

# SOCIALIST PRESS



FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE  
WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

NO 41 \* 25th AUGUST 1976 \* 10p

# END RACIST KILLINGS! ARM AFRICAN WORKERS



As the black revolt in Southern Africa grows in scale and intensity, now attaining a new scope with the three-day general strike in South Africa itself, the white racist regimes of Smith and Vorster move to still greater depths of brutality and savagery in their efforts to repress the liberation struggle.

The strike has been 80% successful, showing the massive basis for the revolutionary movement in South Africa. This support is despite the intimidation of the South African police - one picket was shot dead on the first day of the strike as part of the police moves to stop picketing of stations and roads out of Soweto.

## CIVIL WAR

This has brought South Africa to the point of a civil war of considerable scale. Every major area has been convulsed by riots and demonstrations. And the police have launched a spate of mass killings, leaving so far 240 dead - 33 of them in two days of repression last week.

This links up with the news that United Nations observers had confirmed that Rhodesian troops massacred an entire refugee village of 600 men, women and children in Mozambique - lyingly claiming it was a "guerrilla camp".

Amid this carnage, and while presiding over a huge wave of arrests, Vorster's Police Minister Jimmy Kruger announced on Friday that after 300 news:

"The black man knows his place, and if not I'll tell him his place."

## BLACK POWER

The unrest, said Kruger was the result of the "importation" of Black Power ideology from America, but the white man would overcome it.

And (reluctant to admit the slightest political independence of South Africa's black majority) Kruger hinted that there is a "white brain" behind it all.

Yet for all the bloody reprisals,

shootings, beatings and floggings they carry out against the rebelling mass of black African youth and older workers, Kruger and the barbaric regime he defends confront not just a series of local skirmishes but the accelerating momentum of the full-scale revolutionary liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

This is what makes Kruger's words seem not so much a statement of confidence but more an attempt to shore up the morale of the racist white minority as Canute-like they attempt to hold back the tide of history.

Indeed the new upsurge of revolt in Southern Africa itself can now be seen as part of a world-wide revolutionary process.

## KEY ROLE

It was the resistance of the black African masses to Portuguese colonial rule, waging prolonged wars of liberation, which played a key role in putting the fascist regime in Portugal itself under acute strain, creating conditions for the overthrow of fascism in April 1974.

This overthrow in turn resulted in the granting of independence to Mozambique and Angola, which was followed by the sharp struggle by the MPLA in Angola to oust the pro-imperialist forces of UNITA and the FNLA (backed by both South Africa and the CIA).

The defeat of imperialism's allies in Angola has had an immediate impact on the whole of Southern Africa, strengthening every fighter for black liberation and striking fear into the hearts of the racist minorities in Rhodesia and South Africa itself.

And this forward movement in

Africa will in turn strengthen those forces fighting the latest rightward shift in the regime in Portugal, as it must also boost the confidence of class conscious workers throughout the world.

The tens of thousands of African students and workers taking to the streets in huge protest demonstrations, strikes and riots in South African cities know full well they are in grave danger of being killed or wounded by armed police.

Yet even a huge new wave of political arrests has not succeeded in stemming the surge of resistance to apartheid.

## LAWS

The latest arrests have been made either under the old Suppression of Communism Act or the new, even more repressive section 10 of the Internal Security Act which legalises indefinite detention without charge, and is now operational in all South African provinces, in a vain attempt to stamp out resistance.

Among the hundreds arrested last week were such national figures as Winnie Mandela, leader of the Black Parents Association in Soweto; L. Appies, president of the Students Representative Council of the "Coloured" University of the Cape; Barney Pityana, president of the South Africa Students' Organisation (SASO) in Port Elizabeth, and Jennie Noel, a leader of the Federation of Black Women.

But while these repressions continue, what really concerns South Africa's racist regime is that many of those who were formerly accepted as leaders of the black community are now being swept along or brushed aside in the political ferment of black revolt.

The signs, particularly within the movements of youth and

continued on back page, col 4

# JONES' TUC WAGES FRAUD

Despite the fanfare of publicity in the Tory press heralding a supposed fight by Jack Jones to restore free collective bargaining, the agenda of next week's TUC is a far cry from any serious attack on the Labour Government or the present pay policy.

While prices continue to rocket there is scarcely a resolution which faces up to the fall in working class living standards.

A few exceptions stand out - notably the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union resolution, which denounces both the £6 and the present 4½% pay policy as having:

"led to a deterioration in minimum wage rates, effectively lowered living standards, and failed to prevent the numbers of unemployed reaching an unacceptable level.

In such circumstances, Congress therefore opposes the continuation of wage restraint in any form and affirms its belief in free collective bargaining."

But this, together with the Cine and Television Technician (ACTT) resolution, which calls on the TUC to "reject the second stage of the Social Contract and the abandonment of free collective bargaining for another year is the only resolution to pose sharp opposition to the pay limit endorsed by the TUC Special Congress in June.

All other resolutions are careful to accept this deal, while the T&GWU amendment which is claimed to call for free collective bargaining next year in fact explicitly rules out such an arrangement declaring that "wages free-for-all" would be "injurious" to "weaker members of the community".

In reality Jones' position on wage control is identical to that of postal workers' leader Tom Jackson, who has swung the UPW into a position of actually opposing free collective bargaining.

The struggle for even such a basic trade union principle as free collective bargaining must therefore now confront the trade union bureaucracy at national level.

continued on back page, col 4



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS



## SPAIN: TRAITORS FALL OUT

Thieves, robbers and criminals often fall out among themselves. And that is just what is beginning to happen among the treacherous leaderships of the main Spanish working class parties.

The broad class collaborationist alliance, the Democratic Coordination, founded earlier this year, comprising Stalinist, reformist, anarchist and bourgeois parties, is cracking at its seams.

This is not because any of its members are attempting to put forward a principled working class position, but on the contrary, because the main working class parties are squabbling over who should be the ones chosen by the fascist government as the policemen of the working class.

### POSITION

It has until recently been the position of the Democratic Coordination that the Spanish Communist Party should be legalised.

The Popular Socialist Party has now explicitly and the Socialist Party (PSOE) implicitly abandoned this position. The leader of the Popular Socialists, Enrique Tierno Galvan, is able to speak most freely because his party has virtually no mass working class membership.

In the last few months Tierno Galvan has on many occasions openly mixed with members of the fascist government (and he has been reinstated to the university professorship from which he was dismissed in 1965).

Now he says that:  
"The legalisation of the Com-

munist Party is not an indispensable condition for the opposition to negotiate with the government."

The obstacles in the way of such negotiation, he now says, have been exaggerated. The opposition, he states:

"has no interest because it lacks the means, in provoking a revolutionary situation which might produce a counter coup from the right."

### FOLLOWED

The leader of the Socialist Party has now followed Tierno Galvan into the fascists' den. Last week he met the Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez and reported afterwards that this was 'not an interview, just a dinner.'

The result, he said, was:  
"an identity of views, namely the installation of a truly democratic regime in Spain with the participation of all the political parties, Communists included."

Since the fascists in no way disguise their refusal to contemplate the legalisation of the Communist Party, this can only mean that the Socialist Party leadership is indulging in barefaced deceit in order to justify its headlong rush to make a deal with the fascists before the working class offensive tramples them underfoot.

The regime has issued instructions that the exiled Stalinist leaders of the Communist Party who plan to return to Spain on September 1st should not be admitted to the country. But those leaders themselves are now begging the regime to accept their guarantees of "good behaviour" if their return is permitted.



Tierno Galvan

Santiago Carillo, General Secretary of the party, announced in Rome that his return and that of the party's President Dolores Ibarruri, would "relax the political atmosphere."

If allowed into the country,

Carillo said they would be prepared to meet the King and the Prime Minister.

They have also said that the presence of American bases in Spain ought to be respected "as long as the Americans don't meddle in Spanish politics".

There is now, therefore, an open competition between the main workers' parties: the title they are competing for is that of 'best collaborators with fascism'.

The reformist and Stalinist leaders all say that democracy is something that can be gained through negotiations with fascists.

### MURDER

They are forced occasionally to utter reservations to this when faced with such events as last week's murder of a member of the Socialist Party by the police for painting political slogans on walls, or the rearrest (five days after his release under the government's fraudulent 'amnesty'), of a leader of the Basque Communist Party.

But such daily evidence of

merciless repression by the fascist state in no way deters these leaders from their single-minded and increasingly desperate efforts to divert the massive and militant working class movement from the revolutionary direction in which it is heading.

### HELPED

The Stalinists and reformists are still being helped by the working class parties which claim to stand to their left and to oppose negotiations with the fascists (for example, the Workers Revolutionary Organisation, ORT, the Communist Movement, MCE, and the Spanish Labour Party, PTE).

Their 'left' statements mean nothing at all as long as they remain in the Democratic Coordination - an alliance with people who claim to be leaders of the working class but whose armaments are not pointing forward against the crumbling fascist dictatorship but are turned backwards against the mass of the working class itself.

## LOCKHEED RIPPLES SPREAD

The Lockheed bribes scandal continues to threaten the stability of bourgeois governments in several countries.

In Japan, former Prime Minister Tanaka is only the most prominent of 17 politicians and businessmen arrested in connection with the affair.

Tanaka, who resigned as Prime Minister in 1974 because of other shady deals, is accused of having accepted nearly £1 million to use his power in promoting the sales of Lockheed aircraft.

Hira Hiyan, former chairman of Mambui Trading Corp. Lockheed's Japanese agent, is also among those charged.

The scandal has thrown Japan's right-wing ruling Liberal Democratic Party into extreme crisis just as they are about to face a general election.

A move is afoot to dump the current Prime Minister, Takeo Miki, who has been too energetic in rooting out the parties to corruption.

The LDP leadership have always amassed their wealth by means of bribery and influence and any serious investigation would certainly uncover a whole series of 'Lockheeds'.

Millionaire Tanaka is already free on bail of, for him, a paltry £400,000.

If he ever is made to serve the maximum five-year penalty for bribery, it will only be after years of appeals and wrangling in the courts.

Meanwhile he continues to sit in the lower house of the Japanese legislature merrily representing the

interests of his constituents'.

Last week Queen Juliana of the Netherlands and her consort, Prince Bernhard, were cruelly disturbed during their holiday on the Italian Riviera by news that the long awaited report by the Commission on whether Bernhard had taken bribes from Lockheed, had been handed over to the Dutch government.

The report will be published by the end of the month, and is likely to implicate Bernhard up to the ears.

Abdication by Queen Juliana is already being mooted. The contents of the report were no surprise to Bernhard.

He had seen it weeks before its delivery and had in fact spent the summer trying through his lawyer to get it changed!

The question is, did he succeed?

### UNDER HATS

The Italians have been more successful in keeping things under their hats. During the run-up to the general election the press was fairly quiet about the involvement of a former Christian Democrat prime minister in local Lockheed affairs.

A parliamentary commission has finally been named to investigate, and is expected to make a sleepy start after the August holidays.

Its 20 members include seven from the Italian Communist Party who, not surprisingly, continue even here their Stalinist policy of class collaboration instead of forcing the setting up of an independent workers' enquiry - the only way in which the real issues involving Lockheed and similar cases of corruption could be tackled.



150,000 march through Bilbao

## HEALY ENLISTS PRESS AGAINST HANSEN

The leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party have been forced into the most contorted and unprincipled positions in their relationship with the capitalist press during the last week. In a matter of days they veered from one extreme to the other.

On Sunday 15th August they received coverage in the *Sunday Times*. A short, completely uncritical article in the 'Atticus' column gave much-wanted publicity to WRP leader Gerry Healy's campaign to frame up Joseph Hansen (a leader of the US Socialist Workers Party) as an "accomplice" of the GPU at the time of the murder of Leon Trotsky.

This useful advertisement of the WRP's rally that evening was not challenged in any way by their paper, the *Newsline*, even though the *Sunday Times* article was written in such a way as to suggest that Hansen actually murdered Trotsky, and gave no clue as to his

present political work.

Instead the WRP were busily calling a post-rally news conference - to which *only* the capitalist press was invited - not a single workers' paper was informed it was even taking place!

At this news conference, Healy, together with resuscitated ex-Trotskyists Harold Robins and George Vereeken, repeated the call previously made only within the confines of the WRP's own movement and press - for an "international enquiry" into the circumstances surrounding the murder of Trotsky by Stalin's agent in 1940.

Rather than campaign within the working class movement they choose to enlist the Tory gutter press to spread their slanderous accusations.

There is no doubt either that they knew by Monday that their accusations were baseless. Hansen's full reply, published in the latest *Intercontinental Press* gives irrefutable evidence that, whatever may be said for the internal security of the SWP itself, the allegations made by the WRP are

without foundation.

By Thursday, however, the WRP were confronted by the real face of the allies whose help they had enlisted against Hansen.

A centre-page witch-hunting spread giving a detailed account of a week at the WRP cadre school in Derbyshire appeared in the *Daily Mail* and exposed the flimsy "security" within the WRP itself.

The reporter pointed out that she had simply filled in the form and applied for a week's tuition at the school - and had been able to stroll around and see a delegation of German youth along with WRP members!

The almost farcical zig-zags and sectarian antics of Healy and the WRP leadership clearly have nothing to do with a real concern for "security".

They centre on the need to hold together a degenerating, bankrupt party which long ago gave up any serious fight for leadership in the working class.

\*A full article on the Hansen case will appear in the next issue of *Socialist Press*.



## IRELAND : RULING CLASS DIVIDED

The ruling class is deeply divided over what strategy to pursue in restoring British domination over the North-East of Ireland.

The Conservative Party's research department has just issued a report that sees confidence in the Northern Ireland economy on the brink of collapse.

"The industrial policies of the present government have drained British industry of the funds and confidence necessary for expansion and investment. This is especially damaging in peripheral areas such as Northern Ireland."

The capitalist upswing, that economists have been predicting as a consequence of the Healey-TUC

collaboration, will not be strong enough to expand beyond the branches of industry located in England, because, says the report:

"there has been in Britain a collapse of optimism about Northern Ireland which has resulted less in the much overplayed economic withdrawal than in a reduction in the general fund of good will which in the past led to an acceptance of the special case argument."

In plain language what the Conservative Party research department is saying is that profits for Northern Ireland capitalists have in the past been underwritten by subsidies that the British government has gathered, from its tax-paying subjects.

Faced with the undefeated resis-

tence of the nationalist population the Government is less willing and able to continue these hand outs to bankrupt capitalists.

It is the unbroken nationalist resistance that the report has in mind when it urgently concludes that "the problems of Northern Ireland should now be given more special consideration than before."

### STAGED

This is the background to a number of incidents staged by the British Army in clear defiance of Merlyn Rees' 'low profile' policy centred on trying to put the law and the police "in command" rather than the military.

Firstly there was the so-called 'failure' to protect Gerry Fitt from Republican demonstrators. Fitt is the leader of the Social Democratic Labour Party whose electoral support comes entirely from the nationalist population.

Fitt and the SDLP are now deeply involved in imperialist strategy for a restored Stormont. It is that Party's past commitment never to talk to the British while there is a single man behind the wire that makes Gerry Fitt's home in West Belfast an annual target for protests by Republicans at every anniversary of internment.

### UNDEFENDED

By leaving him undefended the British Army hoped for an incident, such as his death that would have pressured Rees to abandon his low profile policy.

