exploiters use various tools such as religion, nationality, chauvinism, race or colour to divide the working class. It is not the coloured people who face the affliction at the hands of the white but it is the working class which suffers at the hands of the exploiters. So black consciousness can be racism in reverse and it can blunt the class struggle and divide the workers on the colour basis. Mao has well concluded by saying: "The struggle of Afro-American is a manifestation of sharpening class struggle and sharpening national struggle within U.S. - I call on ~~the workers, peasants, revolutionary~~ intellectuals, enlightened elements of the bourgeoisie and other enlightened persons of all colours in the world, whether white, black, yellow or brown, to unite to oppose the racial discrimination practised by U.S. Imperialism and support the black people in their struggle against racial discrimination. Among the whites in U.S. it is only reactionary ruling circles who oppress black people. They can in no way represent the workers, farmers, revolutionary intellectuals and other enlightened persons who comprise the overwhelming majority of the white people. In the final analysis national struggle is a matter of class struggle."

STUDENTS: During the last two years students have taken part in mass struggles ~~along with~~ millions of workers towards the class struggle though the full advantage was not taken by the working class parties as in France. It has shown the intensity of contradictions between the rulers and non-rulers. These struggles signify the growing disillusionment with the capitalist system.

our motherland, India. Indian immigrants- residing in Britain think to return to India after saving sufficient money to meet the financial requisites and also to serve as the security. How many will return is difficult to predict. Doubtlessly most of the people and the ~~first~~ generations born here will stay in Britain due to various factors. So I.W.A.(G.B.) is bound to have thoughts, policy, actions concerning Indian economic and political situations. We have contributed whatever we could and will go on fulfilling our responsibilities by expressing our solidarity with the progressive and leftwing elements who are really concerned with the masses and are struggling to change the existing system. Our organisation has been watching the growing capitalist hold, increasing material disparity between the rich and poor, deteriorating economic and political situation and various bourgeoisie landlord ruling class manoeuvres. Literacy is very low. Income per capita has declined and the consumption of food value calories is the lowest in the world and has declined from 16.6 ounces to 14 ounces per person on average. Rural indebtedness has increased manifold- rising ~~from~~ ^{to} Rs. 2489.10 crores. The exorbitant rates of interest ranging from 12% to 37% are charged by various agencies. It is estimated that 47% households in rural India own no land or less than one acre, and one percent of households own more than 40 acres each holding twenty percent of the total area. Capitalist landlordism is being introduced and thousands of tenants are evicted with the help of ruling political apparatus. The peasants are fighting for their rights under the leadership of all India Kisan Sabha, and tens of families have been butchered and their huts burnt. Industrial output has not made any head way. The twenty big houses control 30% of paid up capital and 32% of the total assets,

There have been industrial actions, ghettos and a big national strike was staged by the government employees. There has been lock ups, retrenchments and lay offs, as hundreds textile mills were closed in 1968. The unemployment has gone up to 24 million after three plans. The government reports advocate the suppression of trade union rights by creating the basis for stooge unions. It proposes to impose ban on strikes to ensure uninterrupted work and to bring in wage freeze. Now a historic occasion happened when ten lakh workers formed a new CITU centre. About 2400 collaboration agreements have been entered into which included U.K.; U.S.A; West Germany and Japan etc. U.K. whose investment in India was Rs. 180 crores in 1948 has increased to 530 crore rupees and U.S.A. which stood at Rs. 10 crore in 1948 has risen to Rs. 265 crores. The notorious PL 480 is known to every body. The Indian ruling class has been using socialist countries' aid to build capitalist system and strike better bargains with capitalist countries. India is kneeling before the imperialist pressure, as on the question of devaluation of the rupee, breaking trade relations with North Vietnam, North Korea and Cuba, is hesitant to recognise East German Democratic Republic and hasn't accorded recognition to Revolutionary Provisional ^{Govt} of S. Vietnam. It keeps mum and dares not to condemn American aggression and the monster atrocities in Vietnam and Cambodia. India is slipping more and more downward, neat reality stands exposed and there is a great danger to Indian freedom and democracy from U.S. imperialism. If this trend continues we can be transformed into a puppet government of U.S.A. Not to say this, Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi did not even sign

