

# REJECT ALL TUC PAY DICTATES

The complete contempt with which the trade union leaders view the decisions of their members is clearly shown by the sordid manoeuvres on pay policy in the run-up to this year's TUC Congress.

All the signs are that those union leaders who failed to win acceptance of a third stage of wage control at their own conferences are hoping for a majority vote at the TUC as the basis to impose the 12-month rule on their members.

Adherence to the 12-month rule, along with arguments on the 'viability' of the employer is currently the mainstay of these bureaucrats who are attempting to hold the line for the 5-6% limit on rises decreed by Chancellor Healey.

## "ISOLATED"

These officials desperately need to be able to wield some kind of authority if they are to hold out any hope of stemming the present torrent of wage struggles convulsing industry up and down the country.

They hope to use the threat of being "isolated" from "the whole of the trade union movement" as a bludgeon to force their members to accept low wage settlements.

The importance of the 12-month rule to the stand of union officials is thus far greater than the rule itself—which is becoming increasingly irrelevant as sections of workers come up for regular annual reviews.

## INSTRUCTION

That is why the right wing dominated AUEW Executive has now defied the policy adopted at national conference and swung to a unanimous vote instructing AUEW delegates at the TUC to vote in favour of the 12-month rule.

In this way they seem likely to provide crucial TUC votes to transform a conference decision for an end to wage controls with the end of Phase 2 (in July) into an extension of wage controls under the 12-month rule.

And it is why TGWU General Secretary Jack Jones, who

the very issue of the twelve month rule only eight weeks ago at the end of the union's Biennial Conference, has now announced that if the TUC votes to endorse the policy "we would abide by that decision."

In making such a statement, Jones speaks only for himself and for the gang of appointed officials who control the TGWU without the slightest reference to the membership—he begs no mandate from any group of workers.

## DANGEROUS

These moves by top union leaders show why the policy peddled by the Communist Party—of simply pressing the TUC to

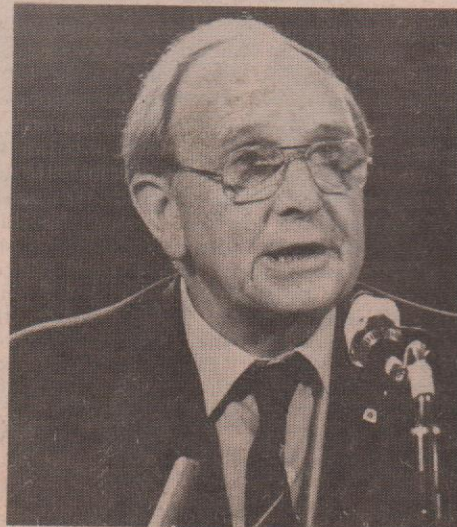
to regain what has been lost in two years of savage wage-cutting policies and defend those gains against inflation.

Even if some undecided delegations do swing the TUC vote to bring defeat of the rule, this will be insufficient.

The present policy of TUC leaders is to call on negotiators to make no attempt to restore living standards devastated in the last two years.

And union officials are clearly determined to do all in their power to hold rises within the rigid limits laid down by Healey, for fear of breaking the Lib-Lab coalition which keeps Callaghan in office.

We say workers must reject



### Jones' Phase 3

"Base claims on the precise situation of the company..."

"We don't want to put firms out of business."

"We must get incentive schemes and new manning agreements."

"We will abide by the TUC vote on the 12-month rule".

reject the 12-month rule—is so dangerous.

If this policy were generally adopted the danger would be that workers would feel bound by a TUC vote next week to uphold the 12-month rule—with no alternative policy.