Secondly there is the general rise in harassment, especially the searching and wrecking of houses that has been so bad in North Belfast on the Bawnmore estate for instance that even the SDLP have been forced to complain of Army behaviour and indiscriminate shooting by marauding members of the Ulster Defence Regiment.

As the Apprentice Boys' march provocatively passed by the Bogside, Army snatch squads captured six stone-throwing youths, batoned and kicked them along Great William St. into the Strand Rd. where their heads were repeatedly smashed against a brick wall.

The operation was well planned so that it took place at a spot where newsmen and cameramen were well placed to witness the Army's challenge to the Rees policy of containment.

Thirdly the murder by the SAS of twelve year old Majella O'Hare, shot in the back as she walked to church with a group of friends. What at first appeared as the work of a single British Army assassin looks instead to have been a more considered operation. The object was clearly for Majella's murder to have been blamed on the IRA, as was the killing of the three Maguire children in Belfast, crushed to death by an out of control car hijacked by a Provisional IRA volunteer.

### ALREADY DEAD

The fact that the driver Daniel Lennon was already dead at the wheel when the car hit the children, the fact that the manner of the British Army pursuit, with indiscriminate firing through crowded streets, ensured the slaughter that took place, none of this deflected Catholic anger from the Provisionals.

For too long they have known themselves to be held in utmost contempt by a Provisional leadership that has sunk more and more into the sectarian bog of indiscriminate terror.

At rallies to commemorate the fifth anniversary of internment, Sinn Fein speakers had nothing to offer their audience, in the midst of a most profound capitalist crisis, except to regurgitate the stale nationalistic fare of the iniquities of Cromwell and his successors.

The absence of a programme

that demands the participation of the people themselves in driving the British out of Ireland has created the conditions that allow 10,000 people to attend the Peace march in Belfast and direct their anger not at the real cause of the violence — the British occupation of Ireland — but at the Republicans who, for all their wrong policies, are actually fighting against imperialist aggression.

Republicans who harassed the march and denounced the marchers as "Brit lovers" were obviously correct as far as the leaders and would-be leaders are concerned. That is indeed the objective pro-imperialist logic of such a movement.

### IMPASSE

But for the mass of the marchers no pro-British sentiments were felt or expressed. The *Irish Times* quoted a marcher that expressed the impasse to which Provisional policy has led their nationalist supporters.

Describing himself as a life-long Republican he said that the scenes of Provisional IRA members hijacking and burning cars earlier in the week had reminded him of Nazi Germany.

He said that the Republican movement had got away from the people and he added:

"Tell Rees to get off our backs as well. There is no difference between two teenagers manhandling you out of your own car and half a dozen Brits coming to your door in the early hours of the morning."

It was probably to keep the pot of anti-Provisional feeling on the boil that Majella O'Hare was murdered. As Majella started out for Church the Army attempted to provoke an incident at a nearby cemetery where a party were laying flowers on the grave of the victim of a sectarian attack.

### SLAYING

It may be they hoped to draw IRA fire and thus attribute their slaying of the young girl to the Provisionals.

Indeed this was the story that they put out at first but one they had to withdraw when not only the local people denied any shots other than that of the Army were fired but even the RUC challenged the Army story.

In challenging Rees' policy which they see as too slow to save a section of Ulster capital from collapse, the Army are backed up by Tory spokesmen Airy Neave and Biggs Davidson as well as the *Observer* and the *Daily Telegraph*.

This must however bring them into conflict with a centrepiece of Rees' strategy, the slow restoration of credibility of the RUC as an impartial police force free of political influence.

The RUC report on Majella's death will go to the Director of Public Prosecutions. But RUC sources in South Armagh say that on past evidence of cases in which the Army is involved they hold out little hope that a successful prosecution will follow.

by Joe Quigley

## The Workers Socialist League

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class in opposition to the betrayals of both "left" and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay — demands which at the 1975 T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy. In today's fight against the TUC's 4½% pay cutting deal with Healey this demand for a sliding scale of wages (rising according to the rising cost of living as assessed by trade union committees) is the essential basis of consistent opposition.

In the Health Service WSL comrades have led the struggle for a sliding scale of NHS spending, for the start of workers' control of the service (beginning with opening the books of the Health Authorities), along with the fight to end all private practice. Perhaps more important we have led the growing call for *strike action* to defend the NHS against the cuts and to implement these policies, fighting those like the ASTMS and NUPE leadership who substitute the words for the action.

In London this policy has already won a big response with the one-day action against the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital — when 2,000 hospital workers in the area struck and 400 marched to lobby MPs against the cuts.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry and against all forms of "workers' participation" have won mass responses.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment, calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement.

The WSL is the only movement that fights consistently for transitional demands, going beyond mere trade union militancy to pose the political issues to workers.

In doing this our comrades have been forced also to lead struggles for trade union democracy against the bureaucratic manipulation of the Stalinists and right-wing.

But our struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the international struggles of the working class and moves to rebuild the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So while many interventions in Britain have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme*, there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Trotskyist Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

We urge all readers who agree on the need for revolutionary leadership and the demands we put forward to find out more about the WSL and join our fight in the labour movement.

## 100 AT SPAIN MEETING

"The Struggle for Socialism in Spain" was the subject of the second of the Workers Socialist League's series of London meetings on the international revolution.

The growing appreciation of the central importance of Spain to the world revolutionary movement was reflected in large attendance and positive discussion.

We were able to welcome to this meeting not only British trade union militants and members of left wing groups but also militants from several groups of the Spanish workers' movement and Spanish workers in Britain.

The WSL member who introduced the discussion emphasised the contrast between the revolutionary content of the present

working class and the perilous class collaboration practiced by the leadership of the main workers' parties, the Communist and Socialist parties.

### OPPORTUNITY

The situation not only demanded but also gave a historic opportunity for the creation of a new revolutionary leadership which could be built only by struggling for a programme of transitional demands inside the mass movement.

The development of concrete solidarity with the Spanish struggle was discussed and two priorities were agreed.

First, demanding through trade unions and other workers' organisations that the Labour govern-

other ties between Britain and Spain, in particular that all arms exports should be banned.

Second, fighting to bring Spanish workers in Britain into the trade unions and through the unions to combat the bureaucratic restrictions and threats of deportation imposed on immigrant workers imposed by the British government.

This would simultaneously strengthen the struggle of both Spanish and British workers against fascism, capitalism and the class collaboration of workers' leaders.

The WSL welcomes cooperation from all section of the Labour movement in implementing these demands and all the other forms of solidarity with the courageous Spanish working class which go beyond the mere words of the trade

# FREE JAILED ARGENTINE SOCIALISTS!



Jose Francisco Paez

Argentina is a 'free territory' for the forces of repression. Not only has the military dictatorship which came to power on March 24th this year, arrested and murdered thousands of workers and members of all opposition parties and groups, but it also allows the murderous fascist bands, the 'death squads' such as the Argentinian Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA), to operate unmolested, kidnapping torturing and murdering workers and bombing their homes.

In addition it has welcomed to Argentina the security forces of other Latin American dictatorships, especially those of Uruguay and Chile, allowing them to search out, capture and kill political refugees from those countries.

Under the previous anti-working class regime of Isabel Peron it is estimated that there were 5000 political prisoners in the country; now the number is said to be 20,000 and growing rapidly.

## THOUSANDS

The number of kidnappings and murders is unknown but now reaches many thousands. While the clashes between the government and the guerrilla organisations (the Peronist Montoneros and the Castroite Peoples Revolutionary Army), along with the recent murder of groups of Catholic priests have received most publicity it is important to realise that the bulk of the repression has been against the workers' movement.

At the national level, many trade unions have been taken over by the state. Given the abject collaborationist policies which their leaders have pursued and in many cases continue to pursue, it is not this which has most decisively weakened the workers' movement.

Much more damaging has been the systematic repression of local trade union leaders in factories and local committees. It is at this level that the regime is attempting to behead the workers' movement.

## PARAMOUNT

This kind of repression is paramount in the dictatorship's plans to make Argentina 'safe' for capitalism.

The economics minister, Martinez de Hoz, educated at Eton and in the United States, and the owner of Argentina's leading steel company, is attempting to implement a policy of economic 'stabilisation'.

What this means in practice is an enormous cut in real wages, achieved to begin with through astronomical inflation, which for now at least has abated, and a refusal to allow any wage increases. Such a policy can only be imposed through the destruction of the fighting strength of the workers.

His policy requires not only savage repression but also borrowing millions of dollars from the advanced capitalist countries.

## LABOUR GOVERNMENT

He recently visited Britain for this purpose and received a friendly welcome from members of the Labour government, friend of so many butchers throughout the world, which helped him to borrow significant sums from British banks.

On this page we print an appeal by the Socialist Workers Party of Argentina, the Argentinian sympathising section of the 'United Secretariat' of the Fourth International, on behalf of two members of that organisation who now stand in extreme danger of their lives in the jails of the barbarous dictatorship.

We give our complete support to this appeal. In addition we emphasise the necessity to fight for the freedom not only of these comrades but also of the other fifty

or more comrades of the PST now in jail and all the other 20,000 political prisoners now in jail in Argentina.

The release of all these prisoners cannot be obtained, as many supporters of solidarity with the struggle in Argentina appear to imagine, by appealing to the murderous dictatorship of General Videla.

It requires the largest possible mobilisation of the working class movement on this question throughout the world. In this country the trade union movement must force the Labour government to use all the strength at its disposal against the Argentinian dictatorship.

## BANNING

This includes the banning of all trade and financial relations with the Argentinian government. In particular at the present time British banks must be prohibited from lending money to the regime, importers must be forbidden to import goods from Argentina and all export of British arms banned.

British diplomats should either be withdrawn from Argentina or should be ordered to cease all work except giving assistance to political prisoners and those pursued by the police, army and death squads.

All members of opposition parties forced to leave the country temporarily should be allowed to enter Britain and be given full freedom to organise politically.

That is what solidarity means in practical terms. It is what the 'left' Labour MPs and those who claim to represent the working class must fight for.

So far there has not been so much as a word from the Labour government or the union leaders who could so easily impose blacking action.

The Workers Socialist League has made criticisms of the political positions and practice of the PST in Argentina. We stand by these criticisms.

## AGREEMENT

But at the same time we are in agreement with the words of Ernesto Gonzalez a member of the National Executive of the PST, speaking at the burial of some of his comrades murdered by the previous Peron government in 1975:

"As always in this hour of grief and indignation, we remain faithful to the workers' movement, struggling against the trade union leaders which hold it back and tie it to the plans of the bosses, and against the elitist guerrillas who contribute to and promote its demobilisation.

"We are not looking for our own vengeance, nor for the way of conciliation, nor that of the guerrilla. We continue to have confidence in the mobilisation of the workers even though today they have not succeeded in responding as a whole to the reactionary offensive."

That response to reaction cannot be left only to the Argentinian workers; they need the concrete and practical solidarity of the world working class movement.



Argentinian workers' demonstration

# PST ENVOY SEEKS SUPPORT

Julio Mendoza, representative in Europe of the Argentinian Socialist Workers Party is currently visiting Britain as part of an international campaign to save the lives of two Party militants currently being held by the Argentinian military regime.

Jose Francisco Paez, a prominent trade union leader from the city of Cordoba, was the PST candidate for Vice-President of the Republic in the September 1973 elections.

He became well known for his denunciation of the right-wing murder squads that operated during the Peron Government.

Shortly afterwards, in January of this year, he was arrested and charged with 'illegal association and possession of subversive materials.'

Since the military coup he has been held *incognito*, but in a letter recently smuggled out of prison he described how several of his fellow prisoners were being removed from their cells during the night and turning up the following morning as corpses, supposedly resulting from 'clashes between the forces of order and guerrillas'.

He warned that while these killings (17 altogether) had initially been limited to those accused of involvement with guerrilla groups, one prisoner with no such alleged connections had recently been killed in this fashion.

This has given rise to the gravest doubts about the safety of Paez.

## LEADER

Arturo Apaza is a trade union leader among the engineering workers of Buenos Aires, particularly known for his leading role in the opposition to the official Peronist trade union bureaucracy.

He played a prominent part in

the general strike of July 1975 against the Government's austerity plan. In April of this year he was among a group of workers taken into custody by uniformed soldiers at the factory where they work.

For the past four months there has been no news of his whereabouts or welfare, despite persistent enquiries by his family, his fellow workers, and even his employers.

The Socialist Workers Party is gravely concerned for the fate of these two militants, given both the political climate in Argentina since the coup and the attention which the Party, as an intransigent defender of working class interests and independence, has attracted from the extreme right.

Over the two years preceding the coup almost all the regional offices of the Party were subjected to bomb attacks, and a total of 15 Party members — for the most part trade union activists — were murdered by right-wing death squads.

Since the coup the military regime has created thousands of political prisoners, among them

more than 100 members of the Socialist Workers Party.

At least one Party member is presumed dead after arrest and brutal torture.

The Socialist Workers Party is mounting a world-wide campaign to demand that the Argentinian Government 'guarantees the life of Jose Francisco Paez and issues news of Arturo Apaza and produces him immediately.'

Already this campaign has gained extensive support from trade union and democratic groups throughout Latin America, including the Federation of Teachers in Colombia, and a group of 30 MPs in Colombia, headed by Senor Villar Bordo, leader of the left-wing of the governing Liberal Party.

In Portugal, the National Assembly is currently discussing a motion of support for these demands, proposed by a group of Socialist MPs. It is expected that many prominent figures from the trade union and labour movement in Britain will be adding their voices to this campaign.



PST members murdered by right-wing death squads. Top: Anna Maria Guzner Lorenzo, Adriana Zaldúa, Dicki Povedano (Carlos), Hugo Frigerio. Bottom: Patricia Claverie, Lidia Agostini, Roberto Loscertales, Oscar Lucatti.

# LOBBY CALLED AGAINST NHS CUTS

A national initiative to lead the cuts in the Health Service is crucial. It was for this reason a positive step forward last year when some 400 trade unionists came together at a conference convened by the Medical Committee Against Private Practice, and formed the National Coordinating Committee (NCC).

At the conference a programme to defend the Health Service was adopted, including the fight to set up Joint Trade Union Committees in each area within the NHS, the fight for the books of the Area Health Authorities to be opened to elected trade union committees, and the demand for a sliding scale of state spending to protect the NHS from inflation.

## DEMONSTRATION

In the Spring of this year the NCC called an 800-strong national demonstration, and have organised a number of lobbies against private practice.

But the central weakness of the NCC is that it has not actively intervened in the fight against hospital closures or cuts at local level, even where hospital workers themselves have begun a fight back.

This produces some glaring inconsistencies. The National Executive of NALGO sends a representative to the NCC - yet during the recent one-day strike against the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital in London, NALGO was the only union that scabbed on the strike!

## ONLY

Yet the NCC despite its obvious limitations remains the only national body fighting for united action against the cuts.

It is essential that the affiliated bodies should take up the fight to break the tendency to left talk detached from action which now characterises the bureaucracy of all health service unions.

The NCC in short must form the arena for sharpening the fight for leadership against the cuts. Only in this way can the committee move from protest to action.

At present the NCC is pursuing two campaigns - for a Lobby of the Labour Party Conference on 29th September in Blackpool, and a petition for submission to that conference, which calls for the implementation of last year's resolution which rejected cuts, called for an end to private practice, nationalisation of NHS suppliers, and extension of the service under



NCC demonstration

democratically elected management. The Workers Socialist League supports this lobby and calls on all members and supporters to give it full backing in the labour movement.

