



## GRUNWICK: POSTMEN SHOW THE WAY

### All eyes on Jones

"Roll up! Roll up! See Jack Jones attempt the death defying leap from Phase 2 of wage controls to Phase 3!"

Chancellor Healey and the coalition cabinet, together with bankers, industrialists and other union leaders sit with baited breath watching Jack Jones attempt the trick of a lifetime as we go to press.

Jones' act will be performed amid his coloured smokescreen of calls for an undefined "minimum wage", talking of simply adhering to the 12 months rule embodied in Phase 2 and echoes of Callaghan's fraudulent promises of a "decade of opportunity". If he should fall, Phase 3 would face a severe setback.

Nobody should be fooled by the slackness of the wording in Jones' proposal to the TGWU BDC. Jones knows he has never actually obtained a conference mandate—let alone a mandate from his members—for either Phase 1 or Phase 2.

The last, 1975, TGWU Conference was pressured into agreeing *not* to state control of wages but to Jones' tactfully vague call for "flat rate increases"—which set the scene for state control.

And Phase 2 was simply accepted on the nod by the 37 member Executive with not so much as a thought for the views of TGWU members.

#### ENDORSED

Jones knows the Executive—right wing, 'left' wing and Communist Party members alike—have already endorsed his call for an "orderly return" (essentially meaning more controls).

But it may be harder to fool the conference as a whole.

A large number of resolutions indicative of the mood on the shop floor call for an end to wage controls and several call for a clear alternative—a sliding scale of wages.

Meanwhile NUM leaders, too, are involved in a struggle in which wording is crucial.

The Yorkshire delegation, which last year crumbled in front of a right wing manoeuvre which turned their bold £100 a week demand into an empty slate of hope and a miserable £4 a week rise are this year attempting to reverse the situation.

It seems possible the NUM will throw out the 12 month rule. It is essential this is done by all unions. Far from annual increases, workers need virtually weekly increases simply to keep pace with today's inflation.

The mechanism for this must be for substantial increases to be tied to a sliding scale of wages according to an index of inflation as assessed by committees of trade unionists and housewives.

As new claims are drawn up workers must ensure this demand is included and fought for.

# COURTS RETREAT BEFORE BLACKING

Postal workers blacking Grunwick mail at the Cricklewood sorting office have given the clearest possible reply to the attacks and threats against the trade union movement by the courts.

They have refused to bow down beneath the threats from George Ward, John Gorst and the National Association for Freedom that the full weight of the law would be used against them if they carried on blacking the mail.

#### COURAGEOUS

At the same time they have refused to bow down before the attack by their own General Secretary, Tom Jackson, in supporting management threats to suspend them.

The decision on Tuesday to continue blacking Grunwick mail is the latest in a two week series of courageous stands in support of Grunwicks and the whole trade union movement.

#### SHARP CONTRAST

And their defiance of the threat from the courts has been in sharp contrast to the pathetic subservience of Jackson and the rest of the trade union bureaucracy—who throw every trade union principle and aim overboard at the first approach of a writ or the first glimpse of a judicial wig.

The most important lesson to emerge from their stand is that none of the threats of legal action against them have so far been carried out. For two weeks

Jackson, Gorst, Ward and every Labour Minister who could get to his or her feet have condemned the postal blacking as "illegal".

The Tories are using Grunwick to prepare anti-strike and picket legislation. Involved is the response of all the trade union movement to these threats. Most trade union leaders have followed Grantham and Jackson and Jones with support for the 'law', i.e. this will be their attitude to Tory laws.

But the response from postal workers all over the country has prevented this legal attack from taking place. Postal branches have sent telegrams of support telling the Cricklewood workers clearly—if they victimise you, we come out on strike.

#### NO WAY

Last week, defying the suspension threat, the Cricklewood branch secretary, David Dodd said:

"There is no way we are going to handle any Grunwick mail. As far as we are concerned we are talking about the right of people to join a trade union and be represented by it. We must stand up and be counted."

The possibility is now raised of a national strike throughout the Union of Postal Workers, as much against their own strike breaking Executive as the Post Office and the Tories.

The Post Office has now been handed the same free ticket as British Leyland were by Scanlon during the toolmakers' strike—full permission to victimise the membership.

The first threats against the postal workers came from Jackson

himself. He sent a telegram on 16 June saying: "Work normally. Do not break the law."

Jackson's own record speaks for itself. In January he called off proposed telephone blacking against South Africa after NAFF took out an injunction. In November he ordered the blacking of Grunwick to be called off after threats of legal action were made.

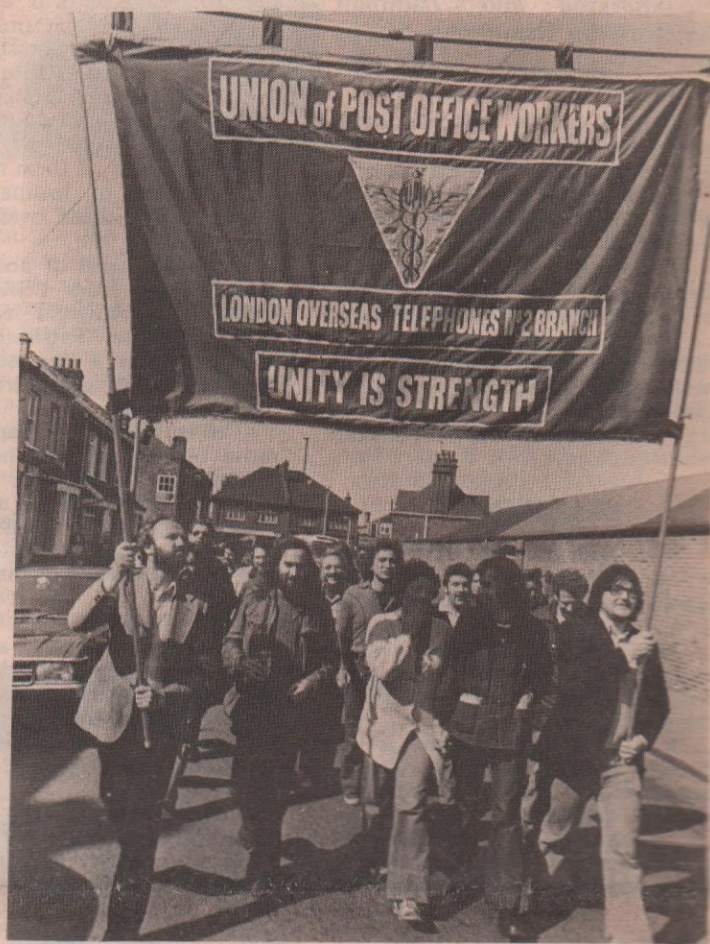
#### WRIT

The next threat came from John Gorst, the Tory MP acting as the public face of extortion for the management of Grunwick. Last week he announced a hatful of legal actions planned in conjunction with George Ward. Central to these actions was a writ against the Cricklewood postal workers, and against the Post Office.

#### IMPOTENT

The legal advice for these threats came from the National Association for Freedom and both Gouriet's organisation and Grunwick now use the same lawyers. Those lawyers have been proved impotent against the weight of workers determined not to yield to the courts.

Ironically the postal workers have the verbal backing of every other union bureaucrat, since the TUC has called for blacking of Grunwicks. But none of this verbal support is being directed towards this single group of workers actually putting it into effect. None of these union leaders have carried out the action which would close Grunwicks tomorrow—the blacking of electricity and water.



Post Office workers marching up to Grunwick picket line.

At a reconvened meeting of the London District Council on Monday, Jackson swung a 2-1 vote against the Cricklewood postmen.

Jackson emerged from the meeting to say: "One was in the situation where the membership were acting in a disunited way. Now at least the executive council is in control of the situation."

In this period with mass arrests a feature not only at Grunwicks, but also in Darlington and Desoutters engineering works, the crucial question of the crisis of leadership of the working class can emerge from a straightforward trade union dispute.

#### GROUNDWORK

The Grunwick dispute started 11 months ago over a relatively straightforward trade union issue of recognition. It has developed into a major battle against attacks on trade union rights, in which the Tories are attempting to lay the groundwork for making any form of effective picketing a criminal offence, and the Labour politicians have been attempting to outbid them.

The court of inquiry with its sickening composition of reactionary Tories and right wing bureaucrats is a major move by the coalition government to start a witch-hunt against the left. The court should be boycotted by all trade unionists.

At the first sign of victimisation of a single postal worker all UPW members should call a national strike throughout their union and should be supported by workers in other unions backing the right to take action.

Miners' leaders have called for a mass picket on July 11 and the TUC have called a supporting demonstration. There must be a mass mobilisation to picket Grunwick on that date and to close the factory. But the central demand from that date must be the immediate imposition of blacking of all post services, delivery vehicles, water and electricity.



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS



## ZIMBABWE

### RATS ABANDON SINKING SHIP

The recent invasions of Mozambique and Zambian territory by Rhodesian troops are obvious signs of desperation.

Smith's racists are out for a pre-emptive kill before the burden of the war becomes unbearable.

But already there are signs that white Rhodesia is running out of the human and economic resources for the fight. Last week the Army chief publicly lamented the failure of national (i.e. white) morale.

For many months now the racists have had to call more and more of the white male population into the army and this is threatening production in the rest of the white economy.

### DECLINING

More than this, the white population is declining fast as white Rhodesians abandon the sinking ship of racist rule.

This year the net white emigration rate is 15,000 a year which is a loss of well over 5% of the white population.

A further sign of strain is the finance of the war. The recently announced budget proposes military spending for the next year of about 20% of the Rhodesian national income—the equivalent of £56 a week for every white family.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Finance Minister David Smith is making every effort to shift the financial burden onto the blacks by raising indirect taxes.

He is still, however, very constrained in this since any

increase in economic pressure on the urban blacks will spread the support for the liberation struggle and add urban unrest to the regime's already desperate problems in some of the rural areas.

This tension is undoubtedly the reason behind hundreds of arrests of blacks (most of them reportedly of supporters of Joshua Nkomo) in the urban areas over the last two weeks.

A further knell of doom of the racists came from Peking where Robert Mugabe (joint leader with Nkomo of the "Patriotic Front") apparently got a Chinese commitment to supply more arms to the liberation forces.

This is, of course, an opportunist move on the part of the Chinese bureaucracy: the price of these arms was reportedly an anti-Soviet pronouncement by Mugabe.

Smith's own desperation magnifies the desperation of the imperialists.

The British and American governments, with ambiguous support from South African Prime Minister Vorster, continue their pressure on Smith to accept a compromise neo-colonial settlement before it is too late.

However, last week's resignation of the Rhodesian Front's chairman Frost and the recent expulsion of 12 MPs from the ranks of Smith's party underlines the fact that Rhodesia's white population is increasingly polarised between those who are fleeing and those who are preparing to defend the racist dictatorship whatever the cost.



West German police attack demonstrators.

## GERMANY

On June 13 nearly 1500 people crammed into the Technical University's Central Auditorium in West Berlin to take part in a preparatory meeting of the "Russell Tribunal" which aims to "investigate aspects of repression in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)".

Set up under the auspices of the British Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, a liberal-democratic trust, the tribunal is expected to focus its attention on the expansion of the governmental machinery of control and repression, restrictions imposed upon counsels for the defence, political censorship and, most of all, upon the practice of "berufsverbote".

The latter term is the name given to the practice of political witch-hunting for communists and left-

wing sympathisers in the Civil Service which, since becoming law in 1972, has investigated over 800,000 workers for so-called "loyalty to the constitution".

Only having passed strict political screening do German civil servants become part of the "beamte" classification—ensuring them a relatively high salary, special pension insurance and strong job security.

The SPD-FDP (Social Democratic and liberal coalition) leadership has fueled rather than checked the spread of such right-wing policies, arguing that criticism of cutbacks and lay-offs are detrimental to the "national interest".

The speakers at the Action Committee's meeting, an assortment of petit-bourgeois libertarians and legal experts, failed to highlight the links between the fall in living standards of the working class and increased state repression.

### STRIKES

Only a vigorous campaign of strikes against such attacks and a fight within the public sector unions against the cutbacks in state expenditure pose a real alternative to the problems facing such political repression.

If the demands for increased public expenditure are labelled as inflationary or a fiscal impossibility then the demand for committees of state employees elected from their respective unions, along with specialists answerable to their unions, to examine the accounts of the particular state industries in question must be advanced.

## TURKEY

### ECEVIT RESIGNS

The resignation of Prime Minister Ecevit, following the indecisive result of the early elections in Turkey—in which no party won an absolute majority—has brought a further setback to the plans of the Turkish bourgeoisie to cover up its political and economic bankruptcy.

The Turkish economy has hit its worst state of bankruptcy—with a hefty trade deficit, insufficient currency reserves and sky-rocketing inflation.

Both Turkish and international capitalists were hoping for the end of coalition governments, and the prospect of a majority administration charting a course towards restored profits and attacks on the working class.

Instead the traditional party of the Turkish bourgeoisie, the Justice Party, suffered a heavy defeat, while the liberal-reformist Republican Popular Party attracted considerable support for its populist programme.

Ecevit had already prepared a programme which abandoned many of the promises which won him mass support.

In particular, he had decided against legislation against lock-outs; against credits to peasants and small business; against social insurance for peasants; and against cancelling the reactionary laws numbers 141 and 142 (fascist laws taken from Mussolini's constitution).

The political task facing Turkish workers is therefore the same as before the election—to split the workers' movement away from any alliance with bourgeois parties, and



## IRELAND

Those expecting a mighty anti-imperialist phoenix to arise from the ashes of the old Troops Out Movement (TOM) must have been sorely disappointed by the London "Open Conference" this week-end.

Not only did the conference fail to present any coherent political analysis of the demise of the old TOM, it also showed every sign of reproducing all its predecessor's basic mistakes.

