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DEMAND PAY RISES TO MATCH INFLATION

The combined political and financial crisis which erupted last week confirms once more that what confronts workers in this period is NOT a "choice" between accepting pay cuts or facing inflation, but the necessity to defend the value of the wage packet through the fight for increases to keep pace with inflation — a sliding scale of wages.

And the upheavals which erupted at the Labour Party Conference and on the foreign exchange markets confirmed to the hilt our analysis that the TUC's stage-managed 17-1 vote for the Social Contract is not accepted by the working class.

The seamen's vote for strike action over their pay claim, although eventually diverted into the haggle for fringe benefits, struck a body-blow at the cabinet-TUC conspiracy to thrust the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the working class.

Only a matter of weeks after the TUC Congress it has raised a huge question mark over the ability of Murray and Jones to subject their members to wage cuts and to carve from them the pounds of flesh demanded by British and foreign bosses.

DROPPED

This is why the pound dropped almost 10 cents in 48 hours last week. The banks, speculators and IMF officials who direct the Labour government's economic policy are concerned not with the hypocritical rhetoric at the end of Blackpool pier, but with the fact that — in the form of concessions over fringe benefits — the seamen have opened the first breach in the bureaucratic dyke erected by Jones and Murray against the pent-up anger and combativeness of the trade union movement as a whole.

Last week's developments underlined in the most emphatic terms the correctness of the decision by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement to call the October 24th Conference on 'Wage Control and Union Democracy'.

NUMBER ONE

The Workers Socialist League fully supports this Conference. The defence of wages is the number one question of British politics today.

Within the working class there



has accumulated the most intense and justified hatred of the 'social contract' and all those who foist it on workers' backs.

Similarly, the violent struggles which erupted last week on the night shift of the Ford factory at Dagenham stem from the fact that almost two years of Labour-led wage cutting have left workers in the position that — with prices

increasing almost every day — they just cannot afford lay-offs, even short ones, any more.

Yet virtually every trade union bureaucrat in the country insists that pay claims must stay within the government's 4½% wage-cutting guidelines.

The Labour Party 'lefts', headed by Benn, showed what they were made of by voting on

the first day of the Conference to support the government's economic 'strategy' — pay cuts and all.

MANAGEMENT

Meanwhile the British Oxygen Company prepare pay increases to management of almost £50 per week, more than the total take-home earnings of millions of workers. And the response of the government to this is simply to prepare a police enquiry into how BOC's plans had leaked!

None of the waffle, whether 'left' or from the right of the Labour Party Conference offers any way forward to the millions of workers who are threatened by the full savagery of the world economic crisis.

The only answer is policies which defend the living standards of every section of workers.

This must centre not only on the fight for substantial wage increases to pull back wages lost over the past year, but on a sliding scale of wage increases to keep pace with the cost of living as democratically worked out by elected committees of trade unionists and housewives.

MINIMUM

These policies — the minimum

INSIDE

MAO (Part Two) P.3
The fight for African Unions in S. Africa . . . P.8
Why we Resigned from the IMG. P.9
The 35-hour week fraud P.9
Defend the Method of the Transitional Programme, the split in the Greek section of the IC . . . PP.6-7

necessary to protect living standards — are viciously opposed by every type of bureaucrat and centrist, both 'left' and right within the Labour Party and the trade unions (as well as by the Communist Party).

All of these people, openly or covertly agree that the working class must be made to pay for the crisis.

Cont'd on Back Page, Col. 4.

REJECT ZIMBABWE DEAL!



The "solution" to the Rhodesia question poses an urgent challenge to the labour movement in Britain and other imperialist countries.

Active solidarity must be built now with all sections of the black movement in Southern Africa prepared to resist the united efforts of Kissinger, Callaghan and Vorster to ensnare them into a web of compromise whose real purpose is to prevent the total collapse of racism and capitalism in Southern Africa.

The clear aim of the Kissinger "solution" is to head off the growing armed revolutionary struggle in Zimbabwe.

Smith's white racists cannot resist the armed rebellion on their own; the South African government would further threaten its

own life by over-extending itself militarily north of Limpopo; and the United States has been too weakened by Vietnam to risk a similar adventure.

It is therefore no love of justice and democracy but a desperate effort at self preservation from a position of weakness which made Kissinger and Callaghan plot with Vorster to ditch Ian Smith's 12-year old racist regime, which was an embarrassment to their neo-colonial plans for South Africa.

DURESS

The "settlement" which Smith said in his broadcast that he was forced under duress to accept included: majority rule (not defined to mean 'one person, one vote') within two years; a new constitution to be drawn up by an appointed council of state with equal numbers of blacks and whites, requiring a two-thirds

majority for decisions; an interim appointed council of ministers with a black chief minister and white ministers of defence and internal security; the ending once the interim government was set up, of sanctions and the guerilla war; and monetary compensation for the whites.

After the five black presidents (of Zambia, Tanzania, Botswana, Angola and Mozambique) had guardedly "rejected" the plans in that form, Kissinger (who says it's Callaghan's plan anyway) denied that Smith's was the correct version.

Whether or not there is a correct version remains a complete mystery. It hardly matters, since Kissinger's aim was, through a combination of threat and bribery, to get all the parties to agree on a conference at which the horse-trading could be done.

Cont'd on Page 2, Col 1.

WAGES CONFERENCE OCT 24: DETAILS P.5

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Zimbabwe ...Cont'd from Front Page

All parties, that is, except for the authentic representatives of the black 95% majority population of Zimbabwe, the actual victims of Smith's repressive racist regime.

It is against their growing impatience and militancy that Kissinger and Callaghan, through the conference which Crosland has now summoned, aim to create a bloc of imperialists, white racists and collaborationist black leaders before the black revolution can win the decisive victory which is its destiny.

Whether or not Kissinger and Callaghan can gain even a temporary respite against this unstoppable revolution depends now on the actions of the black leaders in Zimbabwe and the African states around it.

DIVISIONS

The numerous divisions among these leaders represent partly the personal squabbles of opportunists, and partly a real fight of principle between those leaders who are prepared to sabotage the mass struggle for a share of today's spoils and those who have still resisted, though in some cases falteringly, any compromise with the imperialists.

Joshua Nkomo, leader of ZAPU, (Zimbabwe African People's Union) whose opportunist shifts in the past have reduced though not destroyed his support inside Zimbabwe, was the only one of the Zimbabwe leaders seen by Kissinger on his African tour.

Nkomo has expressed "doubts" about "aspects" of the plan but is evidently prepared to participate in Crosland's imminent conference and in the interim government it is supposed to establish.

The same is true of Bishop Abel Muzorewa whose African National Council, significant in the rejection of the deal between Smith and the Tory government in 1971, is now virtually defunct, and also of the Rev. Ndabaningwe Sithole, who has been virtually isolated since he was ousted from the leadership of ZANU (Zimbabwe African National Union) several months ago.

Up to now the leadership of ZANU under Robert Mugabe have alone declared their outright opposition to the Kissinger/Callaghan plan.

But Mugabe has still participated in discussion in Lusaka, the Zambian capital, with Nkomo and is without doubt under huge pressure from the presidents of the five "front-line" states, some of whom are clearly anxious to retreat as soon as possible to a back seat in the fight against Southern African racism in order to preserve the power they have themselves usurped from the masses.

Of the five, only Samora Machel of Mozambique, from where the guerillas of Mugabe's ZIPA (Zimbabwe People's Army) mostly operate, has still refused to more or less endorse a modified version of the imperialists' plan.



These leaders, as long as they continue to oppose clearly the imperialist design for Southern Africa, must be given unconditional support by the British labour movement.

But if they too should compromise there is nevertheless no doubt that the liberation struggle will continue, not only among the guerillas and the masses inside Zimbabwe but in South Africa also.

That struggle must also receive the full and unconditional political and material help of the British working class.

It is implicit in the Kissinger/Callaghan/Vorster plan that, once a

collaborationist government exists in Zimbabwe, the imperialists will be prepared to use force to protect it against a principled black liberation struggle.

It must be a priority demand in the British labour movement that the Labour government be forced to abandon its policy of support for racists and collaborationists, and to replace it by one of sending arms and material assistance to the black liberation movement throughout Southern Africa.

No to the imperialist plan for Zimbabwe!

Arms to the black workers and peasants!

Victory to the black liberation struggle!



ISRAEL

ARAB WORKERS in Israel and in the occupied West Bank and Gaza regions staged a two hour general strike on 28th September against the recent Koenig report.

This report produced by the Jewish governor of Northern Israel advocates, in the most racist language, a programme of forced population control for Arabs in order to preserve Jewish dominance.

The report has outraged the whole Arab population of Israel.

The limited protest of last week is undoubtedly a sample of growing militancy among the Arab population who are being subjected to increasing repression in many ways.

POLAND

THE BRUTAL JAIL sentences passed on Polish workers at Radom in September, for supporting demonstrations against food price rises in June, were inflicted with the aid of massive police intimidation and violence, according to reports published in Paris last week.

On two occasions, groups of young workers attempted to enter the Radom courthouse to hear the proceedings.

They were immediately arrested and taken, handcuffed, to the adjacent police station where one of them, Ludvik Dorn, was abused as 'a Jew' and physically maltreated.

When released, they again tried to enter the court, but were arrested again after the trial, and all of them were beaten up, with Dorn and another, Marek Tomczyk, being beaten on the soles of their feet.

A committee of liberal and Christian intellectuals was formed in Poland on September 23rd, to give support to the workers facing repression after the June strike wave, which forced the Gierk regime to withdraw all the threatened price rises.

The committee denounces the fact that 'For the first time in several years, physical violence was used during interrogations', and states that a great number of workers have been attacked either by police and legal action, or by sacking them from their jobs.

TURKEY Repression Follows General Strike

In the aftermath of the 350,000-strong general strike, massive state repression continues in Turkey.

While the strike was still in progress about a thousand workers, including major trade union leaders, were arrested, and thousands more sacked, charged with participation in an illegal general strike.

While the union leaders have since been released, in many factories the sackings remain and in some areas strikes continue for the reinstatement of those victimised in the struggle.

WITCH-HUNT

The biggest witch-hunt ever launched in the Turkish workers' movement was mobilised against the stoppages by the government, while they conducted police raids on union headquarters and moved army detachments into the factories.

In two of the biggest oil refineries, Ipras and Aliago, 90% of the work force has been sacked, and replaced by unskilled fascist labour,

which has at once shown itself incapable of running the refineries.

The strikes hit the steel, textile, and car industries, the mines and the public services in eleven main industrial centres - the biggest ever mobilisation of Turkish workers.

"LEGAL" CHANNELS

Though for the moment a return to work has been secured, this in no way implies the strength of the workers' movement is inadequate to topple the right wing National Front government. Indeed the government still has not yet legislated the special state security courts - the proposal of which gave rise to the strikes.

The Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions, dominated by the Stalinists of the Turkish Communist Party, however, continues to direct the strength of the working class into peaceful, 'legal' channels.

They call on workers to: "Bring down the NF government in legal ways forming a government with democratic rights and freedoms and which will bring

the country into the line of democratic regimes; peace and social progress will be among the targets to be attained."

In seeking this illusory "democratic" solution the Stalinists look more to the national bourgeoisie and its "constitution" than to the strength of the working class.

This has led them to subordinate the independent struggle of the working class behind the left demagoguery of the bourgeois Republican Popular Party leader Ecevit - who tells workers to wait for the 1977 general election before doing anything!

ISOLATED

Ecevit has managed to win the support not only of the Stalinists but also of the 19 social democratic unions in the other big confederation - the Confederation of Turkish Workers Unions.

And it was his holding back from any call to action against the National Front government which thus ensured that the more militant workers were eventually isolated as the general strike wore on.

SPAIN Three General Strikes

Another general strike on September 27th brought the whole Euskadi (Basque) region of northern Spain to a complete standstill.

Well over 500,000 workers stopped work for the day and joined demonstrations, demanding a complete amnesty for political prisoners and commemorating the five political militants whom Franco as his last political act had shot just one year ago.

In many factories of Biscay province, the strike had in fact been continuous since the previous general strike in the region two weeks earlier.

This longer term stoppage represents increasing discontent at the limited objectives which are being set by the leaders for these

stoppages which each time show the complete unity and massive strength of the whole working class against the fascist government.

This is not confined to the Euskadi region. On the same day as the Euskadi strike, a general strike spread through the Canary Islands in protest against the killing of a demonstrator by the police.

And then on October 1st a further general strike was called in Madrid, again to protest against the murder of a demonstrator this time probably by the fascist death squad, "Guerillas of Christ the King".

The Madrid strike was not as universal as the others but still brought most of the major factories to a halt.

The three-week postal workers' strike ended last week with an

agreement by the government to negotiate on the strikers' demands.

This concession was reportedly made on the direct personal intervention of the king on behalf of those sections of the ruling class who feared the workers' reactions to the use of blackleg workers by the post office management.

But the workers only agreed to return to work after unsuccessfully struggling against the Communist Party leaders who were reportedly the main advocates of calling off the action.

This is a further case, to add to the many previously reported in *Socialist Press* of the rapidly growing conflict between the increasingly militant mass movement and the class collaborationist Stalinist leaders of the Spanish Communist Party.