But at the same time the fight must be stepped up for all-out strike action to stop the cuts now being wormed in by NHS administrators in many areas.

## PARTICIPATION'S FIRST CAMPAIGN

# SPOT THE MANAGER

# IN NEW BL QUALITY DRIVE

A new and obscene propaganda campaign has been launched in the hopes of forcing additional unpaid effort out of the Leyland workforce.

Spearheading the campaign, hand-in-hand with Leyland Cars managing director Derek Whittaker, is Derek Robinson, convenor at the giant Longbridge factory (and a member of the Communist Party!)

## COLLABORATION

Indeed the whole scheme rests on the complete collaboration of the trade unionists who have thrown in their lot with management by entering Leyland's workers participation committees.

The campaign, christened "Quality 77", is being directed by a sub-committee of the Cars Council, the supreme participation body in the Ryder reorganisation of Leyland. And the next step is setting up plant level sub-committees to publicise the campaign on the shop floor.

## FIRST

It is the first major project so far undertaken by the "participation" machinery, and, true to form, stems from the thinking of management.

But this has not dampened the enthusiasm of the so-called "employee representatives" on the

of them eagerly gave statements endorsing the scheme to a management "Special Report" broadsheet.

The ideas and sentiments emerge as identical with those expressed by management - showing a clear eagerness to force other carworkers out of a job by cornering a bigger share of the anarchic world market for Leyland.

Conspicuously it does not even seem to have occurred to the so-called "representatives" of Leyland workers to query the cause of inferior quality cars.

There is not a word about the constant pressure for speed-up, about the elimination of component inspection, inadequate manning levels, or the increased exploitation in the component industry.

## MAJOR

All or these have been shown to be major factors in the finished car by the investigations of the special Open the Books Committee set up by Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant Joint Shop Stewards Committee after management allegations of "shoddy work".

Instead the whole brunt of the drive for "quality" is to descend on the backs of individual shop floor workers, as David Simpson (production director of Leyland's body and pressings operations) showed when he said:

breathe quality improvement. If the quality of the individual's performance is good enough then the quality of the end product will take care of itself."

## DISCIPLINE

In other words the joyful "quality" campaign is to be pushed along by a hefty dose of discipline - imposed of course by the foremen, industrial engineers and superintendants who are so disproportionately well represented in the "participation" set-up.

But the real tone of this reactionary charade can only be judged by comparing the statements made by management and "union reps". See if you can spot the difference. The answers are upside down at the bottom of the page.

(A) "From the shop floor, through the offices, supervision up to the managing director, if 121,593 of us within Leyland cars control quality we will be home and dry with a secure future."

(B) "I have been asked why I am backing quality generally and Quality 77 specifically. The answer is simple - to ensure that next week, next month, next year, and for many years to come we will have a high standing against our competitors and the security that goes with it. Our jobs are riding on



One of Leyland's new posters

however a very competitive one, and the customer is looking not only for the right vehicle, but for quality and reliability which is beyond question."

(D) "I am realistic enough though to realise that things will not change overnight but given the right spirit and endeavours I am convinced we can produce the right goods to see our competitors off."

(E) "We have only one right and that is the right to compete, through quality and availability, for the allegiance of our customers. The world does not owe us a living. If Leyland Cars loses one customer, one Leyland Cars employee may lose a job. That is why we need Quality 77. It is not a gimmick - it is our meal ticket for today, tomorrow and the future."

(F) "Without you we don't stand a chance. If the will for quality is developed with us all, we can grab that vital bit extra of the world markets and give ourselves the reputation we undoubtedly deserve."

representative"; (B) Derek Whittaker, managing director; (C) Peter Nicholas, employee representative; (D) Mick Richards, employee representative; (E) Fred Maxwell, director of engineering; (F) Derek Robinson, CP member. Did you spot the difference?

# BLACKBURN MARCH SEPT 11th

A Workers Socialist League contingent will join the anti-racist demonstration in Blackburn on 11th September.

The recent electoral gains made by racist and fascist parties shows that the danger of these movements winning a foothold remains as long as the labour movement is not mobilised against them.

Drawing strength from every betrayal by the TUC and Labour government, feeding off the frustration felt by the working class confronted with mass unemployment, falling living standards and inadequate social services, racist and fascist groups have begun to win a degree of support even among some sections of workers.

At the same time in seeking to spread their influence, the fascists continue to engage in violent attacks on immigrant workers.

## CLASS ISSUE

The task of revolutionaries is both to defend those being attacked and show that these attacks are a class issue. Fascism is about breaking up the organisation of the working class as a whole.

Those immigrant organisations or individuals who have started the formation of vigilante groups have taken an important step forward in breaking from the reformist position of appealing to the police, the capitalist state, to defend themselves against fascism - which itself is just another form of capitalism.

But, unlike the International Marxist Group and other groups we do not say it is simply a question of "Build labour movement support for black self-defence" (Red Weekly front page statement 10.6.76) or "Only the defence of the black communities by blacks themselves are any guarantee for protection against racist attacks" (IMG national leaflet).

We of course support the right of immigrant workers to defend themselves in whatever way necessary against racist and fascist attack.

But we also have a political responsibility to attempt to direct these self-defence groups towards calling on the strength of the organised labour movement as a whole so that the most united class attack can be launched against fascist provocation and violence.

If black workers and youth have been the first target of the fascists, picket lines and trade union meetings will be next. Fascists have already attacked meetings on Ireland.

WSL members and supporters in areas affected must therefore propose at their union branches, trades councils and Labour Parties that a fight is waged for workers defence squads organised jointly between immigrant and trade union organisations.

Where possible, we must fight for this within immigrant organised defence squads by attending as delegates from the trade unions and urging that they unify with trade union bodies, particularly trades councils, in their fight against fascist attack.

## ACTION

But the task of physical defence must be accompanied by a fight for a programme of action to mobilise the united class strength of the working class in defence of jobs and wages;

\*No state control of wages - For a sliding scale of wages linked to the cost of living as assessed by committees of trade unionists and housewives.

\*No to redundancies - For work sharing on full pay.

\*No to closures - Occupy, open the books to establish the case for nationalisation without compensation under workers management. For a programme of public works

# THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

FINAL PART OF OUR SERIES

# THE INTERNATIONAL



Some of the



Revolutionary German soldiers in 1919 - the placards denounce Social Democrats Ebert and Scheidemann

1914, world war drove a  
ive wedge into the Second  
national, splitting it  
een "defencists" and  
olutionary defeatists".

he defencists (or 'social chauv-  
'?) were the large majority,  
in a wave of fervent patriot-  
giving support to their 'own'  
g class in the war, abandoned  
socialist principles on which the  
national had been built.

he worldwide struggle of the  
ing class was suddenly subordi-  
ated to the needs of national self-  
ce and solidarity.

o the left of the social chauvin-  
ood the socialist international-  
ho were an anti-war grouping,  
many of whom subscribed  
e all to pacifism, regarding  
e as a precondition to any  
utionary struggle.

urther still to the left were the  
roup of socialists who  
ed that the Second Inter-  
nal was now defunct and  
not be resurrected.

## CIVIL WAR

heir call was to turn the  
ialist war into civil war in  
country leading to inter-  
national proletarian revolution.  
o this end they called for the  
ion of a new, Third Inter-  
nal, to continue the original  
ions of the first two. The  
prominent member of this  
was Lenin, who declared

The Second International is  
overcome by opportunism....  
The Third International falls the  
of organising the proletarian  
for a revolutionary onslaught  
the capitalist governments,  
ivil war against the bourgeoisie  
countries, for the capture of  
power, for the triumph of

Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th  
on pp40-41).

A series of international socialist  
ferences held in Zimmerwald,  
erland provided a forum for  
and his followers to influence  
e socialist circles in different  
ies which at least rejected  
e - opportunism and presented

International.

In the summer of 1915 Lenin  
and Zinoviev wrote their pamphlet  
'Socialism and War' in which they  
pledged support for an Inter-  
national "purged of opportunism  
and chauvinism," but pointed out  
that Germany, home of the oldest  
and strongest labour movements,  
was of decisive importance.

## GERMANS

Zinoviev and Lenin were  
prepared to remain in the Second  
International as its extreme oppo-  
sition until the Germans were ready  
to form a new International.

The Zimmerwald anti-war  
movement contained two divergent  
political trends, reflected on one  
side by the International Socialist  
Committee (ISC) representing the  
internationalist-pacifist majority,  
and on the other its non-official  
counterpart on the left; a bureau  
consisting of Lenin, Zinoviev and  
Radek.

The Second Zimmerwald  
Conference in 1916 represented a  
movement to the left in words but  
the conference was unwilling to cut  
its ties with the Second Inter-  
national. This led Lenin to realise  
that Zimmerwald contained a  
virulent right-wing which was  
deserting the cause of internation-  
alism, and despite some evidence of  
a split maturing in the socialist  
ranks of many countries, this  
convinced him that the Zimmer-  
wald grouping was worthless and  
was now useful only to gather  
information.

## APRIL THESES

In 1917 the February revolution  
served to underline this. In the  
tenth of his *April Theses*, Lenin put  
forward the call for "rebuilding the  
International [by] taking the  
initiative in creating a revolutionary  
International, an International  
against social-chauvinists and  
against the 'Centre'."

The completely changed  
situation in which the Bolsheviks  
found themselves during the period  
between October 1917 and  
February 1918 helped determine  
their views about establishing a

The defeat of the German  
Empire in 1918 drew Lenin's close  
attention to the situation in  
Germany which appeared to be on  
the verge of revolution.

It became apparent that the  
creation of the new International  
was an immediate necessity.  
"Europe's greatest misfortune and  
danger is that it has no revolution-  
ary party."

Lenin, *CW*, Vol 28 pp155,160.

The Second International, now a  
degenerate collection of political  
bankrupts, reformists and traitors  
centred around Karl Kautsky, had  
called for a conference to convene  
in Switzerland in January 1919.

This provided the impetus for  
Lenin to press ahead for the  
foundation of the Comintern.

The First Congress, originally to  
be held in Berlin, was switched to  
Moscow following the murder of  
Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Lieb-  
knecht, and opened on March 2nd  
of that year.

The essence of the programme  
was that the platform of the  
International would be drawn  
partly from the theory and practice  
of Bolshevism and partly from the  
programme of the German  
Spartacist League, "Was Will der  
Spartakusbund?" ("What does the  
Spartacus League Want?").

Basically, to be invited to the  
Congress the parties and groupings  
would have to: 1) separate them-  
selves from the social patriots; 2)  
rally to the socialist revolution and  
dictatorship of the proletariat, and  
3) adopt the principle of power in  
the hands of the Soviets and not  
restrict themselves to bourgeois  
parliamentarism.

Thirty-nine parties, groups and  
trends were invited to the congress;  
the invitation stated that the  
congress:

"must establish a common fight-  
ing organ for the purpose of main-  
taining permanent coordination and  
systematic leadership of the move-  
ment, a centre of the communist  
international, subordinating the  
interests of the movement in each  
country to the common interest of  
the international revolution".

("Invitation to First Congress,  
Section 14" in *First Five Years* of

At the Congress, the Allied  
blockade prevented some delegates  
from attending; however 51 arrived,  
representing 33 countries.

## STALIN ABSENT

The Russian Communist Party  
was represented by Lenin, Trotsky,  
Zinoviev, Bukharin and Chicherin.

Although Stalin's name was  
included, he took no part in the  
meetings - in fact there is no  
record of any involvement by him  
in the first four Congresses.

Stalinist historians rarely refer to  
the early history of the Comintern  
because to do so would draw  
attention to the important contri-  
butions of the Bolshevik leaders  
later eliminated by Stalin and his  
agents.

The First and Second Congresses  
of the International addressed  
manifestos to the international-  
working class. These addresses were  
written by Trotsky, and were  
adopted unanimously by the  
Congress. In the first of these,  
Trotsky emphasised that:

"Our task is to.....purge the  
movement of the corroding admix-  
ture of opportunism and social-  
patriotism, to unify the efforts of  
all genuinely revolutionary parties  
of the world proletariat and  
thereby facilitate and hasten the  
victory of the Communist revolu-  
tion throughout the world."

"...advanced workers have from  
the very first steps of the organised  
socialist movement striven to unify  
it on an international scale.

.....we Communists, united in  
the Third International, consider  
ourselves the direct continuators of  
the heroic endeavours and martyr-  
dom of a long line of revolutionary  
generations from Babeuf to Karl  
Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg."  
("First Five Years" Vol 1 p43  
and 53).

## STRUGGLES

Between the end of this First  
Congress in March 1919 and the  
start of the Second in July 1920,  
many important struggles were  
being waged throughout the world.  
A wave of strikes was sweeping  
across Europe; in March the

formed, (to be overthrown in  
August).

In the Russian Civil War there  
were a series of setbacks and gains,  
the Red Army regaining Kiev from  
Poland but suffering defeat at  
Warsaw in August 1920.

The Weimar Republic was estab-  
lished in Germany. However, the  
International was making signif-  
icant gains at this time with the  
organisation of sections of the  
world revolutionary movement in  
many countries.

The manifesto presented to the  
Second Congress emphasised once  
again the crucial need for unity of  
the world working class against its  
common enemy, the bourgeoisie.  
Trotsky pointed out that:

".....the proletariat is being  
thwarted in its international rev-  
olutionary actions not so much by  
the half-destroyed barbed-wire  
entanglements that remain set up  
between the countries, as it is by  
the egotism, conservatism, stupidity  
and treachery of the old party and  
trade union organisations which  
have climbed upon its back during  
the preceding epoch."

("First Five Years" Vol 1  
p153).

This is a damning indictment of  
the Social Democratic parties in  
such countries as France, Germany,  
Poland and Britain, who were  
adhering to the chauvinist policies  
of the decaying rubbish heap that  
was the Second International.

"To the disintegration and chaos  
of the capitalist world, whose death  
agony threatens to destroy all  
human culture, the Communist  
International counterposes the  
united struggle of the world prole-  
tariat for the abolition of private  
ownership of the means of produc-  
tion and for the reconstruction of  
national and world economy...."  
(p158).

## 21 POINTS

The Second Congress of the  
Comintern also decided on more  
detailed conditions of entry setting  
down 21 points to be adhered to  
covering such things as propaganda,  
the rejection of all forms of reform-  
ism and centrism, rejection of  
social patriotism and social-  
pacifism, intervention in trades  
unions, the essential structure of  
the Party, and other points amount-  
ing to a comprehensive list expand-  
ing Lenin's original suggestions in  
great detail.

The period between the end of  
the Second and beginning of the  
Third Congress was one which  
witnessed the decisive victory of  
the Red Army in Russia; and the  
beginnings of the New Economic  
Policy, following the Kronstadt  
revolt in March 1921.

In Italy, the betrayal by the  
reformist SP leadership of the  
working class led to a large scale  
defeat in Autumn of 1920.

This was followed by a similar  
defeat in Germany of the "March  
action" in 1921. The capitalist  
world appeared to be entering a  
period of stabilisation; this change  
of course signalled the need for  
different tactics to be adopted by  
the International.

Trotsky recognised in his speech  
to the Third Congress of the  
Comintern that the post-war  
situation was due to massive  
borrowing and the circulation of



Delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Comintern - the last Leninist Congress.