The conference had been called because of a split in TOM last April, when a majority of branches at the National Delegate Conference walked out in protest at the undemocratic way in which the meeting was being conducted.

These branches then joined together in the "Committee for a Free Ireland" (CFI), and issued a call for the open conference—on the basis that the old TOM was now

In all, some 150 people, representing no fewer than 15 political organisations attended the conference.

Most claimed agreement with the two demands advanced—immediate withdrawal of troops, self-determination for the Irish people.

But all proposed widely differing strategies for raising these demands in the labour movement from the RCG's call for debates with the Communist Party to the IMG and Big Flame's gimmick of an International War Tribunal on British crimes in Ireland.

Yet despite these differences, the majority of representatives agreed that it was possible to band together in a single organisation, and to campaign jointly on the single issue of troops in Ireland.

What the conference thus established was a less rigid variation of the old TOM—a propaganda bloc of myriad political tendencies which stands outside the organised labour

### NO COHERENT ANALYSIS AT TROOPS OUT CONFERENCE

But a glance at the history of the old TOM would have told the conference that such a structure is doomed to failure.

The old TOM was not destroyed by the machinations of the clique around Gery Lawless—although Lawless's considerable appetite for bureaucratic manoeuvring undoubtedly hastened its end.

On the contrary, it was paralysed because it was nothing other than the sum total of groups possessed of different political analyses and strategies. Consequently when it came to any practical action there were as many different approaches as there were organisations, each believing that its analysis was correct and each therefore fighting for its line to be implemented.

In this situation it was only a matter of time before TOM reverted to its constituent parts.

By setting up exactly the same type of propaganda bloc, the conference revealed that it had

## IN BRIEF

### PERU

The huge price increases and economic measures just announced by the right wing military dictatorship (supported with qualifications by the Peruvian Communist Party) have provoked a wave of militant demonstrations. These have been especially concentrated in the southern cities of Cusco, Purio and Arequipa. Some demonstrators were reported killed and many injured in armed police attacks. Hundreds of arrests have also taken place in the capital, Lima.

### FRANCE

The main unions and the Barre-Giscard government are attempting to defuse the growing anger of workers against the fall in their standards of living through new wage negotiations in the public sector. At the same time recent economic news confirms the worsening of the crisis of French capitalism. Unemployment has risen sharply to over one million and industrial production has been stagnant for the last year.

### ITALY

The Communist Party leadership has reached an agreement on a programme of austerity measures with the minority right wing Christian Democratic government of Andreotti. In their customary treacherous language of class collaboration the CP leader said there were "no winners or losers" in the negotiations; "the whole country has won". The agreement was, they said, a first step towards "democratic unity".

### INDIA

The new Communist Party (Marxist) government of the state of West Bengal has reportedly released all political prisoners in the state including the Naxalites (Maoists). The CP(M) allies of the reactionary Janata party government has still not fulfilled its pre-election promise to grant amnesty to political prisoners.

collapse of its predecessor.

Moreover, a movement to force troops out of Ireland cannot confine itself to just that one issue.

It is utopian in the extreme to think that the British working class will be mobilised against imperialism simply on the basis of continued oppression of Ireland.

Only a socialist programme capable of relating to all working class needs will be capable of effecting such a mobilisation.

But instead of this the conference adopted a strategy of war tribunals, conferences and demonstrations or publicity stunts which may get the seal of approval of a few "left" MPs, but which Callaghan and Mason will blithely ignore.

"From nothing, through nothing to nothing"—these words of Hegel best describe the political itinerary of those who met together last weekend to launch the new model TOM Mark II.

In the preamble to the new draft Soviet Constitution, published on June 4 by Tass, we read that in the USSR an end has been put "to exploitation of man by man, to class antagonisms and to national enmity", and that, as a result, "a developed socialist society" has been built there.

The state in the Soviet Union we are told, no longer represents the rule of any single class: it is no longer a dictatorship of the proletariat, but is instead "a state of the whole people".

That such a classless 'state of the whole people' completely distorts everything Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky ever taught on this subject is of course no problem to the Soviet constitutionalists. For this 'classless' people's state has been cynically introduced to bridge the gap between the official theory of the Soviet Union and what exists in reality.

Officially, all the tasks of proletarian dictatorship have been accomplished; the USSR has "achieved socialism" and is now on the road to communism and the classless society.

In reality, a monstrous state machine, controlled by a wasteful, reactionary and parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy exists there—as the workers of Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the USSR itself know only too well.

**'WHOLE PEOPLE'**

The red professors of the Kremlin resolve this contradiction by merely yoking the myth and the reality together: the state exists, yes; but it is a classless state, belonging to "the whole people".

From the standpoint of Marxism such a concept is of course nonsense.

In general, the state is a product of irreconcilable class antagonisms, and arises precisely because of class oppression and division within society.

A necessary corollary of this is that the state is an organ of class rule, and that as long as classes exist, it too will exist.

The working class of the Soviet Union of course carries on its back not the state machine of a capitalist class, but one controlled by and in the interests of the Kremlin bureaucratic caste.

That bureaucracy's inflated living standards and privileges rest on its vice-like grip on political power, even within a state where the means of production are nationalised.

"The soviet oligarchy possesses all the vices of the old ruling classes but lacks their historical mission. In the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet state it is not the general laws of modern society from capitalism to socialism which find expression but a special exceptional and temporary refraction of these laws under the conditions of a backward revolutionary country in a capitalist environment. The scarcity in consumer goods and the universal struggle to obtain them generate a policeman who arrogates to himself the function of distribution. Hostile pressure from without imposes on the policeman the role of 'defender' of the country, endows him with national authority and permits him doubly to plunder the country".

(Trotsky, *In Defence of Marxism*)

It is in this way that class pressures still find a reflection within the Soviet state.

**DEFEND**

Of course Trotskyists unconditionally defend the USSR and its nationalised property relations against any imperialist attack: but at the same time we recognise that the achievement of socialism—the abolition of privilege and of want—requires the political overthrow of the Kremlin oligarchy.

And such an overthrow cannot be brought about by peaceful self-reform measures: it must be carried through by the mobilisation of the Soviet working class led by a revolutionary party.

Instead of this the Kremlin bureaucracy claims to have established a classless state, a "state of the whole people", which not only is not withering away but has absolutely no intention of ever doing so.

Not only does the constitution omit any reference to a process of

# SOVIET UNION

## CONSTITUTIONAL COVER FOR BUREAUCRACY



"safeguard the interests of the Soviet state, to contribute to the strengthening of its might and prestige". (Article 62, emphasis added).

The "state of the whole people" stands revealed as nothing but a piece of bureaucratic humbug, a formula designed to conceal and entrench the privileges which the bureaucracy enjoys.

Section 4 of the Constitution (Articles 88-105) concerns itself with "the Soviet of People's Deputies and Procedure of their election".

The title again signifies the change mentioned above: the state is a "people's state", therefore the Soviets are to be composed of "people's deputies".

**NONSENSE**

But this again is nonsensical: soviets are nothing other than organs of class rule—a non-class soviet is a contradiction in terms.

Complementing this new name is a declaration that the bourgeois method of electing deputies will be used i.e. "on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by universal ballot". (Article 94).

In the early years of the Soviet Union, elections to soviets were public affairs, by show of hands, and were weighted so as to ensure working class dominance of the Soviet state. (For example the 1918 Constitution stipulated that in working class areas, one delegate represented 25,000 voters, while in the countryside the ratio was one per 125,000 inhabitants).

In addition, elections generally took place at the place of work, again reinforcing the class nature of the voting as opposed to the bourgeois "secret ballot" which atomises the working class, allowing them to vote only as "individuals".

**TROTSKY**

This point is made forcibly in Trotsky's analysis in the *Transitional Programme* of the Fourth International:

"The bureaucracy replaced the soviets as class organs with the fiction of universal electoral rights—in the style of Hitler—Goebbels. It is necessary to return to the soviets not only their free democratic form but also their class content. As once the bourgeoisie and kulaks (rich

peasants) were not permitted to enter the soviets, so now it is necessary to drive the bureaucracy and the new aristocracy out of the soviets. In the soviets there is room only for representatives of the workers, rank and file collective farmers, peasants and Red Army men.

Democratisation of the soviets is impossible without legalisation of soviet parties. The workers and peasants themselves by their own free vote will indicate what parties they recognise as soviet parties." (Folrose edition, p. 36)

On this point the 1977 constitution merely reproduces the positions advanced by Stalin in 1936. Both constitutions legally liquidate the soviet as a class organ, but in doing so they only mirror the actual liquidation of the soviets that occurred during Stalin's rise to power.

The bureaucracy cynically retains the name soviet out of expediency only: just as Napoleon Bonaparte called the empire over which he ruled "a republic", so do these latter-day Bonapartists call their bureaucratic caste rule "a soviet society".

**REALITY**

But the constitution itself cannot help but betray the reality which it seeks to cover up.

Chapter 1 of section 2 is entitled "The Basic Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Citizens of the USSR", and is the longest chapter in the entire draft, covering 29 articles. Innumerable "rights" are guaranteed to Soviet citizens.

But every one of them is undercut by other articles which enjoin the Soviet "citizen" to "strictly observe labour and production discipline" (Article 60—significantly no right to strike is granted); to "be intolerant of anti-social behaviour", and "to contribute in every way to the maintenance of public order." (No. 65).

**ACTION**

Indeed, Article 39 specifically states that "Exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society and the state..."—a rider designed to allow the bureaucracy to take whatever action it wants against those who may protest their decisions.

Recent events in the Soviet Union also give the lie to the constitution's claim that "this is a society of true democracy". (Preamble).

The unexplained fall from power of USSR President Nikolai Podgorny on May 24 is testimony to the continuing in-fighting within the bureaucracy—a grappling match less bloody, but no less fierce, than the intrigues of "the Stalin era".

Podgorny's demise was sealed with the appointment on June 16 of Leonid Brezhnev as President of the Soviet Union, who now becomes the first man in Soviet history to hold the post of party leader and President at the same time.



Stalin

Brezhnev has now emerged, after 13 years of "collectively" sharing power with Podgorny and Alexey Kosygin (Soviet Prime Minister), the worthy successor of Stalin and Krushchev.

In May 1976 he received the military rank of Marshal of the Soviet Union, and since then has been referred to as Vozhd—the title used by Stalin, and the Russian equivalent of "Führer" or "Il Duce".

Both the 1977 Draft Constitution, and Brezhnev's rise to undisputed power, testify to the continuation of bureaucratic rule in the Soviet Union.

**FAMILY**

Articles such as numbers 53 and 66, which enshrine the bourgeois family and oblige "citizens... devote themselves to the upbringing of their children" show how far the USSR is from achieving socialism in which all domestic labour will be completely socialised.

Interestingly enough, the *Morning Star* review of the Draft Constitution on June 6 failed to draw attention to these articles, presumably because of the CP's uncritical alliance with bourgeois feminism). Trotsky wrote of the 1936 Constitution that it sealed: "... the dictatorship of the privileged strata of Soviet society over the producing masses."

(*Documents of the Fourth International*, p. 105).

The 1977 Draft reaffirms the dictatorship, and reveals again the need for a political revolution to oust the ruling bureaucracy.

**GAINS**

The enormous gains of the October revolution—nationalisation of land and industry, state monopoly of foreign trade, elements of a planned economy—have not yet been reversed by bureaucratic domination of the USSR.

But now, as in 1936, the bureaucracy is a fetter on the extension of those gains, and must be overthrown before any real progress towards genuine socialism can be achieved.

As the *Transitional Programme* points out:

"Only the victorious revolutionary uprising of the oppressed masses can revive the Soviet regime and guarantee its further development towards socialism. There but one party capable of leading the Soviet masses to insurrection—the party of the Fourth International!" (p. 37).

# WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class to lead the mounting opposition to the betrayals of both 'left' and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party, as they attempt to enforce wage control, sackings, speed-up and public service cuts.

As workers take up the struggle against these policies they are forced by the sheer weight of forces opposing them to confront political questions. Only with an understanding of the role of the labour bureaucracy and a programme to unite the broadest sections of workers in struggle can a way forward be found.

The Workers Socialist League is the only movement that sets out to do this, fighting consistently in the working class for transitional demands, which go beyond simply trade union militancy to raise the political questions to workers and prepare the forms of organisation and the knowledge necessary for the struggle for socialism.

As a result we have been at the forefront of struggles against the cuts, against wage control, for unionisation, and against redundancy. We have done more than any other tendency to fight the introduction of 'workers' participation' in industry. And we have strongly supported the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, which has set out to show the link between the reactionary policies of the Social Contract and bureaucratic dictatorship in both the unions and the Labour Party.

But our practical struggle for the continuity of the principles and method of Trotsky's Transitional Programme is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the struggles of the working class internationally, and the fight to reconstruct the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So there has been a consistent drive within the WSL to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International as an essential part of our 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 long, hard struggle against



# BITTER FRUIT OF LIB-LAB POLITICS

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

# ASSET-STRIPPING TORIES AXE HOUSING

The municipal elections at the beginning of May confirm the evidence of the earlier parliamentary by-elections that workers all over Britain are rejecting the coalition government.

The constituency election machines found that they were unable to mobilise their traditional mass support from urban workers after the history of class betrayals by the Wilson/Callaghan/Healey leadership.

The most frequent reaction of the workers was to vote with their feet, to stay away from the polling stations. The result was that Tories took control of most of Britain's large cities, where they will stay for the next four years.

This is an important result for workers, because the large urban municipal authorities control programmes for housing, education, transport and the welfare services.

## LITTLE RESISTANCE

There was little enough resistance to the cuts from the Labour controlled authorities. The Tories will hack and slash at the programmes of public expenditure with an enthusiasm built on many years of political frustration.

They have plans to go further than cuts. A full-scale asset stripping operation on the public sector is underway.

Workers need to defend themselves against attacks on living standards and job security from this new direction. A wave of town hall redundancies will accompany the Tories' programme of cuts.