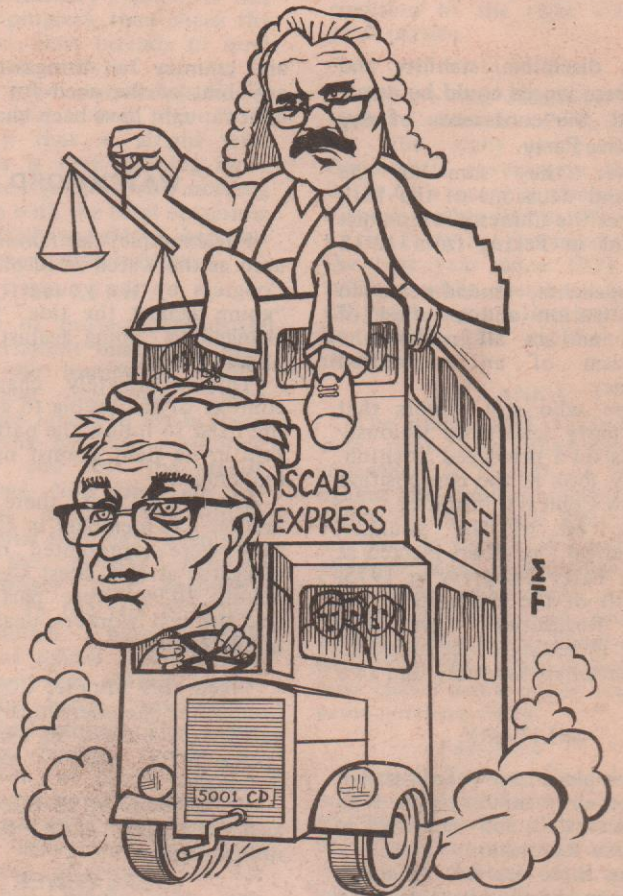
So while of course we are in favour of a TUC vote against the 12-month rule, we say the TUC has no right to dictate policy on wages to individual unions, or override decisions taken at their conferences.

That right belongs solely to those union members who choose to defy reactionary wage controls and assert their right to struggle in

any attempt by the TUC to dictate limits to the level of wage claims. There must be no shackles on free collective bargaining. Workers in struggle on wages must be given full official backing.

The TUC must declare complete opposition to all forms of wage control, complete opposition to the reactionary Lib-Lab coalition, and demand the removal of the wage-cutting Callaghan-Healey Labour leadership.

For this reason the Workers Socialist League gives full support to the September 5 lobby of the TUC in Blackpool called by the Campaign for Democracy in the



# SCARMAN BACKS WARD

The Scarman report on the Grunwick strike has produced exactly what the Government ordered—a sellout couched in terms that the leaders of Apex would find it possible to accept.

They did not have to try very hard.

Even before the report appeared the only demand that the union was prepared to make was that Ward accept its conclusion. The fact that its conclusions have been to support the management on almost every major point against the strikers has not dimmed their enthusiasm.

Roy Grantham said: "We want to give the other fellow a chance to come out of a corner. If we grind his face in the dust nothing will be solved."

"There can never be a victory. A draw is the best result."

## LOW KEY

Not to be outdone Jack Dromey, Brent Trades Council's man on the strike committee chimed in: "Everything will be played at a very low key for the next seven days to allow Mr. Ward to come out of his corner. We do not want to crow, we want a settlement, and we do not want to do anything that would make a settlement more difficult."

The two central questions are reinstatement and union recognition and anything less than outright concessions on these two points by Ward must be entirely unacceptable.

On reinstatement Scarman says that Ward should be asked to take back full time employees "if at all practicable".

Part time workers would be abandoned altogether. Full time

the union—in exactly the manner that the TGWU allowed THF to buy off jobs in the recent hotel strikes.

Grantham and Dromey are prepared to accept a deal which allows Ward to stick by his statement that certain of the strikers will never set foot in the factory again—and that will ensure that some strikers receive a few pounds buy off after a year's picketing.

On recognition Scarman asks Ward only to concede the legal right to individual union recognition in place of full union rights.

Time and again Scarman plays down the strikers' grievances, suggesting they may be imagined and constantly assuring the management that the tribunal accepts their integrity.

The report condemns the blacking (illegal) and mass picketing ("allows violent extremists to participate"), describes the appalling conditions as good, and treats the Asian workers with patronising disdain.

"As for the code published in June 1976 . . . we doubt whether many of the Asian employees read it or really understood it if they did read it. Some of them would have been unable to read or understand it. This is one of the problems of management with a workforce such as Grunwick's".

Grunwick strikers should have absolutely nothing to do with the Scarman report, except to learn from it that a tribunal set up to prevent victory in a strike will feed back exactly what its instigators wanted to hear.

Those who say 'Enforce Scarman' are in reality saying 'Enforce sackings'.



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## CHINA-HUA DIGS IN

Order, discipline, stability and unity. These words could be associated with the conference of any Conservative Party.

However, they sum up the policies and decisions of the 11th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party held in Peking from 12-18 August.

The speeches, amendments to the constitution and election of leading members all reflect the conservatism of an entrenched bureaucracy.

Anyone who still doubts that the old party leadership jealously guards its own privileged position, need only look at the composition of the new Central Committee.

Nearly 80 of the younger, more "radical" members elected at the 10th Party Congress in 1973, as a result of the shake-up of the Cultural Revolution, have been removed, including a vice-president of the National Assembly and two ministers.