MAO

THE PASSING OF A REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION

SECOND AND FINAL PART OF OUR TROTSKY-IST ASSESSMENT OF THE LIFE OF THE MAN WHO LED THE MOST IMPORTANT UPSURGE OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES SINCE THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.



Mao with friend Nixon last year.

As the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army were built up, they showed themselves to be the only consistently successful fighters against the Japanese imperialists and their various puppets and supporters.

The bourgeois Kuo Min Tang, on the other hand, used the arms provided by Britain, Germany, the United States and other capitalist powers much more against the Communists than against the imperialist invaders.

Was Mao then wrong to constantly offer an alliance with Kuo Min Tang leader Chiang Kai-shek against the Japanese? Not necessarily.

But it cannot be said that he served the interests of the Chinese masses by surrendering the identity of the Red Army into the Kuo Min Tang. Many hundreds of thousands of fighters were killed as a result.

OPPOSED

Mao went well beyond the offer of alliances. He actively opposed the raising of socialist aims for the Chinese Revolution.

Not only did he release Chiang after his kidnap in 1936, he also sought cooperation with him well after the defeat of the Japanese in 1945.

He was negotiating with the shadow of the bourgeoisie well after coming to power in 1949!

Behind this policy stood Stalinist Russia, which recognised and supported the Chiang regime until the end, and urged Mao to do the same.

Mao set out the justification for this position in his article *On New Democracy*, published in January 1940, when he asserted that:

"today is not yet the time to introduce socialism. The present task of the revolution in China is to fight imperialism and feudalism, and socialism is out of the question until this task is completed."

He tried to qualify this by maintaining that, nevertheless the Chinese revolution 'has long become a part of the proletarian-socialist world revolution.'

As late as 1945, Mao still asserted that:

"the Chinese people cannot, and therefore should not, attempt to build a socialist state system",

and in 1949 when the People's Republic was proclaimed, it was said to be an alliance of four classes including the native capitalists.

POLICIES

It has been argued that these policies 'proved themselves' in the success of Mao and his followers in coming to power, and in the ultimate elimination of the main centres of private capitalism.

Others have argued that Mao 'empirically broke from Stalinism' and became for a time something else, a special kind of revolutionary.

Others suggested that Mao succumbed to the 'pressure of the masses', which forced him to establish, despite himself, a workers state that opened the possibility of the establishment of socialism.

None of these arguments provide a correct explanation of the basis of the successful overthrow of capitalism in China. The success of Mao's army and party was not achieved because he sought to make class alliances, but because he was unable to sustain them.

The general line of his policy, if not necessarily all the details, were furthermore clearly consistent with those advocated by the Stalinist

movement on a world scale.

And it should not be forgotten that Mao came to power not through the strength of mass mobilisation, but through the efficiency of his peasant army at a time when the mass struggle was on the ebb.

The context of Mao's success after the defeat of the Japanese was, as he himself was well aware, an international one, where imperialism was weak and divided and the working class everywhere initially on the advance.

ALLIANCES

Like Stalinists everywhere, Mao fought for alliances with the capitalist class in this period, just as, in France and Italy, the Stalinists joined strike-breaking capitalist governments.

It was through no fault of his own that Mao found himself unable to do the same thing. He negotiated for 43 days in 1945 to find a basis for a similar alliance with Chiang Kai-shek.

He discouraged the outbreak of mass strikes and other struggles in the big cities at the same time.

But the bourgeoisie of China itself was too historically weak, and

power:

"The real cause was not the pressure of the masses but rather the pressure of Chiang! After utilising the period of negotiation with the CCP to crush the mass movement Chiang then moved directly to annihilate the CCP itself. Only when its very existence as a political force was at stake did the CCP move in opposition to Chiang Kai-shek and initiate a battle which was to culminate in victory in 1949."

It should be added that by the time of the rupture with Chiang, the period of post-war compromise between Stalinism and imperialism on a world scale was coming to an end, and the Soviet bureaucracy was looking both to the East and the West for ways to defend itself against the inevitable conflicts with the imperialist powers.

Thus Mao was compelled to take up revolutionary struggle as the post-war international mass offensive subsided.

The struggle for power was defensive both on a national and an international scale. It succeeded because of the weakness and division of international imperialism, and the lack of allies for the



Chou En-lai, Lin Biao and Mao in 1967

its international allies for the moment incapable of organising its defence.

One of Mao's most famous aphorisms was 'The enemy advances, we retreat....the enemy retreats, we pursue.' In the period after the end of the Japanese War he applied this in a special way, by retreating and calling for compromise with the Kuo Min Tang when the working class was advancing, especially in the big struggles after 1945, and by advocating revolutionary struggle only when Chiang and his forces advanced against him!

Tim Wolforth in his *Theory of Structural Assimilation* has well expressed the basis for the turn away from alliance with the Kuo Min Tang towards the seizure of

Chinese bourgeoisie itself.

Mao not only did not seek to set up a socialist republic in 1949, he pushed back the working class from action deriving from the impetus brought about by his seizure of power.

In May 1950 miners in Chin Sin were murdered, and more than 1,000 exiled, for presuming to act on their own initiative.

SHOT DOWN

At Tiensin in the same month, there were 300 casualties at a factory where striking workers were shot down by machine guns.

This all happened while Mao's government was offering loans on easy terms to small capitalists, and insisting that his government was a

'coalition' including bourgeois parties which had no basis and no support.

However, there was no social or economic basis for this policy. The pressures of international imperialism were inevitably felt in 1953 as the US army thinly disguised as a "UN peace-keeping force" advanced through North Korea to the Chinese border.

A possible rallying point for pro-capitalist elements within China was being provided.

Once again, Mao acted defensively. He broke from his 'class alliance' policy, expropriating the main capitalists and redistributing the land. Soon afterwards the first of the five year plans was initiated.

At the same time as doing this, he completely denied democratic rights to the working class and imprisoned or killed many hundreds of those who had built the revolutionary movement.

EMPIRICAL

Since that time, the Chinese bureaucracy has reacted empirically to the mass pressures within a workers state.

Continually wracked with internal crisis only rarely brought out into the mass movement, they have so far resisted not only the rightward leaning politics of Liu Shao-shi, disgraced in the Cultural Revolution, and Teng Hsiao-ping, against whom vilification still

were brought to an end by order from above.

The youth who questioned the direction of the revolution were 'ultra-left' and the workers who fought for improved conditions suffered from 'economism'.

Only the Party leaders were allowed to define the limits of debate, and its direction.

Since 1953, the bureaucracy has tried to hide behind the illusion of the 'Great Leap Forward' and 'self-reliance' to mask the difficulties of economic development.

INDEPENDENT

By acquiring their own independent interests tied to their own state, the Chinese leaders have come into conflict with the Russians, and turned instead on an international level to allies such as the FNLA in Angola, and the Shah of Iran, as reactionary as the blackest figures in Chinese history.

How do we, as Trotskyists, remember Mao Tse-tung? As a revolutionary leader certainly placed at the head of one of the greatest mobilisations of the masses in history.

But we cannot say that those whom he has left behind in the Forbidden City to decide on the future fate of the Chinese people will be able to go beyond the limits he has set.

A political revolution is still necessary to drive out this bureaucratic elite, establish the power of the proletarian and peasant masses and with a programme for economic and social development and participation in the international revolutionary struggle.

As Trotskyists, as revolutionary internationalists, we will continue to study and draw inspiration from the Chinese Revolution. But we will look at it critically, objectively and as a whole.

We will certainly not see through the prism of the sickening cult of personality that has surrounded Mao in recent years.

We will remember the many revolutionary traditions, often not suppressed and forgotten, that were to make the greatest revolution of our generation.

LEFT OPPOSITION

We will remember Chen Tu-hsi, one of the first leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, supporter of the International Left Opposition in the 30s, imprisoned by the Kuo Min Tang and harassed by the CCP, dying in miserable circumstances in 1942.

We will remember also Wang Shih-wei, who tried to raise the banner of communist debate in Yen-an, and was tried and exiled for his pains, being killed by CC security forces in 1947.

We will remember also Ku Kang, a native of Shensi province who built the party there before the arrival of the Red Army, but after an unblemished history of revolutionary struggle, was liquidated by Mao in 1953.

There were many who disappeared in those times and have never been heard of.

As was pointed out in *Socialist Press* number 7 of 1st May 1975 a number of Trotskyists are included in this total, like Chen Ch'ao-lin, founder of the CCI, Chiang Tseng-tung, leader of the Shanghai labour movement, H. Chi-shen and Ying Kwan, student leaders from the 20s, and Lin Huan-hua, from the anti-Japanese resistance of the 30s.

If it is impossible to know whether these comrades are now alive or dead, we can at least be sure that the Chinese revolution is their revolution also, and that the struggle to continue and extend it can only be taken up by those faithful to their memory and traditions.

By John Docherty

JAIL FOR RIGHT TO WORK MARCHER

On Monday 27th September the first batch of the 43 'Right to Work' marchers charged after police had attacked their march as it came through North London came up in Court.

One of the marchers, Michael Lynch, was jailed for six months. This shows that a sentence of several years is likely for the march organiser, John Deason who is charged with much more than Lynch.

The whole labour movement must condemn this punitive, political sentence and a campaign must be started for the release of Lynch and against the sentencing of Deason.

DIFFERENCES

The WSL will fight for such a campaign even though we have clear political differences with the International Socialists who were organisers of the march. The attempt of the IS to make the 'Right to Work' march non-political by the exclusion of political banners and by the limitation of the demands to straight trade union demands of a 35-hour week is a diversion.

Unemployment is a result of the capitalist system which at the moment is being run by a Labour government. Every fight against unemployment immediately comes up against this government and the organised strength of the capitalist state.

This is why the 'Right to Work'

marchers are being made an example. This is why the TUC leaders immediately attack them as 'Trotskyite boot-boys', because the TUC leaders are in support of the Labour government and are its reformist allies.

To fight now on unemployment is not to get workers or bureaucrats to agree with the 'Right to Work' or to a 35-hour week (even Jones talks about this).

NEW LEADERSHIP

What is necessary is to fight politically for a new leadership in the trade unions which has a programme that gives the working-class a way forward.

The IS policy only disarms workers and the unemployed as to what is necessary, ie just demonstrate and chant these age-old trade union slogans, break up Labour Party meetings and get publicity for your slogans. This method has even gone so far in order to get publicity as getting John Deason, at present on £2,500 bail, to organise in front of TV cameras, the breaking up of the Tribune pre-TUC meeting.

DEFENCE

Despite these clear differences with the IS's campaigns, we call on all WSL members and supporters to organise in defence of these 'Right to Work' marchers who are being attacked as part of an attack on all those in the labour movement who are opposed to the policies of this Labour government.

...BUT POLICE IGNORE RACIST MURDER

Two white youths burned to death a 76-year old Indian woman Mrs. Mohan Devi Gautan, in the garden shed of her home in Leamington on 23rd September.

Her clothes were set alight with old newspapers. By the time she was dragged back into the house to die, three-quarters of her body was burned.

In an interview, her son Saudhu told *Socialist Press* what she had said before losing consciousness:

"Last Thursday in my mother's statement she said: 'Two men got in the house wearing masks and gloves. One man pulled my mouth and the other one started searching for papers - and found the papers in the cupboard.

'They took me outside into the shed and started burning me with the paper. After this they brought me back to the sitting room where I was sitting before they took me out.

'They shook their fists before they went.'"

This was not the first time that Mrs Gautan had been picked upon by the racists. A frail woman, she never left the house. She had obviously been chosen as the target by these thugs.

Saudhu described a previous incident:

"They came into the house on June 27th after 11.30 at night. They tried to go only into my mother's room.

Then she screamed and they ran away. We went to the police and they came to our house, where they heard a statement from my mother and they could see fingerprints

both on the window and outside.

The lady in the opposite house said she thought she saw them try to get in the house. She reported to the policeman that they were white, 18-20, young.

But nobody came to see the fingerprints of the 27th though they had told us not to smear them because they wanted to photograph them."

This inactivity on the part of the police has been the common feature to the many racist attacks and incidents that have taken place in Leamington since the wave of racist hysteria in June.

Two people were put in hospital by an attack as they walked home from a party; no charges were brought.

SMASHED

When five racist youths attacked a bus crew in August only one was charged.

Shops and houses have had windows smashed, various individuals have been attacked, spat upon and abused, without any activity from the police.

Yet the police have been quick to exploit the Gautan murder as an excuse to harass the immigrant population in the working class areas of Leamington.

They have set about not tracking down the young white thugs responsible, but gathering information on immigrant families, their time of entry into this country, and other personal details.

Although unable to deny the existence of the two youths (who were seen by witnesses near the scene of the killing) the police pretend to be dumbfounded by the



OXFORD TEACHERS STRIKE

Over 4,000 teachers and others demonstrated in Oxford on September 21st against the £5 million cuts package proposed by the local Tory Council as part of the Labour government's spending cuts.

This turnout represents a tremendous advance into struggle from a group previously hostile to action.

Yet demonstration and protest is not enough to avert this attack on jobs, conditions and educational standards. What action do the union leaders propose?

PONTIFICATING

1,000 of the demonstrators crammed the town hall, only to hear a selected battery of trade union leaders strutting and pontificating.