Thus, "fictitious capital continued to distend, especially in those countries where industry continued to slump." ("First Five Years" p255).

The epoch was one of: "retribution for the drain and destruction of wartime, one of levelling out in reverse - upswings can be only of a superficial and primary speculative character, while the crises become more and more prolonged and deeper-going." ("First Five Years" Vol 1, p260).

With the benefit of hindsight we can see how correct this view was. While giving the impression of 'stabilising', the world economy was actually heading directly towards a cataclysmic slump.

**COMPLEX**

Trotsky noted that "The situation is becoming more and more favourable for us, but it is also growing extremely complex." The task of the Third Congress was therefore to raise the Comintern to a higher level and make it more expert tactically.

Later, Trotsky was to write: "With the Third Congress it is realised that the post-war revolutionary ferment is over....The turn is taken to winning the masses, using the united front, that is, organising the masses on a programme of transitional demands."

The Fourth Congress of the Communist International was held in 1922 in Petrograd. This proved to be the last Leninist Congress. Lenin, together with Trotsky, prepared the main report on the situation of the Soviet Republic and the perspectives of world revolution, and Trotsky delivered the summing up speeches after each of these.

The problems of the united front and of the formation of a workers' government were the most important tactical questions discussed, along with that of trade union tactics.

No programme was adopted; in fact until the Sixth Congress, the Comintern had adopted no codified programme. Particular attention was, however, given to the internal situations in various parties.

**"THEORY"**

Conspicuously absent from any of the first four Congresses, like Stalin himself, was his "theory" of socialism in one country. This anti-Marxist doctrine was not promulgated until the Fifth Congress of the International in 1924.

It is significant that this "theory" could not be presented until Lenin had died; it was in contradiction to all the traditions that the International stood for, and at its root lay despair at the possibility of revolutionary victories in the advanced countries of Western Europe.

By degrees, this nationalist policy of the Soviet bureaucracy imposed itself upon the parties of the Communist International. This crisis in the International in this way reflected the crisis now developing within the leadership of the Communist Party itself.

The slogan, "The United States of Europe", fought for in 1923 by Trotsky at the time of the Ruhr

crisis, was abandoned by the Stalinists after 1926.

The nature of the Comintern itself was to be radically altered as Stalin consolidated the grip of the bureaucracy. The political line adopted led to numerous defeats; the next Congress was postponed for four years.

This merely demonstrates the contempt that the Stalinists showed towards the international working class.

On top of this, expulsions took place throughout the Communist Parties of the world, ridding them of many of the movement's strongest members.

As Trotsky pointed out: "If we examine the lists of delegates to the first four Congresses....we find that, after Lenin's death - all, with one exception, were not only removed from the leadership but were also expelled from the Communist International."

This could be seen no longer as the erroneous result of a bureaucratic approach, but as an increasingly deliberate and concerted attempt to derail the revolutionary process. At the centre of this was the nationalist "theory" of 'socialism in one country'. As Trotsky said in his 1928 work, *The Third International After Lenin*,

"In our epoch, which is the epoch of imperialism, ie, of world economy and world politics under the hegemony of finance capital, not a single communist party can establish its programme by proceeding solely or mainly from conditions and tendencies of developments in its own country..."

"An international communist programme is in no case the sum total of national programmes or an amalgam of their common features." (P3-4, Pathfinder edition).

**WRONG APPROACH**

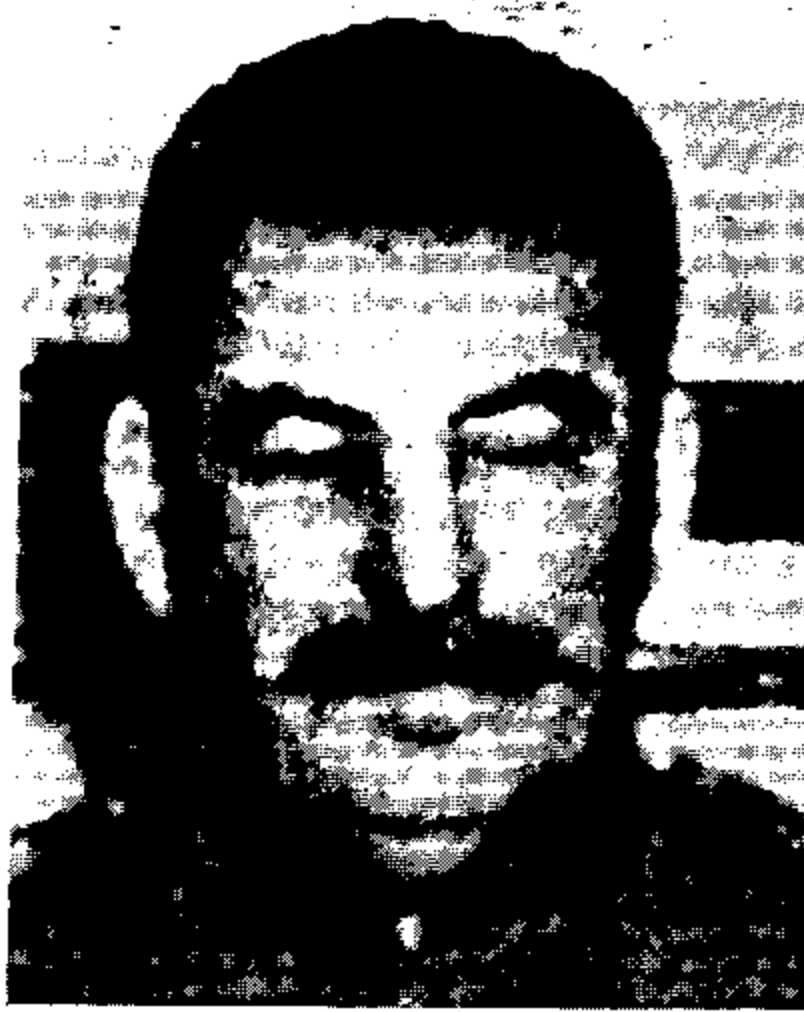
Trotsky did not consider defeats already sustained in Germany (1923), China and elsewhere were isolated events, but the product of a fundamentally wrong political approach.

The 'socialism in one country' "theory" had its roots in the social layers represented by the bureaucracy - the peasantry, petty officials, managers, "experts", etc. Stalin and Bukharin in particular, believed that socialism could be built at a 'snail's pace'. The Trotskyist Left Opposition arose in 1923 to oppose the political domination and wrong policies of the bureaucracy, but made it clear the achievement of full communism was impossible in Russia without revolution in one of the advanced Western economies.

Nationalism and bureaucratisation, in the form of Stalinism, worked together to ossify the International. What resulted was a steady chain of defeats for the international proletariat.

**DEFEAT**

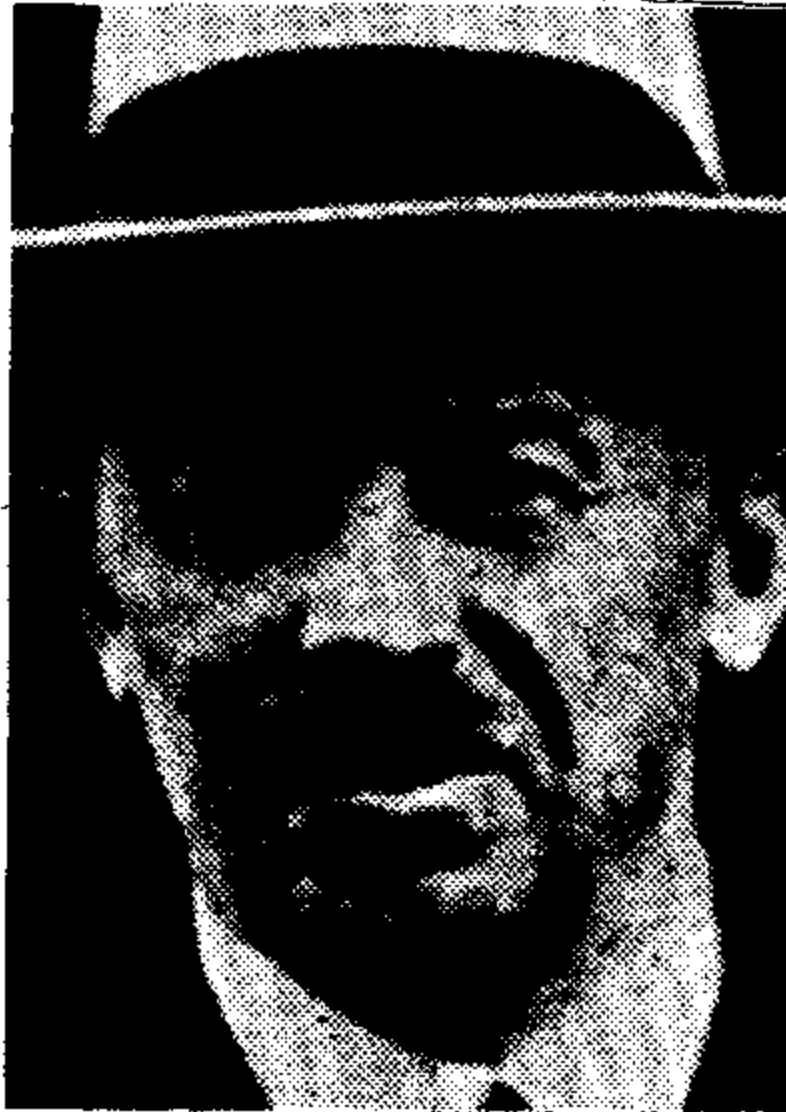
In particular, the tragic defeat of the German working class in 1933 followed the split in the German workers' movement created by the Stalinists who branded the social-democrats as "social fascists" (after which the Comintern, for



Stalin



Radek



Bukharin



Zinoviev

stated that the policy had been "quite correct").

This defeat, stemming from the corruption of the most powerful Communist Party outside Russia and followed by not a ripple of discussion or analysis inside the Comintern, led Trotsky to conclude that the Third International was dead as a revolutionary organisation.

As a consequence he began the formation of the Fourth International, which was founded in 1938.

As he stated in its programme, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International", "The world situation as a whole is characterised by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat".

In the face of the continuing treacherous policies of Stalinist Communist Parties worldwide today, it is clear that the only way forward is to build the Fourth International as a fighting body. That is the outstanding lesson of the Russian Revolution and the history of the Third International.

by PAUL LISTER

**Discussion Article**

**PROBLEMS OF MARXISM IN PAKISTAN**

We publish here the first of two parts of a discussion article on the history and problems of the Marxist movement in Pakistan.

We do so not because we are in complete agreement with the views expressed - indeed there are several points with which we have considerable disagreement - but because we feel that discussion on such questions is of importance to those within the Trotskyist movement who take seriously the need to build the Fourth International with sections active in every country.

The problem of programme and perspective for revolution in the colonial and ex-colonial countries must be considered and tackled by Trotskyists if we are not to descend to mere abstractions.

We will therefore publish this discussion article and follow it with our points of reply - while inviting also our readers to contribute to the discussion. Letters or articles submitted to *Socialist Press* should be kept as brief as possible to avoid any necessity for cuts.

In 1947 Pakistan inherited only one Marxist tradition and that was the Communist Party of India.

A Communist Party which consisted of a few dedicated Marxist intellectuals, whose dedication very conveniently turned into the worst kind of Marxist dogma which led to a complete isolation from the masses.

The basic cause of this 'turn-over' was the famous Comintern which did not provide either ideological or tactical guidance to the Communist Party of India.

Even at the Second and Third Congresses of the Comintern indifference was displayed by the leading Marxists including Lenin. At the Third Congress the CPI's representative, M.N. Roy said:

"I have been allowed five minutes for my report [on India]. As this theme cannot be dealt with adequately even in an hour, I wish to employ these five minutes for an energetic protest. The way in which the Eastern question has been dealt with at this Congress is purely opportunist, and is worthy rather of a Congress of the Second International. It is absolutely impossible to draw any practical conclusions whatever from the few sentences which the Eastern delegations have been allowed to speak."

**DECISIVE**

Roy's theses [presented at the Second Congress] argued that the Communists of colonial countries can play a decisive role against imperialism.

The theses were accepted with a few amendments and decisions were taken accordingly, but Safarov (who collaborated with Lenin on the Eastern question) indicated in his report to the Fourth Congress that nothing practical was done to cope with the situation in the East.

He said:

"In spite of the decisions of the Second Congress of the Communist International, the Communist Parties of the imperialist countries have done extraordinarily little to deal with the national and colonial question....Worse still, the flag of Communism is used to hide chauvinist ideas foreign and hostile to proletarian internationalism."

The theses approved on the Eastern question at the Fourth Congress were so superficial and abstract as to produce no substantial results. Roy said:

"We thought that, simply because [the countries of the East] were all politically, economically and socially backward, we could lump them all together, and deal with this problem as though it were a general problem. But this was a mistake. We know today that the Eastern countries cannot be taken as a homogenous whole, neither politically, economically nor socially. This Eastern question therefore represents for the Communist International a question of greater complexity than the struggle in the West - assuming that the International is prepared to

It seems that Comrade Roy's assumption was soon to be found wrong. The Fourth Congress was the last Congress Lenin attended before his death in 1924. After this came the dominance of Stalin who was the person least likely to take seriously anything except Russia's security and the creation of Communist colonies.

In Stalin's view the national bourgeois movement in India showed better prospects as an ally than the young Communist Party of India.

Stalin wanted the communists of India to rely upon the national bourgeois leaders of Congress and the Muslim League.

**OPPOSED**

Roy, however, strongly opposed the idea of collaborating with (or rather liquidating into) a movement which did not possess any long-term revolutionary programme.

But the CPI, not being established on a national scale, was not in a position to integrate with the masses; its leaders were thus unable to change the essence of the movement.

This impotence resulted in an ideological paralysis and a total submission to Russian interests.

In 1947, Pakistan's share of the CPI was a handful of impotent Muslim communists along with a population clinging to religious ideals.

For the middle class members of the Muslim League, all the economic bases of creating a new country were packed into one abstract bundle of metaphysical nonsense.

Pakistan was created, they thought, in order to enable the Muslims "to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam, because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today." (Liaquat Ali Khan).

Moreover, there were practically no industrial workers and more than 85% of the population was still entangled in feudal relations of production.

**MIDDLE CLASS**

So the Muslim part of the CPI was left with only one possible ally - the 'progressive' middle class.

But they didn't have much luck even with them the way they tended to present Marx. In reaction to the strong religious values of that society, they preached (or at least appeared to preach) that being an atheist and immoral is a pre-requisite of being a communist.

Subsequently, the CPI proved to be highly adventurist and too ambitious in its approach towards a religious-feudal society.

Its members were destined to remain grumbling spectators in that rapidly changing political situation.

by FAUZIA RAFIQ

## 200 Year Anniversary

THE NOTORIOUS  
ATHEIST

David Hume --- died August 25th 1776

by Adam Westoby

Two hundred years ago today a notorious atheist passed on into immortality.

David Hume, who died in Edinburgh on August 25th, 1776 (after a long and painful illness) was at different times tutor, staff officer, diplomat, librarian, civil servant and historian.

He was also one of the greatest and oldest of British philosophers, and one of the intellectual grand-parents of Marxism.

He died as he had lived, in a spirit of uncompromising and cheerful hostility to all religion and superstition.