Information is coming out more quickly in London than in most of the other cities about the Tories intentions, and gives some guidelines for the shape of the struggles that will develop over the coming months.

The Tories won overwhelming control of the Greater London Council, holding 64 seats out of 92, almost a complete reversal of the position before the election.

## REWRITTEN

One of their first acts was to rewrite the Council's standing orders, preventing the minority party from using its right to bring committee proceedings in front of the open council meeting.

The Tories had used this power repeatedly in the months before the election, obstructing the council agenda and preventing work on a large number of housebuilding schemes.

The planning committee intends to give away the GLC's main planning powers. Along with this will go the GLC's right under the Community Land Act to acquire sites for public development without giving massive profits to the land speculators.

But it is in housing that the most important struggles will develop.

GLC housing has been a political battleground since the GLC was set up in 1966.

## INTERVENE

The reason for this is that the GLC's housing powers have given it the power to intervene in the traditionally Tory controlled outer suburban boroughs.

Labour controlled GLC's have wanted to rehouse families from the waiting lists of the overcrowded inner boroughs in the outer boroughs where land is more plentiful.

The Tory outer boroughs have opposed what they regard as the transplanting of large numbers of Labour voting council tenants into their areas.

It is no surprise then to find that the Tories' leader of housing, George Tremlett, is a councillor for Richmond, one of the boroughs which has most bitterly resisted GLC developments in its area.

He has designed a strategy to destroy the ability of future Labour GLC's to operate in Tory areas.

GLC housing policy has been marked by the most cynical opposition to housing by an inner borough council. The Tories' leader of housing, George Tremlett, is a councillor for Richmond, one of the boroughs which has most bitterly resisted GLC developments in its area.

and Judge attempted to shift the blame for the series of design problems (which had grown out of the cuts they had administered) onto building workers and architects.

The blatant career building of both Balfe and Judge led to intense rivalry and prevented all efforts to create an integrated housing policy for the whole of London.

This problem was exacerbated by the majority of the Labour-controlled inner boroughs which refused to cooperate on integrated policies.

This was despite the fact that

Selling council houses solves no problems. It only shifts the injustice and magnifies it.

The people on the waiting lists will be denied access to the houses that are sold off—except in the unlikely event that they can raise the mortgages necessary to buy them.

And of course only the best of the council houses will be bought, leaving a crumbling stock of rise blocks, interwar 'walk-up' blocks and unmodernised terraced houses for the next generation of tenants.

The best council houses are out in the traditionally Tory suburban

result will be that the tenants will again be locked within the borough boundaries for the rest of their lives with no prospect of transferring to the pleasanter housing in the suburbs.

The programmes of rehabilitation of the older houses and of support for housing associations producing housing by building and conversions will show the same pattern of being restricted to inner London, but the Tories have also had another idea which they find attractive.

They call it 'homesteading' and it means opening up the worst of the unimproved housing stock, rent free, to anyone willing to live in it and make it habitable.

The most astounding scheme of all however is the conversion of flats to offices and workshops.

There is already a great surplus in London of vacant office space and factory space, a symptom of the general economic crisis and also of London's decline as a centre of world capitalism.

How can it make sense therefore

to close down much needed housing to expand this surplus?

To recover the conversion costs rents will have to be higher than those being asked for City offices.

## EVERY LEVEL

These attacks on public services and housing therefore come at every level.

They are typical of Tory plans for cities all over Britain in the coming months, and they will be carried through unless trade unions, Labour Parties and tenants associations fight to mobilize the strength of the working class in a struggle for a socialist programme of house building at the expense of the landlords, property speculators, financiers and building companies.

Today this task goes hand in hand with a fight against the Lib-Lab coalition government which opened the door to the Tories in the first place.

"I KEEP TELLING YOU—YOU HAVE COMPLETE FREEDOM OF CHOICE..."



their constituents would obviously benefit greatly from integration. The councillors clearly feared they would lose their powers of patronage over council tenancies and their influence in allocating contracts.

The Tory boroughs were therefore able to sit back and watch the Labour boroughs preventing the GLC's attempts to create an overall housing policy for London.

This year's London Regional Labour Party Conference belatedly condemned these obstructions. It called impotently for coordination of lettings policies to eliminate the obvious injustices involved in the largest waiting lists building up in the poorest boroughs while the richest boroughs refuse to take any responsibility for people outside their boundaries.

## NOT RESTRICTED

The GLC's stock of housing, being distributed all over London and not restricted to one borough, offers the only chance for council tenants and waiting list families to move from one borough to another without being forced into the private sector.

The first part of the Tory attack on this stock of housing is to be the much heralded 'sale of the century'. They intend to sell as much of the stock as they can to the existing tenants, at the biggest discount they can get away with—30%.

There is obviously a characteristic Tory injustice about the fact that many workers would wish to own their own houses but are unable to do so because of prices and rates of interest rates

boroughs, who least want council tenants.

The second strand of the attack on council housing is a savage attack on the building programme.

All activity in the outer boroughs and outside London is to be wound up as soon as possible.

## REDUNDANCIES

This decision hacks over 13,000 dwellings out of the programme over the next five years and will create substantial redundancies in the building trade and among the GLC's architects and housing staff.

Especially disliked by the Tories are the direct labour force, builders who work directly for the council in competition with the private sector.

An ominous silence descends whenever the future of the GLC construction force is mentioned at County Hall, but it is becoming more and more obvious that their days are numbered, and that—as each contract they are on is finished they will be laid off.

The estates that they cannot sell to the tenants may prove an embarrassment to the Tories.

They want to hand them over to the boroughs en bloc, but many of the boroughs don't want them.

The cost of meeting the interest charges on high rise blocks is more than the rent that can be charged on them, and as they get older the cost of repairs and maintenance is rocketing alarmingly.

If the Tories do unload this dubious asset to boroughs, to specially set up housing associations or even to private landlords, the

# LETTER

WISE AFTER THE EVENT.

Dear Cde. Editor,

The second lead article in *Socialist Press* 63 focussed on the stand taken by 'left' MP Audrey Wise and Jeffrey Rooker who voted against the budget proposals of Lib/Lab chancellor Healey in the committee stage of the Finance Bill.

The correct points in the article could have been strengthened by reference to comments made by Audrey Wise following this vote.



Wise

In a television interview where she was asked how she felt about possibly precipitating a general election and the return of a Tory government Mrs Wise said that if the government was pursuing the correct policies there would be no need to fear a general election.

Statements such as these are extremely important levers for developing the struggle to force the 'lefts' to break with the coalition and lead a fight for an alternative leadership which could fight and win a general election on socialist policies.

When revolutionaries say 'a general election fought on socialist policies would result in a defeat for the Tories' the broad mass of the working class doesn't notice. When a prominent representative of the working class says the same thing then people listen.

Wise says the programme of the 'left' reformists is different from ours. Yet up and down the country Labour Party members are taking

sides over the actions of Audrey Wise and Jeff Rooker. The arguments continue to revolve around the question of saving the government and letting in the Tories.

Within that context we are able to challenge the supposed opposition to the likes of Callaghan and Healey from their 'left' critics and put forward our idea of the socialist programme on which a general election should be fought.

Audrey Wise's comments make it easier for us to argue that there is an alternative to waiting for the Tories to turn the knife and then accepting the election defeat and what will follow.

We have to employ every half-step forward of the left reformists if we are to succeed in our policy of breaking the coalition and forging an alternative leadership in the working class.

Fraternally,  
K. White, Coventry.

## READERS' LETTERS

We welcome letters from readers. Letters for publication should be kept as brief as possible and sent to:

Socialist Press  
31, Dartmouth Park Hill  
London NW5 1HR

## CORRECTION

A typographical error turned the meaning of the last sentence of the letter in SP 63 into its opposite. The last sentence should have read: "But their willingness to fight creates the most fertile conditions for a revolutionary intervention that leads them to that conclusion."

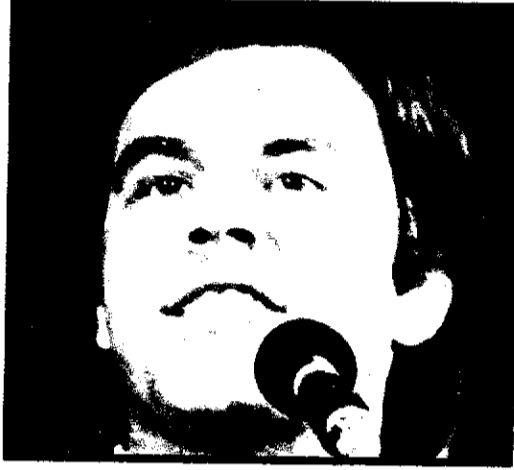




# SPAIN'S GREAT ELECTION FRAUD



CP leader Carrillo



PSOE leader Gonzalez

PART TWO OF OUR ARTICLE ON THE JUNE 15

ELECTIONS BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN SPAIN

The Socialist Party (PSOE) and the Communist Party participated in the June 15 elections, along with Suarez, in the hope that they would be enough to head off revolutionary crisis.

And they did so secure in the knowledge that the elections could not produce a majority for the workers' parties which might oblige them to form a government.

The predictable results of the election were from the beginning, therefore, a basis for the continuation of Suarez' Francoist government and a preparation for a possible future popular front coalition in which the socialists, and perhaps eventually the CP, would participate.

The PSOE and CP campaigns reflected their involvement in this plan. It was the CP in particular which used its campaign to demonstrate its exceptional devotion to the political rules which the Francoists had established.

## MONARCHIST

The monarchist flag flew over their meetings, from which intruders with anarchist, republican, Maoist or Trotskyist banners or literature were excluded, if necessary by force.

Carrillo diverted his attack solely against Fraga and the Popular Alliance, having declared long before the elections that he wished Suarez, who he said represented the "civilised right", to continue as Prime Minister.

An example of the extent to which the CP leaders are prepared to go in making clear that it was no threat to the bourgeoisie occurred in Valdemoro.

A CP member defending himself against physical attack while selling papers on the street, accidentally killed a Popular Alliance thug.

The CP reacted by expelling their member, forbidding CP lawyers to defend him against a murder charge and sending a delegation to the funeral of the Popular Alliance thug!

## "VICTORY"

Carrillo welcomed the results as "a victory over fascism" and professed that the Spanish were "a civilised people".

He has called for a government of national unity to include the Popular Alliance, the Socialists and the CP.

not yet ready for having the CP in the government and so proposed immediately a Suarez-PSOE coalition.

The PSOE itself is also preparing the ground for its own collaborationist government with Suarez—but not yet.

Party leader Felipe Gonzalez wishes to remain in "opposition" for a time to consolidate his position.

## COALITION

He is already preparing the way to join a coalition with Suarez after the proposed municipal elections later this year or early next.

The bourgeoisie has been assured then that Gonzalez and Carrillo are ready to play their direct role in the government when they are needed.

Meanwhile the main role of the reformist and Stalinist leaders will be to extend their electoral truce with the capitalist class into a long

in the elections to their left did not gain more than a handful of votes was because they were not seen as clear alternatives to the PSOE and CP.

Three parties, the Revolutionary Workers Organisation (ORT), the Communist Movement (MC) and the Labour Party (PT)—all of them containing various combinations of Maoism, centrism and petty bourgeois and Christian radicalism, and all of them still illegal—put up candidates in all the large provinces.

Their overall failure was well deserved since their militant tone failed to conceal that beneath the surface these parties were presenting only a left-sounding populist, version of the CP position.

One candidacy of the left claimed to be qualitatively different—the FUT (Front for Workers' Unity). This Front was supported by the LCR (Revolutionary Communist League, sympathising section of the USFI); the OIC (Organisation of the Communist Left, a centrist group with right wing positions on the national question and an ultra-left opposition to



term strategy of demobilisation of the Spanish working class on the immediately explosive questions of democratic rights (complete amnesty, trade union rights, national self-determination in Euskadi and Catalonia) and economic conditions (wages and unemployment).

In these conditions the position of the PSOE and CP leaders is far from secure even with their own members.

the building of trade unions; and Communist Action (a small centrist group).

The FUT did argue in its meetings, and to a limited extent in its campaign literature, for the dissolution of the Francoist repressive apparatus, for national self-determination and against the monarchy.

It argued against the social pact, denounced the non-democratic nature of the elections, condemned the collaborationist policies of the CP, and proposed a revolutionary

at meetings to representatives of workers on strike.

But despite this, the LCR's arguments for its participation in the elections was not justified in practice.

The LCR argued that participation would allow it the greatest opportunity to propagandise for its programme. But in practice the programme of FUT was a compromise in numerous ways with that of the OIC and in particular it said nothing at all on the crucial question of the building of trade unions.

In practice, this Front for Workers' Unity could hardly have been more disunited.

At one extreme, Communist Action objected to calling for a vote for FUT and a few days before the end of the campaign it withdrew from the FUT, calling for a boycott.

## ELECTORALISM

At the other extreme the OIC converted the campaign into unadulterated electoralism. In the province of Alava the main FUT slogan was "We too need our worker in the congress".

The LCR hovered uncertainly between these two positions and the question of what their objective was in the campaign remained extremely confused.

FUT representatives appeared at some of the "round tables" (organised by the press and other organisations) along with representatives of the other candidacies, including Suarez' Democratic Centre and Fraga's Popular Alliance.

In Madrid at the end of May the LCR withdrew its support from a demonstration prompted by the savage repression of the amnesty week in Euskadi—on the grounds that it might be converted into a demonstration for a boycott of the elections (since the other groups calling for it favoured the boycott).

And on the last night of the campaign the FUT refused to give to representatives of organisations calling for the boycott rights to speak in a rally in Madrid.

## INDEFENSIBLE

All these indefensible concessions to electoralism, though not the inevitable results of participation itself, followed from the confused and contradictory nature of the FUT campaign.