### MILITARY

In their place have been installed the old, mainly military men who were discredited and removed in the Cultural Revolution.

Among these are Lo Jiu-ching, the former head of state and Hsiao Hua.

Most striking of all, of course, is the return to the 3rd highest position of the twice discredited Teng Hsiao-ping.

The youngest members in this Central Committee are not far off 60 years old and the majority are 70 or over.

This conference was held to try and re-establish the authority of the Party and its most senior members after the expulsion of the "Gang of Four".

The fighting which took place in many parts of the country, supposedly instigated by the Four, has now ended.

### EXECUTED

The latest dozen supporters of Chiang Ching were executed in Anyang, Honan, on August 2.

The old guard needed to seize the opportunity to legalise their leadership and to launch, under a cloak of legitimacy, their attack on any vestiges of independence and anti-bureaucratic tendencies within the party.

Singled out for castigation were the Young Communist League, the Trade Unions and the women's federations.

Commissions of disciplinary control were set up and rigid screening of new members and suspected radicals is to be carried out.

Yeh Chien-ying, number two in the hierarchy, Defence Minister and vice-chairman of the party stated: "If democracy (inside the party) is necessary, centralism is even more so."

### REINFORCED

Of the eight tasks set out from the Congress, the words "consolidate", "reinforce" and "reaffirm" recur time and again.

The complete obliteration of the "Gang of Four" is put as the number one objective followed by the need to consolidate the party; reinforce the apparatus of the state; to have done with the cultural revolution; and to reaffirm centralism, as well as the need to study the world situation before putting into effect the factors necessary for building socialism.

The new leadership does not have the stature nor the authority to criticise or even question Mao and still quotes from him profusely.

Mao's thought is still spoken of as the cement which binds party

and country but things that carry any hint of the need for independent thought have been changed.

### WATCH WORD

For example, the famous phrase used as the watch word of the 10th Congress by the younger elements "going against the tide" has been changed to "going against the tide of revisionism".

This completely changes the context of the saying to emphasise the need to follow the party leadership in its fight against opposition tendencies.

We learn that there are 35 million CP members in China and they were represented by 1,510 delegates at this latest Congress of whom 20.9% were party cadres and the rest workers, peasants and intellectuals.

From this number 201 Central Committee members plus 132 alternates were elected in which army personnel and technicians dominate.

A Politburo of 23 full members also contains more than half military men.

### REAL POWER

There are no women on the Politburo. The five permanent committee members are the ones who wield real power over the party and the state.

Hua Kuo-feng is president of the Central Committee and head of state.

He is an unexceptional ex-head of the secret police. Yeh Chien-ying and Teng Hsiao-ping together with Hua form the powerful ruling triumvirate.

Li Hsien-nien and Wang Tung-hsing are two new vice-presidents.

Wang is somewhat of a mystery whose most important claim to fame is as Mao's bodyguard since the Yenan days in 1947.

He played an important role in controlling the Cultural Revolution at Mao's side and was first elected to the Central Committee at the 9th Congress in 1969.

Li is a veteran of the Long March and has been on the Central Committee since the 7th Congress in 1945.

He was a close collaborator of Chou En-lai and is politically akin to Teng.

He is a symbol of the stability felt to be badly needed in the attempts to develop the march of China to an industrialised, modern state with above all an efficient, modernised army equipped with nuclear weapons.



Chairman Hua

None of the decisions about these appointments and policies were of course made in the Congress, despite the performance of voting.

All these could just as well have been announced before the Congress took place.

All decisions are imposed from

the top without real discussion, either in the party or the country.

The main participants met in Peking on 20 July to share out the top jobs and to agree the lines of policy.

If anyone suspects that this breach of democracy has only developed since Mao's death they need only look back to the 8th, 9th and 10th Congresses.

All were stage-managed and the 11th only followed the same pattern.

That there have only been four party Congresses since 1949 itself speaks volumes of the lack of democracy inside the Chinese CP.

The 10th party Congress in 1973, the last presided over by Mao, devoted itself to attacking, posthumously, Lin Piao and to the purging of "revisionists".

The 9th Congress in 1969 likewise discredited Liu Shao-chi. The 8th, held in two sessions in 1956 and 1958 was the only



The new Chinese leadership

Congress between 1949 and the Cultural Revolution.

The first session took place under the shadow of Khrushchev's revelations at the Soviet 20th Party Congress and the 2nd session was preoccupied with the fight for agricultural development and the problems of the Great Leap Forward.