Two famous universities, Edinburgh and Glasgow, distinguished themselves by refusing him jobs. And scarcely was he in his grave before clergymen were queuing up to heap vilification and abusive pamphlets on it.

What most riled them was that Hume's philosophical scepticism withstood not only their feeble polemics, but his own painful and lingering death.

James Boswell visited him near the end, hoping that illness would have altered his views on religion and the immortality of the soul.

But Hume replied that "he never had entertained any belief in religion since he began to read Locke and Clarke", and that "when

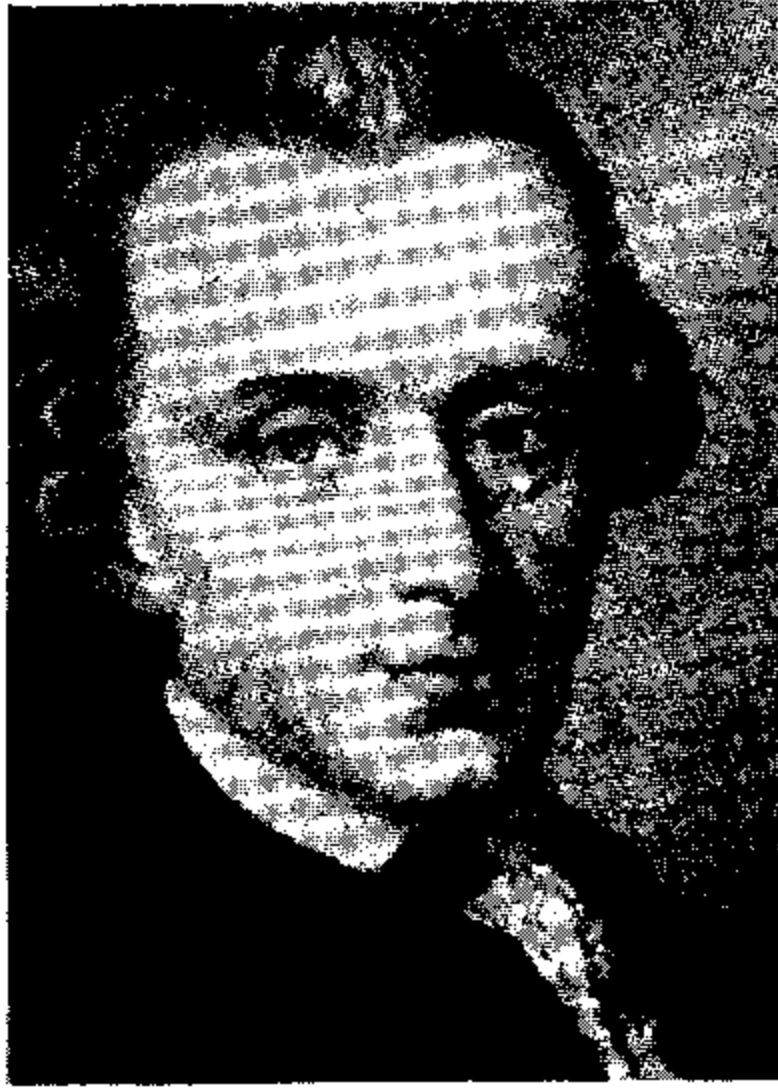


Hegel

he heard a man was religious, he concluded he was a rascal", adding that "it was a most unreasonable fancy that we should exist for ever".

A little before (on the 4th July 1776, the day of the American Declaration of Independence) Hume had summoned his close friends (including the economist Adam Smith) to a farewell dinner.

Up to his final hour "The extreme gentleness of his nature

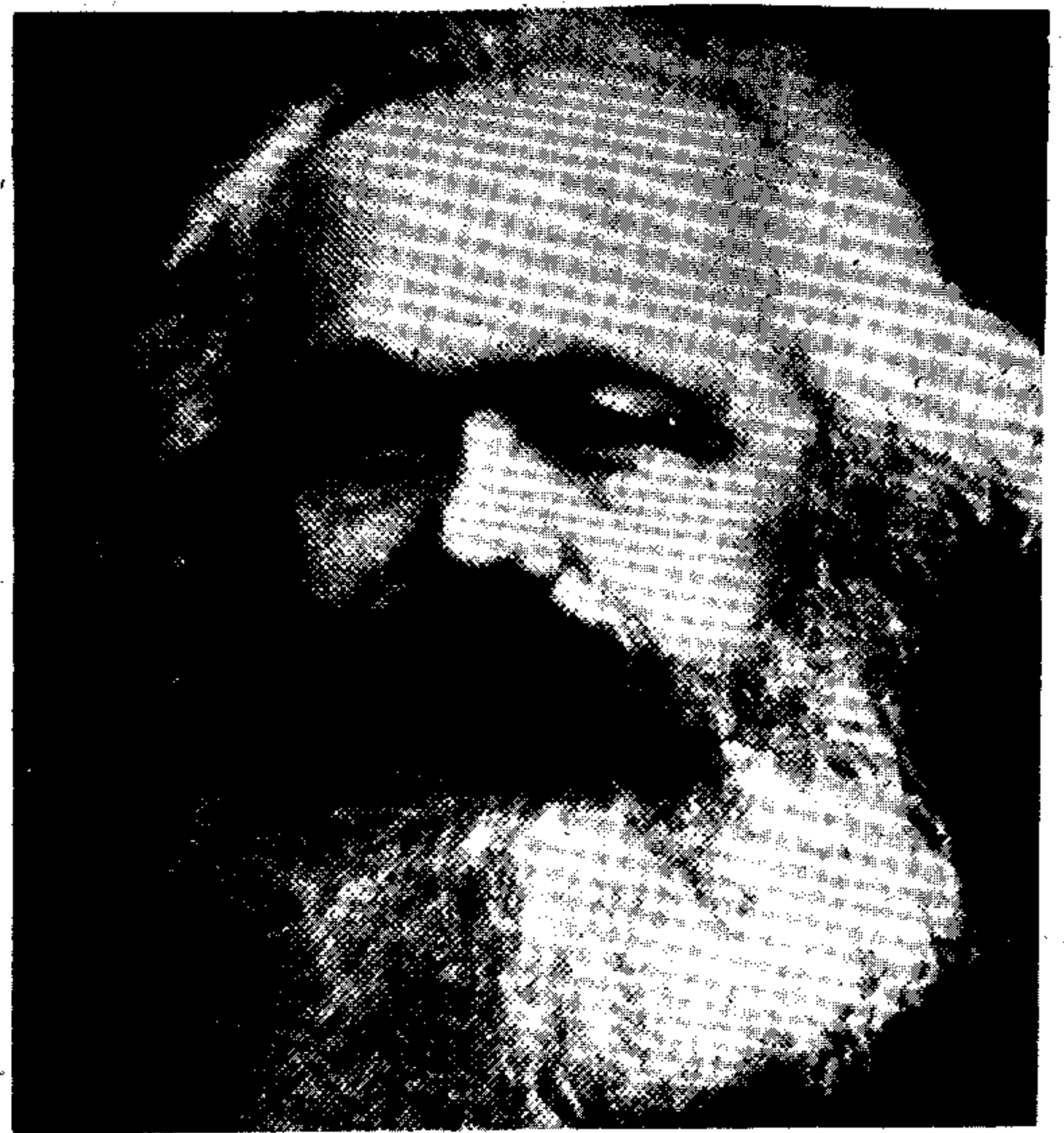


Kant

never weakened either the firmness of his mind or the steadiness of his resolutions" wrote Smith.

Nonetheless a largely hostile crowd gathered at his funeral, perhaps expecting the coffin (which was buried during a heavy rainstorm) to be struck by a refutatory thunderbolt.

They were disappointed. But the philosophical ideas which allowed Hume to die with such scandalous composure survived him. His scepticism



Karl Marx

is a turning point in bourgeois philosophy.

He took Locke's empiricism — the view that the senses are the basis of all knowledge — and drove it, with ruthless logic, to more far-reaching conclusions than Locke had ever dared.

## EXPERIENCE

He denied there was any reason innate in man, arguing that all our thoughts, and our moral feelings, arise directly or indirectly from experience and are formed through habit.

Up to Hume's time, philosophers had described and mapped the human mind, always discovering in it certain universal elements — 'reason', 'moral sense' and so on — which were generally used to justify the immortality of the soul.

Hume, the arch-empiricist, put the 'soul' in his philosopher's crucible, analysed it with logic and roasted it with irony, and discovered — that there was nothing permanent or absolute in it at all!

And he went further, to point out that neither logic nor religion could ever give 'proofs' for the existence of man's natural world and still less for God's supernatural one.

"To have recourse to the veracity of the Supreme Being, in order to prove the veracity of our senses," Hume sarcastically concluded, "is surely making a very unexpected circuit. If his veracity were at all concerned in the matter, our senses would be entirely infallible; because it is not possible he can ever deceive."

"Not to mention that, if the external world be once called in question, we shall be at a loss to find arguments, by which we may prove the existence of that Being or any of his attributes."

(*Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, para. 120).

Such results greatly upset the clergy. It is easy to understand why they clustered round Hume's deathbed, hoping that a moment of fevered weakness would give God his customary opportunity.

Yet for philosophy Hume's ideas were a sharp progressive jolt. Kant wrote that it was Hume who 'first interrupted my dogmatic slumber' — and thrust him on to the 'critical philosophy', in which he tried to re-establish the foundations of reason, but at the same time drew out the contradictions of formal logic and showed the way to Hegel and Marx's developments of dialectics.

## BASER

But in our own day Hume has been turned to baser uses. Alarmed by the power of materialism in the hands of the Marxists, modern bourgeois philosophers have brought back into fashion his scepticism regarding the material world, hoping to find 'logical' bolt-holes for idealism.

Bertrand Russell, for example, once speculated (and only half in jest) that there is a peculiarly hot chamber in Hell reserved for those who have refuted Hume.

In real life, though, Hume was no anaemic modern sceptic. He himself pointed out that philosophical scepticism ran into conflict with all day-to-day practice and that consistent sceptics would "remain in a total lethargy, till the necessities of nature, unsatisfied, put an end to their miserable existence."

Hume was born too early to resolve this contradiction between theory and practice. But even in death he kept his feet firmly on the ground.

When the doctors diagnosed (by poking his substantial abdomen) the 'tumour or swelling in my liver' that was finally to kill him, he wrote:

"This fact, not drawn by reasoning, but obvious to the senses, and perceived by the greatest Anatomist in Europe, must be admitted as unquestionable, and will alone account for my situation."

And he added:  
"Even St. Thomas, the infidel

BILL  
BRAND

'Bill Brand' — ITV's revolutionary soap-opera of the young heroes of Westminster — limped to the inconclusive end of its first series last week.

A further dollop of twenty-something weekly instalments is promised later this year.

It is worth remarking on the political adventures of its hero to date. Bill Brand MP, is an intelligent but slightly naive little lad from a working-class family whose roots are sunk deep in one of the Lancashire cotton towns — a constituency with a solid Labour vote.

Brand's naivete is no handicap — it stands him in good stead when he goes to university and then takes a job as a lecturer.

## ELECTED

As we (through the eyes of the author of ITV's series, Trevor Griffiths) pick him up when he has just been elected as Labour member for his home town — in a by-election — and is on his way to London town to add his vote to Labour's very slender Parliamentary majority.

It is at this point that the fur begins — gently at first, then with greater and greater vigour — to fly.

As you see, Billy Brand in his heart of hearts is really a socialist whatever else the Parliamentary Labour Party is about (as Brand gently but dramatically discloses it is not socialism).

But it was all a terrible mistake. Getting elected to the House

of Commons has heart strings visibly throbbing — on the verge of chucking it all in and going on the road with a progressive folk-group and their clinging harmonies.

But before that point the makers of 'Bill Brand' have painted on the screen a rich panoply of Parliamentary and Labour Party life, full of colour and incident.

## VOTING

Scarcely has he arrived at Westminster than Brand finds himself voting against the Labour government over public spending cuts, only to be deserted by the Tribune group at the last moment and left to face a lone crucifixion at the hands of the Chief Whip.

Bloodied but unbowed he returns to be rescued from a right-wing motion of censure in his constituency party by manoeuvres worthy of the most rabid supporters of Prentice and Jenkins (you see, the left and the right are neither of them above a bit of hanky-panky with notice of meetings and so on!).

From then on it's all go. He's offered a junior ministerial job by David Last (a slender alibi for Michael Foot), supports a factory occupation against sackings in his home town, punches a Tory on the nose in a scuffle after opposing an all-Party policy on the Prevention of Terrorism Act, tangles with the Catholic Church and assorted doctors over abortion, acts as errand-boy for the left in the leadership struggle after the Wilson-figure succumbs to a heart-attack, leads a

— and generally mixes it with the best of them.

There is also (as usual with Griffiths' plays, and obligatory for a TV series at peak hours) an erotic sub-plot, in which the agonies and ecstasies of his political career are reflected.

Back at the Lancashire ranch young Billy is busy divorcing his up-tight middle-class wife, while trying desperately to retain the misplaced affections of their two children.

This he does with the narrative assistance of a left-wing mistress, who is simultaneously being recruited to gay liberation.

And as counterpoint to these delights there develops with his buxom, Tribuneite, London landlady a most intricate and emotionally-charged relationship which always falls short, so to speak, of the horizontal.

But it wasn't what was in the series that gave it its content, but rather what was missing.

## NO FLESH

There were two 'characters' who never took on any form of flesh and blood — the Tories and the working class.

The fact that the Tories were always there merely as backdrop to the Westminster scenes gave it an unintended realism — without the series ever losing its political 'balance' it nonetheless reflected the fact that the great historical coalition of British politics runs right through the Labour Party, and that the most intricate and serious

to the Labour and Trade Union bureaucrats. This element of the series is true. But the working class itself — whose strength and offensive battles are the cause of all the Parliamentary goings-on — never gets better than a walk-on part, bringing in the milk, patting Brand on the back for a left speech and so on.

## REAL

At no point did Griffiths dare take his fragile 'hero' into the real crucible of British politics, beyond the narrow circle of fights and intrigues within the bureaucracy and into a struggle for political leadership among the mass of organised workers' strikes or occupations — though the plot gave him golden opportunities to do this.

It was a prudent decision of Mr Griffiths. Brand MP could not plausibly have done anything but evaporate in the leadership of a serious strike. And that would have been a bit of a let-down.

'Bill Brand' has been widely greeted as good political drama — for example by Tariq Ali in *Red Weekly* and a favourable notice in the WRP's *Newsline*.

## ANTI-COMMUNIST

It is nothing of the sort. Like Griffiths' earlier plays — on, for example, Gramsci and on Gerry Healy and the WRP — the political standpoint is that of sophisticated anti-communism.

Griffiths disclaims any explicit political position. The place of his central character is to ask questions, not provide answers. But Brand is incapable of anything but rhetorical questions.

The political moral of the series (and, no doubt, the reason why ITV have decided to finance it at such interminable length) may be discovered in the song that is sung softly in the offices of the Labour whips in the House of Commons: "Every moderate has 'lefts' Upon his back to bite him And every 'left' has further 'lefts' And so on ad infinitum."



# FIGHTING THE US UNION BUREAUCRACY

We reprint below a feature article from LABOR NEWS the paper of the US Socialist League — dealing with the questions of principle raised in the fight against bureaucracy in the labour movement.

by Jim Hays

Millions of rank and file trade unionists are becoming completely hostile to their union officials. These officials take the workers' dues and refuse to defend the workers on the shop floor.