The LCR and other groups on the left argued that to call for a boycott was to invite political isolation.

In fact one of the effects of the FUT campaign was to help to convert this into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Viewed in the context of the events of the year since the Suarez government took office, however, the tactic of the boycott appears as a viable alternative to the headlong rush of the left parties to present their candidates in the elections.

A sustained and consistent cam-

left groups wanted to justify their participation.

The LCR's programme was a compromise in numerous ways with that of the OIC and in particular it said nothing at all on the crucial question of the building of trade unions.

But this possibility was when the PSOE and the CP made a decision to participate was adopted by the great majority of parties and groups on their left.

## IMPRESSIONISM

Those who claimed to be revolutionaries arrived at their tactics not scientifically, but through impressionism and adaptation to the reformist and Stalinist leadership.

The campaign for the boycott, therefore, could not achieve these elections all that it was in principle capable of achieving.

In addition, because of Suarez' policy of permitting even illegal parties to present electoral candidates but rigorously suppressing anyone calling for boycott, the campaign encountered severe practical problems.

Meetings were forbidden by police and organisers and poster stickers were arrested.

Nonetheless, in some cities a factory public, if semi-landed, meetings took place, posters appeared and propaganda was distributed.

## BOYCOTT

Some anarchists and Maoists called for a boycott on the basis of opposing 'parliamentary cretinism' and some left nationalists in Euskadi defended it on the basis of petty-bourgeois romanticism about the possibilities of 'real' bourgeois democracy.

But the main boycott campaign was that organised by the Communist League (another sympathising section of the USFI, though its present policy is disowned) and its previous allies in the American SWP) and by the OCI (Organisation of the Fourth International, alliance with the OCI in France).

Despite some tendency to over-emphasise the absence of democratic rights as if these were a condition for participation, this campaign rightly called on all working class organisations to boycott the elections as the clearest and most effective tactic against the plans of the Spanish bourgeoisie and the collaboration of the reformist and Stalinist leaders.



Suarez (left) with Franco (center) and Fraga (right).

And now after the elections the political issues taken up in the boycott campaign remain central to the way ahead for the Spanish working class.

This is because though the elections have enabled the Francoists (now with the formal backing of PSOE and CP leaders) to hang on to governmental power, they have not enabled the Francoists to rule.

To rule at the present time means to impose on the working class a capitalist solution to the acute economic crisis.

And the obstacle to that is the willingness of the Spanish workers to fight for economic and democratic demands against the Francoists and in defiance of their own leaders.

The elections may have been postponed, but they have not removed the necessary collision in Spain between the working class and the Francoist state which is the major political defence of capitalism in Spain.

# BETRAYALS THAT OPENED DOOR FOR HITLER

SECOND IN OUR SERIES "HOW FASCISTS TOOK STATE POWER" BY JIM SHORT.

As 1931 in Germany opened, the Nazis, growing in confidence every day, struck out more firmly than previously on the road to power.

In the spring of that year, they turned their attention to the crucial Landtag (State Legislature) of Prussia, a Social Democratic stronghold whose coalition government was headed by Otto Braun and Carl Severing of the Social Democratic Party (SPD).

Thinking that they could conquer the Landtag if fresh elections were held, the Nazis, in alliance with right wing nationalists led by Alfred Hugenberg, seized on a clause in the Weimar constitution and called for a referendum to oust the Prussian government.

At first the Communist Party (KPD), opposed the referendum. But on July 21, 1931, they made a sudden break with their line that the social democrats were social fascists. The KPD presented an ultimatum to the SPD leadership—join immediately with us in a united front against fascism, or we will vote with the Nazis in the referendum.

## REJECTED

When the SPD rejected the ultimatum, the KPD shamelessly switched their position, redubbed the referendum the "Red Referendum" and campaigned for the removal of the SPD-led government.

In this way the German workers witnessed the bewildering and demoralising spectacle of the KPD working jointly with their avowed enemies, the Nazis, for the downfall of the coalition government.

As it happened, although 9.8 million voters supported the referendum on 9 August, it failed to secure the approval of more than half the electorate (ie 13 million votes), and so was defeated.

But although it failed to remove the government, the referendum succeeded in opening up new sources of support for the Nazis, and also managed to discredit completely the KPD in the eyes of Social Democratic workers, who by this stage were clamouring for decisive action against the fascists.

## IRON FRONT

In response to this pressure, the SPD authorised, in December 1931, the creation of the "Iron Front for Resistance Against Fascism"—a mass organisation which embraced the old Reichsbanner, SPD youth, and other labour and liberal groups.

The rank and file of the SPD rallied round this Iron Front, and a series of street demonstrations which led to clashes with the Nazis, were held.

But despite these sporadic engagements, the Iron Front failed to conduct any serious struggle against the Nazis.

Nor, indeed, could it, since the SPD leaders had no intention of fighting Hitler's bands, and had established the Iron Front merely as a safety-valve to defuse and head off the growing discontent at inaction that was gathering within the ranks of the SPD.

A correct application of the united front by the KPD could have

But instead the KPD continued to brand the social democracy as "social fascism", to insist that they were a more dangerous enemy than the Hitlerites.

Instead of engaging in a united front with the SPD, they objectively formed a united front with the Nazis—as in the Red Referendum.

## OPPORTUNISTIC

Such opportunistic manoeuvring not only failed to win over SPD members to a consistent revolutionary line, but actually drove them closer to their own leadership.

During 1932 the economic crisis worsened. Five million were now unemployed, as wages and jobless benefits were slashed.

The political crisis worsened also. On March 18, 1932 new elections for the presidency were held.

The outgoing President, the monarchist Hindenburg, was again standing—this time with SPD support. They argued that he was "the lesser evil", and must be supported against Hitler.

Two other candidates contested the election—Thaelmann of the KPD, and the ultra-right Stahlhelm leader, Theodor Dusterburg.

After an inconclusive first round in which no one received an absolute majority, a run off election was held on April 10. Dusterburg withdrew, and the Nationalists campaigned for Hitler.



Hitler with big business backers.

The results this time gave Hindenburg 53% of the poll, Hitler 36.8% and Thaelmann 10.2%.

The SPD who had turned their Iron Front into an electoral machine for Hindenburg, hailed the results as a decisive 'victory over fascism'.

But in doing so they closed their eyes to the fact that the Nazi vote had doubled from 6.4 million to 13.4 million in just seventeen months!

## PLAYED OFF

In the Reichstag, Brüning continued his Bonapartist policy of playing off the Nazis and the working class parties against each other.

The Presidential elections jeopardised any continuation of

SA and the SS (the Schutz-Staffel, or "Protective Columns"—originally Hitler's personal bodyguard).

But this decree was to prove Brüning's undoing. For a series of intrigues within the military high command, engineered by the so-called "social general", Kurt von Schleicher, resulted in Brüning's resignation as Chancellor during May 1932.

On May 31, Hindenburg appointed Franz von Papen as Chancellor, and instructed him to form a Cabinet that would be "above parties".

This was about all von Papen could do, since he possessed absolutely no support in the Reichstag, and was able to rule only by precariously balancing between the contending factions.

## BAN LIFTED

On June 4, von Papen dissolved the Reichstag, and set new elections for July 31. On June 15, the ban on the SA and the SS was lifted, and they at once showed their gratitude by unleashing a wave of political terror and violence unseen since the Freikorps terror of 1918-1919.

Hundreds died in the space of four weeks, after which von Papen prohibited all political parades for two weeks before the elections.

But the Nazis decided to end their murder campaign in a blaze of fascist glory. On July 17 they held

of their Red Referendum antics against the same Prussian government still fresh in people's minds, the response was derisory.

The workers were now seriously demoralised, the fascists elated. And in the elections that were held on July 31, the Nazis took 37.4% of the vote which exceeded the combined vote of the KPD and the SPD which was 36.2%.

For the first time, the Nazis were the largest party in the Reichstag.

## USE NAZIS

Now Papen's plans were, like Brüning's to use the Nazis without giving them any major share of the power. But encouraged by their electoral successes, the Nazis refused his overtures, and when the new Reichstag convened on September 12, they joined with other parties in censuring von Papen's regime by 513 votes to 32.

Once again the Reichstag was dissolved, and once again elections were set—this time for November 6.

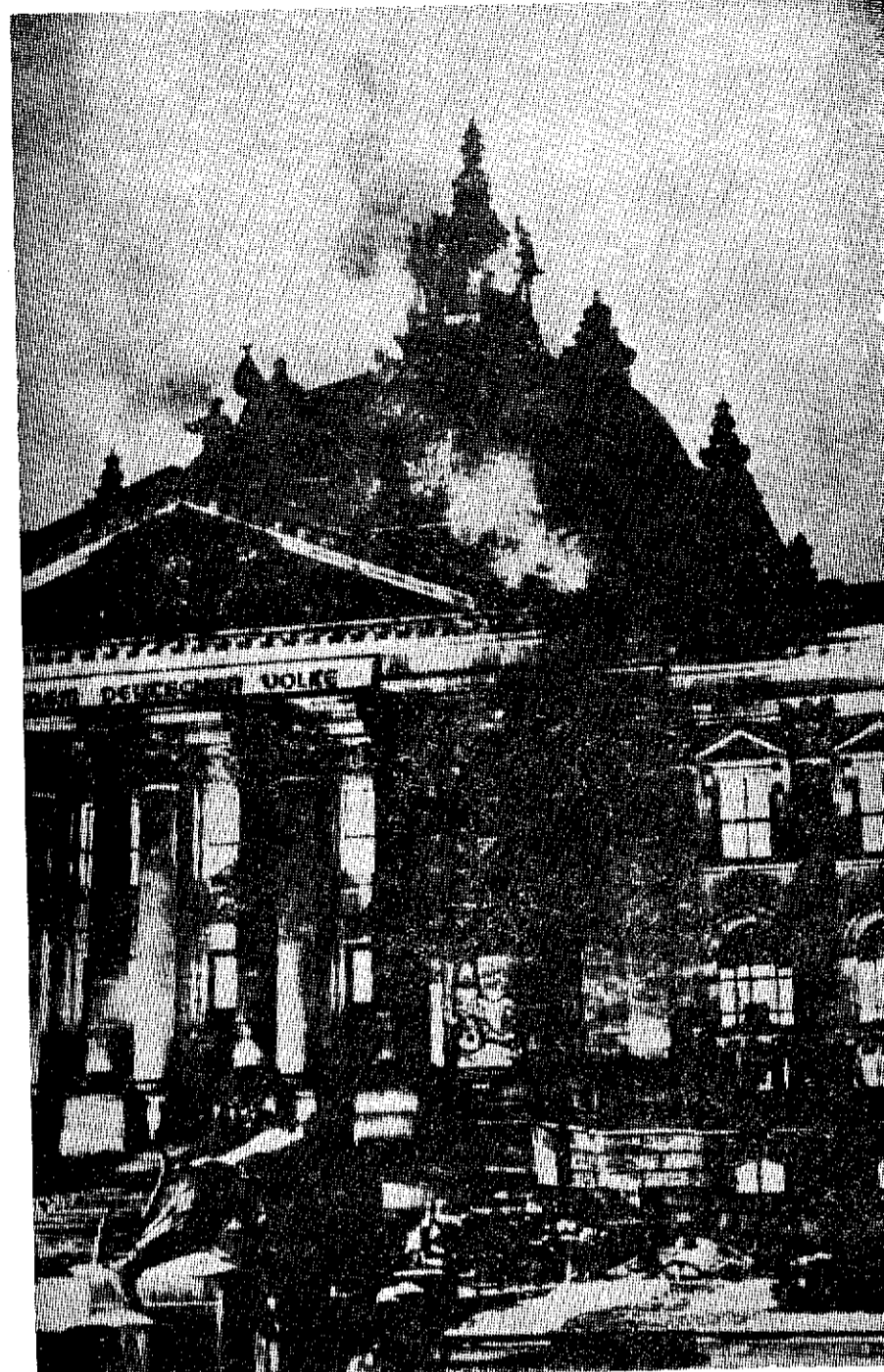
Between September and November, however, the Nazis began to lose some of their momentum. Big business began to balk at the prospect of these brown-shirted plebians holding political power, at the same time as Hitler's own supporters became impatient about Hitler's strategy of a "legal" seizure of power.

## FINANCE

The huge finances needed to sustain the Nazi machine, the SA and the SS began to dry up, and this fact is reflected in the November election results.

The Nazis lost 2 million votes as their share of the poll dropped to 33.1%. The SPD and KPD now had 37.3%—an increase of 1.1% compared to July.

Clearly, even at this late stage, determined joint action by the SPD and the KPD could have halted the Nazis, and could have changed the balance of forces so as to favour a proletarian, communist seizure of power.



The Reichstag Fire, February 27, 1933: a provocation staged by the Nazis in order to frame the Communist Party leadership and place them under arrest before the elections took place, and also to incite a terror against all opposition to them.

at the electoral results between May 1928 and November 1932.

During that period the SPD vote consistently fell, from 29.8% in 1928 to 20.4% in November 1932, while the KPD vote consistently rose from 10.6% to 16.9%. In November, only 1 1/2 million (3.5%) votes separated the Social Democratic and Communist candidates.

This narrowing of the gap was achieved despite the disastrous third period policy of social fascism, despite the refusal of the united front tactic by the KPD leadership and despite the Red Referendum and similar opportunistic manoeuvres.

There can be no doubt, even if we look only at the distorted reflection of mere election results, that the objective conditions could have benefitted the KPD, and that this potential strength could have been transformed into a reality if a correct line had been followed.