Perhaps it is only coincidence that the first envoy after this latest Congress to visit China was Cyrus Vance, but it does sum up the reactionary domestic and foreign policy so admitted by the Times last week.

As Teng put it: "We need all the allies we can get to face the menace of the USSR".

This identification with the interests of the imperialist states was emphasised in a national meeting in Peking on 14 July on foreign trade.

The need for a more open import and export policy and the

importance of learning from foreign countries were the order of the day.

It followed closely on a Chinese trade mission to the United States in June. Nothing, according to the Chinese bureaucrats is to be learnt from the first workers state, the USSR, suffering under its own bureaucratic machine.

Hua announced that the USSR has "restored capitalism, reinforced the fascist dictatorship internally... and continued foreign aggression and expansion."

It is manifestly untrue, as the French paper *Le Figaro* has judged the situation, that this Congress marks the end of an era of turbulence and uncertainty.

The bureaucratic clique which rules in China as in the other workers states, maintains a precarious balance which will be continually subject to turmoil until it is finally overthrown in a new political revolution, for which a Trotskyist party is needed.

## FRENCH POPULAR FRONT IN CRISIS

A popular front, according to Trotsky's analysis, is a political bloc between bourgeois and working class parties in which the working class component of the bloc is completely subordinated to the programme and policies of its bourgeois partner.

The popular front is thus an entirely bourgeois political formation, constructed on the basis of a programme whose cornerstone is the defence of the capitalist system.

The present day Union of the Left in France is an up-to-date version of the popular front, comprising as it does an alliance between the French Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the bourgeois Radicals.

In the past few weeks the Union has been wrangling over the programme it should adopt for the general election next March—a piece of haggling which clearly reveals the capitalist nature of the bloc.

The debate which has managed to combine virulence of tone with banality of content, has focussed centrally on what defence policy the Union should adopt.

### NUCLEAR

Last May, after years of verbal opposition to nuclear defence, the CP's Central Committee began advocating the neo-Gaullist concept of the need for an all-round nuclear strike force to protect France (i.e. French capital) from any outside attack.

According to the CP leader Roland Leroy,

"It is necessary... for the French to decide now on a policy of disarmament and for an independent defence for France, which will require the maintenance of an independent strike force against all aggressors."

The key word here is "independence", by which the CP mean a nuclear strike force with missiles pointed in all directions—both at the USA and the USSR!

The Stalinist policy of "socialism in one country" which has obliged the French CP to seek a closer rapprochement with its own bourgeoisie, thus ironically propels it further along the road towards a complete break with the Soviet bureaucracy.

But in taking up de Gaulle's policy of the independent nuclear



Mitterrand

deterrent the CP are obviously hoping to win some support from disenchanted Gaullists at next spring's election.

Paradoxically, though, the CP's advocacy of an independent nuclear strike force has met with the guarded approval of Soviet leader Brezhnev, who sees in the phrase "independent defence for France" the possibility of a French withdrawal from NATO should the Union of the Left gain power.

Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterrand has likewise seen this possibility and wants to expunge all traces of it from the joint programme.

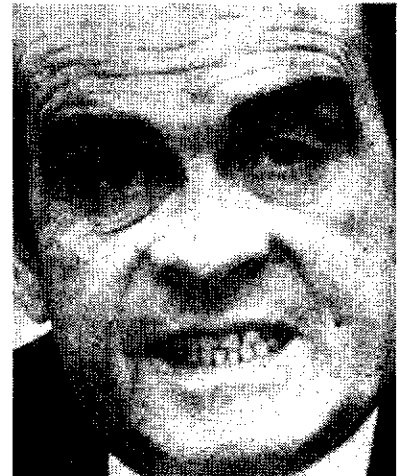
### REFERENDUM

While claiming agreement with the call for world nuclear disarmament, he wants the question of French use of nuclear weapons to be decided by referendum.

Mitterrand is obviously hoping that a plebiscite would reject the idea of an "independent strike force", so obliging France to remain in NATO and thereby tied to the USA.

CP leader Georges Marchais has attacked the referendum proposal as "unconstitutional", and has begun to drum up nationalist feeling for the revamped Gaullist idea of a France free "from East or West".

The political differences on the defence question are real and



Marchais

reflect in a distorted way the material bases of each party.

The leadership of both the CP and the Socialist Party begin from the need to defend their own bureaucratic interests—a need which dictates a policy of defending French capital.