Some of these leaders were not even prepared to go through the motions of fighting. Steadman, Secretary of the Oxfordshire division NUT, who chaired the meeting, was above all concerned that the meeting finished in time (for teachers to get back to school!) not in further action.

"UNIQUE OCCASION"

"This," Steadman said, "is a unique occasion; there has never been anything like it before, and if the County Council behaves sensibly, there won't be anything like it again."

NUT President Alf Wiltshire did not add much to this barren picture apart from stressing that the proposed cuts were "in excess" of the government's guidelines.

This line, aimed at disarming political opposition to the Labour government, was taken up by right-wing Trades Union Council President John Power (recently installed in that office by the TUC officials who had bureaucratically disaffiliated the old Oxford Trades Council).

To listen to Power no one would imagine the Labour government had ever suggested cuts. Indeed he proposed as an answer to vote Labour at the next county council elections!

MILITANCY

Of course the cuts are the direct product of the Labour government willingly implemented in many areas by Labour councils.

But militancy among teachers is escalating, as reflected in the sanctions pressed for by NAS/UWT and NUT members, centring on a refusal to cover for absent teachers.



Power

But the policies so far adopted are inadequate to the task. They must be combined with the fight for a sliding scale of education spending, and broadened to include joint action, with all public sector and social service unions affected by the cuts.

To develop this joint fight it is important for NUT members to campaign for one-day strike action and NUT contingents to join with Civil Servants (CPSA), NUPE and NALGO on the mass lobby of Parliament called for November 17th.



The June demonstration

"lack of motive".

The local paper reports them as feeling they can only "speculate" as to why the youths entered the house. No such doubt exists in the mind of Saudhu or the Asian Community generally.

They reject such farcical explanations as "suicide", "family problems" and "theft". Saudhu pointed out that:

"If they wanted to steal anything from the house, my mother was wearing her jewelry and money was on the table which they never took."

The establishment of workers' defence groups in Leamington is clearly the only course that can prevent the intimidation of immigrant workers by racist thugs.

A centralised and widely publicised organisation would enable a speedy concentration of defence guards at the scene of any attack.

DANGEROUS

It is the task of both black and white workers to make any fascist or racist offensive a dangerous one for those involved.

What could be done is shown by an incident in August, where, at

five minutes notice, ten people were mobilised to prevent the fascist National Party distributing leaflets. They were quickly driven from Leamington's main street and have not been seen there since.

It has been the consistent position of the Workers Socialist League in Leamington that workers defence must be organised as soon as possible.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE

At the June Trades Council rally against racism, and at the well-attended meeting afterwards, the WSL advocated workers defence committees, pointing out that no reliance could be placed in the police (as the reformist Indian leaders had suggested).

Although a provisional committee was elected, it never met, owing to the prevarication of various organisations, including the so-called 'revolutionaries' of the IWA (GB) (Naxalites).

But if the wave of racist violence that has swept the town and led to the vicious murder of Mrs Gautan is to be ended, then the immediate establishment of joint workers defence is vital.

AT A MEETING called by the International Socialists and the two Indian Workers Associations on Sunday October 3rd the following motion moved by the WSL was passed unanimously by the 60 people present.

1. That a Leamington Defence Committee be set up to organise the defence of immigrants and their property and the meetings and activities of working class organisations against attack by fascists and racials.

2. That the committee be composed of all those prepared to actively participate in defence work and that it shall meet once a month.

3. That an Executive Committee be elected representing all those immigrant, trade union and working class political groups involved (on the basis of one representative per organisation) which would prepare in detail proposals for the running of defence in this town and would be responsible for the day-to-day organisation.

This Executive Committee to be responsible to the full defence committee.

Pound's Slump Confirms Need For Wages Conference

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR
MOVEMENT

Conference on
WAGE CONTROL AND UNION DEMOCRACY
Sunday 24th October, Digbeth Hall, Birmingham at 10 am
Credentials, 50p, from Kevin Lee, Campaign Secretary, 44,
Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20.

The Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, the committee campaigning for the October 24th Conference on Wage Control and Trade Union Democracy has issued a new statement to Trade Union branches following the plunge of the pound last week.

Speaking of the development of the campaign the statement explains that when the committee set out to organise the conference last July "We did so from the conviction that the working class would not accept the 4½% ceiling on wage settlements imposed on them by the TUC and the Labour Government."

LEADERSHIP

The committee chose October for the Conference says the statement "because we were convinced that this Autumn would see struggles on wages in which the quality of leadership would be the central issue and in which a programme for action would be decisive."

"Recent events," says the Committee, "have confirmed this perspective and have in our view heightened the urgency for and the importance of the Conference."

"Three weeks ago the decision of the seamen to strike over wages forced a settlement on fringe benefits which drove the first crack in the social contract.

Last week, during the Labour Party conference, the pound collapsed, resulting in an application to the IMF for a massive new loan.

CONDITIONS

The IMF promptly announced that stringent new measures to further reduce living standards will be a condition of that loan."

The committee statement goes

on to say what these measures are likely to include:

"Further cuts in public spending and the further demolition of the social services; a possible mini budget to increase direct or indirect taxation; an increase in the minimum lending rate and mortgage interest rates and a possibility of a reduction in the money supply."

All these things, says the committee statement, "would force up unemployment rapidly, not only in the public sector but, through trade recession, in the manufacturing industry particularly motors."

"The argument of the Labour Government and the TUC that high wages are responsible for inflation and the weakness of the pound has been demolished by these events.

The £6 limit was successfully imposed and living standards have substantially fallen yet the pound collapses and inflation races out of control."

Socialist Press very much agrees with this perspective and the aims of the conference; to bring together the wages struggle, the attacks on trade union democracy launched on workers by the bureaucratic trade union leaders, and the programme necessary if workers are to defend their living standards is a very powerful combination in this situation.

SLIDING SCALE

The demand contained in the Conference resolution for a sliding scale of wages to defend living standards is seen clearly as the only effective policy to defend the working class against inflation.

It is clear that the Conference can make an important contribution to the struggles of the working class in this period.

At its meeting last Saturday the Organising Committee agreed a platform including speakers from sections of workers who have been in struggle on wages. From the



Murray speaking at the TUC in Brighton shortly before seamen's vote

recent struggles and victimisations in Cowley, from the struggles on Oxford and Camden Trades Councils against Rule 15 and bureaucratic attacks and from recent struggles against bureaucracy in the Labour Party.

FULL DISCUSSION

As well as these main speakers there will be time for a full discussion from the floor of the conference.

In the past two weeks support from Trade Union organisations has grown.

Delegates have been elected from Enfield Polytechnic NUS, Central London Hotels G&MWU, North London Medical ASTMS, West London Medical ASTMS, Hornsey CLP, Barnes and Richmond CLP and Aylesbury Trades Council.



Jackson - UPW leader opposed to free collective bargaining

HOSPITAL OCCUPATION

With the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital (EGA) in Camden only weeks away, workers at the hospital, meeting on 23rd September, unanimously passed the following resolution:

"Whilst acknowledging with gratitude the cooperation of all members of the Whittington staff in the present emergency, the staff of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital are opposed to the suggestion that the remaining in-patients be moved to the Whittington Hospital.

We no longer believe the Camden and Islington Area Health Authority or the DHSS have any intention of providing a long-term alternative. Therefore we are determined to stay on the site and to organise a work-in if necessary." (our emphasis)

This statement of 'no confidence' in the AHA and the intention to stage a work-in if the closure proceeds, represents the culmination of a long struggle to save the EGA.

FAILED

Public meetings, pickets, a one-day strike and a mass lobby at the House of Commons have all failed to reverse the decision of the AHA that the hospital should be closed. (Which is not surprising as the EGA closure is just a small part of the cut-backs in the NHS which are vital planks of right-wing Labour Government policy.)

The workers there have therefore now voted to take the only action remaining to them -- to take control of the hospital them-

selves.

How has this decision been received by the trade unions represented at the hospital?

NUPE - have indicated their intention to give official recognition to a work-in, and suggested lobbying a NUPE-sponsored MP - just in case he might be more interested in leading a fight than Camden's Lena Jager and Jock Stallard have been.

ASTMS - have indicated their intention to give official recognition to a work-in.

NALGO - silence.

G&MWU - silence.

If EGA workers do stage a work-in it will be the first time such action has occurred in a hospital in this country.

For that reason, these relatively inexperienced workers require leadership from their union officials (who are paid by the membership for just such leadership) in organising the work-in.

At the Labour Party Conference NUPE General Secretary Alan Fisher paraded as the leftest-of-the-lefts in pushing for resolutions against the cuts to public services.

Fisher can now "put his money where his mouth is" and throw all his union's resources behind the EGA work-in.

Detailed plans for the work-in must be prepared immediately by an EGA Work-In Committee composed of workers and union representatives.

The EGA Campaign Committee must organise outside support from the community and other sections of workers.

No more lobbies and pickets to divert workers from the real fight. ALL SUPPORT FOR THE EGA WORK-IN.

POLYTECH SACK THREAT

Management in the public sector, at the Labour government's bidding, are attempting to implement 'speed-up' and 'rationalisation' in the same way as industrial bosses.

In Coventry, however, Aitken, Coventry's Director of Education and Ridger, Warwickshire's Chief Education Officer, in a confidential document to the Board of Governors of Lanchester Polytechnic have shown themselves prepared to resort to an even older method of cutting labour costs - the sack!

After urging early retirement to increase student/staff ratios to an arbitrary 10:1, the report states, "in the absence of positive strategies there will undoubtedly be redundancies."

The Polytechnic branch of NATFHE, at a meeting held last Thursday passed a motion which was "opposed to any form of redundancy whether by voluntary or compulsory means, natural wastage or early retirement."

It called for the Joint Union Committee to draw up contingency plans including a day of action involving all those who work in the Polytechnic to be enacted if any move was made towards redundancies for any section of the Polytechnic staff.

This move to involve the Joint Union Committee in the event of redundancies should be supported by the students.

And 'natural wastage' must be as strongly opposed as redundancies.

The report recommends that "10 full time posts be deleted from the establishment" (there are 22 vacancies at present) "and that an even stricter policy towards the filling of vacancies be adopted in the future."

Already new contracts are only being issued on a temporary basis.

The Joint Union Committee must demand access to the accounts and future plans of the LEA as a first step to working with committees of elected trade unionists and students to draw up jointly a workers' plan for education based on the nationalisation of the educational supply industries, and the fight for a sliding scale of state spending to



Photo: Camden Chronicle.

DEFEND THE METHOD OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

Lessons from the split in the Workers Internationalist League (Greece).

We reprint here the first of four parts of the Document by the Communist Internationalist League, (the expelled majority of the Greek Workers Internationalist League. The majority of the WIL were expelled after the intervention of Gerry Healy, (then General Secretary of the British Workers Revolutionary Party) acting in the name of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

The internal crisis of the Workers Internationalist League in Greece led finally to split. It would be futile and disorientating if we attempted an interpretation of this split by abandoning ourselves to a vicious circle of little incidents and the mutual accusations which are related to it.

This is even more true now that the sectarian clique in the leadership of the British Workers Revolutionary Party and its puppets in Greece, have started a campaign of slanderous activities, the like of which has never been seen in the Trotskyist movement.

Everything must be publicly exposed and the truth of every aspect of the split must be re-established.

A Marxist approach though, requires first of all the analysis and clarification of the theoretical and political questions which lie at the basis of the split.

YARDSTICK

Only after that is done, can we put in order the smaller incidents. We must acquire before everything a yardstick which will enable us to put all the facts into line.

Let us suppose that we have in front of us two members of a certain organisation which has split.

Each of them accuses the other of breach both of discipline and of decisions, of using methods inadmissible for Communists and so on.

We are confronted by a tangle of mutual accusations to which we can find no end. Who is right and who is not?

It is very simple to see that in such a case our job would be to ask the two fighting members about their political differences.

The methods used in the political struggle are not self-contained, but they are interwoven with the theory, the policies, the programme and the practice of every group.

POLICIES

We would have to examine whose policies contradict the interests of the working class, whose policies were destructive for the organisation of the revolutionary vanguard and whose policies could not survive if fought against theoretically and practically, within a party functioning on the basis of centralism.

It is very simple for everyone to understand, that a comrade who defends within the workers' movement the interests of the oppressed, the Marxist method and the policies and the programme of Trotskyism, does not have to swear, to slander, to create provocations or use organisational manoeuvres; they are necessary only to people who have become renegades from Trotskyism

and have soiled their hands by betraying the working class.

Every honest fighter and every logical person who does not want to fool himself and the others will necessarily approach matters in this way.

Everyone who insists one-sidedly on the organisation incidents of the split and does not care about the political questions that lie at its roots, is at best an inexperienced person or at worst a hypocrite, who never devoted himself seriously to the cause of the working class.

INTERNATIONAL

Let us call the attention of every Trotskyist to the fact that this split is not a Greek complication, but part of an international split.

When one approaches the question from an international and universal aspect it immediately ceases to appear as accidental (that it was supposedly provoked by this or that "wrong move" and its necessity comes into focus.

There are certain comrades, who are now on the periphery of the organisation or on the other side, who turn around several "ifs", which, they think, had they not happened, the split would have been avoided.