socialism, did not find time to receive the memorandum from I.W.A. and did not take interest in the sad plight of Indian citizens in U.K. at commonwealth primeminister's conference in January 1969; though she was able to go to cinema halls and tea parties. The Indian situation is deteriorating day by day and the so-called slogan of "socialistic pattern of society" of the congress has lost its appeal. Reactionary forces are increasing and R.S.S. and Shiv Sena have been given a long rope rather instigated by the congress government. These fascist organisations are looting, murdering and burning the poor people. They are on the rampage but no action is taken. The communal riots of recent times in Ahmadabad etc. have led to the massacre of thousands of working class Muslims. The slogan of Indianisation is most dangerous and smacks of fascism. Hypocritical tears cannot do any good. We condemn such monstrous actions and demand a complete ban on the fascist parties, and elimination of these elements. Instead of curbing the reactionary forces, the congress uses Detention Acts to imprison the beloved leaders of the working class masses and are conspiring to ban the proletariat movement. Hundreds of workers and their leaders are harassed, beaten and killed under the pretext of checking and suppressing the so-called Naxalbari (adventurous) movement. We appeal ^{to} the workers and peasants to organise themselves under the leadership of their true representatives and defeat the congress suppression. The minorities (tribes etc.) are suppressed in India when they demand autonomy to develop themselves - they have suffered from repression, burning villages, killing leaders and forcible uprooting of population. The ruling class uses the differences between various nationalities, caste prejudices and regional disparities to divide the people and divert their struggle. We have sympathies ^{with the} aspirations of the minority and tribes and demand democratic solution.

The big defeat of the congress and the coming into existence of various non-congress governments comprising of different parties and groups denoted the ushering of a new spirit and heavy blows on the congress monopoly and is a verdict against the big bourgeoisie-landlord policies of the congress. The united fronts were formed and they (especially Kerala and Bengal) strengthened the resolve of the working class masses. There is centre state friction and conflict because of furious class and national contradictions which cannot be resolved within the capitalist framework. The people's democracy is established at the centre. These governments have been given to the people in Kerala and Bengal, yet illusion should be dispelled of giving reliefs in a big way through U.P.'s and these can be taken as the instruments of struggle in the hands of the people. The Congress Party conspires to disintegrate U.P. governments and topple them. The ruling party at the centre concentrate to utilise the opportunist partners in U.P. and attacks the militant cores. Whenever the vigilance of the people over the opportunist participants slackens, they break the fronts. The congress under the cover of the president rule imposes its own rule in an indirect way with the police help. I.W.A. organised a massive demonstration on tenth March 1968 in London, under the slogan of 'Save the Democracy' in India. The ruling party (congress) confronted by the mass discontentment and

forces -Swatantar Jansangh; while the other-Indira Gandhi group wanted to bolster bourgeois-landlord rule by camouflage and presenting a democratic image to the people by making trivial concessions. But it will be naive to exaggerate the difference that has arisen among congress leaders and characterise them as a clear division between monopolists and progressive non-capitalists. So at this time we appeal to and sympathise with and support the true leaders of the working class movement.

ORGANISATION:

The I.W.A.G.B. was revitalised after ^{disruption} Nov. 1967 and the new enthusiasm was injected. We have involved more people and the work on the grass root level was conducted. The branches are better organised, the centre is strong, more coordinated and is in daily touch with the branches. Our President has visited and spoken in local meetings at least three to four times in each branch (except Dudley and twice to Wellington and Hitchin - new branches). He has issued six pamphlets on burning issues and fourteen circulars have been to the branches. Our general secretary has also been to all the branches, had discussions with them and delivered impressive speeches. There was real cooperation and coordination between the president, the general secretary and the C.M.C.I.W.A.G.B. organised two national demonstrations - one on 10 March, 1968 in London under the slogan 'save the Democracy', second the biggest demonstration was staged in Birmingham on 23 March, 1969 to condemn the rule which stopped the entry of husbands and fiances. The Commonwealth P.M. conference was picketed in January, 1969 in London. Two comprehensive memorandums - one on teen-agers and the other on vouchers, entry certificates and fiances were submitted to the parliamentary select committee, and oral evidence was also given on both occasions. The centre also advised the local branches to organise campaigns and meetings in support of Punjabi Suba and the meetings were held in various towns such as Birmingham and Leicester. Our local branches have celebrated two republic and two independent days each; Bhagat Singh day, Jallianwala Bagh day were also celebrated by most of our branches. Our local branches take part in May day demonstrations and meetings, in cooperation with other organisations. Lenin - international working class leader's centenary was celebrated by our few branches such as Wolverhampton. There have been local demonstrations by the branches against racialism and Powellism initiated by Bradford I.W.A. To defeat racialism and rising fascist trends were condemned by organising joint meetings - with white workers. The recent skinhead troubles and anti-working class black power slogans of self defence were combated most efficiently by our Wolverhampton, Coventry and Leicester branches. We have issued circulars concerning the formation of multi-racial organisations writing - It is Hitlerite track first to isolate the coloured people, and then strangle the working class movement - So combat and safeguard the interests of the coloured in particular and working class in general, and form black and white solidarity committees. Only 3 towns did it successfully as Bradford, Leicester and Coventry.