They ignore the unemployed and unorganised. They frequently hob-nob with the bosses at country clubs, drive fancy cars, and hold phoney conventions at fleshpot resorts like Miami Beach and Las Vegas.

They vote themselves big salary hikes but negotiate contracts which often even fail to meet cost of living increases.

## WAGE INCREASE

The Teamsters' convention recently voted the union bureaucrats a 25% wage increase.

Rank and file discontent is growing so fast that the capitalist media is beginning to take notice.

NBC Nightly TV News has been running a series on corruption and gangsterism in the Teamsters' Union following the "disappearance of Jimmy Hoffa".

Teamsters don't have to be told how undemocratically their union is run. Recently in St. Louis, all 50 UPS drivers voted at a strike meeting not to return to work.

But the bureaucrats in Chicago said 'back to work,' so their flunkies in Local 688 had to conduct an eight-hour meeting before they could wear the membership down to the point that it would not wildcat the next day.

## OPPORTUNIST

In this case the opportunist opposition in the Local, known as UPSurge-Teamsters for a Decent Contract, also advised the members to return to work after consulting a lawyer.

Teamsters for a Decent Contract has now become Teamsters for a Decent Union and follows the leadership of the newly-formed PROD (Professional Drivers' Council for Safety and Health) organisation headed by former NLRB lawyer Arthur Fox.

Fox agrees with the conclusion of the NBC News Special broadcasts that only the federal government, through laws like the Landrum-Griffin Act, can reform the unions.

## RACKETS

The Landrum-Griffin Act came out of the McClellan Committee hearings on labour rackets in the late 1950s.

The Kennedy brothers got their big boost on the road to the White House by running a public vendetta against then Teamster President Hoffa.

They were not concerned with Hoffa's Mafia connections but his negotiation of the first central states master contract, which could give the union power to shut down much of industry in a strike.

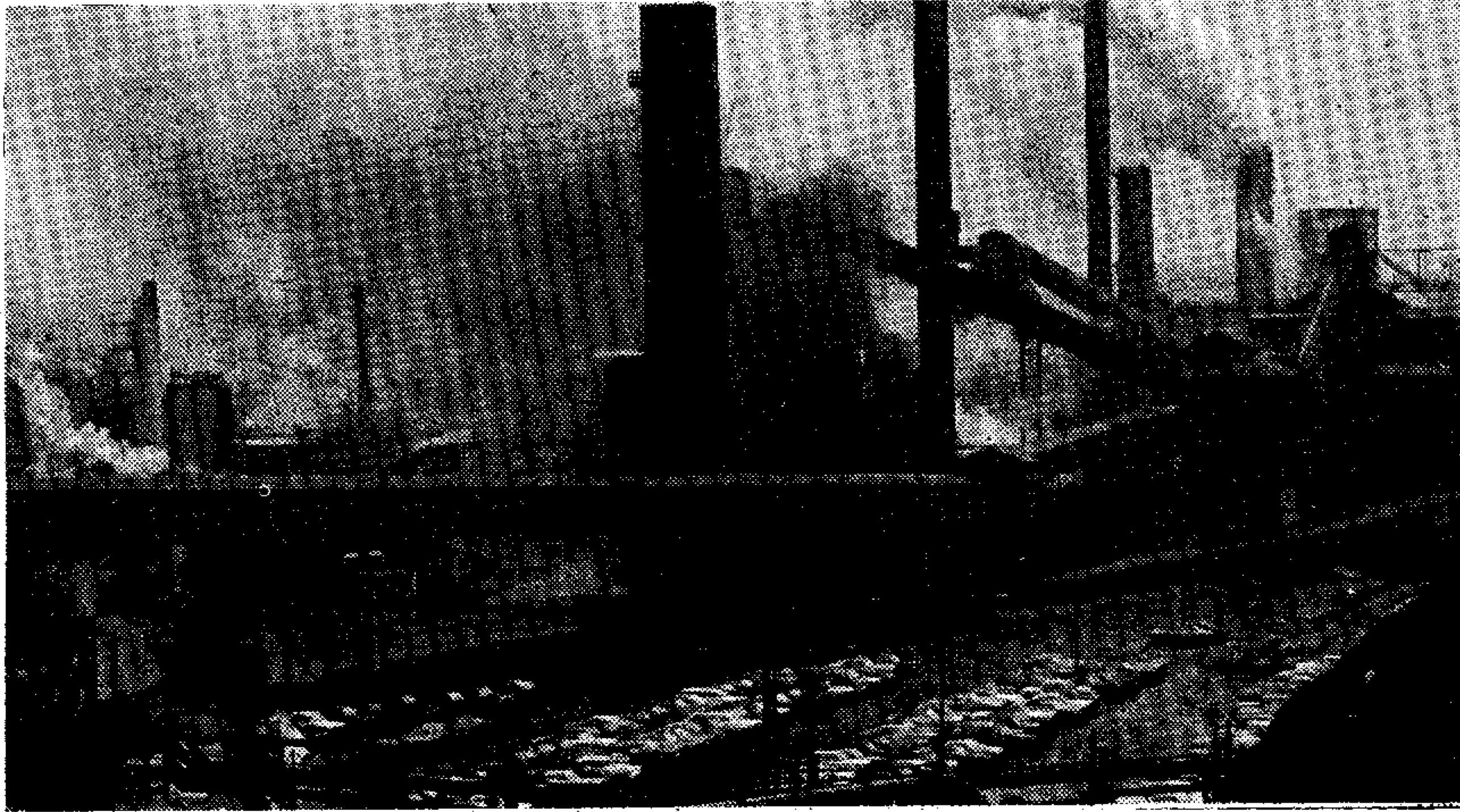
When Hoffa finally went to jail he left the union in control of Frank Fitzsimmons, who let the mobsters have even more control and backed Nixon for President in exchange for restrictions on Hoffa's parole.

Revolutionary socialists oppose using the bosses' courts and lawyers to free the unions of corruption.

Once the government gets a foot in the door, it will use that to control all the unions' elections and affairs.

Workers must organise on their own to clean up their organisations independently of big business control, no matter how benevolently it is disguised.

In 1958 the rightward-moving Independent Socialist League of



Cleveland Steel Works

Photo: SWP/Militant



Ed Sadlowski

Photo: SWP/Militant

Max Schachtman favoured the McClellan hearings and the Left Wing Youth Opposition, led by Tim Wohlforth, opposed the government's attempt to smash the Teamsters' Union.

## PRINCIPLED

In this principled stand, he was supported by the Socialist Workers Party, which was then still a revolutionary workers' party.

Today the SWP and Wohlforth have changed their views on the role of government courts and cops.

For example they favour calling on Mayor Daly's cops to protect blacks against Nazi Party violence in Chicago's Marquette Park. Using the same logic it gives uncritical support to Steelworkers' union reform candidate Ed Sadlowski.

Andy Rose's articles in the SWP's *Militant* newspaper support "Sادلowski's fight for a militant, democratic labour movement." (April 9th, 1976).

In doing this the SWP shows how far it has gone along the path to becoming the labour bureaucracy's advisors and attorneys.

## WON.

Sادلowski's supporters recently won some local elections in the Mid-west steelworkers' union.

During the campaign to get their man John Chico elected President of the Southworks steel plant Local in Chicago, *Sادلowski's supporters called in the Justice Department to supervise the election* and went to court to get their supporters on the union's ballot-counting committee.

Next year Sadlowski will challenge I.W. Abel for the presidency of the United Steelworkers International Union.

Abel was elected to office as a "reform" candidate against David McDonald in 1965.



US Steelworker

Photo: SWP/Militant

In a campaign fund appeal letter written for him by Victor Reuther of the UAW bureaucracy, Sadlowski makes no bones about the fact that his campaign will be modeled after the successful Arnold Miller campaign to replace Tony Boyle as head of the United Mine-workers' Union.

## MOVEMENTS

Miller formed the Black Lung movement and Miners for Democracy and used *Justice Department law suits and investigations to get elected in 1974.*

He promised to move the union's headquarters to the coal fields but it is still in a plush Washington office building.

Mine safety under Miller's regime is not much better, as witnessed by the Oven Fork disaster last March. Moreover, Miller showed his true "democratic" colours by crushing a massive miners' wildcat walkout last summer (see *Labour News*, Sept. 1975).

Despite all his talk about ending "tuxedo unionism," Sadlowski's campaign appeal does not challenge I.W. Abel's negotiation of the ENA no-strike agreement.

## NO PROGRAMME

He has no programme to get jobs for the 100,000 unemployed steelworkers. He has not challenged

Abel's chauvinistic protectionist propaganda about "foreign imports."

He supports continuing labour's ties with the Democratic Party's fat cat politicians. Real union militants should take advantage of the opening created by Sadlowski's fake reform campaign to fight for a concrete class struggle programme in the USWA and other unions.

## \*SOCIALIST PRESS FOOTNOTE.

The desperate level of violent retaliation resorted to by the extreme right-wing in the US to defend the union bureaucracy is indicated by the gunning down on July 26th of Ben Corum, a 52-year old steelworker giving out leaflets at a Houston factory.

Corum was hit in the neck by the bullet, fired from a passing car. He is one of a team of supporters of Sadlowski's "Steelworkers Fight Back" movement who have been travelling through the Southern States organising the fight against the bureaucracy.

A campaign is now underway to mobilise support in the local labour movement against such attacks and to strengthen the campaign for union democracy.

**FOLROSE BOOKS**

**THE BATTLE FOR TROTSKYISM**  
LAURENCE OF THE 1930s  
WORKERS PRESS  
SOCIALIST PRESS

Documents of the Opposition expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1974, with account of the expulsion. Price £1 plus 20p p&P

**OUT NOW**  
**THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME**  
The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International  
by Leon Trotsky

Now available in a 3rd edition with a glossary and an introduction by Alan Thornett. Price 30p plus 10p

**BEHIND THE SMOKESCREEN**  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE SOCIALIST POLITICAL MOVEMENTS OF THE 1970s  
THE FORCE LABOR GOV'T & DESIGN

An analysis of the social politics of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Articles reprinted from Socialist Press. Price 40p plus 10p

**TROTSKYISM TODAY BACK ISSUES**  
"Fourth International Problems and Tasks" . . .  
"In Defence of A Great Revolutionary: James Cannon" by Tim Wohlforth . . .  
"The Post-war Reconstruction of Capitalism" reply to Wohlforth's on Cannon. . . .  
"The General Strike" . . .  
"The Significance of the Transitional Programme" . . .

All these titles are available from:  
**Folrose Books**  
31, Dartmouth Park  
London NW5 1H



# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

FIGHT AGAINST CIVIL SERVICE SACKINGS

## JOBS CONCEDED TO CPSA

As announced in the last edition of 'Socialist Press', the government have decided on 46,000 sackings in the Civil Service.

These "savings" are to commence in 1977, and are to be spread over a two-year period.

But despite this the government have decided to get down to the nitty-gritty of cutting posts now.

Already 708 posts are earmarked for the government axe in one department alone this year — the DHSS. The excuse for this is the government's claim that the workload on the Contributory Benefits side of the DHSS has decreased in the past year.

But this claim is entirely hollow based as it is on the spurious methods of computing the work done throughout the department.

A clear example of how thoroughly worthless these methods are is provided by the fact that in 1975-76 the workload on the Supplementary Benefits side was underestimated by 1219 posts!

The response of the unions

involved was initially slow, but after innumerable meetings, the CPSA eventually broke off negotiations and threatened minor industrial action unless the 708 posts were restored.

At the start of August the government offered to restore 436 posts, leaving an outstanding deficiency of 272.

The CPSA rejected this offer on the 6th August, and again threatened minor industrial action unless all the posts were restored on the Contributory Benefits side within three weeks.

The CPSA further demanded that the government create an additional 1219 posts on the Supplementary Benefits side — arguing that since the workload increases had been underestimated by this amount in 1975-76, it was reasonable to assume a similar underestimation in 1976-77.

The government's response is to be announced at the end of this month.

The WSL welcomes any demonstration of opposition to the cuts. But we must point out the inade-

quacy of the CPSA strategy for fighting these plans for redundancies.

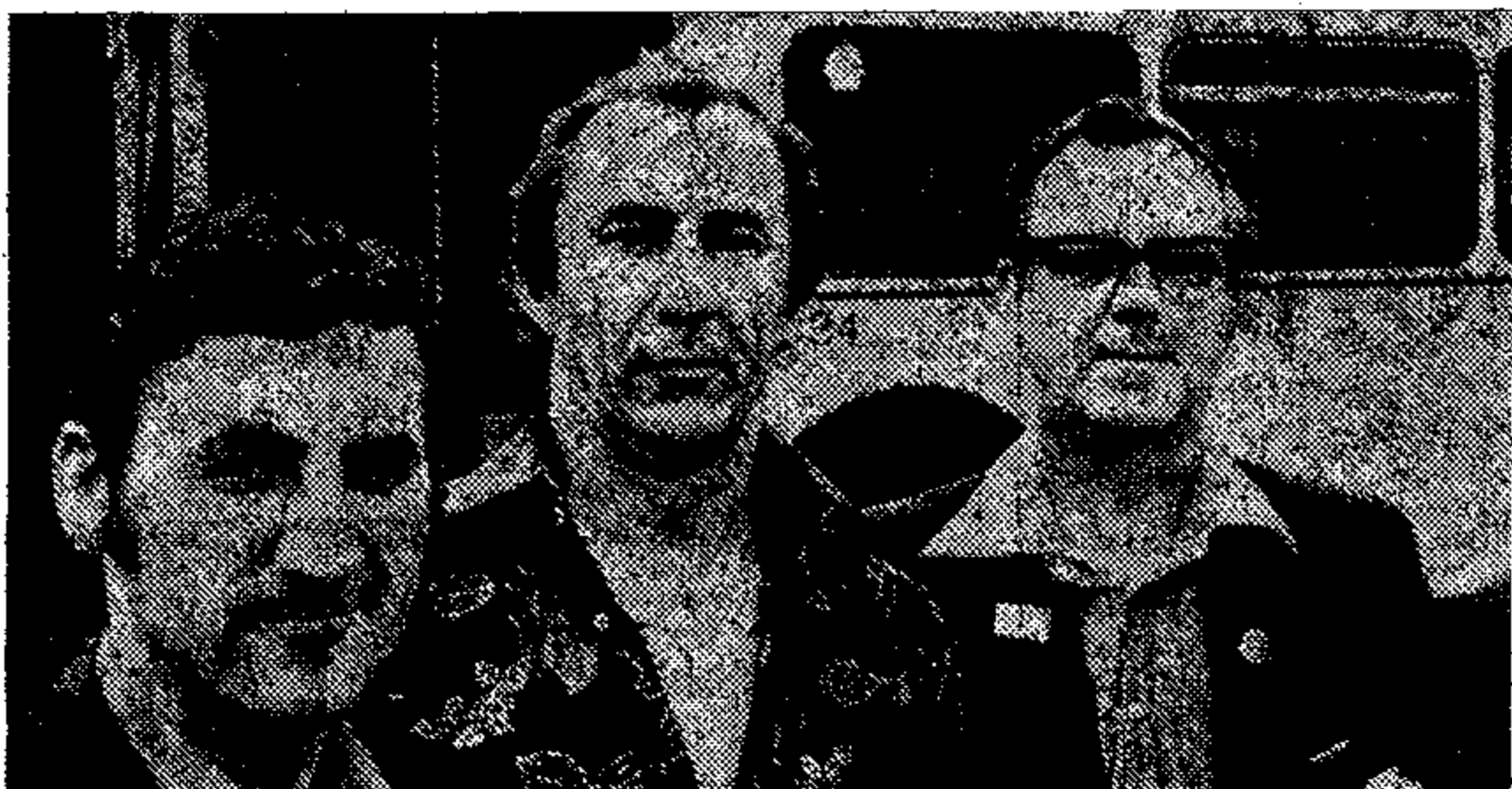
The CPSA must extend its policy of non-cooperation with Audit and Survey teams (which the government intend to use to provide figures as the basis of new cuts) into a permanent position, and must set about the election of union committees with full powers to inspect all government documents pertaining to Civil Service manpower.