Such ideas only prove that those who have them take their subjective wishes as an objective reality.

It would be useful to ask them: how do you apply those "ifs" in the case of the US Workers League and Tim Wohlforth, of the British WRP and Thornett, or the similar incidents in the life of the Portuguese section?

COINCIDENCE

The Greek Pabloites used to interpret successive splits as being the result of coincidence, of certain people's state of mind and with the method of individual psychology.

This method hardly appears logical when applied in Greece or in any other individual country. But it is blown sky-high when one tries to apply it to a split that is taking place on the international plane, as was the split with Pabloism.

Every serious split — and an international split is certain such — can only be the result of the historical stage of development of society and of the evolution of a party.

As materialists we know that the consciousness of classes in society is determined by the material conditions under which they live.

NOT AUTOMATIC

But this determination is not automatic. Material reality changes but people's thinking usually lags behind.

Nor do men all simultaneously ascend the stairs of social consciousness.

While one section manages to grasp what is new in reality another

section lags behind and does not follow this progress. Only this can explain the splits.

Engels writes in a letter to Bebel, referring to the split with the Lassalians:

"...Moreover, Old man Hegel said long ago: A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the 'solidarity of the proletariat' is everywhere being realised in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another as the Christian Sects of the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions." (20th June, 1873 in *Marx and Engels Selected Correspondence* p.347)

Propagandism and the Method of the Transitional Programme

The labour movement today and the whole of humanity, are not simply ascending to a new stage of development but they are at a tremendous historical turning point.

The period of the post war boom has long since ended for good. Capitalism today passes through the most complex and most eruptive crisis in its history.

All the old economic and political relations are being destroyed rapidly as inflation remains rampant on a world scale and the productive forces of humanity are generally in decline.

Millions of workers throughout the world are thrown onto the streets, unemployed; the peasants are condemned to an indescribable misery; and the young nations in the underdeveloped world are under imperialist attack.

MASSES

Within these conditions, broad masses of working people are pushed into struggles to defend both their rapidly falling living standards and their democratic rights.

Every demand today surpasses the limits and the possibilities of crumbling capitalism. The question of the working class taking the power is objectively posed.

The Trotskyist groups have gone through a long period of isolation.

Their main task now is not limited propaganda and individual recruitment, but the struggle to develop links with the masses, to win their confidence, to train cadres capable of leading in struggle not tens but hundreds of thousands and millions of oppressed people.

Their slogan now must be "to

the masses" because the conquest of power is not possible without the conquest of the masses.

This is the destination of the revolutionary party. Otherwise it has no reason for existence. If the Trotskyists fail, the punishment for them, for the whole working class and for humanity will be fascism, war and barbarism.

But the Trotskyist movement carries a very long tradition of propagandism. It is obliged to carry out today a kind of *internal* revolution, a decisive break with the past.

ISOLATION

Without taking into account the pre-war period of reaction, the Fourth International, after the war, went necessarily through a long period of isolation.

Revolutionary ideas could naturally not get much response in conditions of boom, of inflationary expansion and full employment for working people.

The Fourth International consisted of small propagandist groups. For almost half a century, the job of the cadres of the Trotskyist movement was to spread to a few people the general principles of Communism.

But outside of the class struggle these principles were separated from their living content and were gradually transformed, in the minds of the propagandists, into inflexible dogmas.

These propagandistic circles with their dogmas and all the related defects were an unavoidable stage in the development of the revolutionary movement and in the conditions under which they acted, they really offered fruitful results, by first of all securing the continuity of the Trotskyist movement.

But the objective movement has radically changed, and that which yesterday was a necessary evil, becomes today a retrograde and liquidationist element of the movement.

Propaganda was always necessary but *propagandism* must now be smashed. Lenin said:

"As long as it was (and inasmuch as it still is) a question of winning the proletariat's vanguard over to the side of communism, priority went and still goes to propaganda work; even propaganda circles, with all their parochial limitations, are useful under these conditions, and produce good results. But when it is a question of practical action by the masses, of the disposition, if one may so put it, of vast armies, of the alignment of all the class forces in a given society for the final and decisive battle, then propagandist methods alone, the mere repetition of the truths of "pure" communism, are of no avail." (Left Wing Communism, p77).

This is precisely the question today: the leaderships of the International Committee remain hostages to their propagandistic

tradition and they reduce revolutionary work within the masses into a sick repetition of truths they have learned by heart.

The cadre of the International Committee that has been trained in the propagandistic method, conceives of Marxism and the socialist programme as a stock of recipes which we must propose to the masses both in winter and summer alike.

Thus the job of the revolutionist is presented as an extremely simple one. He has only to learn a few standard things and to say them to others in oral and written form.

ULTIMATUM

Naturally Marxism and the socialist programme are transformed in this way into an ultimatum, no less strict and fixed than the Commandments of Moses.

The propagandist is transformed today into a sectarian.

His method did not create problems in the past, but now, within the class struggle, it produces amazing results in the policies as well as in the organisational life of his group.

Many comrades have been really surprised by a series of incidents which seem inconceivable to them. But there is nothing surprising. As Trotsky says in the Transitional Programme, the sectarians:

"...live in a state of perpetual exasperation, complaining about the 'regime' and the 'methods' and ceaselessly wallowing in small intrigues. In their own circles they customarily carry on a regime of despotism."

(Folrose edition, p40)

The epoch of imperialism is generally an epoch of wars and revolutions.

This is enough for the sectarians. It forms the basis for their socialist propaganda. But they do not have, and they do not seek the means to open the road for the taking of revolutionary perspectives into the masses.

The gap between the objective tasks of the masses and their inadequate level of consciousness does not concern them.

They limit themselves to constant repetition of the truths of communism and they have no tactics to push forward the movement of the working class:

"These sterile politicians generally have no need of a bridge in the form of transitional demands because they do not intend to cross over to the other shore. They simply dawdle in one place, satisfying themselves with a repetition of the self-same meagre abstractions." (TP., Folrose edition, p40)

These two extracts from the Transitional Programme describe with admirable accuracy the organisational regime and the policies of the WRP and of certain servile disciples of its leadership within the sections of the International Committee.

These people rejected and still reject the method of the Transitional Programme, the dialectical method of Trotsky, and have transformed its slogans into an empty abstraction. Essentially, the Transitional Programme is a banned book within the International Committee.

STRUGGLE

But if this could be tolerated in the past, a precondition for the International to pass through the Triumphal Arch is not only the relentless struggle against right-wing opportunism but also, the final crushing of sectarianism inside and outside our ranks.

Trotsky was imperative:

"However, sectarian tendencies are to be found also in our ranks and display a ruinous influence on the work of the individual sections. It is impossible to make any further compromise with them even for a single day. A correct policy regarding the trade unions is a basic condition for adherence to the Fourth International. He who does not seek and does not find the road to the masses is not a fighter but a dead weight to the party. A programme is formulated not for the editorial board or for the leaders of discussion clubs but for the revolutionary action of millions. The cleansing of the ranks of the Fourth International of sectarianism and incurable sectarianism, is a primary condition for revolutionary success." (TP., Folrose edition, p.40)



Trotsky speaking in Copenhagen, 1932

The leaders of the WRP — and they are not the only ones — are completely opposed to the method of the Transitional Programme, the dialectical materialism of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky.

They sometime, somewhere read that a programme is formed on the basis of a scientific analysis of the historical epoch, and reflects the objective tasks of the working class, not its political backwardness.

Trotsky says that: "The programme must take society as it is, because it is itself an organ for us to fight this backwardness of the working class and to win."

NO FURTHER

They never went further than this.

What does a scientific programme for the working class of Greece mean today for example?

We say that the dictatorship installed in our country in 1967 was not a thunderbolt from a clear sky. It was a testimony to the historical decay of parliamentarism.

Its overthrow in July of 1974 and the rise of Karamanlis, was not based on the solution of the economic crisis, but, on the contrary, on the deepening of this crisis.

We do not face the prospect of the restoration of democratic "normality" as the Stalinists claim. The existence of Parliament and of democratic liberties today is the result of an unstable balance of forces between the classes.

The period is extremely transitory and will necessarily lead to a confrontation which will decide the question: fascism or socialism?

Out of this analysis — based on material facts and not on wishful thinking and illusions — it becomes clear that the task of the working class is to immediately seize the power. If it fails, it will pay with fascism.

But what does that mean for us? That we must summon the working class immediately to undertake the battle for power? The leaders of the WRP, in a confused way, indeed arrive at such a conclusion.

But this has nothing in common with Marxism. It is a caricature of it.

The seizure of power by the working class and socialism, is the

conscious *strategic* goal of the revolutionaries, in the epoch of imperialism in general and of the present crisis in particular. But the fact that the economic structure of capitalism is mature enough for its overthrow — and indeed it is rotting — does not indicate that this historical task can be carried out in practice at any given moment.

Human beings live and work within given economic conditions. They will never transform society if the necessity for its transformation does not pass through them and does not become a conscious thought which will then be turned into the will to undertake revolutionary activity.

How are we going to achieve this? It is not at all enough for one to have a scientifically determined strategy.

One must also have the method to make the broad masses conscious of it. The correctness of the goal does not at all ensure a correct day-to-day activity.

And as Trotsky says in the Transitional Programme:

"The achievement of this strategic task is unthinkable without the most considered attention to all, even small and partial questions of tactics."

(TP, Folrose edition, p.8)

In his discussions with the members of the American SWP, Trotsky said it is one question to have a correct programme and:

"...another question to know in which way we will present it to the working people. It is to a great extent a pedagogic question, a question of terminology, a question of selection of the terms."

UNDERSTANDING

The presentation of the programme does not simply depend on experience and our subjective talent, but it presupposes first of all a dialectical materialist understanding of the unity which in reality exists between the everyday struggles of the masses and the struggle for power.

Secondly it requires a careful analysis of the correlation of political forces and the most accurate appreciation possible of the concrete stage of development of the class struggle.

The idea that revolutionaries must ignore the state of mind of

the masses and that in their activity they must take as an exclusive measure their scientific analysis of the epoch, is clearly sectarian nonsense.

This idea is subjected to violent criticism by Lenin in his book *Left Wing Communism* and was fought against by Lenin during the whole of his life.

The sectarians in the leadership of the WRP would also denounce participation in parliament since it is objectively outlived, if they were consistent and not formalistically attached to the letter of Marxism.

STATE OF MIND

Lenin and Trotsky however insist on the participation of Communists in parliament, precisely because they do *not* start purely from the objective tasks of the masses, but also take into account their state of mind.

To analyse society objectively, as it is, and not subjectively, as you would like it to be — not to start from ideas within your own head — means to take into account not only the economic element but also the human element and its consciousness.

Instead of this approach, the "Perspectives for the WRP", proposed to its First Annual Conference in December 1974, and which are an indirect reply to the critique of Thornett* start as follows:

"The Workers Revolutionary Party October Election Manifesto began: 'The General Election is being held under the shadow of a threatening economic catastrophe.' Our intervention in the Election was decided first and foremost from this fact."

If they wanted to be more frank, they should say that their intervention was decided not "first and foremost" but *exclusively* by that.

They participated in the elections with a full socialist programme of complete nationalisation without compensation and under workers control, because — they said — the Election took place under the shadow of "a threatening

* For Alan Thornett's analysis of WRP's position see the book *The Battle for Trotskyism*.

economic catastrophe."

But this programme in reality is simply propaganda learned by heart, which they have repeated steadily, every year, under *all* circumstances, and *not* something proposed especially for the elections of 1974.

CORRECT

As propaganda, the complete nationalisation (expropriation of the expropriators), is a slogan correct for this imperialist epoch, when every moment we are under the shadow of a "threatening economic catastrophe". But it is *not* a slogan for immediate action.

If we want to be a party of the masses and not talkers, we must put forward the question of nationalisation, whenever and wherever the situation permits it, (and today there is perhaps no country where this question is not posed) *taking into account* the degree of maturity of the broad masses

This means that in practical terms we cannot put forward the question of wholesale nationalisation but of nationalising the most basic sectors of the economy, or the most parasitic, or those sectors which are related immediately to the public (ie transport and so on).

We must put forward the question of nationalisation wherever so called "private initiative" has already aroused the masses, and we also try to sharpen their feelings, by exposing the speculation, the robbery of the capitalists and the illogicality and anarchy created by private property.

TROTSKY

Trotsky writes in the Transitional Programme under the subtitle "Expropriation of Separate Groups of Capitalists":

"The socialist programme of expropriation, ie., of political overthrow of the bourgeoisie and liquidation of its economic domination, should in no case during the present transitional period hinder us from advancing, when the occasion warrants, the demand for the expropriation of several key branches of industry vital for national existence or of the most parasitic group of the bourgeoisie".

But in their document quoted

above, the leaders of the WRP claim that:

"The party's struggle for political demands, for the building of the vanguard, for the exposure of the reformists and Stalinists, for the mobilisation of the workers for power in the course of every economic struggle, and for the building of the party, must be brought into conflict with this spontaneity. It [the struggle of the party] does not grow alongside it or out of it, related to it simply by a set of demands which will gently bring the workers forward." (WRP Perspectives, 2nd November 1974, p.4)

"The mobilisation of the workers for power in the course of every economic struggle"! This ridiculous statement shows that the WRP reduce the struggle for revolutionary education of the masses into mere propaganda.