Of course, during the same





1930	
March 30	Bruning (Centre Party) appointed Chancellor
September 14	Nazis win over six million votes at General Election. Unemployment: 3,000,000.
October 18	SPD decides to support Bruning Cabinet in Reichstag as the 'lesser evil'.
1931	
March 25	Agreement between army and SA on joint action.
August 9	KPD joins with Nazis in 'Red Referendum' in attempt to remove SPD from office in Prussia. Fails.
October 9	Hitler joins with Nationalists in 'Harzburg front' against Weimar Republic. Unemployment reaches 4,350,000.
1932	
April 10	Hitler wins 13½ million votes in presidential elections. But Hindenburg wins again—backed by SPD.
April 13	Bruning bans SA and SS.
April 14	Army leaders protest against ban on Nazis.
May 30	Bruning dismissed by Hindenburg. Papen begins rule by decree.
June 17	Ban lifted by Papen on SA and SS.
July 17	Nazi raid on Altona (Hamburg). 19 killed, 285 wounded.
July 20	Papen coup in Prussia. Strikes by workers, no resistance by SPD or trade union leaders.
July 31	Nazi vote up to 13½ million. KPD 5,280,000
August 27	KPD denounces united front appeal by SPD.
September 12	von Papen government voted down by huge majority in Reichstag. New elections called. Unemployment 5,102,000.
November 4	Nazis lose two million votes in election. KPD up to nearly six million.
December 3	Schleicher appointed Chancellor. Begins talks with 'left' Nazis and trade union leaders.
1933	
January 4	Unemployment nears seven million.
January 28	Fall of Schleicher. Big business insists on Hitler as only solution.
January 30	Hitler appointed Chancellor by Hindenburg (voted back as President in April 1932 with support of SPD).
January 31	Trade union leaders state readiness to support Hitler regime.
February 24	Police raid KPD headquarters.
February 27	Nazis set fire to Reichstag building. Blamed on KPD. Party banned.
March 5	Nazis win 44% of votes in terror election.
March 8	SA wreck trade union headquarters at Breslau.
March 23	New Nazi government passes enabling act. Total powers to Hitler. Quite legal.
April 17	Trade union leaders agree to support Nazi 'national labour day'.
May 1	Trade union leaders march with Nazis in May Day parades. Boycotted by many workers.
May 2	Trade union buildings occupied by SA. Leaders arrested, property and funds seized, organisations dissolved.
May 10	All SPD property seized.
June 26	All KPD property seized.



Nazi flag hangs outside union headquarters, 1933.

from the Nazis.

In this he failed miserably, and after only 57 days he too resigned. On January 30, 1933 Hindenburg—whom the SPD had helped to power as a "lesser evil" than Hitler—appointed Hitler Chancellor of a coalition cabinet in which von Papen was Vice Chancellor.

Trotsky had characterized the regime of Bruning, Papen and Schleicher as regimes of "preventive Bonapartism".

They were 'Bonapartist' because they balanced themselves precariously between the camps of proletarian revolution and fascist counter-revolution; they were "preventive"—because at that stage the bourgeoisie were still hoping that such regimes could prevent the need for a full-blooded fascist take-over.

**MOBILISATION**

With Hitler's appointment as Chancellor, however, Trotsky recognised that this Bonapartist stage was coming to a close. But Hitler had not yet fully consolidated his rule, and in two articles written in February 1933, Trotsky called for an all out mobilisation of the workers in a life-or-death struggle against the fascists.

But his exhortations met with silence. The SPD leaders rejected any "provocative" actions against Hitler's "Constitutional" appointment.

The KPD, true to form, denounced the SPD as the main enemy one minute, called for a general strike the next, and made preparations to go into hiding the next.

Meanwhile Hitler was preparing for a final consolidation of his rule. He got Hindenburg to dissolve the Reichstag again and to call new elections for March 5.

**BANNED**

And to ensure that the elections would take place in a proper atmosphere, he banned all KPD meetings and shut down its press.

He finally managed to gain control of the Prussian police, and flooding it with his belated storm-troopers ordered the breaking up of SPD meetings.

In addition, the Nazis started a fire in the Reichstag on February 27, 1933 and blamed it on the Communists. President Hindenburg responded swiftly by suspending all sections of the Constitution relating to freedom of speech and assembly.

Thousands of KPD and SPD officials were arrested, and in the last weeks before the March 5 "terror elections", only the Nazis and the nationalists were allowed to campaign.

with all the forces of the state at his disposal, Hitler failed to secure an absolute majority.

On March 23 Hitler asked the Reichstag for dictatorial powers; the Reichstag consented by 441 votes to 84. Only the Social Democrats voted against; all the Communist deputies were either in prison or in hiding.

But the opposition put up by the SPD was purely parliamentary, and before they too were finally outlawed they were to demean themselves even further.

On May Day 1933, the Social Democrats called on their followers to march in Hitler's "National Day of Labour" parade; on May 2 the Nazis took over the trade union movement.

But despite this, on May 17, the Social Democrats decided by 48 votes to 17 to support Hitler's foreign policy! The fact that another 55 SPD delegates were in hiding or in jail did not seem to make any difference.

On June 22 1933 these traitors themselves were suppressed.

The KPD were not to be outdone in self-abasement, however. On March 5 the Executive Committee of the Communist International dumped—without explanation—its "social fascist" line and called on its parties to seek anti-fascist united fronts with Social Democratic parties.



Trotsky

Such a deviation was only momentary, though, for a month later, on April 7, the ECCI delivered this truly astonishing judgement to the workers of the world:

"Having heard Comrade Heckert's report on the situation in Germany, the presidium of the ECCI states that the political line and the organisational policy followed by the CC of the Communist Party of Germany with Comrade Thaelmann at its head, up to the Hitlerite coup, and at the moment when it collapsed, was

completely correct." (Documents of the Communist International, ed. Degras, Vol III, p. 257).

After 5 March, Trotsky called on his followers in the German section of the International Left Opposition (ILO) to abandon their perspective of reforming the KPD and to start instead the arduous task of building a new revolutionary party there.

In July 1933, Trotsky was forced to put forward a similar policy with regard to the Communist International. For not only had the ECCI statement of April 7 sought to cover up the fatal policy pursued in Germany, but in addition not one section of the Comintern had objected to that policy or to the ECCI statement—even after the events had exposed its utter bankruptcy and fraudulence.

**RESPONSIBLE**

This meant, Trotsky argued, that the Comintern as a whole was responsible for what had happened in Germany. The Left Opposition must abandon the perspective it had maintained since its foundation of reforming the International and must work for the construction of a new, revolutionary Fourth International.

This position was adopted by a plenum of the ILO on August 3, 1933. To symbolize the change of policy, the ILO changed its name to the International Communist League (Bolshevik Leninists).

The founding conference of the Fourth International itself was held in September 1938.

In the *Transitional Programme* of the Fourth International Trotsky draws out the cardinal lesson of events in Germany. The defeats of the workers in Paris in 1871 and in Russia in 1905 were, he wrote, purely physical defeats, "conditioned by the relationship of forces". But events in Germany were without parallel. There,

"The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties."

(Folrose edition, p. 31).

In these articles we have focused precisely on this aspect of the struggles in Germany—the criminally insane and suicidally mistaken policies which led to the destruction of the best organised workers' movement in the world at that time—rather than trace the genesis of the Hitlerite movement itself.

**WEAKNESS**

For it was not the strength of the Nazi movement, but rather the weakness of the leadership of the workers' movement, which put Hitler in power and which paved the way for the concentration camps, the gas chambers and the slaughter of World War II.

In comparison to Hitler, Mussolini was to appear a mild, almost humane fascist.

Fascist dictatorship, Karl Radek once wrote, is the iron hoop with which the bourgeoisie tries to patch up the broken barrel of capitalism.

As world capitalism is once more thrown into crisis, it is to be expected that it will again stretch out its hand for the hoop of fascism. But in 1933 the hoop was put on only with the assistance of Social Democracy and Stalinism.

To avoid a repetition of those events, we must learn the lessons and construct a mass revolutionary party, capable of smashing capitalism—hoop, barrel and all.

After Hitler the alternative—socialism or barbarism—is given very concrete meaning.

**FURTHER READING**

For a detailed study of the origins of fascism, the more important of which are in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*. These should be read with Robert Black's two-volume study *Fascism in Germany*, which exhaustively traces the origins, ideology etc of Nazism as well as analysing the policies of the KPD and SPD. Another useful account is Daniel Guerin's *Fascism and Big Business* which presents a comparative analysis of fascist and German fascism before and after the seizure of power.

period, the Nazi vote rose astronomically, from a mere 2.6% to 37.4% in July 1932 only to drop to 33.1% in November 1932.

But that drop of 2 million votes reveals how precariously placed the fascists actually were.

**MASS BASE**

The mass base of any fascist movement is the petty-bourgeoisie, an extremely heterogeneous social grouping wedged between the proletariat and the big bourgeoisie.

As such, the petty-bourgeoisie can play no independent historic role, and in times of sharp social crisis the petty-bourgeois must necessarily align themselves with one camp or the other—the proletarian or the bourgeois.

Fascism represents the mobilisation of the petty-bourgeoisie against the working class in the interests of big business. If they encounter no resistance, the fascist

bands grow in strength and intensify their attacks on the workers' movement.

But if the proletariat, with its greater social influence (due to its economic position within society) stands firm and answers the fascists blow for blow, then fascism can be crushed and the petty-bourgeois won over to the side of the working class, enabling an all out struggle to be waged against the bourgeois order itself.

Determined resistance to fascists is as important when they are a tiny minority as when they are a mass movement.

**TESTIFIED**

The Nazi leader Goebbels has testified to this truth when, in his book, *Kampf um Berlin* he wrote:

"If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly . . . it would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work."

And Hitler himself agreed:

"Only one thing could have broken our movement—if the adversary had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed, with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement."

(Speech to the Nuremberg Congress September 3, 1933)

But in order to launch such an offensive it is necessary to have a correct policy, a revolutionary programme to defeat fascism—and that is precisely what neither the KPD nor the SPD possessed.

The November 6 elections proved to be the last "free" elections of the Weimar Republic; within months the republic itself was to disappear forever.

**'SOCIAL GENERAL'**

On November 17, von Papen resigned to be replaced as Chancellor by Kurt von Schleicher on November 20.

The "social general", like his predecessor, tried to form a cabinet of "social parties" by attempting to bring the trade union bureaucracy together with the SPD and a strong



# OLD STALINISTS FIGHT 'NEW' STALINISTS

By Alastair Green

Half-way through its period of pre-Congress debate, the Communist Party of Great Britain faces deep internal divisions and widespread predictions of a split.

The controversy surrounds the Party's new draft of its long-standing programme, *The British Road to Socialism*. It brings to light issues which were first publicly discussed as early as January of last year, following the appearance in the Party journal *Marxism Today* of former CP General Secretary John Gollan's article on 'Socialist Democracy'.

The discussion has broken out of the limits imposed by the Party leadership. In an attempt to fragment opposition to the new draft, they have restricted written contributions to 900 words in the CP daily paper *Morning Star*, and 800 words in the fortnightly *Comment*. To judge by the almost daily letters and contributions there has been an eager response to these small opportunities to participate.

However an attempt to produce a coherent alternative to the draft programme by long-standing Party member Charlie Doyle has been quashed by a ban on the distribution of his self-produced pamphlet. Members in several areas have been suspended for selling it.

Of far greater significance was the unprecedented open rally of oppositionists, held in South London on 6 June. This opposition current, named the 'Frenchites' after the Surrey District Organiser of the CP, veteran Stalinist Syd French, was able to attract an audience of near to a thousand, who heard a platform, including Jack Dash, lay down a challenge to the present leadership.

Along the lines of earlier statements, French catalogued the areas in which the CP's influence had declined, pointing to a falling paper circulation, the collapse of electoral support and the disappearance of factory branches. He went on to accuse the Executive Committee of failing to try to correct this situation.

In a sentence he sketched out the differences that separate one faction from the other, and the different solutions that each present to the crisis in the Communist Party: "The EC has done nothing but put the blame on the Soviet Union - and the USSR is the strongest card that CPGB members have."

## HOSTILE

For a number of years now the leaderships of several European and some other Communist Parties have taken an increasingly hostile stand towards the traditional Stalinist line of uncritical support for the bureaucratically degenerated workers states, and have moved to strike out the call for the "dictatorship of the proletariat" from their programmes.

This has led to major splits in the Stalinist parties in Greece and more recently in Sweden, while in other countries - most obviously Italy, France, Spain and Japan - the new line has been adopted with much less resistance.

This seemed to have been the state of affairs in Britain too, where "parliamentary road" conceptions have been central to the CP programme since it was rewritten under the watchful eyes of Stalin as the 'British Road to Socialism' in 1951. The new draft embodies little in the way of political change from that programme.

## 'ORTHODOXY'

Yet now the Frenchites, donning the mantle of self-proclaimed "Marxism-Leninism" have begun to pose as defenders of Marxist orthodoxy against the CP leadership.

French even refused to tell EC member Mike Higgs whether he would be bound by a Congress decision to accept the draft (a certain outcome), putting a split on the agenda as an unofficial last item.

With a very sizeable minority in the Party, French's implied threat is a serious one.

A split would end the *Morning*



French

*Star* as a daily, and result in an unstable period of political ferment in both the wings of the Party.

It is worth examining what is at stake in the dispute and looking at the implications of the arguments.

The Frenchites see the issue of defence of the Soviet regime, as the necessary rationale for a separate 'Communist' organisation. From this angle they have formally begun to defend the revolutionary theories of Marx and Lenin in relation to the bourgeois state, the necessity for revolutionary violence and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The leadership faction, like parallel tendencies in Italy, France and Spain, has the common characteristic of having drawn very close to the open defence of the bourgeoisie, along the lines of social democracy.

## BUREAUCRACY

In doing so, they seek to hold a base of support by adapting to the hostility of many workers to the bureaucratic rule in the Soviet bloc, criticising the suppression of democratic rights. And at the same time they put on a 'moderate' face to attract the middle class by renouncing the revolutionary phraseology of their past.

The leadership faction lays great emphasis on its independence from Moscow - a feature clearly it holds in common with the so-called 'Euro-communist' Parties.