These committees must then proceed to a thorough investigation of the workloads in each office, with a view to determining manning levels throughout the Service.

On the basis of these committees the CPSA must begin a fight for a sliding scale of public expenditure as the only way to maintain and expand the present Social Services.

Only by utilising its industrial strength to the full in a fight for this programme will the CPSA be able to effectively combat the present reactionary policies of this Labour regime.

## BUSES: NEWCASTLE SELL-OUT



Tom Shields, (centre) Secretary of the T&GWU busmen's branch

## COVENTRY STANDSTILL

At a mass meeting on Thursday 19th August, Coventry bus crews voted not to allow an extension in one-man buses until a better offer is made on shorter hours.

West Midlands Passenger Transport Authority want to increase one-man operation and have offered a derisory £1.04 per week productivity bonus.

One hundred and fifty new front loading buses will stay off the road following the bus crews decision.

The drive by the WMPA to get much more work for just a little extra money had been aided by the confusion caused by the busmen's leaders.

For some time bus crews have been demanding a reduction in the dinner break in order to bring the working day down to eight hours thirty five minutes.

### NEGOTIATIONS

At the end of June a full stoppage took place followed by one-day strikes which were dropped while negotiations took place.

An overtime ban was then introduced and this was withdrawn at Thursday's meeting — just as it was really beginning to bite.

he was disgusted at the way the action had been led and after the meeting a petition was circulated calling for a further meeting to discuss a motion of no confidence in the T&GWU busmen's branch committee.

Clearly a new leadership is needed — one which can build on the militancy of the crews in a positive way.

The overtime ban had reduced both rush-hour services and take home pay by one-third — demonstrating the need for a basic wage high enough to get rid of the need for overtime working altogether.

### OFFENSIVE

With unemployment running at 14,000 in the city and inflation reducing the value of take-home pay by the week, the next mass meeting must take the offensive against the employers.

Extra workers must be taken on in order to introduce the 8 hour 35 minute day — with no overtime.

A substantial increase protected against inflation by automatic cost of living increases must at the same time be fought for to compensate for the loss in take home pay.

Elected committees of busmen will be needed to draw up plans for new manning levels and work out

The fight to defeat cuts in public spending in the North East which mean reduced services and a growth of the massive unemployment in the area, has received a setback through the refusal of Newcastle busmen's leaders to continue and extend solid strike action in defence of jobs.

Since the Tyne and Wear Passenger Transport Executive took over in 1970, both jobs and services have been severely reduced.

### RESPONSE

Recent attempts to introduce further one-man operated buses and new schedules, without the agreement of union representatives, brought a strong response from the workforce, resulting in a mass meeting of the 1,200 workforce last week.

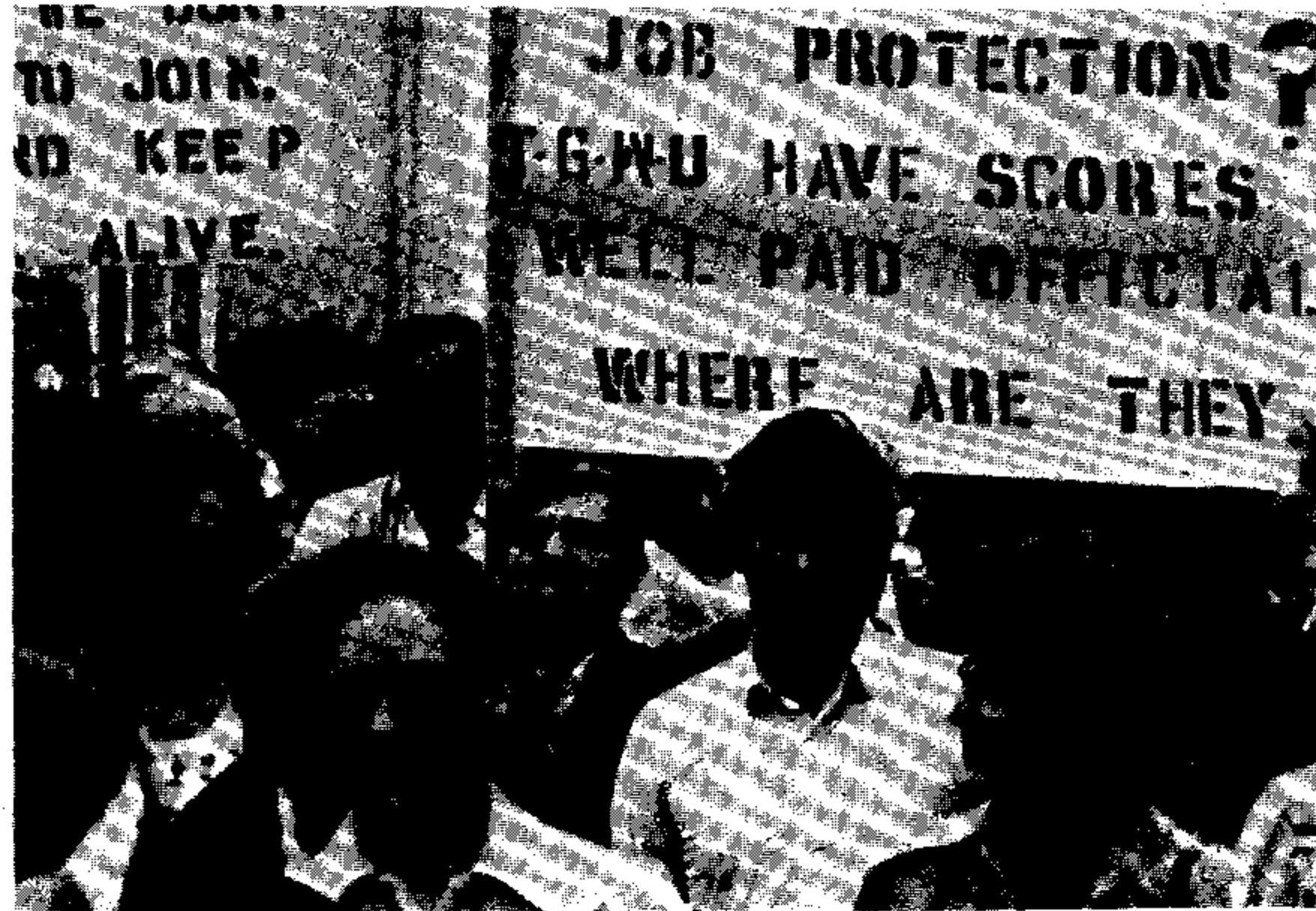
Tom Shields, T&GWU branch secretary, though forced to make militant noises against the employers' arbitrary action, had previously shown his completely unprincipled and reactionary position by calling for a solution through the ending of free fares for pensioners and in demanding a "fair" sacking policy to include white-collar workers as well!

### CONVINCING

At the mass meeting Shields, with the willing assistance of a local T&GWU full-time official, had to spend well over an hour in convincing them to return to work on the basis of a worthless agreement from management that the situation would be "reviewed" in one month.

Such refusals to give a strong lead in defence of jobs acts only to confuse and demoralise workers and prepares the ground for further attacks under conditions more favourable to the employer.

# T&GWU OFFICIAL'S JOB BETTER THAN WORKING



400-strong lobby of T&GWU officials in Oxford.

An interesting insight into the criterion for selecting the appointed officials who have complete control of the day to day running of the T&GWU appeared in a recent 'Oxford Mail' interview with a newly appointed Oxford district organiser.

### ANTI-UNION

With the sympathetic ear of the paper's anti-union industrial reporter Peter Sturges, (a central figure in the Oxford section of the scab "Institute of Journalists") the new T&GWU official, Mr Geoffrey Hulett, a former car transporter driver, revealed the true level of his commitment to the working class.

When Sturges asked him why he applied for the full-time post he could only reply it was:

"Because I did not fancy the prospect of being a transporter driver for the next 20 years".

Not that the urge to better himself and win increased status (not to mention more comfortable working conditions) could be fulfilled without sacrifice.

Hulett claimed his new job would pay him "considerably less" than the £5,000 a year he earned driving car transporters.

### PRECISE

This claim was plainly too much even for Sturges to report without comment, and he felt obliged to point out that Hulett would not give a precise figure.

This is hardly surprising, since any mention of a cash salary would immediately raise questions about the other perks and benefits that go along with a union official's position.

The whole cultivated image of the self-sacrificing union man would be endangered.

But the same interview also contains the key to Hulett's success as an applicant. He is clearly equipped to follow in the line of diehard anti-communist district officials who have for years done their utmost to make life easy for the employers in the Oxford area.

According to the report, he: "also expects to help to improve the image of the T&GWU within British Leyland, and sees it as important to defend the status of the union and to defend the interests of the majority of members against minorities."

Hulett's concern for the feelings of Leyland management and his careful use of the abstract terms "majority" and "minority" are the hallmarks of an experienced witch-hunter, determined to keep the working class down to the lowest possible level of militancy and class consciousness.

### EXPOSURE

The only way the interests of the T&GWU members can be defended is by the exposure of the role of these bureaucrats.

The practice of simply appointing full-time union officials in the T&GWU and other unions must be brought to an end. The membership must have the right regularly to elect and, where necessary, to recall full-time officials, with elections held in branch meetings.

Careerists and self-seekers must be driven out of official positions by ensuring that no official earns more than the average wage of the members he represents — this being subject to the scrutiny of the membership.

## OPEN JAGS BOOKS!

Paintshop workers at Jaguar's Brown Lane, Coventry plant are now demanding a public enquiry into the decision to site the new paintshop in Birmingham rather than Coventry.

At present the paintshop workers are banning overtime and have threatened to step up action on September 1st if the enquiry demand is not met.

A meeting this week will decide whether to impose an all-out strike or guerrilla stoppages.

Leyland management claims that because the original decision to site the paintshop in Coventry was made before Ryder the decision no longer counts.

senior shop steward David Holloway is quoted in the Coventry Evening Telegraph as saying:

"We told Mr Whittaker that, if he disowned decisions made by previous Leyland management, we saw no reason why future management would not disown any assurances he gave to us."

Holloway is absolutely right — but while he directs attention simply towards a 'public enquiry' he does nothing to cut across management's ability to change plans, or tell the usual lies about the 'needs of the company'.

The stewards and local MPs say they are worried about the future of Jaguars in Coventry. The key demand must therefore be for the opening of Leyland's books to establish the full plans they have

# STRIKE AGAINST SHORT-TIME WORKING

400 T&GWU and AUEW members from one of Clarkson's Nuneaton machine tool factories remain on strike against continued short time working which since the New Year has cut the earnings of some piece-rate workers by over £20 a week.

Uncertainty as to the company's long term aims on the introduction of new automated machinery has added to the determination of the Clarksons workers to demand a proper works agreement be signed and arrangements made to compensate for loss of earnings.

Clarksons, which is part of the giant Thorn group, seems to have imposed the short time working in Nuneaton as a result of a secret decision to rearrange work schedules nationally and even internationally (the group has links in Japan, Germany and Brazil).

This is the only way workers can account for the company's sudden switch in the New Year from a period in which up to 10 hours a week regular overtime was being worked, to the introduction, with no agreement, of a 32-hour week.

Quite clearly there can be no security for Clarksons workers without full access to the hidden figures and information on which the management is operating.

Stewards must demand the employers open their books to a trade union committee elected for the purpose, and must call for the backing of other workers in the Thorn group to force the opening of the books of the group as a whole.

On this basis the demand for work-sharing on full pay must also be advanced to protect the living standards of those faced with short-time working.



Leyland workers

# 'LEFTS' NAIL PARTICIPATION

Accusations against the Communist Party members and right-wingers who head the top "participation" committee in British Leyland's Cars Division were made at the BL Combine Shop Stewards Committee last Wednesday.

Delegates claimed the Stalinists and right-wing were being used by Leyland to introduce management

policy through 'participation', and were then forcing it on the rest of the Combine.

The clash, which split the Committee, came in discussion of the next stage of the management offensive - the attempt to use the 'participation' set-up to force in corporation-level wage bargaining conducted by national union officials.

Speaker after speaker attacked the decision taken by a management-organised meeting of Cars Division convenors held in June in the Longbridge works.

"You can argue against our decision in Cars - but what you cannot do is change it."

He proceeded to rule that no vote could be taken on the matter.

Observing this battle and the resultant deadlock were two 'left' MPs, who had been invited to speak at the end of the meeting - Tribunites Audrey Wise (Coventry West) and Tom Litterick (Selly Oak).

# FIGHT AGAINST LOCKOUT

Management have imposed a lock-out and used scab labour, police and dogs in their fight against 27 ASTMS members in the Computer Department at Smiths Industries in North London.

On top of the onslaught from management they face sabotage from their own union officials.

While APEX members within the plant are imposing a 'black' in support of the ASTMS members locked-out by management, and shop stewards at Heathrow Airport have undertaken not to handle the factory's products (mainly speedometers and tachometers for motor vehicles), ASTMS officials last weekend refused to give official backing or even to permit other ASTMS members in the plant to support the struggle by a 'black'.

## BLATANT

This is despite the fact that the struggle results from a blatant management attack on basic trade union rights.

After refusing to honour a verbal agreement on manning levels, local management took the offensive in defiance of a written agreement for



Jenkins

a closed shop, sending in non-union members to load tapes on the computer.

ASTMS members responded with a go slow. After a week Smith responded with a lock-out.

Dismissal notices were mailed at the weekend and ASTMS members arriving for work on Monday 16th August found they had been sacked.

## DOGS

When, nonetheless, they occupied the computer installation, they were driven out by police backed with dogs!

A basic trade union principle is at stake in Smiths - the defence of a written agreement on trade union membership and on disputes procedure.

Trade unionists in all connected industries - and especially the motor industry - should follow the lead given by Heathrow workers and impose an immediate black.

The ASTMS members involved (all in the Hendon Branch) are also appealing for contributions to the dispute fund.

All donations should be sent c/o Don Hodge, (ASTMS Dispute Fund, Smiths Cricklewood), 37, Chelmsford Square, London NW10.

# RELF'S STRIKE GOES ON

The official strike by TASS members employed by Christopher Relf Ltd. in Redditch continues now into its sixth week.

The strike is both for union recognition and against the victimisation of two TASS members by the management.

Despite attempts by scab lorry drivers to break the strike and the efforts of their supporters in full-time T&GWU positions, Relf's goods (they package spare parts) remain completely blacked by British Leyland - the outlet for 90% of the firm's business.