PASSIVE

It reflects the passive expectation, under the form of an idealistic messianism; that the masses, pushed by the crisis, will finally come to us through a single leap.

The WRP go on in the same perspectives document:

"This 'bridge' is the transition from spontaneity to political consciousness. The whole of Leninist teaching revolves around the understanding that this transition is a dialectical one, a revolutionary leap, achieved through the practice of the revolutionary party in struggle against opportunism and sectarianism....." and so on.

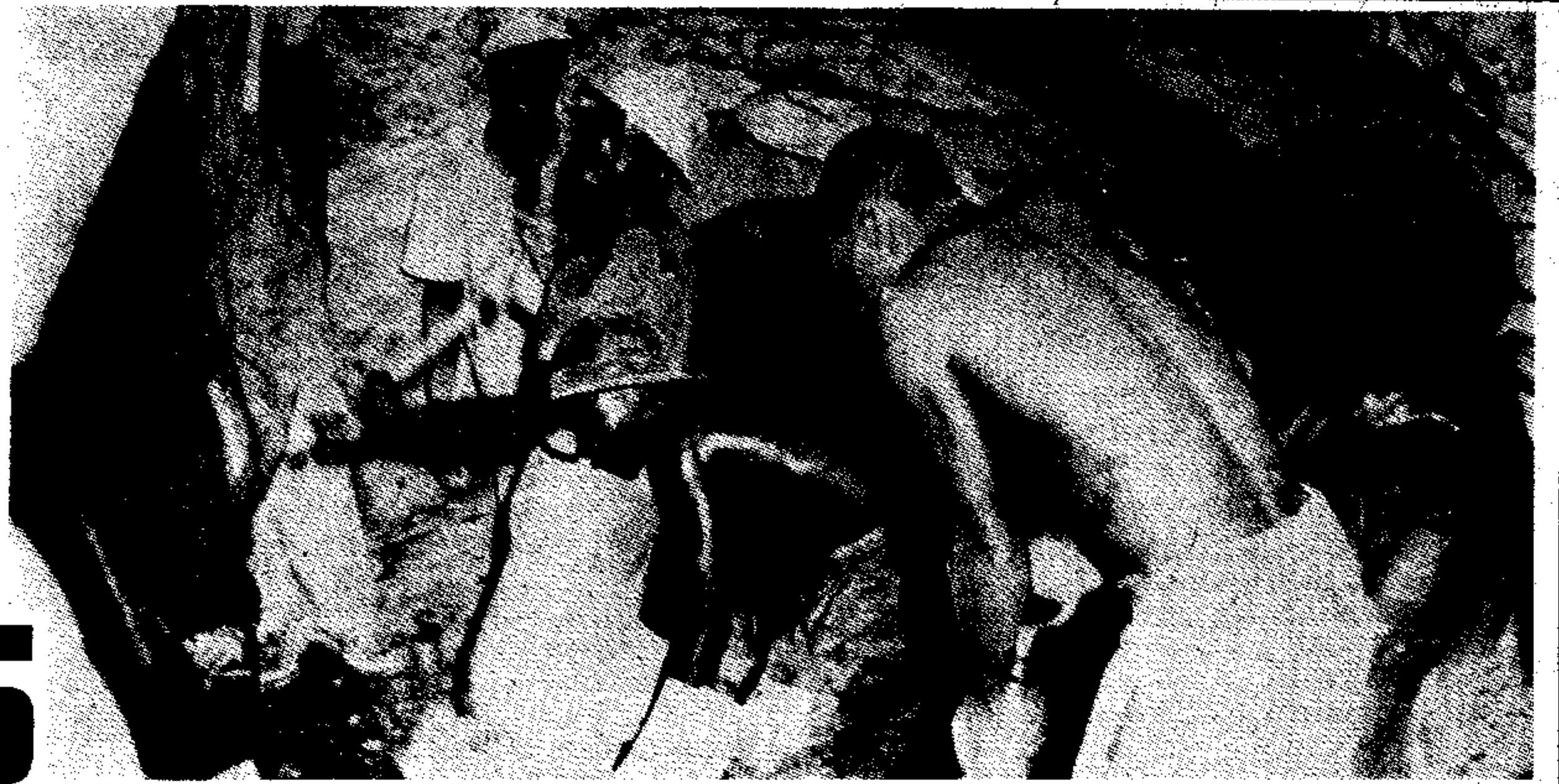
Poor dialectics! How much have you suffered in the hands of these magicians! The less they understand the dialectic the more claims they make for it.

The WRP forget that it includes *not only* the category of leaps, but *also* the category of quantitative developments which prepare the leaps.

Being conscious of this, Marxists not only in the period of liberal capitalism but also in the period of imperialism — and especially in the latter — never underestimated the struggle for economic and political reforms, the struggle for the elementary demands of the masses.

Continued Next Edition.

THE FIGHT FOR AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS



South African gold miners

PART 3 OF OUR SERIES ON SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.

The alliance between South Africa's privileged white working class, (protected in whole categories of jobs by a state-enforced colour bar), and the Afrikaner capitalist class began with the Labour Nationalist Coalition government of 1924. (See 'Socialist Press' No 37).

This political alliance was further consolidated with the victory of the Nationalist Party in the 1948 elections. And it has held power ever since.

The Nationalists, led successively by Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, and now Vorster, acting for both South African and international capitalism have carried through a massive consolidation of State control of the working class in South Africa through police terror and the denial of basic democratic rights.

Racial segregation was enforced in industry. The Industrial Conciliatory Act of 1956 enforced racial segregation in trade unions and excluded African workers from participation in the machinery of trade union bargaining.

STRIKES FORBIDDEN

The Native Labour Act of 1953 forbade strikes by black workers and established regional Native Labour committees of civil servants to settle all disputes involving black workers and to direct workers to particular areas of employment.

The direction and control of the movement of labour was achieved through the notorious 'Pass Laws' which ensured that all black workers who became unemployed or engaged in any form of political activity could be swiftly located and returned to the African tribal lands (Bantustans).

Alongside industrial legislation came a battery of political controls.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 forcibly dissolved the Communist Party and established the legal framework for the arrest and detention without trial, or the placing under house arrest, of wide circles of white middle class liberal critics of government policy in addition to thousands of black militants and communists of both races.

The 1961 General Law Amendment Act gave the police unprecedented sweeping powers of detention and arrest without trial.

UNLIMITED

This legislation has been supplemented by the Terrorism Act and now the State Security Act which gives the police virtually unlimited power to arrest and detain indefinitely without trial almost anyone.

The Act is being used for the wave of arrests of black militants currently under way even though it has not yet passed through parliament.

Other legislation like the 1974 Riotous Assemblies Act gives the police widespread powers to ban meetings and has been especially used against black Trade Unions.

This legislation is, of course, just the legal facade of State terror, the cover for the widespread use of torture and intimidation by a police force many of whose leaders were admirers of the methods of Hitler's Gestapo.

The economic result of this terror has been the maintenance of low black wages. In the mining industry the ratio of white wages to black is 20:1.

In manufacturing and building the ratio is smaller but increasing: from 5:1 in 1965 to 6:1 in 1970. Black agricultural workers have lower living standards than they had 60 years ago.

On the basis of this massive pool of cheap labour, foreign capital flooded into South Africa during the post war boom. Return on investment was consistently higher than for other areas of the world.

In 1962 for example, the rate of return on US investment in South Africa was 19.9% compared with a world average rate of return of 11.1%

FASHIONABLE

Despite this it remained a fashionable idea among liberals both inside South Africa and in Europe that somehow racist repression resulting in the forcing down of wages was a hindrance to a profitable capitalism in South Africa - that the bourgeoisie itself had an interest in getting rid of racism!

The argument went that apartheid was causing a shortage of skilled labour since there were many Africans capable of filling skilled posts but were prevented by law from doing so even though no whites were available.

Secondly, it was argued, the low wages of the mass of black workers would cause an economic crisis 'sooner or later' since employers would not be able to sell their products.

On the question of skilled labour it is certainly true that from the outset of South African capitalism it has been the skilled white workers who have been most loudly opposed to the employment of cheap black labour where it would threaten their craft privileges.

PRIVILEGES

The 1922 General Strike was in defence of these privileges. Last month white miners threatened a strike against the owners' proposals to open up more jobs to black workers - in return for a five day week for the white miners.

A very similar dispute began the 1922 strike. The liberals used the behaviour of the white labour aristocracy as a cover to argue that it was the capitalists who were "really" in favour of breaking down the colour bar and were doing so.

But let's look at what really happens.

Last year on South African rail-

ways 15,000 jobs formerly reserved for whites were taken over by blacks.

The job of shunter was for example previously reserved for whites only. A shortage of whites forced management to take on black workers. But the job as offered to blacks was redesignated 'train marshaller'.

No blacks are employed as shunters. Whereas the lowest paid shunter gets paid 190 Rands a month (about £130) the highest paid 'train marshaller' gets 160 Rands a month (about £110).

By attempting to open up more areas of employment to blacks the employers are in no sense 'breaking down' racism.

On the contrary racism is directly used to force black wages as low as possible in jobs previously reserved for whites.

The essence of the apartheid system is not that certain jobs are reserved for all time for whites. Rather, whatever jobs blacks are employed in, their wages will be forced as low as possible through the mechanism of repressive state terror.

ABSURDITY

The idea that low black wages hinder the expansion of capitalism in South Africa is of course an absurdity. The employers do not have to sell all their products to low paid workers. They sell to other capitalists!

None of the produce of the South African gold mines, it is safe to say, is sold to the black semi-slave workers on whose labour the profits of the mining companies are erected. South African gold is sold to the international banks for the financing of world trade.

The world capitalist crisis and the falling off in world trade has seen, in recent months, a fall in the world price of gold. This has resulted in declining profits for the mining companies, unemployment and renewed attempts to drive down wages.

UNDERSTOOD

The bourgeoisie understands this clearly and fights tooth and nail to prevent the emergence of African trade unions and political organisations.

The struggle for trade union rights has been continuous since the pre-war period. The first attempt at mass trade unionism by black workers - the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union (influenced by the example of the American syndicalist organisation - the International Workers of the

World (IWW) known as the "Wobblies") led by Klemens Kadalie - collapsed in 1930.

African workers outside the mining industry then carried through a number of struggles for unionisation in particular industries.

Militants faced the threat of imprisonment and deportation to the tribal areas and the 1924 Industrial Conciliation Act denied bargaining rights to Africans.

There was, however, a measure of success and some African unions joined in federation with white unions in the South African Trades and Labour Council.

RESISTANCE

In the post-war period the apartheid policies of the Nationalist government were greeted with a whole series of resistance campaigns including a wave of strikes in 1960 and mass demonstrations which were greeted with massive police violence - the notorious Sharpsville massacre - and followed by the wave of repressive laws in 1961.

It was in the late '60s and early '70s that the current wave of militancy began to build up. It was assisted by two factors.

Firstly the growth of manufacturing industry. By 1971 manufacturing accounted for 23% of Gross National Product - equal to mining and agriculture combined.

This has resulted in the rapid expansion of a black working class permanently resident in the towns unlike the migrant contract workers in the mines.

GOLD PRICE

Secondly, the fall in the world price of gold has forced the devaluation of the currency and increasing inflation. In this situation the attractiveness of South Africa to foreign capital is beginning to decline.

In 1972 for example the average return on US investment in South Africa was 9.8% as opposed to 13% for the world as a whole.

It is mounting inflation that has given the impetus to the new wave of struggles, beginning with the strike of mineworkers in Ovambo-land in December 1972 for higher wages and for an end to the contract labour system.

SOLIDARITY

A key development in this strike was the solidarity shown by the Africans in the tribal areas which prevented the employers using their traditional tactic of replacing strikers with new migrants.

This was followed in 1972 by a strike for higher pay by Johannesburg bus drivers. It is significant that in both these struggles, strike action preceded and became the main impetus for the formation of trade unions.

INCREASES

In Johannesburg the employers were prepared to grant wage increases - which left the workers in any case still below the government's own calculations as to minimum subsistence wages and which the employers knew would be rapidly eaten up by inflation.

But the employers were in no way prepared to enter into any negotiations for recognition of a bus drivers union formed after the strike.

In early 1973 the struggle switched to Durban where transport fares had been recently increased. Brickworkers began a strike for wage increases and were followed by workers from the rubber, chemical, electrical and service industries.

At the height of the strike 50,000 black workers were on strike. In September 73 mineworkers at Carletonville near Johannesburg struck for higher pay and an end to the contract labour system.

STAND

The government encouraged the employers to take a firm stand. The police were called in, eleven workers were shot dead and the strike defeated.

In all these actions and many since, black workers have received no help from the white dominated trade unions.

In July last year Arrie Paulus, General Secretary of the all white Mine Workers Union told the Johannesburg Financial Mail that black miners were not entitled to more pay because:

"Hell, they got enough over the last year. What they earn now is a good wage for a black."

Most white unions are organised into the South African Confederation of Labour which gives complete support to the government's racist policies. The South African Trades and Labour Council continued until 1954 to include multiracial unions.