Perhaps the most open statement on this recently was by Spanish CP General Secretary Santiago Carrillo, who in a dispute with the Kremlin, defended himself against charges of advancing the interests of capitalism. He said:

"The Spanish Communist Party does not owe allegiance to any ruling party or entity...the party is shaping and will continue to shape its own policies and strategies in complete independence."

This shows clearly that Carrillo's intention is to win the support of workers who mistrust a party directed from the Kremlin.

John Gollan in his 'Socialist

Democracy - Some Problems' put forward similarly the positions of the CPGB leadership centring on a critique of the USSR and promises:

"Our aim is the construction of socialism in Britain, in forms which would guarantee personal freedom, the plurality of political parties, the independence of the trade unions, religious freedom, and freedom of research, cultural, artistic and scientific activities."

In response to this article Frenchite Fergus Nicholson said:

"The main ideas of Marxism-Leninism which are under attack today are the dictatorship of the proletariat, internationalism, the Vanguard Party and Democratic Centralism. If these are not the main points on which the revolutionary Communist Parties were distinguished from the reformist and revisionist social-democratic



CP General Secretary MacLennan (left) with Gollan

parties, what are?"

Neither of these positions can form the foundations of a genuine revolutionary organisation.

One faction rejects Marxist theory of the state, which denies the possibility of socialism being achieved through Parliament, whilst the other supports completely the counter-revolutionary actions of the Soviet bureaucracy and its strategy of peaceful coexistence with imperialism which means in practice it is just as prepared for class collaboration on a national or international scale as the openly reformist wing.

## RENOUNCED

It is not without significance that French has been a member of the CP since considerably before the adoption of *The British Road to Socialism* in 1951, but that it has taken him until now to notice that every draft from the earliest edition has explicitly renounced the 'Russian road':

"We are not claiming that Britain should copy others exactly in the way it advances to socialism and establishes socialist institutions. On the contrary we have outlined a British road to socialism." (1968 Edition p.71).

It is only because the very independent existence and justification of the British CP seems to be threatened by the reactionary policies of the leadership that French opportunistically discovers Marxism-Leninism.

French still supports the reactionary Stalinist notions of broad 'anti-monopoly alliances' of import controls as a step on the road to socialism, and the strategy of pushing the "Lefts" to the Left in

alliance with the Communist Party, which are the real political essence of the CP's practice in the class struggle.

It is impossible to prefer one wing or the other of the CP from a revolutionary point of view.

## ANTI-COMMUNIST

They each put forward reformist programmes, one tailored to vulgar anti-bureaucratic often outright anti-communist feelings, the other supporting the regime of the Soviet Union and exploiting the appeal of the October revolution.

The important requirement for a clear analysis of the conflict in the CP is an understanding of the political questions at stake.

Contrary to the opinion of the International Marxist Group, as expressed in *Socialist Challenge*, the question of democracy in the British CP is not the principal issue.

If honest militants of the Communist Party are to be won to the revolutionary positions of Trotskyism, it will be as a result of the clearest possible political criticism of both sides in the CP debate.

## LEADERSHIP

Of course we say clearly that French's faction should be free to organise: but even if French won the leadership of the British Communist Party, the cause of revolution would be taken not an inch further forward.

The fight is crucially to force CP members to reassess the basic Stalinist concepts of 'socialism in one country', and 'peaceful coexistence', and that way break them from Stalinism.



"Euro-Communist" leaders Berlinguer (Italy) and Marchais (France).

# BUREAUCRATS SCORN SAFETY

An inadequate British safety limit for asbestos could allow up to 1 in 14 workers to die prematurely of asbestos-caused lung diseases, according to a report by Nancy Taft, author of 'Asbestos Kills'.

Yet while evidence to back this claim is readily available, a new government advisory committee report (Asbestos; Health hazards and Precautions, HMSO, 10p) has been published which simply upholds existing 'safe' limits.

This committee includes three trade union bureaucrats - A.C. Blyghton (TGWU); W. Lewis (UCATT); and A. Lomas (NUDBTW). These men have chosen to ignore, among other evidence, a report only last December by the International Agency for Research on Cancer, which states that:

\* All forms of asbestos - blue, white and brown - cause cancer. Only a ban could ensure true pro-

tection against it.

\* Where possible asbestos must be replaced by a substitute.

\* Where asbestos has to be used, the lowest possible routinely measurable level is recommended.

This report was endorsed in the USA by the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH), which recommended that the Department of Labor adopt a safety limit of one tenth fibre per cc. This is one twentieth of the amount described as "safe" in Britain.

NIOSH also pointed out that "the British standard has not halted the development of radiographic abnormalities of the chest in workers in asbestos-using establishments."

Yet still these three trade union "representatives", presumably secure in the knowledge that they do not work in an 'asbestos-using establishment' take it upon themselves to endorse this British standard!

They do so in defiance even of TUC policy, which calls for a plan-

ned timetable towards an eventual ban on asbestos products, with an interim maximum concentration of white asbestos to be 0.2 fibres/cc.

The demand for a ban on asbestos is of course correct, but the TUC's gradual approach concedes that in the interim period workers will certainly die as a result of handling unsafe materials. This is the real face of reformism.

Meanwhile the derisory penalties against employers who willfully ignore the most elementary safety standards is shown by a recent case in which GKN Building Services in Faling were fined a puny £100 after two workers were subjected to blue asbestos dust estimated at 100 times above the safety level!

\* These facts on asbestos and other points relating to the fight for safety at work are contained in *Hazards Bulletin*, produced by the British Society for Social Responsibility in Science, 9, Poland St, London W1, price 20p.



# PRESS GANG GRUNWICK SPECIAL

The Press does not always speak with one voice and in the case of Grunwick there have been thousands of words in the national dailies which have appeared to reflect a variety of views.

From the *Express*, *Mail*, *Sun* and *Telegraph* the support for Grunwick's managing director George Ward has been open.

For the *Mirror* and *Guardian* Ward has been an obstacle, an enemy because he will not take a single step down the road of social democracy.

There has even been some reporting of events on the picket lines that is not all one way traffic. The *Guardian* gave prominence to the claims that bottle throwers are police provocateurs.

The early edition of the *Evening Standard* on June 23 said:

"The police-picket clashes were very bitter. In one case 10 police charged a group of pickets standing peaceably by the road, pushing them dangerously into the wall of a house."

But it was not all like that. The real, considered, Press reaction came the following day, reporting the arrest of Scargill and the injury to PC Wilson.

The headlines tell their own story. 'A Blot on Britain' (*Mail*); 'The Bloody Limit' (*Express*); 'Shouts of Kill as PC is Hurt' (*Telegraph*); and 'Madness and the Martyrs' (*Mirror*).

The pictures that dominated the papers were of PC Wilson lying in the road with blood pouring from his head. A police cordon round his body had moved out the way so that the Press could get these shots of an incident which happened "off the ball" after the main picket was over.

Wilson, a hefty member of the Special Patrol Group, had joined colleagues in attacking a crowd which had the temerity to bang on the side of the van.

This group of police aristocrats are the most vicious on the picket. But in the pages of the Press, PC Wilson became just another innocent bobby.

Roy Grantham's call to limit pickets to 500 and to licence them by wearing armbands was seized on by the Press for a further attack on 'mob picketing'.

Not one paper gave the strike committee's statement commending this move in full, and it was widely misrepresented as being a difference of tactics, instead of a fundamental difference of principle.

In a long piece under the picture of the injured policeman the *Express* recounts blow after blow against the police. Not one by the police against pickets! Indeed none of the capitalist press made anything of the news conference by two pickets, one on crutches, the other in a wheelchair, hospitalised by vicious police attacks.

In an opinion piece headed "Yes, This is a Class Issue" the *Express* said that the main question was not about trade union rights but about whether or not there was going to be civil peace.

With the focus of most of the media on the mass picketing and the lessons for the ruling class it is left to the *Times* to produce the nastiest piece of all.

On June 30, in a leader headed "Where else will they get jobs?" the *Times* makes an open racialist defence of Ward's exploitation of coloured workers and his fight against the unions.

"An immigrant community can only obtain a place of advantage for itself in the host economy if it is prepared to work harder and for less pay than the existing host community . . .

"The success of Grunwick has been based on employing immigrants without restrictive practices and at highly competitive, that is low, wages. At a time when unemployment is high—and it is particularly high among the immigrant community in London—it is very natural that coloured workers should be willing to take jobs on these terms. The alternative is unemployment."

The *Times* says that trade union leaders realise that the jobs of their members depend on the low wages of these workers and that the result of raising these wages will be to create unemployment, by raising them above the 'market price'.

This is one area where the Press is united. Law must be maintained. Nothing must be done to undermine the economic system. The balance between Labour and Capital must not be upset.

The best answer has come not in words but from the printers at the *Observer*, who refused to accept a NAFF advertisement without the right of reply; at the *Sun* where printers refused to set a vicious leader about 'mobs' on the picket line, and, of course, from the postal workers at Cricklewood.

They all demonstrate in a small way what will one day be proved again, that the pen of the bourgeoisie is not mightier than the sword of the working class.

# NATIONAL FRONT FACTS - BUT NO ANALYSIS



Police hold back anti-fascists at National Front march on April 23.

It is difficult to know where to start in reviewing a book whose declared intent in the first chapter is "to start with the premise that there are two kinds of society, totalitarian and pluralistic."

When the book's subject is the National Front and the author sets out to suggest that Communism and Fascism are basically different sides of the same sociological coin we are faced with a disappointing jumble of half-baked theories that can do nothing to assist class-conscious workers to understand the development of the NF or how to fight it.

Nevertheless Martin Walker touches upon some aspects of NF history which have particular importance for the labour movement.

One of these is the role of the Labour Party leadership in boosting the development of racism and anti-immigration—one of the main planks in the policy both of the NF and their political forbears.

For example, in 1964, Labour MP for Southall, George Pargiter was calling for "a complete ban on immigration to Southall". And it was a Labour councillor, Ken Birch, who helped run the Sandwell Youth Club in Smethwick in the early 1960s which operated a colour bar.

## CENTRE

This club was one of the centres of the British National Party's National Youth Movement. Ron Bradham, later secretary of the local Labour Party fought one local by-election on the policy of a total ban on immigration.

In fact the author points out that successive Labour and Tory governments have in fact carried out many of the original demands of the various racist groups for increasingly stringent immigration controls.

He shows that the re-enactment of the Immigration Act in 1964 was a triumph for the racists:

"It had taken three years of mounting agitation in a handful

of urban centres to transform the PLP's policy from staunch and principled opposition to full-hearted enforcement of the immigration laws."

Other important aspects of NF activity have been their attempts to win support in the Trade Union movement, especially in London and the Midlands.

Walker recounts the NF machinations at Imperial Typewriters, Mansfield Hosiers, on the docks and their surprising support for the 1974 miners' strike.

Militants will be interested to learn that it is true that record files of left wing activists are kept by the NF in local areas and passed on to the Special Branch.

## PERSONAL BATTLES

However, apart from providing us with a long drawn-out account of inter-personal battles within the leadership of the NF and their closest rivals the author is unable to offer any real analysis of the NF.

To write a book on the NF

Without attempting to analyse the historical origins of the NF... Even those who are not... marching songs are... fascist.

The book does not even offer any analysis of the historical origins of racialism.

There are many aspects of NF activity from which we must draw lessons. Their deliberate cultivation of support among sections of women isolated from the working class movement, their recent turn to youth who are jobless and equally cut off from the labour movement; their efforts to wreck trade unionism and to campaign for the incorporation of trade unions into the state—Mussolini style—are all crucial aspects of NF activity.

## NO STUDY

All these are mentioned by the author in passing—but no real study ensues.

This is because Walker lacks any kind of class perspective and in fact is even able to quote from Trotsky in such a way as to suggest that the decisive social force in a revolutionary situation is... the petit-bourgeoisie!

Therefore when it comes to showing us how to destroy the NF Martin Walker can point to the labour movement as the means of carrying out such destruction but cannot say how and cannot express anything but pessimism about the strength of the organised working class.

Yet as the recent election results have shown, a determined fight by the labour movement in areas such as Bradford and Leicester has drastically reduced the NF vote.

## DAMNING

The most damning criticism of the book must therefore be that it is more likely to demoralise an uninformed and isolated reader than to mobilise him.

Another weakness is the lack of information about the alleged membership of the NF by large sections of the police, immigration and prison authorities.

Such areas of investigation are much more worthy of attention than Tyndall and Jordan's squabble over a female fascist of the millionaire Dior family.

The book is written as a piece of journalism—lacking any index or chart of the various fascist organisations, racist sects and right wing groupings.

Since these are constantly referred to by their initials this makes unravelling their various splits and tangles a confusing task.

Despite its numerous weaknesses, "The National Front" carries useful information. For those who are not shackled by the author's weaknesses it can provide a useful aid to anti-fascist propaganda and activity within the labour and trade union movement.

BY A GUEST REVIEWER

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# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## CDLM ACTS ON GRUNWICK

Democracy in the labour movement is far too dangerous a subject for discussion, and should be banned, according to the Scottish TUC.

Four days before the Scottish regional conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement in Stirling, the Central Federation of Scottish Trades Councils withdrew its sponsorship—at the instruction of the Scottish TUC.

No discussion was allowed and the previous decision to sponsor the conference was reversed because, it was said, it was "against the rules" of the Federation to sponsor an all-Scotland conference.

The General Secretary of the Scottish TUC Jimmy Milne told the Federation that it could face the withdrawal of recognition if it went ahead.

Yet similar conferences have been sponsored many times in the past. What the Scottish TUC was objecting to was nothing to do with the constitution, but the politics of the conference.

Significantly, CP members who had voted for the conference, refused to take up the challenge and sat mute while the manoeuvre was carried out.

The conference of 50 went ahead backed among others by the Stirling Labour Party and the Labour group on Stirling Council.