While this support is maintained there seems no likelihood of the company winning the dispute but TASS is now appealing for financial support for the strikers. Such support and any communications should be sent to: M. Cannons (Office Secretary), 11, Charles Street, Redditch, Worcs.

# TUNNEL WORKERS MEET DEPTHS OF TGWU BETRAYAL

Following talks between T&GWU officials, contractors of the £200 million Newcastle Metro project and representatives of 250 striking tunnelers from the city's four sites, agreement has been reached to call off the action.

The dispute began over eight weeks ago, initially over the sacking of a shop steward but subsequently developing into demands for wage increases from the present £135 to £200 a week and for a separate tunnellers section within the T&GWU.

Flying pickets had won strong national support for the action which in the last week has spread rapidly to involve workers in civil engineering, power stations and Water Boards in Whitley Bay, Gateshead, Lancaster, Warrington, Preston and Dartford.

A significant aspect of the dispute has been the activities of the T&GWU bureaucracy. The full-time officials, no doubt using the experiences they gained by their scabbing involvement in the prolonged and bitter Eldon Square building workers strike last year, have conducted a vicious campaign against the action.

Gordon McLean, regional organiser of the union's construction section, has used slanders, claiming that the majority of workers have been pressured into support by threats of violence to themselves and their families.

Following a vote by the tunnelers to continue the action at a meeting addressed by a T&GWU convenor from Dartford, McLean said that the convenor would be reported to the union's Executive for "interfering" in Tyneside affairs.

ment with the employers (a tactic used against the Eldon Square pickets) condemning the strike, McLean has argued that Labour government policy would mean that to concede the pay claim would jeopardise the completion of the Metro project.

"The claim is a breach of the Government's pay code and under the White Paper anybody receiving Government assistance which breaks the code could have that assistance taken away from them.

"We have £140m. being pumped into the Metro by the government at the moment and if any of the Metro companies agree to the men's demands then that grant is liable to be stopped".

The T&GWU national leadership itself has been at the forefront of agreeing pay cutting policies and is obviously pledged to ensuring

## CORPORATE BARGAINING

This meeting voted to set up a sub-committee to equalise pay review dates - a move which would, in effect, establish corporate bargaining in all but name, since it would not only remove the only practical obstacle to corporate bargaining, but would mean also that management could make a single offer on the same day. The national officials would then become involved if it was rejected.

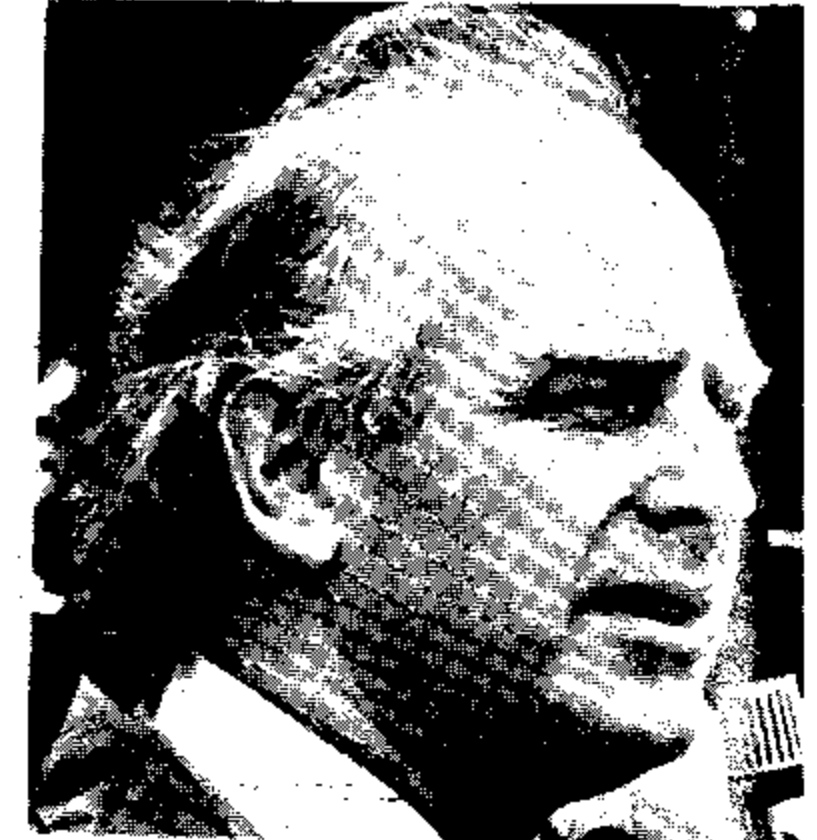
Heavily under attack was Eddie McGarry, right-wing convenor of Standard Triumph of Coventry, who defended the work of the committee and advocated corporation-level bargaining.

In the words of the Special Products Division representative, the setting up of the sub-committee in the Cars Division had "cut the ground from under the feet of the rest of the Combine." The spokesman for the Truck and Bus Division said they too resented the move and would "reserve their own position".

## PASSIONATE

Peter Nicholas, a leading member of the Communist Party, made a passionate plea in McGarry's defence, saying it was necessary to "move with the times" and that Measured Day Work "did not turn out as bad as many of us thought."

In answer to Truck and Bus Division stewards, who argued that the Combine policy of opposition to corporation level bargaining agreed unanimously at the previous meeting) had been violated, Stalinist Chairman Derek Robinson said:



Litterick

Wise made the point that the whole process of decision-taking in Leyland was "shrouded in mystery" - telling how she had tried as an MP to find out just who does make the decisions. She pointed out the difference between such a set-up and the nationalised industries.

Litterick stated that nothing he had heard had changed his view that participation was based on the "fraudulent premise" that it meant "participation in decision-making", when in reality it means "participation in someone else's decisions."

The impact on the platform was visible when Litterick went on to say that as far as he could see there was "nothing in participation which would conflict with the workings of a fascist state."

Robinson leapt to the defence of the united, right-wing/Stalinist alliance on "participation", arguing that:

"it's not that we like everything about participation, but it was the only way to save BL from liquidation."

\*For some more of Robinson's choicer statements on participation, see "Spot the Manager", on page 5.



## MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

# CONFERENCE: WAGE CONTROL & UNION DEMOCRACY

DIGBETH HALL, BIRMINGHAM, SUNDAY, OCTOBER 24th, 10am - 4pm.

The newly-formed Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement - an ad hoc committee of trade unionists - has called a Conference in October as the first step in the fight for democratic procedures in the labour movement.

The Conference is open to all trade unionists, but the committee asks in particular for trade union branches, District Committees, shop stewards committees and Trades Councils to send delegates, to sponsor the Conference, and to give financial support.

All enquiries to Kevin Lee, Campaign Secretary, 44, Devonshire Rd, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20.

## LEYLAND BACKS CONVENOR

After a week in which strikes took place demanding that the case of a young Asian worker sacked on June 20th be reopened, management have retaliated with a statement threatening victimisation against any worker who organises a meeting on the plant without the agreement of the extreme right-wing convenor Reg Parsons.

The statement, a major move by British Leyland, takes the form of a virtual joint statement with the bureaucracy of the T&GWU.

It points out that: "As a Company we cannot tolerate the position where small groups of

employees in an attempt to undermine the viability of the Company and the authority of the Trade Union Organisations are causing serious loss of production."

The clear aim of the Company is to protect the right-wing T&GWU District Official, Buckle, as well as Parsons, as they face growing criticism for accepting a series of sackings in support of Company speed-up.

The T&GWU officials should declare where they stand on this statement. Did they have knowledge of it before it was published? would they defend any worker who was victimised under the terms of this letter?

### COWLEY ASSEMBLY PLANT CLOCK NOTICE

#### TO NORTH WORKS EMPLOYEES

Over the past few months there have been several unofficial meetings held on the Plant, particularly in the North Works. These meetings have been attended either without the knowledge, or without the support, of the Senior Trade Union representative(s) and the Company. This represents a very serious situation.

As a Company we cannot tolerate the position where small groups of employees in an attempt to undermine the viability of the Company and the authority of the Trade Union Organisations are causing serious loss of production. We are also certain that the majority of employees do not wish to suffer the lost wages these stoppages are causing.

The purpose of this Clock Notice is to bring to the attention of the Company that, in future, those employees who attend unofficial meetings on the Plant without the support of the Senior Trade Union representative(s) and the Company, will be proceeded against in the Discipline Procedures with a view to their dismissal for promoting disruption within the Plant and thereby causing lost production.

The Company feels that in declaring this policy it is acting in the interests of the very large majority of employees.

*[Signature]*  
Plant Director  
Cowley Assembly Plant

23 Aug 1976

The Leyland clock notice

## EXTEND TRICO BLACK!

A mass picket of several hundred workers at the gates of the Trico-Folberth windscreen wiper factory in West London marked the beginning of the 14th week of solid strike action by 500 women workers demanding equal pay.

The meeting which followed was attended by nearly all of the strikers and showed a stubborn refusal to concede anything to the company or to appear before the fraudulent 'Equal Pay' Tribunals set up under the legislation.

At the same time it became clear from the announcements at the meeting that support has continued to grow from union bodies all over the country with donations and messages of support.

Despite such support it is clear there are a number of gaps in the blacking action within the motor industry, and fresh appeals were

made to car workers to black both Trico products themselves - and where possible, those products used in place of Trico windscreen wipers.

While local leaders put on a bold front, denouncing the Tribunals and appearing to rally support, it now emerges that the strikers are receiving only £9 per week strike pay, dependent on outside donations for anything more.

Yet the AUEW district officials have made only the most tentative moves to win financial support or ensure the spread of the blacking action.

The strike is a crucial one both for the equal pay fight and the whole struggle to defend wages and conditions in the motor and components industry.

But the building of a principled political leadership prepared boldly to call on the united strength of the workers' movement for support must be central in such struggles.

## FUND

With one week to go to the end of the month the fund now stands at £300.53.

Among the latest donations we have received are:

Oxford Assembly, £21; PSF, £15.60; Oxford General, £33; Hemsworth, £1; Hull, £12.25; North London £41; South London, £10; Birmingham, £22; Coventry £11.40.

With only one week to go to the end of the month we urge all our readers to send us a donation and help us reach our monthly target of £600.

Donations should be sent to:  
Socialist Press Monthly Fund  
31, Dartmouth Park Hill,  
London NW5 1HR.

## ...TUC FRAUD

Cont'd from Front Page.

Elsewhere on the agenda there is the same evasion, the same refusal to challenge TUC complicity in the attacks carried out by the Labour Government.

On the question of the cuts in public spending and the social services, affected unions provide a screen of words to disguise the refusal of their officials to fight in defence of jobs, conditions or services.

Indeed the only policies put forward as an "alternative" to the cuts centre on a combination of nationalist import controls and still more subsidies to private industry through the National Enterprise Board.

The bankrupt charade of speechmaking which will continue all week at Brighton therefore offers no way forward to the working class.

Instead a programme of action is needed, combined with an all-out fight within the unions to drive out the TUC bureaucrats and assert democratic control over the full time officials.

Such a programme must include:

\*No to all wage control - for a sliding scale of wages to protect living standards against inflation.

\*Stop all cuts in public spending - strike action to defend the social services and demand spending be linked to rising prices on a sliding scale.

\*No redundancies - work-sharing on full pay.

\*All full-time officials to be elected from branch meetings - not appointed.

\*Drive out the careerists - officials to be paid no more than the average wage of their members.

## END RACIST KILLINGS ... contd from front page

students, show that the old perspective of negotiating for reforms with the racist government is now being rejected and the perspective of the overthrow of white rule is beginning to gain acceptability.

The old, conservative, collaborationist leadership rested on earlier defeats and demoralisation.

Today there is a historic opportunity to build a revolutionary leadership which can channel the strength of the mass movement into the fight to defeat the apartheid regime and the capitalist exploitation it protects.

This faces the world workers' movement with a challenge - the need to use all its power to bring tangible aid to the offensive of the black workers, students and peasantry in Southern Africa.

Conspicuously the British Labour government, busily attacking its own working class, is silent on the growing repression in South Africa. They do not wish to "interfere in the internal affairs of another country."

### DUTY

We say that when it comes to the struggle of the oppressed masses throughout the world the labour movement has a duty to intervene to the maximum on the side of those fighting exploitation.

This is why the question of arms supplies takes on such importance. The repression in South Africa has traditionally been carried out with British-

made weaponry.

In the general demand that the Labour Government end all trade and financial relations with South Africa, we must therefore emphasise the need to impose a total and immediate ban on all arms supplies to the racist regime.

At present the Callaghan Government claims to enforce the United Nations arms embargo. But this is a fraud.

The interpretation of the embargo is so loose that even where it is not British-made bullets which kill black workers, they are fired from British-made vehicles such as the British Leyland Land Rover - a favourite vehicle with the forces of repression throughout the world.

### RE-ROUTED

These arms and equipment must instead be re-routed to the guerrilla forces fighting imperialism.

The fight must be taken up locally and nationally within the trade unions and Labour Party to force this change of policy.

Those 'left' MPs who claim to oppose apartheid, and trade union leaders like Jones who speak against the Vorster regime now have the opportunity to prove the level of their real commitment to the African working class.

Any retreat by them from this fight to materially aid the struggle for black liberation will only strengthen white racist reaction.

## HARRY FINCH

Veteran Trotskyist Harry Finch died on Sunday 15th August, aged 54.

A member of the Trotskyist movement since the 1930's, Harry was well known throughout the Midlands labour movement as a courageous and principled working class fighter.

After working in Birmingham where he is best known for his leading role in the 1956 Norton

Motors strike, Harry was active on the Coventry District Committee of the AUEW.

A well attended Memorial Meeting was held last Friday - August 20th - by the Workers Revolutionary Party of which Harry was a founder member.

The Workers Socialist League and the Socialist Press editorial board send condolences to Harry's family and friends.

## WSL MEETINGS:

PUBLIC MEETINGS: "Wage Control and Union Democracy"

**HULL**  
Thursday September 2nd  
Hull Central Library  
7.30pm

**SHEFFIELD**  
Sunday September 12th  
Prince of Wales  
Division St.  
7.30pm

**DAGENHAM**  
Wednesday 15th September  
Fred's Cafe.  
opposite Fords works  
4.30pm.

**NEWCASTLE**  
Friday August 27th  
Bridge Hotel  
High Level Bridge  
7.30pm

**BIRMINGHAM**  
Sunday 5th September  
Australia Bar  
corner of Bromsgrove and  
Hurst Street  
7.30pm

**WINSFORD**  
Sunday 5th September  
Red Lion Hotel  
"Unemployment and Union  
Democracy"  
7.30pm

**OXFORD**  
Thursday 26th August  
East Oxford Community  
Centre  
Cowley Rd.  
7.30pm.

**LIVERPOOL**  
Friday 1st October  
AUEW Hall  
Mount Pleasant  
7.30pm.

**SKELMERSDALE**  
Tuesday 14th September  
Quarry Bank Community  
Centre  
7.30pm.

## SUBSCRIBE to Socialist Press

<b>BRITAIN</b>	<b>EUROPE</b>
6 issues ..... £1	6 issues ..... £1.15
12 issues ..... £2	12 issues ..... £2.30
24 issues ..... £4	24 issues ..... £4.60

### REST OF THE WORLD

6 issues ..... £1.50
12 issues ..... £3.00
24 issues ..... £6.00

I would like to take out a subscription to Socialist Press. I would like ..... issues, I enclose £.....

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....