For Mitterrand, this is best achieved by participation in NATO and the maintenance of links with the USA.

For Marchais—who must still negotiate a position between his own bourgeoisie and the Soviet bureaucracy—national defense can best be accomplished by establishing an "independent" France within the overall context of world detente.

There is thus no qualitative class difference between either side in the dispute—both are equally antagonistic to any independent working class policy.

In the whole polemic there has been no mention from either side of the independent interests of the working class.

For that reason the current arguments will not seriously jeopardise the unity of the Union of the Left.

That unity—forged on the basis of a programme acceptable to the bourgeoisie—can only be smashed by resolute working class activity aimed at breaking the working class parties from their bloc with the bourgeoisie.

# WHY DOES HEALY

# BACK THIS DICTATOR?

By Ian Kaye



Gaddafi

Take a characteristically messianic press statement from the Libyan Embassy, sprinkle liberally with "Marxist" sounding phrases, and you get a fair picture of the latest depths plumbd by the British Workers Revolutionary Party's opportunist daily *Newsline* in its campaign in favour of the Bonapartist dictatorship of Colonel Gaddafi.

A "joint communique" signed by the Central Committee of the WRP and the General Peoples' Congress of the Socialist Peoples' Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah (a newly coined word roughly meaning Peoples State) appeared in the *Newsline* of August 10th. It was hailed as "a major step forward in the limited struggles of the colonial peoples and the metropolitan working class."

It praises the "vigilance and heroism" of Gaddafi's leadership, and pledges to defend this leadership against "imperialism and its agents."

These agents, we are informed by the WRP, are the "revisionists" who "slander" Gaddafi's dictatorship.

## DEATH

Needless to say, there was not one word in either the "communique" or the "comment" along side it about the group of 40 people, reportedly "Marxists, Trotskyists and members of the Islamic Liberation Party," condemned to life imprisonment or death in Libya in March.

This group, originally tried and acquitted in December 1974, were then re-tried on order of the "heroic" Gaddafi, and sentenced to up to 15 years imprisonment.

Not satisfied yet with this decision of his "Popular" court, Gaddafi personally changed them to either death or life imprisonment.

At the beginning of April some of these were among the 50 or more oppositionists executed by Gaddafi.

4 of these were publicly hung in Benghazi on April 7, of whom 2 were students accused of "terrorist sabotage" after demonstrations in the university in April 1976 against government rigging of the student union elections.

## TREASON

Throughout the fourteen month long romance with Gaddafi's "revolutionland" the *Newsline* has mentioned neither this, nor the fact that "parties are treason" in "Peoples Libya". Membership of any political party other than the official Arab Socialist Union is punishable by death.

Acting in this way as an uncritical mouthpiece for Gaddafi the WRP is betraying the oppressed Libyan Masses and turning its back on not only the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, but also the WRP's own history.

From the beginning of Trotsky's fight against Stalinism it has been necessary for the Trotskyist movement to fight against the illusions spread by certain "Marxists" in the "national" bourgeoisie of the colonial countries, and its capacity to resolve the national and agrarian problems. One of the first struggles of the Trotskyist movement was against Stalin's liquidation of the

The WRP today puts forward a similar liquidation, again under the guise of an "anti-imperialist front", whilst cynically maintaining that "this is entirely in the spirit and tradition of Bolshevism".

The genuine tradition of Bolshevism stands for the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie, with the working class and revolutionary party playing the leading role not only in resolving the national question, but in mobilizing the peasantry behind it to resolve the agrarian problem.

## ALLIANCE

This essential point was forced home again and again by Trotsky, against the revisionists and liquidators of the movement:

"Without an alliance of the

are on the much lauded "anti-Zionism" of Gaddafi.

## UNCRITICAL

Undoubtedly Gaddafi has supplied the PLO (with which the WRP also have an uncritical relationship) with arms for the fight against the Zionist state; but this no more means that Trotskyists form an alliance with Gaddafi than with the Saudi's and American imperialism because they supply arms to the Eritrean Freedom Fighters!

Gaddafi, of course, along with Israel, is a supplier of arms to the Ethiopian dictatorship which oppresses the Eritreans while maintaining an opportunistic relationship with the Popular Liberation Front in Eritrea).



WRP General Secretary Gerry Healy turned back on WRP's history

proletariat with the peasantry the tasks of the democratic revolution cannot be solved, nor even seriously posed. But the alliance of these two classes can be realized in no other way than through an irreconcilable struggle against the influence of the national-liberal bourgeoisie... the realization of the revolutionary alliance between the proletariat and peasantry is conceivable only under the political leadership of the proletarian vanguard...