Many unions, including the CPSA, NUJ and NALGO had asked for reports back and in NALGO the discussion of the CDLM programme had taken 30 minutes and opened up many questions in the branch.

Stewart MacLennan said that far too many Scottish militants had made the long trek to talking shops in England which had in fact helped to ensure that Phase 3 came about.

"The reason we are still discussing it is because of those who said that the answer to the Social Contract could be left in the hands of union conferences."

### CONTRIBUTION

Alan Thornett, chairman of the CDLM organising committee, reported on the two national conferences held in Birmingham. "I think the CDLM has made a qualitative contribution into the struggles of the working class."

Outlining the events leading up to final negotiations on Phase 3 he pointed to the Lib/Lab coalition as the end of any possibility of making demands on the Labour government.

"The policy decisions of the Government are now placed in the hands, not of any section of the labour movement or the Parliamentary Labour Party, but in the hands of the Liberals."

The demand must now be on the 'lefts' to bring down the coalition and the opportunity to put pressure on the lefts was now extremely good.

### CERTAINTY

Thornett said that Phase 3 was now a certainty, although the CDLM conference was still open.

There was no question of adding votes but of recognising that the TUC needed a sizable majority if they were to make the decision.

It was also certain that they would be able to put a figure on the table for the next month.



achieve their aim of a 10% limit on earnings.

Yet Phase 3 would be fought from the day it was introduced.

Rowland Sheret, a delegate to Stirling and District Trades Council stressed that the question of getting a programme through conferences was only part of the struggle, which must be to generate support for that programme so that it could be put into action.

The response to the capitalist crisis in Britain had been in some quarters a strengthening of nationalism as reflected by increased votes for the Scottish Nationalists and the National Front.

Labour movement sections which argued for import controls or for holding off wage demands in the "national interest" contributed towards these movements.

Labour movement sections which argued for import controls or for holding off wage demands in the "national interest" contributed towards these movements.

## Mersey firemen win

Victory came to Merseyside firemen after only two hours last Wednesday. The firemen came out in the morning in response to the start of sackings the previous day by senior fire officer Sidney Rankin.

The sackings, being carried out on a station-by-station basis, were the result of the senior officer's ultimatum to end the 10-week long work-to-rule or be sacked.

16 men were sacked on Tuesday but by Wednesday morning so many firemen were defying the ultimatum that the office ran out of notices.

The unofficial work to rule was aimed at pressurising for a big pay increase, and was due to end the following Monday.

The men's action—in response to wages of only £37 for a 48 hour week—has been opposed by the leadership of the FBV.

When the strike was ended just before 11am, only 3 out of the 26 stations in Liverpool were still operating.

The County Council intervened to completely reverse the fire service committee's decision.

All sacked men were reinstated with no loss of pay, and this was a significant step in the ending of the work-to-rule.

It was the first strike by Mersey

The secretary of the Grunwick strike committee, Mahmoud Ahmed, said that on the first two days of the mass picket, before the bussing started, they had persuaded 20 people not to go to work, nine of whom had joined the strike.

What the pickets were now demanding was not just the right to talk to the workers going in but the right to discuss the issues with them away from the police and management.

Ahmed had been arrested twice in the first two days of the mass picket and the strike committee was rejecting limits on its size.

"The strike committee is still calling for mass pickets, as many as turn out. We've got to keep the pressure up and get as many as Arthur Scargill said—20,000 to 25,000 people."

"As far as we are concerned, armbands just give the police the chance to say "these are official pickets and those are not—you lot get in the coach."

The majority of the people left in the factory took jobs there after the strike started. "When we go back they are going to be out. Whether they want to be in the union or not, we don't want them. Obviously they don't want to go on strike, they get £15 a week more than we get."

### HOTEL STRIKES

Earlier the conference had been told by Cathy Sherlock about the sell-out of the hotel strikes in Oxford and Sheffield by the TGWU—a move which had strengthened the Grunwick management's hand.

The CDLM passed a resolution calling for national blacking to be imposed in support of the THF strike still going, at the Night Out night club in Birmingham.

The regional conference went on to endorse the draft resolution calling for support for struggles against wage controls, opposition to cuts in public spending and opposition to all legislation attacking gains and rights of the working class and to interference from the courts and police.

### ALTERNATIVE

The conference agreed that the general basis for an alternative strategy should be a demand for the sliding scale of wages and a resolution submitted by Stirling Trades Council to the 1976 Scottish TUC calling for a 35 hour week, longer holidays, no redundancies, opening the books, nationalisation without compensation of firms unable to ensure full employment, restoration of the cuts in public expenditure and cost of living increases for all state benefits.

In support of the Grunwick struggle the conference adopted the following programme:

**Pickets:** Full support for mass pickets with no limits on numbers and rejection of any system of licensing or armbands etc. Mass mobilisation for the day of action including demands on the Scottish TUC to organise special trains. CDLM to send delegation from conference to picket.

**Blacking:** Full support for postal workers in their blacking. Demands on leaders of UPW, GMWU and EETPU to introduce official blacking of post, water and electricity.

**Courts:** No recognition of court of inquiry. Defence of any union members taken to court for blacking. Demand the dropping of all charges against arrested pickets.

## BUILDERS IN JOB FIGHT

from both manual and clerical workers was overwhelming.

Days later at a Council meeting a mass demonstration of UCATT workers had to be forcibly evicted from the Council House.

A meeting was called by the UCATT stewards' action committee which was held on June 1 in Digbeth Hall, and attended by 100 stewards from local UCATT, NUPE and NALGO branches, with deputations from other branches involved in Direct Labour Departments nationally.

Full support was given for any

Since the Tories won control of the District Council in Birmingham they have intimated that they intend to close down the Construction Department.

A few weeks ago the men were summoned to a meeting with the leader of the Council, and informed that the Department was to be disbanded and the men made redundant.

There had been no warning at all of this decision, and the unions concerned had not even been consulted. The immediate response

## Warwick cuts: no action

Warwickshire NALGO have called off their limited action against the cuts, and accepted a "package" which includes a reduction in the total number of redundancies.

The package was sold to the membership at the AGM, by the branch officers, in defiance of a call from the leading shop stewards for a stepping up of industrial action.

The Chairman put a slightly modified version of a motion which had been overwhelmingly rejected by the shop stewards only a few days before.

He claimed the motion was "new" because it only called for a 'suspension' of industrial action.

Meanwhile school cleaners in the county, members of NUPE, GMWU and the TGWU) are being asked to accept Council proposals that they be laid off during school holidays on half pay.

### TERM TIME

This would involve the big cleaning jobs, normally done during the holidays either not being done at all, or being pushed onto the cleaners during term time.

The scheme is supposedly voluntary, but a NUPE official announced, "If the scheme isn't accepted the only alternative is redundancies".

At the same time it has been announced that the threat to sack all the 1130 school meal supervisory assistants has been withdrawn. Instead, as the GMWU branch secretary put it, "they're being reorganised".

The "reorganisation" involves 25% redundancies.

As the term draws to a close these manual workers are getting anxious about their future. Many of them do not know whether they will have a job to return to in September.

Meanwhile the TGWU and GMWU officials have both demonstrated their concern by going on a fortnight's holiday.

AT BL BODY PLANT, COWLEY, OXFORD.

## Letter: Grunwick appeal ignored

Dear Editor,

At the 5/60 Branch TGWU monthly branch meeting, right wing full time official David Buckle said he knew of no request for funds for the Grunwick Strike Committee.

Right wing Executive Member Bill Roche said there had been no request made to the 5/60 Branch for funds for Grunwick strike.

Stalinist and false left Communist Party member Charles Siret, consistent reader of Morning Star and Socialist Worker, remained tight lipped, despite the fact that he

Oxford.

to be sent, etc.

Most trade unionists are aware that even top trade union boss and bureaucrat Len Murray has requested financial aid and support for the Grunwick dispute. Yet the 5/60 Branch officers choose to ignore this appeal, even though they command the largest TGWU branch in the land with one of the largest branch fund balances sitting idle in the Bank.

The Branch chairman, Labour Party reformist the Rev. Tony Williamson, recently awarded the Order of the British Empire for his services to the community.

ordinary members put the question, saying that this would be dealt with later during the meeting. Appropriate nods and winks were made between the branch officials and in the event they made very sure that no time was then found for the request to be put to the meeting.

Hence the matter was passed over, whilst in his North London factory Grunwick boss George Ward continues to exploit workers, and thumbs his nose as Employment Secretary Albert Booth and trade union bosses alike.

From a 5/60 Branch member



# NHS IN CRISIS



## LIVERPOOL CUTS FIGHT

The struggle to save jobs and the standard of health care in Liverpool continues.

On June 23, 40 stewards walked into the Area Health Authority offices to demand a reply to their request that the AHA make a joint deputation to the DHSS to protest at the cuts.

Two AHA officials eventually met the delegation and made a small concession—agreeing to formally meet representatives from NUPE, COHSE and ASTMS the following week.

However, they refused to make any commitment to protest jointly to the government or suspend the cuts.

On the contrary, at the very same time one of their number was travelling to London to get the rubber stamp on their proposed cut backs.

At the further meeting the unions proposed that all cuts should be suspended for one month.

In return they offered an under-

taking from NUPE stewards to halt their series of lightening strikes. They asked for a working party to make a full report in this time.

However the AHA at their meeting on July 1 refused to suspend cuts and are threatening redundancy if the unions don't accept non-replacement policy.

The unions are now left with only the bait of a "working party" composed equally from representatives from the AHA and the collaborationist staff joint consultative committees.

The AHA figures show also that in addition to their present proposal to axe 500-700 jobs they have over the past 10 months already cut 140 nursing jobs and 100 ancillary jobs by a policy of "non-replacement".

This has brought staffing to a dangerous level on some wards and given management the excuse to close wards through "staff shortages".

There is a danger that union members could become demoralised by the inaction of their leaders

# NGA STRIKE CALL

Strike action by printers and a mass response by journalists to the strike for a closed shop at Darlington must now be demanded after mass arrests on the NUJ picket line.

The National Graphical Association has promised "full support" to the 106 NUJ members fighting for a closed shop at North of England Newspapers—even to the extent of stopping publication. Now those words must be translated into

action.

Meanwhile, the number of arrests has grown to almost 50 and among those arrested last week was the Vice President of the NUJ, Denis MacShane, and the full time Regional Organiser handling the dispute, John Hodgman.

It was the second time in two weeks that both men have been arrested as police carried out a series of charges on the pickets.

Each charge was the signal for fresh arrests. Aiden White, NEC member who had brought a contingent from London to support the

picket was deliberately picked off by two policemen and led away.

In all, 25 pickets were arrested and many of the others were left with bruised ribs after a three hour struggle. Pickets came from London, Sheffield, Leeds, Kettering and Oxford.

The Deputy General Secretary of the NUJ, Charles Harkness, was sent to Darlington by the General Secretary, Ken Morgan, to oversee the picket and to "pull rank" on Hodgman, who was considered too militant.

After impotently watching for a couple of hours Harkness seized the megaphone and called on his "colleagues" to allow the van through.

The response was jeers from the membership, who refused to give way, and praise from the police chief who issued a statement paying tribute to Harkness' reasonableness.

The call immediately opened the way for the number of arrests to be stepped up.

### CAUTION

The NGA support is welcome, vital and must be treated with caution. One week before the executive met, the General Secretary Joe Wade, had pushed his way through NUJ members lobbying the TUC Printing Industries' Committee and rejected their call for action.

Instead the committee sent Bill Keys, General Secretary of SOGAT, to parley with Lord Gibson, chairman of Westminster Press' parent company. The NGA say they are now waiting for the results of these talks.

NUJ members on the lobby had called for an instruction from each of the print unions not to cross the picket lines and not to handle "blacked" copy.

So far the extent of the support has been to refuse to handle copy by two members in the London office who are scabbing on the stike there.

While the strike goes on, a new right wing group in the union has been formed with the backing of some NEC members. The organisation, which as yet has no name, has the sole aim of fighting the left in the union.

### SPONSOR

One of its sponsors, Jenny Harris, has been paid by the Telegraph for an anti-union piece, which the Westminster Press has ordered to be syndicated throughout its papers.

Westminster Press chapels are blacking all group syndicated copy and Press Association copy, being used to break the strike.

The key demands for the Darlington strike must now be:  
1. Strike action by all print workers at North of England Newspapers.  
2. Continued mass pickets by NUJ members until the paper is stopped.  
3. Force Harris and other NEC members working against the strike to resign from the Executive.

## EGA CASH PROBE

Only 'left' MPs Jock Stallard, Robin Corbert, Peter Harvey, Oonagh MacDonald, Laurie Pavitt, Joan Maynard and Doug Hoyle turned up at a meeting with about 15 Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital workers and selected supporters in the House of Commons on Thursday 23 June.

They were presented with new evidence, prepared by a firm of consultants, to show that even if the Area Health Authority's own basic running cost figures are accepted, it is probably more "economical" to upgrade the EGA on its present site than to move its facilities to the Whittington Hospital.

### SUSPECT

The basic AHA figures used for this assessment, however, are themselves highly suspect. It seems that—to "prove" the case for closure—costs that should have been attributed to other District services have been loaded onto the EGA.

By way of a fight against closure, all that the MPs would offer was to try to persuade the Secretary of State to set up a "public enquiry".

A twice repeated call by one EGA supporter for a labour movement inquiry into health needs, priorities and costs in the area was completely ignored by the MPs.

So were repeated appeals by the EGA workers for immediate action to get the hospital lift repaired and to combat the AHA's policy of running the hospital down by, for example, filling nursing staff posts with agency nurses who can be easily dismissed.

## GERIATRIC HOSPITAL AXED

'Wanted—Good Homes for 84 Old Ladies Liable to Eviction—Regret Unable to Care for Themselves'.