Renamed as the TUC of South Africa it reversed its policy in 1965 and reallowed black unions to affiliate. Under pressure from the State and Union leaders it abandoned this position in 1969 and since then has come out very strongly against any changes in the industrial colour bar.

IMPOSSIBLE

But in that year the Native Labour Act made it quite impossible for black unions to operate legally. Rather than take up a fight the SATLC followed the advice of the British TUC to "temporarily on basic principles and agree to membership of the council being restricted to the registered unions." (ie white unions only).

Black workers will get no support from such bodies in the struggle for trade unionism - a struggle that in no way can be separated from the struggle against the whole edifice of apartheid, state repression, and capitalism itself in South Africa.

by John Lea



Scene after the Sharpsville massacre, 1960

SPOTLIGHT ON REFORMISM

THE 35HR-WEEK FRAUD



The massive unemployment figures cause much concern to the trade union leaders. They find difficulty justifying their high salaries and privileged positions, while at the same time forcing their members to

accept the effects of the slump.

The 'left'-sounding call for a thirty five hour working week has been used to try and win back members' confidence.

This slogan, echoed in the 'Right

to Work' campaign, was advocated by Jack Jones and is now the policy of the TUC in Britain and of the European TUC.

As part of a socialist programme, the reduction of the working week is a way of defending all jobs and at the same time using technological advance to increase leisure time for the whole working class.

In this spirit Marx and Lenin supported the working class of Europe in the fight for the legal eight hour day.

Union leaders today can also be heard to refer to the great benefits that the thirty-five hour week will bring. It must be said clearly, however, that the plans of Jones and Co. have *nothing* to do with the defence of jobs or the struggle for socialism.

REACTIONARY

In fact, in the hands of the union bureaucrats, the thirty-five hour demand has taken on a *reactionary* and anti-working class character.

In the way that they pose it, it is not in contradiction with their calls for import controls or workers' 'participation' in capitalist management.

The link between the policy and the bureaucrats' role as labour agents of the ruling class is clear from remarks by Jones to the *Times* newspaper in July. He said that he saw the whole question as "part and parcel of negotiations on efficiency."

Fearing working class anger over jobs, he advised bosses that:

"it would be folly not to think ahead about the damage that persistent technological and structural unemployment would do to industrial relations."

It is clear from this that Jones is only concerned that anger against rising unemployment should not threaten his cringing collaboration with the capitalist class.

Jones went on to explain the need to "reduce working hours to give everyone the chance of a stable job."

No mention, of course, by this architect of wage-cutting policies, of the defence of workers' interests and living standards. Not a single call was made for real wages to be maintained if the working week is reduced - "productive efficiency" is the order of the day.

If giving the unemployed their 'chance' of a job means in this way more wage cuts and speed-up for the employed, then Jones' thirty-five hour week policy can only divide the working class.

With other reformist schemes like 'overtime bans' and 'early retirement' it puts blame for the crisis on the working class.

It is typical of the many calls to the working class to make 'sacrifices' in this period. Jones, the TUC and their European counterparts do not wish to fight for jobs; they simply wish that unemployment could be spread evenly throughout the working class - a permanent system of short-time working to preserve 'industrial relations'.

For Jones, the working class should not fight for jobs as a right. It must package itself in such a way that it is a saleable commodity to the capitalists.

MARXIST

Marxists reject this cowardly approach. The capitalist crisis and the drive for profits inevitably produces and requires a pool of unemployed labour as a standing warning to employed workers who wish to struggle for better wages and conditions.

Any concession on this score simply prepares the ground for defeat and demoralisation in the working class. Our policy to mobilise the working class in defence of jobs is that of work

sharing on full pay.

It is only on the basis of such a policy, taken from the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International, that the employed and unemployed can be united in a serious fight for jobs.

Trotsky writes:

"Trade unions...should bind the workers and the unemployed together in the solidarity of mutual responsibility. On this basis the work on hand would then be divided among all existing workers...The average wage of every worker remains the same as it was under the old working week."

SOCIALIST

This demand, which Trotsky called "the system of work in a socialist society" is the *only* one which starts from the defence of working class interests and poses a way forward for workers out of the crisis.

It is only in the context of this approach that the thirty-five hour week can have any serious meaning.

The policy of work-sharing on full pay poses the question of *who* should control society.

It is linked to the struggle for a workers' plan of public works to benefit society.

The bureaucracy, which seeks at best to 'reform' but not abolish capitalism, is quite incapable of accepting this demand.

ANSWER

The only answer that can be given to trade union leaders who use the demand for thirty-five hours to duck the fight for jobs is that they should lead their members nationally in strike action and occupations for thirty-five hours on full pay.

In this way their utter lack of principle and their concern for profits before members' jobs will be exposed.

WHY WE ARE RESIGNING FROM THE IMG

The crisis of the world imperialist system and the offensive of the world working class puts to the test all organisations claiming to be revolutionary, and strikingly confirms Trotsky's prognosis that "the world political situation as a whole is chiefly characterised by a historical crisis of the leadership of the proletariat."

This crisis of leadership is not limited to the continuing betrayals of the social-democratic and Stalinist bureaucracies, however; it has never been so thoroughly represented in the ranks of those organisations claiming to be Trotskyist.

SLANDERS

The degenerating and shrunken International Committee of Gerry Healy is resorting to the vilest slanders concerning George Novack and Joseph Hansen to hold together its fragments, whilst the *Newline* carries articles on the Middle East almost completely uncritical of the Arab Nationalist forces, and ignores completely the tasks of the permanent revolution in these states.

The positions of the Organisation Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCI) and the "Leninist-Trotskyist" faction of the Usec on events taking place in the Portuguese revolution, particularly those taking place around the newspaper *Republica* last year show clearly the degeneration of these organisations. (supporting bourgeois "press freedom" against the development of seizures by workers and the formation of workers' commissions in this sector).

At the same time the "United" Secretariat and its British section, the IMG, refuse to come to grips with the central problems facing the international and British working class. The "backwardness" of the British working class and its "acceptance" of the pay policy and other measures of the Wilson and then Callaghan government, is the excuse used to "delay" the fight for principled leadership in the working class, and to ignore such vital leads as the forthcoming conference on Trade Union Democracy (which has been totally ignored by *Red Weekly* to date, despite a lengthy article on the subject taken almost verbatim from *Socialist Press*).

For the IMG the resolution of the crisis of leadership will be achieved by the diverse elements making up their "class struggle left-wing", containing Stalinists, Tribunites, militant workers, Institute of Workers Control, NAC, TOM, etc., etc.

As Comrades Strawson and Hyde correctly pointed out in their resignation document (see *Socialist Press* number 25) this standing aside for the 'lefts' is a direct legacy of a political heritage which for the past twenty years has been putting forward forces other than Trotskyists to resolve the crisis of leadership "just for the moment" - this is the heritage of Pabloism.

PROPAGANDA

For the IMG the method of Trotsky in the Transitional Programme, representing twenty years of Bolshevik method and development, is reduced solely to propaganda for the "new mass vanguard" - those forces "broken" with the bureaucracy *already* - thus evading

the real fight in the mass organisations of the working class to break the reformist illusions of even the most advanced trade union militants.

The Workers Socialist League has grasped this fight; it has not eternally waited for the "balance of forces" to change as has the IMG, but has heeded Trotsky's advice that the relationship of forces is something that has to be changed, not capitulated to.

Similarly the WSL has not excused itself from a principled fight in the mass organisations of the class on the grounds that the class is "backward".

"BACKWARD"

The IMG's view that the class is "backward" is based on an analysis that views the working class in isolation; it neither sees the relationship of the bureaucracy to this "backwardness" nor does it see how to fight this.

"The mentality of the class of the proletariat is backward, but the mentality is not such a substance as the factories, the mines, the railroads, but is more mobile and under the blows of the objective crisis, the millions of unemployed, it can change rapidly."

"Our tasks don't depend on the mentality of the workers. The task is to develop the mentality of the workers."

Trotsky, *Discussions on the Transitional Programme*, May 19th 1938.

The means of fighting the "backwardness" is to wage a struggle in the class against the parasitic bureaucracy; it is this struggle which has earned the WSL the special hatred of the bureaucracy.

LIMITED

The "Trotskyist Opposition" of the IMG has offered limited (but nonetheless formally correct) criticisms of the USFI majority (IMT) as applied to China, Vietnam Cuba and the "class struggle left-wing", but they fail absolutely to locate these in the history and political trajectory of the USFI (and before that, the ISEC) and draw the correct conclusions from them.

The only conclusion which can be drawn from these criticisms is that the USFI represents a centrist current, vacillating between a revolutionary and a reformist analysis of the bureaucracy and perspective; and that necessitates an open and principled fight in the working class for Trotskyist politics.



USFI leader Mandel: USFI is a "centrist current".

To continue, as the "Trotskyist Opposition" do, to argue with the membership of the IMG from the inside is like "fighting for atheism in the Vatican" - the only way members of the USFI and IMG will be won to a Trotskyist party and politics is by posing the question concretely of which organisation is equipped to fight for those politics inside the working class.

To put this simply, accepting the "democratic centralism" of the IMG (which is no democratic centralism at all) would put a brake on political development, gagging us from making a critical assessment of the role of the USFI in the class struggle in front of the workers' movement.

To remain in an organisation which puts virtually no resources into developing a cadre to intervene in the mass organisations of the class armed even with the IMG's "action programme" on a day to day basis, virtually no regular trade union commissions nationally or locally, (even in a purely organisational sense) instead concentrating on "key conjunctural issues" which are quietly dropped after a few frantic months.

This tragic misdirection of resources together with the principled struggle for the "permanent short-cut" to the leadership of the working class, sees the IMG standing on the backs of "left" bureaucrats and centrists issuing vague and general calls to action to the workers and amazed when the workers pay no attention.

For several years we have witnessed the IMG's "turn to the class", and it's a box office disaster: the masses just are not interested. Armed with the action programme and other centrist compromise from the USFI, the IMG pours grease on the slope out of the political swamp of the petty bourgeois milieu and sends comrades sliding back down floundering and demoralised.

The only way out of this vicious circle is for comrades to grasp the nature of the USFI and its "action programme" (which Trotsky unlike most leading IMG members remained perfectly clear on):

"We can call it a programme of action, but for us, for our strategic conception, it is a transitional programme - it is a help to the masses in overcoming inherited ideas, methods, and forms and of adapting themselves to the exigencies of the situation."

(Leon Trotsky, March 23rd 1938)

METHOD

The Workers Socialist League is the only organisation in Britain fighting for such a programme and method, deepening it and taking it forward to provide leadership in the living struggles of the working class, and to resolve the crisis of leadership of that class.

For the Workers Socialist League For the reconstruction of the Fourth International
Ian Kaye - Hull
Eddie Kent - Sheffield

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

JAG OCCUPATION BEATS LOCKOUT

Despite Jones and Scanlon's front page 'no strikes' plea in management's house journal 'Leyland Mirror', disputes continue to sweep British Leyland.

As previously reported, paintshop workers at the Jaguar plant in Coventry have banned overtime in pursuit of a public enquiry into the siting of a new paintshop in Birmingham rather than Coventry. Management have opposed the call for an enquiry.

Over the last week the Brown's Lane Coventry factory has been the scene of mounting tension between workers and management, leading on Wednesday to a situation tantamount to an occupation of the plant.

The struggles began on the Tuesday morning when management issued an ultimatum to the paintshop to lift restrictions by midday or face a total lock-out.

The paintshop stewards met and unanimously rejected this threat, reaffirming sanctions which have been cutting production by about 20%.

DRIVERS

This situation escalated in the afternoon, when internal drivers on the final line struck work against a unilateral attempt by management to change the method of work. By 3.15 this had resulted in all final line and main assembly workers being taken off the clock by management.

After further disputes on the night shift, a joint day and night shift stewards meeting was called for 8 am on Wednesday. Confronted with a management announcement that payment would be again stopped at 8.30 am, the recommendation was for all workers to remain on the plant while stewards demanded the company withdraw the lock-out threats and resume production.

OCCUPATION

While this amounted in effect to an occupation of the plant, the leadership were extremely half-hearted about developing the action, and there was little attempt by stewards to organise a solid occupation while the stewards met.

As a result some workers began to go home after the stewards had

been meeting for two hours. Feeling intense frustration, and having by now heard of the events at Ford's Dagenham plant during the previous night, a contingent of final line workers at 10.45 marched through the factory to the canteen and burst into the stewards' meeting to demand action.

A quarter of an hour later stewards returned to section meetings to announce that while the paintshop overtime ban remained in force, management would restart the tracks in half an hour. The lock-out threat had been defeated.

NOT FORGOTTEN

These lessons will not be quickly forgotten by Jaguar workers. Future management attempts to impose lay-offs or lock-outs will be closely scrutinised by workers who have proved the power of the tactic of occupation to back the demand for payment and resumed production.

In this context the call for a full investigation of management plans for the factory offer the only road by which Jaguar workers can begin to control future developments and guarantee jobs and conditions.

WORK SHARING

In the same way the demand for work-sharing on full pay to be organised under the democratic control of trade union committees is the only alternative to management's arbitrary methods and their attempts to attack workers section-by-section.