Our local branches took a very keen interest in the British general election of 18 June, 1970 and mobilised our Indian voters to come out and vote the progressive and left wing candidates.

The central c.e.c. has eleven meetings out of which six ^{were} very successful and five were not well attended. Our senior vice president never attended the meeting. There has been efforts to slow the success of c.e.c. from inside and serious efforts to damage from outside but we were able to progress further by overcoming these hurdles. The press has been hostile towards us. In the beginning, our statements were gagged. Due to persistent and consistent fight our two dozen statements appeared in national papers though in the name of the president due to certain coincidental factors. The local press gave prejudiced and biased reports and certain news were headlined out of context. The Punjabi press is also not very favourable, and sometimes there is a slight trend of hostility. The television and the radio relayed few of our opinions and discussions on national and local levels. Leicester I.W.A. has managed to pull on with the local radio. Leeds I.W.A. will start presenting Punjabi programme to Indian and Pakistani listeners every Sunday afternoon for half an hour from first September, 1970. At the call of C.E.C. the local branches prepared themselves and participated very actively in Stop the 70 Tour local committees (against South Africa). The Leicester I.W.A. had fought a magnificent fight against the disruptors and won the case in the court after great inconvenience and hazards. Really it was forced upon it. It has come out cohesive and strong.

Leeds I.W.A. came out with great courage on the television when race riots broke out in July, 1969. Leeds I.W.A. has done a very creditable humanitarian work by providing food to Forty Illegal Immigrants from India who were detained in Armley Jail during the month of July, 1970. They took great pains to cook the Indian food every day and take it to the prison.

Bradford I.W.A. ⁱⁿ cooperation with multiracial organisation (CARE) fought against the racialism practised in Bately club.

Derby I.W.A. has been running its office very efficiently and has started Naujawan Sabha with the help of the young cadre. Birmingham I.W.A. has reorganised itself which took a long time to defeat the disruptive activities of Joshi and Co. Nottingham I.W.A. has given a good fight against racialism, deviant youth and has provided very much to white people. The Coventry I.W.A. has done some commendable work and has been able to set up some very successful and active branches.

Some organizational and disruptive activities are going on, instigated by some individualists and the Indian High Commission. They have attempted to set up local federations (paper ones) in the name of the so-called unity of Indians. In reality it is to sabotage the work of I.W.A.'s and create their own puppet bodies. They do not command any respect or influence, rather they are suspected by the Indian people. The Indian High Commission takes months and months to renew or reissue the passports. So we should be quite aware of such nefarious moves and defeat the moves to form paper bodies. There should be struggle to unify the Indians and foil certain vicious attempts.

WEEKNESSES:

Our branches though most successful...

cooperative; but it needs more regularity, spontaneity and closer links.

Once the members are elected on C.E.C. they must perform the functions as national leaders and not as branch (though branch opinion should be put forward through him) leaders.

The reports about decisions and activities of the branches should be sent to the centre at least three or four times a year.

The c.e.c. members should be involved in preparation and participation as speakers or in some other ways in local I.W.A.s (other than one's own). Local I.W.A.s should run the campaign to register votes, so that it can be used as a pressure over the councillors and the M.P.s. I.W.A. should be mobilised in future to fight against the coming one year work permit and the new industrial proposals.

We should exert great efforts to build and run I.W.A. most efficiently and consolidate our achievements. The branches should rally firmly behind the C.E.C. and fight unremittingly and resolutely against the worsening situation from the angle of race relations and from workers point of view. This requires a great deal of hard and untiring work in building the unity of Indian workers with the workers of other nationalities. So with unity irrespective of colour, nationality, religion and sex should march forward. Onward to the solidarity of all the peoples fighting against imperialism-exploitation and racialism etc.

This conference has importance for our future as the difficulties that will have to be faced should be gauged. The period ahead is certainly a period of big struggles, such as worsening race relations, working and management relations and the proposed attack on trade union etc. If we are to fight for our better future, better wages and strong TU, then we must work out concrete slogans and give concrete directions to our organisation. We are sure that we will be able to accomplish our task by uniting hands with other people and go forward from this conference with renewed vigour and confidence.

(*) GURNAM SINGH, NATIONAL PRESIDENT

Organisation: Though our membership is more than before yet vast resources remain unexplored. The branches should make a serious effort and sincere drive to enrol more membership.

India: The ruling Congress Party has failed to negotiate a peaceful settlement with China and Pakistan. National chauvinism is fomented and Sino-Indian and Indo-Pak conflicts are kept burning to save its corrupt rule and the effort is made to withhold the mass movements.

1 Noo. Walsinghampton

2 Mukhsudharsi

3 Mata Singh Leamington Spa

4 Gurnam Singh Klose Wellington

5 Chaudhury Leicester 1255 membership

6 Sarwan Singh Walsinghampton