The place: Memorial Hospital, Shooters Hill, in south east London. The evil 'landlord'? Greenwich and Bexley Area Health Authority.

Memorial Hospital is just one of several to come under the axe of the AHA's latest proposals for 'restructuring' the health service in the area.

Among others selected for closure or curtailment of services are The Gables, Bexley and Welling, Eltham and Mottingham, and the British Home for Mothers and Babies.

Last winter the Memorial lost over 40 of its 124 beds with the removal of maternity and gynaecological care. Now those beds stand idle, and only the geriatric wards remain.

The withdrawal of maternity care has already meant longer waiting lists in the area as well as more perfunctory post-operations care.

If the AHA succeed in chopping geriatrics as well, dozens of the aged will be packed off to stare at the four walls of crowded cubicles elsewhere, while they wait for death to come along.

Staff at the Memorial are determined to keep the wards open, and are particularly enraged at the AHA's high handed tactics of issuing a press statement on the closure without even consulting the workers.

A 'Save the Memorial Action Committee' has been formed that includes members of all the unions represented in the hospital.

Their petition against the closure has attracted more than 22,000 signatures, indicating broad community support.



in the AHA's own terms. They have recently spent in the region of £100,000 to improve services to the patients, and all that would be lost."

But there are dangers in the Action Committee's approach. They tend to see the problem as one of their own hospital, instead of the defence of the health service as a whole.

The fight must establish a basis for unity of all workers against the cuts.

The AHA are meeting on 13 July to make a 'final decision' on the closure, which is proposed to take place at the end of the month.

It is vital for workers from all hospitals in the area to lobby that meeting, to let the AHA know just what they think of its schemes. And if, as expected, the closure plans proceed, preparations for strike action to force the AHA to change course must begin urgently.

The local trades council, too, must organise support throughout

Attempts by the TGWU right wing in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant to split the membership by creating a new TGWU Branch have met a sharp setback.

According to latest reports, the majority of the 5,300 TGWU members in the plant have rejected the new branch and are adamantly remaining in the existing two branches, 5/55 and 5/293.

As the 5/293 Branch Report, distributed to members last week, points out, "Members have voted by their actions against the policy of splitting and dividing the union".

The Report goes on to point out the tactics of the right wing:

their own initiative. Although it was supposed to be a free choice, this was not really the case.

Deputy Senior Stewards supporting the new branch have been engaged now for nearly two weeks full time, pressuring members to join the new branch. A number of other shop stewards who support the new branch have been released from their jobs on full pay to recruit people for the new branch.

Hardly any problems on the plant are being dealt with, because the whole machinery of the union is being used to persuade people to join the new branch.

Jim Barson, who was elected as deputy senior steward to deal with

## SPLITTERS FACE SETBACK

Company, and given an office to organise the new branch.

Meanwhile, nobody is allowed to go round the plant to argue the case for the existing 5/293 Branch. Frank Corti, the branch secretary, is tied to his job in sub-Assembly."

The Report stresses that, while members have in several cases been press-ganged into the new branch on false pretences, they are free at any time to return to the 5 293 Branch.

Meanwhile, increasing numbers of shop floor workers are pointing out that the failure of the new branch to take a majority of members must represent a vote of no confidence in its management.



# NUT must step up strike action

The first major strike action against education cuts is now being waged in Oxford where 400 teachers have closed down 29 schools. The potential national importance of this action must be clearly understood and developed.

Alongside wage controls, the working class have had foisted on them in the guise of the 'Social Contract' of their union leaders with the reformist Wilson-Callaghan-Healey government, massive cuts in public spending. For two years now union bureaucrats have stood by while education, health and social services were trimmed to the bone.

But in Oxfordshire the NUT bureaucracy was forced into action by pressure from its membership against vicious job-slashing cuts. In London several schools have organised unofficial strike action.

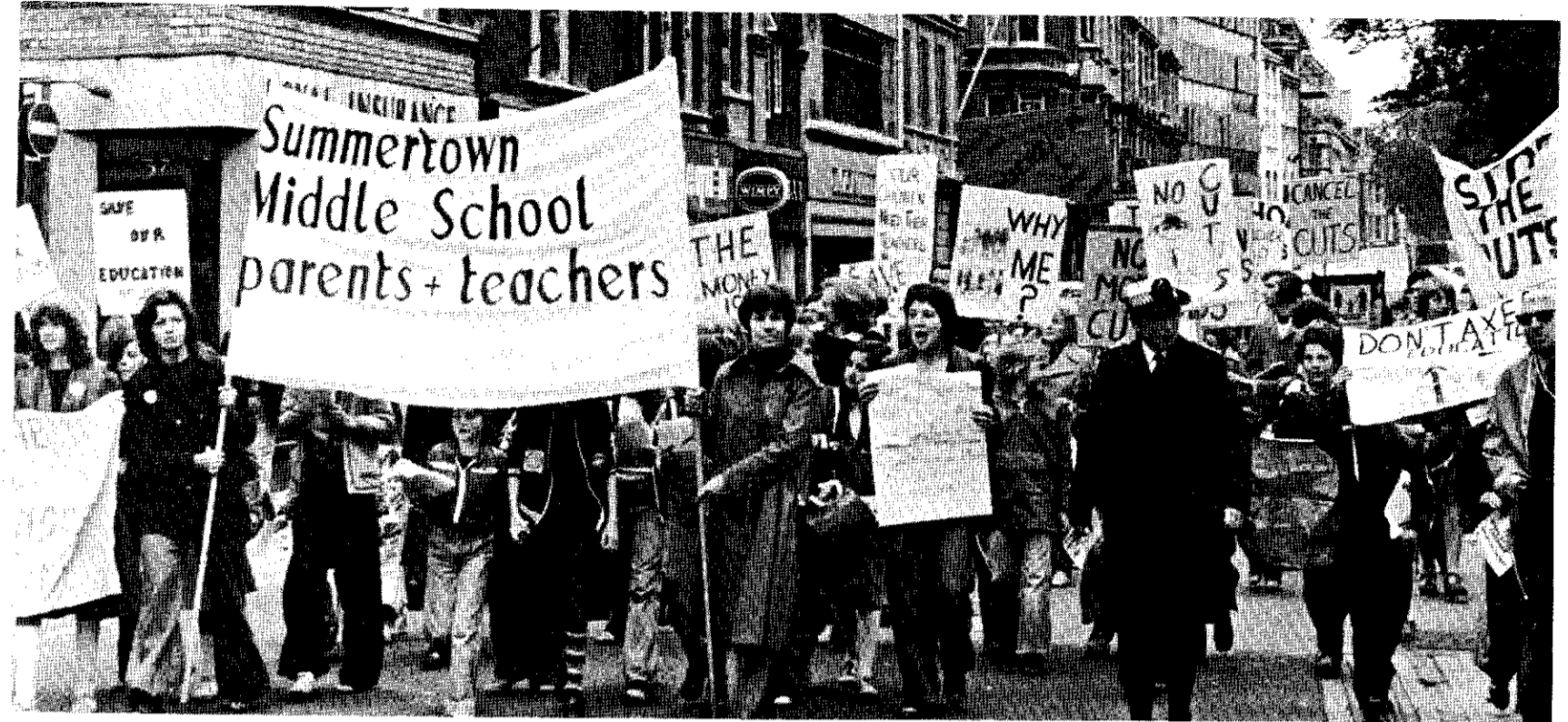
The bureaucracy in Oxfordshire have continually used as their excuse for this local action the argument that the Tories are spending less than the government guidelines and Max Morris has appealed to Shirley Williams to come in and "sort the Tories out".

This argument wears extremely thin amid this week's government announcement that next year's cut in the County must be £800,000—and education will not be exempt from this.

In the face of determined entrenchment from the County Council who have just announced that 40 nursery places will be lost by closures in two weeks time, the NUT leadership begs for conciliation and arbitration.

Meanwhile the 400 teachers the Executive have called out on strike (out of 1500 who voted to strike) are enthusiastically leafletting streets and factories, and petitioning the whole city, and strike meetings are growing in size daily.

In the County, teachers are demanding that the whole County be brought out on strike, for they see the sheer inadequacy of the sanctions on class size and meal times which they are still implementing, in the face of the intrans-



Striking teachers march with parents and children against education cuts in Oxford.

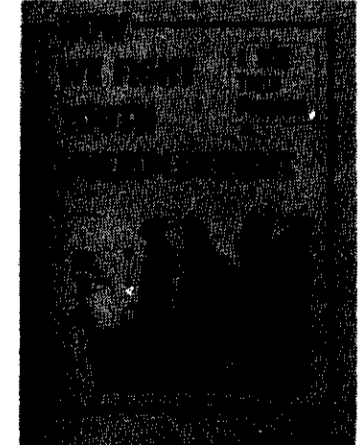
igence of the County Council. They are also demanding that the union sets out clear plans for all-out indefinite strike action from September 1.

Parent-Teacher Associations all over the County are warmly supporting the teachers and sending in resolutions of support for the strike. One body has called on the NUT, Oxford Trades Council and the PTA's to form a delegate body to investigate the finances of the County Council and assess the educational need throughout the County.

These moves were reported to an "Open Conference of NUT members" in Birmingham on Saturday 2 July which resolved to campaign nationally to pressure the NUT executive to spread the Oxford strike countywide and nationally, and to organise a national levy of the membership for strike funds.

Unfortunately, the domination of the conference by the Rank and File and the Socialist Teachers Alliance groups meant that the central political importance of the Oxford strike was not grasped and the conference rejected a move to recall the conference in Oxford in September, when either the membership will be facing a deep betrayal from its leaders or indefinite strike action will be on the cards.

**ISLINGTON 18 DEFENCE COMMITTEE**  
Public Meeting  
"Black Youth on Trial"  
Tuesday 12 July at 7.30pm  
The Library  
Manor Gardens, London N7



A new pamphlet just published, available from the Workers Socialist League, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

## NIGHT OUT STRIKE MOBILISE SUPPORT

Strikers at the Trust Houses Forte 'Night Out' theatre restaurant in Birmingham face the prospect of being sold out unless urgent support for the strike is built in the Birmingham area labour movement.

The strike at the Night Out is the only dispute of the three original strikes at THF establishments remaining to be 'settled'.

Strikes at the Grosvenor Hotel in Sheffield and the Randolph Hotel in Oxford were both sold out a few weeks ago.

The Oxford and Sheffield strikers were told by their local TGWU officials that if they did not accept a cash settlement their strike pay and all official union support would be withdrawn.

It seems that Alan Law, full-time boss of the huge 5/35 TGWU branch, who has taken personal charge of the Night Out strike, is preparing the same fate for his own strikers.

He has proposed to THF that the union would consider recommending a cash settlement. This was done without any prior discussion with the strikers themselves who were only told about the proposals two weeks after they had been made.

It is now clear that, whatever his motives at the beginning of the strike, Alan Law now has no intention of winning it.

In this he is carrying out the orders of Jack Jones and the national leadership of the TGWU.

Law knows on what side his bread is buttered. He knows that as an unelected official he owes his appointment to those above him in the TGWU bureaucracy.

He considers himself responsible to Jack Jones and the national leadership and not to the rank and file members.

So when the order comes from above to cool things down he buckles under without even consulting his own members.

It is not clear yet whether THF have made any response to Law's proposals for a cash settlement.

If, as some reports suggest, THF reject even the opportunity of buying the strikers out, presumably intending to crush them completely, it shows with what cynical contempt they accepted Law's 'gesture of good faith' in withdrawing the blacking.

In contrast to Alan Law the strikers are determined to continue the fight until their full demands of reinstatement of Pat McGuire, the victimised waitress, and union recognition are won.

While the strikers stick it out on the picket Law has taken himself off to Italy for a month's holiday and closed down his branch for three months at the most crucial time for the strike's future.

The strikers have asked for regional blacking of THF to be implemented to ensure the success

of the strike.

They have been told by Law's minions at Transport House, who apparently have neither a mind nor a will of their own, that nothing can be done until Law returns.

If no action is taken before Law's return the strike will continue to stagnate, as the officials want it to, creating a more favourable situation for a settlement to be imposed.

The strike can be won but only if support is built up in the Birmingham trade union and labour movement.

A total regional black on THF is urgently needed. The weekly mass pickets at the Night Out, called off at the same time as the blacking, are due to be resumed on July 23.

These alone will be totally inadequate, a mere gesture of militancy.

The Night Out strikers remain determined but they urgently need the material, moral and financial support they are not getting from the officials at Transport House.

Motions of support for the Night Out strikers must be passed in TGWU branches calling on the secretary of the 5/35 branch, Alan Law, and the Regional Secretary, Brian Mathers, and all other officials in Region 5 to implement immediately a regional black of Trust Houses Forte.

Financial donations should be sent to The Night Out Strike Committee, c/o Pat McGuire, Transport House, Broad Street, Birmingham.

## £3000 FUND

Our £3,000 Special Fund continues to grow steadily. Since our last issue we have received a further £218.92. This gives a total to date of £1120.57. However, if we are to reach the £3,000 target by the beginning of October a greater effort will have to be made to raise more money each week. Latest donations include: Aylesbury £5; Sheffield £20; Oxford car workers £35.50; PC £2; AC and DC £50; Liverpool £5.18; Coventry £5; Health Service workers £27.50; TR £20; bookshop workers £6.50; HS £5; IB, Liverpool, £25; Hull £3.10; DP £5.

The June Fund closed well down at only £456.12. This is a serious blow which cannot be allowed to continue. The Monthly Fund is essential for the week by week running of the paper and with inflation again standing at nearly 20% we just cannot afford any decline in our regular monthly income. We call on all readers and supporters to respond immediately. Send a donation, ask regular buyers of the paper for a contribution. We know that it is asking a great deal to run two funds at the same time, but the raising of this money is essential for the transformation of Socialist Press into a weekly paper in the Autumn.

All donations for either fund should be sent to:

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