After forcing their reluctant leadership to break from direct participation in management, Jaguar workers have shown by their continued resistance to attack the need for the building of a principled new leadership in the plant prepared to take a clear and open stand in defence of the workforce against the Ryder plans for rationalisation, speed-up and sackings.

Mirror Every month's quality month in the Mirror

No. 46 September 15th 1976

A message from Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon

KEEP WORKING!

Car chief urges: Think of the other 120,000 people in the Group

UNION CHIEFS Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon today made a dramatic appeal to every employee in British Leyland to remain at work and to support the appropriate dispute procedure whatever the difficulties met or any strike.

The widely ignored front page appeal by Jones and Scanlon

HULL JOBS CONFERENCE

A delegate conference on unemployment called by Hull Trades Council on Sunday 26th September suprisingly attracted only 70 stewards and delegates, reflecting the way in which the right-wing on the Trades Council had prevented any real mobilisation on the issue.

BUREAUCRATS

The platform of the Conference comprised an array of local councillors and union bureaucrats who could only offer "development area status" as the solution to the town's 16,000 unemployed.

However, this reactionary position was strongly attacked from the floor, with the result that the

unanimously: "That this Trades Council Conference deplores the high level of local unemployment (Hull adult males 10%).

This creates intolerable hardship and humiliation for many thousands of workers and their families.

We demand that the Labour government elected into office by a predominantly working class vote break from their present policies.

We put forward the following constructive proposals:

1. Reverse all cuts in public service spending. All public services to be protected by a sliding scale of expenditure.

2. The introduction of a 35-hour week with no loss of earnings.

3. Retirement age to be reduced to 60, paid at the average industrial wage.

combat unemployment that County and District Councils be provided the finance to develop a series of useful public works. This to be done in co-operation with local Trades Councils. To be paid at Trade Union rates of pay.

5. Development area status for Hull. This to be financed from:

a) Redirection of military defence spending to useful civil projects.

b) The nationalisation of all basic industries (including profitable sectors) without compensation except through proven need. This to be directed through workers' management."

MOBILISE

The Trades Council must now be forced, despite its leadership, to mobilise around the demands of the

TGWU official blocks docks election

Following their recent bureaucratic manoeuvres, which led to dockers lifting their principled black on the Barge Aboard Catamaran (BACAT) system, the T&GWU Number 10 Regional Committee has stepped up its campaign against union democracy on Hull docks.

Due to the reorganisation of the work-force by the employers, the annual elections of the nineteen stewards who make up the unofficial docks shop stewards committee were brought forward and nominations for stewards positions were sought.

CIRCULAR

However, in a circular to all docks employees, T&GWU Regional Secretary, David Cairns, while telling dockers that they had the right to vote for whoever they wanted, reminded them that there is only one officially recognised union on the docks (ie. the T&GWU).

In other words, you can vote for whoever you want to represent you as long as he is a member of the T&GWU!

However, the result of the election call was that the minority NASDU (Blue Union) branches provided 21 nominations for stewards positions while the T&GWU with a majority of the membership could only scrape together 13 nominations!

Obviously aware that there was a strong chance of the Blue Union winning control of the stewards committee, Cairns cancelled the elections "indefinitely".

Knowing that the membership

would never accept such a move, the T&GWU, through the docks District Committee, then wrote to the Blue Union pointing out that they had far too many nominations in proportion to their membership on the docks and asked them to withdraw a few (about 17!) to maintain a 'balance' between T&GWU and Blue Union stewards.

The Blue Union naturally rejected this demand (which was the first time the T&GWU had recognised them in twenty years).

Now in an effort to stop T&GWU members from voting for the more militant Blue stewards, the elections will take place as previously arranged, but the names on the ballot paper will include the name of each steward's union.

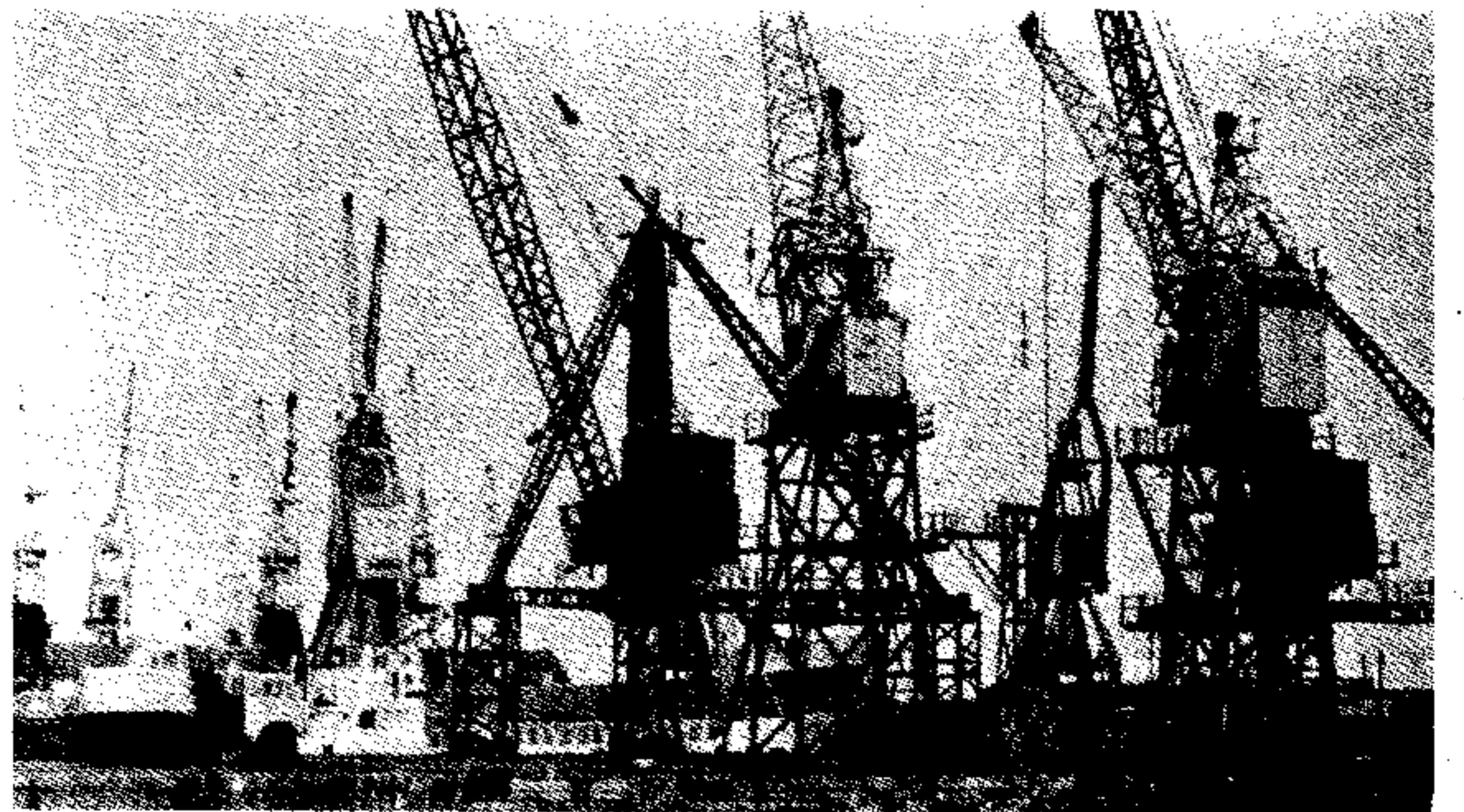
As one of the Blue stewards pointed out:

"This has never been known before in a so-called secret ballot. Previously, all stewards have been elected on their record of struggle over wages and conditions, and not on which union they belong to."

HOLD

It remains to be seen how far the T&GWU bureaucracy is prepared to go to maintain their hold over the stewards' committee, and what additional plans they are preparing to attack the Blue union in the event of a Blue stewards' majority on the committee.

It is important to defend the Blue union against the manoeuvres of the T&GWU bureaucracy. But even more important is for Hull dockers to join the fight within the T&GWU against the dictatorial bureaucratic control by appointed regional and district officials - and for democratic procedures within the T&GWU.



SACKED - FOR A 1 DAY STRIKE!

Eight workers at the East London Psychiatric Rehabilitation Association (PRA) struck for the day nearly two months ago, against the management's refusal to recognise the right of their union (NUPE) to negotiate over pay and conditions. The following morning they were sacked and locked out of their workplaces.

Where do such reactionary managers come from? The director, John Wilder, is a member of the Labour Party and ASTMS, and the chairman of the Association is none other than Peter Townsend, the famous Hampstead "socialist" academic.

Since that time the eight workers have been continuing their work at alternative premises in East London, and at an occupied PRA premises in Walthamstow.

The patients have stayed with the locked out workers despite offers by the management to take them into groups run by scabs. Local union support has been directed to maintaining local authority services such as meals and transport for the patients.

Waltham Forest NALGO ran a

£100 to the work-in.

While the industrial aspects of the struggle continue to develop, an appeal to the Industrial Tribunal revealed some remarkable aspects of the much praised Employment Protection Act.

The interim appeal was dismissed on the grounds that a strike recognised by the union does not count as union activity for the purposes of the Act!

The Tribunal chairman went on in this vein - insisting that a strike when the union was trying to call in ACAS, the arbitration board, is a strike in defiance of the union, and so places workers outside the scope of the Act!

So the Employment Protection Act, one of the proud "achievements" of the Labour government turns out to be a weapon for the worst kind of strike breaking and the armchair socialists turn out to be in the vanguard of the bosses' offensive.

PRA is meanwhile going ahead with recruiting scabs to reopen all their centres.

Solidarity and assistance is needed from all workers in the health and municipal sectors in East London. Already Newham N.E. CLP has voted support for the dispute.

Donations and support to Dame Colet House, Ben Jonson Rd.,

NOV 17th - STRIKE TO STOP THE CUTS!



NUPE leader Fisher

The 1,000 strong lobby of the Labour Party Conference last week called by NUPE and supported by the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS was an indication of the growing feeling among rank and file trade unionists against the government's policy of savage spending cuts.

This was also reflected in the show of hands vote at the Conference itself for NUPE leader Alan Fisher's resolution opposing government spending cuts and calling for support to councils which refuse to implement them.

REFUSAL

But Fisher's refusal to push for a card vote on the question - drawing out the positions of the other union leaders - linked with

the government's cynical declarations that, *regardless* of Labour Conference policy, they will proceed with their present line, show that the passing of such resolutions in no way tackles or solves the question of *leadership* in the labour movement.

This pull-back takes place at the same time as at local level more and more workers are showing their readiness to fight in defence of jobs and the social services:

*In London, thousands of health service workers have now been involved in various token strike actions, lobbies and demonstrations against the cuts and in particular against hospital closures. This is before the next, bigger wave of cuts gets under way. The workforce at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital has voted for occupation to stop its closure.

*In Oxford, even a limited protest call from the Oxfordshire NUT for half-day strike action shut down virtually every school in the county and brought 4,000 onto the streets to lobby the county council.

*In all the public sector and social service unions militancy is



NUT President Wiltshire

rising - forcing the NALGO leadership to take the major step of recalling its June conference to a special December conference on the cuts, NUPE to declare a (verbal) policy of 'guerilla strikes' against the cuts, the NUT and NAS/UWT to implement sanctions against teacher unemployment, and the Civil Service union CPSA to call a one-day strike and lobby of Parliament on November 17th.



NALGO Gen Sec Drain

Nor is there any doubt that the feeling within the working class as a whole is in support of these sections against the reactionary cuts implemented by the Labour government.

NUPE and NALGO have both called for members to lobby Parliament on November 17th. It is important that in every area branches are pressed to call for strike action for that day and to mobilise the fullest turn-out to this lobby as an indication of the strength of the mass feeling and the readiness of workers to carry out full-scale strike action to prevent the cuts, both at local and national level.

DAY OF ACTION

Trades Councils and other unions must also be pressed to support this day of strike action.

But to achieve the maximum unity in action the central demands must be:

*Not one job lost, not one penny off the social services.

*Protect the social services from inflation through a sliding scale of spending linked to rising costs as assessed by trade union committees.

*To implement these demands, open the books, plans, and suppliers lists of the local authorities and Area Health Authorities to trade union committees.

*Nationalise social service suppliers, private health facilities and education.

CAR DELIVERY VICTORY

Two strikes by car delivery drivers in Coventry have just ended with victory for the strikers.

At Toleman James, drivers struck in protest at the failure of the company to take on extra drivers when a new car delivery contract was won.

They were backed by drivers from other firms in the Coventry area and the strike has now ended with temporary proposals for providing unemployed drivers with extra work while discussions on manning levels continue.

At Silcock and Colling the strike was over the sacking of 17 drivers. Last week's belated call for a national strike gained a response from three other Silcock and Colling depots.

Management quickly moved to end the strike by withdrawing the redundancy notices although as we go to press the precise details of the settlement are unclear.

Arrangements for car delivery are very sophisticated with many firms involved.

The "big four", responsible for almost 75% of car and commercial vehicle transporting, are Silcock and Colling (a subsidiary of the American RCA Corporation); Toleman James, BRS Cartransport and Distribution Deliveries.

Recently, however, this trend towards concentration has been reversed due to a growing practice by the big firms to hand out work to sub-contractors.

This is aimed at cutting overheads and obviously makes it more difficult to defend the interests of the drivers.

A key demand therefore must be to ensure the companies involved do not deal with sub-contractors.

This must go alongside demand for work-sharing on full pay and the opening of the delivery firm's books to enable drivers' control of manning levels to be established.

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.

SCAB 'UNION' AT WORK IN FIRE BRIGADES

Since the Fire Brigades Union Annual Conference at Bridlington in May, an organisation known as the Federation of Firefighters has been advertising and canvassing members of FBU, through various firefighters publications, to join them as an "alternative" to the FBU.

The Federation, which has reared up a number of times over recent years, now comes forward suggesting that firemen can maintain living standards and increase their earnings by engaging scab forms of work which are being condemned by the FBU.

ARCHAIC

The Federation approves of the archaic Day Manning duty system under which men are provided with low rent accommodation adjacent to the fire station and provide round the clock cover for the fire authority.

The men work a normal five-day week on the fire station but can be called from their homes to attend fires at night or weekends.

Using this duty system the authority can man a fire station with 8 men instead of 24.

The men performing this duty system are paid for being called out from their homes and therefore can greatly enhance their flat week earnings.

MANDATED

The FBU are mandated, by an Annual Conference decision of some years ago, to get this duty

system removed from the agreed duty systems.

The Federation also approves of men providing retained cover, answering fire calls by pocket alerter, when they are off duty from their own fire station.

This form of duty system is enabling fire authorities to man fire stations with a minimum of manpower.

DANGEROUS

In addition the Federation approves men in the Fire Service staying on a 48 hour week. By staying on a 48 hour week, the Federation suggests that the men can earn more by the emphasis of overtime being paid for the extra eight hours.

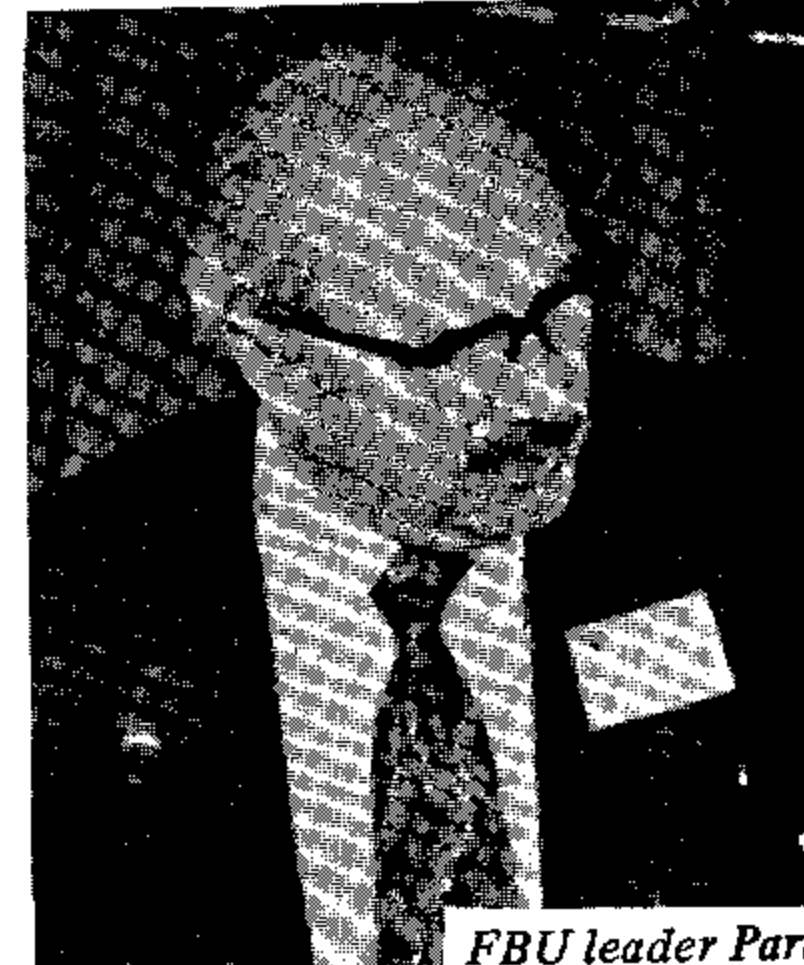
The FBU, however, are determined to press for an actual 40-hour week without loss of pay and the creation of extra jobs.

There is no doubt that the Federation is an extremely dangerous group which is cashing in on the frustrations of the country's firemen following the FBU Annual Conference decision to accept the TUC 4½% pay guidelines and avoid the issues of defence of living standards which confront members.

RIGHT WING FINANCE

There is strong evidence that the Federation has right-wing finance and is being backed by certain Chief Officers.

The FBU has laid down that its members will not be used to provide water jets at demonstrations or assist police in a number of other activities eg the removal of squatters or the clearance of gypsy



FBU leader Parr

caravan sites. No doubt the Federation has very different views on these positions as will no doubt be shown if they should begin to gain numbers.

The position of the Federation was made abundantly clear at meeting held at High Wycombe Fire Station, Buckinghamshire, on Saturday 25th September.

The Federation spokesman told members that he approved cutbacks in education and the consequent sacking of teachers. When the cutbacks reach out to embrace the Fire Service no doubt the Federation will also assist in the move to sack High Wycombe Fire Station a Day Manning station, and sack two thirds of the men.

Members of the FBU must fight to root out the establishment of any pockets of the Federation within their areas and press the FBU leadership to fight the Federation and lead a fight to improve conditions for its members.

MORE INFORMATION

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

Post to WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

No challenge to Callaghan



Jenkins

If there was an empty chair at the Labour Party Conference it should have been labelled 'Socialism'.

The Labour government, responsible for the fastest rise in unemployment and the biggest fall in wages and social services since the war, was not short of critics at the conference.

But that did not stop all the major capitalist policies which the Labour government is using to attack the working class from being steam-rolled through the conference.

SUPPORT

By the end of the first morning an overwhelming vote had been obtained in support of the policy of wage control and the social contract.

After some reactionary lecturing from the new Education Minister Shirley Williams, the conference defeated the mildest possible motion opposing cuts in education spending.

On other questions, the spokesmen of the government made it quite clear that conference resolutions passed against government policy (such as the rejection of elections to the European parliament and the nationalising of four

banks and seven insurance companies) would be arrogantly ignored by them.

The government, far from being opposed by the supposed 'left' members of Labour's National Executive Committee, was given every assistance in its attempt to force these capitalist policies down the throat of the labour movement.

REJECTED

Any resolution which contained even a hint of struggle for socialist policies (such as the demand for opening the books of firms creating redundancies, or the nationalisation of the whole financial sector of the economy) were roundly rejected by the NEC.

At the end of the economic debate, Judith Hart, in a speech whose incoherence matched its pomposity, actually complimented the Labour government on the measures it had taken to combat unemployment!

The one alternative policy favoured by these 'lefts' of the NEC and the trade union leaderships was the familiar nationalist class collaborationist call for import controls and capitalist trade war.

The most strident calls for this

unprincipled rejection of working class internationalism came from Hugh Scanlon and from Clive Jenkins of ASTMS. Jenkins spoke of a "world-wide war".

He didn't mean a war between labour and capital. He meant a war between what he called "us" (that is, British capital) and "our competitors".

Worst among these were "the Japanese" (who according to Jenkins all belong to one class) who are conducting a "deliberate malevolent strategy" to destroy sections of British industry in order to get their hands on some of "our" oil in the 1980's!

RACISM

Far from combatting the capitalist policies of the Labour government, this kind of reaction, which borders on naked racism, simply gives the Labour government more credence.

Despite the lip service that the 'lefts' paid to socialism, all their arguments were supported by references to the needs of capitalism.

Scanlon said import controls were practicable because the West German government was prepared to introduce them; he called for a price freeze because the French government had introduced one.



Scanlon

'Left' speakers said that the National Enterprise Board should invest more because its counterpart in France did so. Judith Hart said that the banks should be nationalised because they were nationalised in France.

In all cases, they implied, these policies were justified because they did not threaten the capitalist system.

Only in one case did the conference pose any real challenge to the government. Against the advice of the NEC, including the 'lefts', conference passed the NUPE resolution rejecting present and future cuts in public expenditure, supporting Labour councils which refused to implement them and calling on the NEC to launch a campaign against them.

INCAPABLE

But the NEC's cowardly retreat from anything which will challenge the present leadership of the Labour Party makes it incapable of carrying out such a campaign in any significant way.

That campaign must be built throughout the labour movement, in the trade unions, and in the Labour Party not only against the Labour government but also against those 'lefts' of the NEC who refuse to launch a real fight.

TRICO - A NEW FINE TUBES?

Now in its 19th week the strike at Trico's has reached a crucial stage.

As the strike has developed it has become clear that the leadership of the AUEW and the T&GWU only pay lip-service to the fight for equal pay.

In this struggle, the 350 women and 150 men involved have stood firm, and have been given 'official' backing from the local District Committee of the AUEW.

But the role of the leadership of this District Committee and in particular Stalinist District Secretary Roger Butler, has been to arrange for the strike committee to travel all over the country collecting money and calling on particular factories to 'black' the products but avoiding the most important question of all.

This is the fact that the EC of the AUEW could call a national official 'black' and send out instructions to all car factories or similarly the Midlands Region 5 TGWU Committee could back the calls for a 'black'.

While this is not done, what is developing is another 'Fine Tubes' strike with T&GWU and AUEW members using either Trico products or alternatives and therefore helping the employers to break this strike.

The strike committee should now turn their membership toward these bureaucrats who say 'Keep working' in Leyland factories using Trico products, while at the same time they claim they are in favour of equal pay.

The following resolution was passed on Tuesday 21st September:

"This Brentford No. 2 Branch of the AUEW salutes the fight of our members of Trico who are striking for equal pay for our women members, a demand which it is official policy of our union to uphold.

We, therefore, call upon the District Committee to involve all trade unionists and particularly AUEW members in support of our sisters and brothers at Trico.

The branch requests that the District Committee renew the call for a national blacking of Trico products and all substitute wiper blades and requests that the EC ratify that call.

And further that the District Committee set a date for a day time demonstration in support of the Trico strike and by so doing support the trade union movement's policy to fight for equal pay for work of equal value."

WAGES...Cont'd from Front Page

Just to list some of the main events of last week makes clear the scale of this crisis, the pressure on capitalism to restore its profits at the expense of the workers.

*On Monday the pound fell so sharply while Healey was driving to the airport, that, after a rushed phone-call from Callaghan to President Ford, Healey cancelled his trip to the IMF meeting in Manila.

*During the week it became clear that the IMF will demand public spending cuts and tax increases totalling £3,000 million as the blood-money for its loan, plus a squeeze on the money supply further boosting unemployment. Callaghan refused to deny that such a "package" was being prepared.

*Healey spoke of three million unemployed, and 'rioting in the streets'. But even among the hand-picked delegates at Blackpool his policy speech brought boos on an unprecedented scale.

At the end of the week, Common Market cuts in subsidies were announced, which will hike the price of basic foods by around one-quarter in less than a year. At the same time, the collapse of sterling will boost import prices so as to wipe out much of any £6 increases (£4 after tax) even before present levels of inflation are taken into account.

Yet despite this the working class remains undefeated and ready to fight. Only the treacherous and bureaucratic gendarmes in the top layers of the TUC protect the Callaghan cabinet from a direct struggle on wages and unemployment.

STRANGLEHOLD

Only the struggle for socialist leadership in the working class can break the stranglehold of the bureaucracy and defend the most elementary interests of the working class.

We demand:

*Down with the State-TUC control of wages.

*For pay rises to cover inflation in full!

*End redundancies and unemployment!

*For work sharing on full pay!

*Restore the cuts in public spending.

*For programmes of public works at trade union rates to employ the unemployed.

*The 'lefts' must drive out Callaghan and Healey.

*All Labour MPs and councillors and all trade union officials must vote and act against pay cuts, sackings and public spending cuts.

*Support the October 24th Conference for democracy in the unions and against wage control. For the widest possible support from labour movement organisations!

£600 FUND

The September Fund closed with a total of £519.02, an improvement on the previous month but still some way off our monthly target of £600.

It is essential that we try and raise the full amount if the Socialist Press is to be able to expand and develop.

In the first four days of October we received, BLMC Cowley Assembly Plant workers, £7.50; North London, £13; Coventry, £5 and Leamington, £5. Total so far: £30.50.

All donations should be sent to:
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31, Dartmouth Park Hill
London NW5 1HR

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

Wage Control and Union Democracy

Wednesday 13th October 8.00 pm.

Southall Town Hall
The Broadway
Southall

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

Wage Control and Union Democracy

Wednesday 13th October 7.30 pm

Spn Gate School Spn St

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

Birmingham
The Black Struggle in South Africa

Sunday October 17th 7.30 pm

Digbeth Hall
Digbeth

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

PUBLIC MEETING

Wage Control and Union Democracy

Friday 8th October 7.30 pm.

NUFTO Hall
Jockeys Fields
London, WC1

Speakers

Alan Thornett
Tony Kelly
Keith Vaness

SOCIALIST PRESS ★

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