*The Permanent Revolution* (Pathfinder Ed) p. 276-7 and again in the Transitional Programme, the founding document of the Fourth International, in the section dealing with the colonial countries:

"On the basis of the revolutionary democratic programme, it is necessary to oppose the workers to the 'national' bourgeoisie..." In defending the leadership of Gaddafi, and nowhere putting forward the demand for the building of a Trotskyist party to solve these tasks, the WRP leadership stand in sharp opposition to the interests of the Libyan workers and peasants.

Gaddafi bases his support for the PLO on the demand for an Islamic Palestine, in opposition to the Trotskyist demand for an independent secular Palestinian state, a demand which enables the active unity of Arab and Jewish workers to be fought for.

Also conveniently overlooked by the WRP leadership are the Libyan holdings in Fiat, which amount to 9.6% with 2 seats on the board.

## ISRAEL

Besides the manufacture of automobiles, Fiat also produce military devices and helicopters, which it supplies to, amongst other robber states, Israel!

In order to carry out these grotesque adaptations to the Libyan Bonapartist dictator, the WRP leadership have been forced to implicitly disown their own history; the predecessors of the *Newsline*, (*Workers Press* and the *Newsletter*) had a considerably different analysis of the Gaddafi regime.

For example the *Workers Press* of March 1976, published the



## IN BRIEF



### BOLIVIA

Under pressure from the NUM, Tribune Overseas Development Minister, Judith Hart, has withdrawn a British government loan to the State Mining Corporation in Bolivia, ruled by General Banzer's murderous military regime. If this seems like progress, then check the small print. Hart intends to send the same amount of money to Banzer for other purposes (schools, hospitals, etc). And the NUM leaders say that is alright with them. This is then nothing more than a token gesture with nothing in common with the total economic boycott which should be imposed against Banzer's dictatorship.

### SOUTH AFRICA

In spite of protest demonstrations, government bulldozers have destroyed the homes of 20,000 workers near Capetown. These workers were forced to live in these shanty towns by their economic oppression and by the racist housing laws. Now they are not immediately needed by South African capital they have been sent back to the poverty stricken Transkei where they originally came from. In the rest of South Africa police have killed a number of school students in a renewed campaign against repression in the black "townships" around Johannesburg. The racist regime has further shown its contempt for the black majority by new constitutional proposals for an elected assembly and executive for whites, "coloureds" and Asians—but nothing of course for 12 million urban blacks who are supposed to be citizens of the poverty stricken "bantustans".

### HOLLAND

The long political crisis which has left Holland without a government for 3 months since the general elections has reached a new crisis. Labour Party leader Joop den Uyl finally abandoned his second attempt to form a coalition govern-

ment with the Christian Democrats. This time the effort failed because of the Christian Democrats opposition to den Uyl's proposal to legalise abortion. The price that the Dutch working class may now have to pay for den Uyl's wretched attempts at class compromise is a coalition of the right wing bourgeois parties.

### ITALY

The growing disillusion with the Italian Communist Party's support for the right wing Christian Democratic government shows up in the CP's recent confessions about its membership figures. Membership of the Party has remained static for the first year since 1971 (at 1 1/2 million) while membership of the CP youth organisation has declined by nearly 15% in the last 12 months.

### SRI LANKA

The police of J. Jayawardene's new right wing government has unleashed a torrent of brutality against the Tamil community of the north of the island after demonstrations in favour of Tamil independence. Many demonstrators have been killed and injured, a curfew imposed and shops and markets set on fire by the police. Tamil workers have responded with strikes which have closed down public services in some northern cities.

### PANAMA

General Torrijos, Panama's left-talking military dictator, has based his "anti-imperialism" on a demand for immediate American withdrawal from the Panama canal zone. He has now agreed with Carter that the US should retain control until the year 2000 after which it would still have the "right" to intervene if its interests were threatened. This imperialist deal (which has still to be ratified) was midwived, according to American UN ambassador Andrew Young by the Cuban government. It was proof, Young said approvingly, of Fidel Castro's moderation.

"Gaddafi's Mythical Third Theory";

"Details of this massive contribution to human thought were left a little cloudy. But Gaddafi did tell his audience: 'The third theory means that in our moslem faith we need neither capitalism nor communism... we are only slaves to God'... all of which sounds very much like the old anti-communism masquerading as a new philosophical breakthrough. But Gaddafi had the last word: 'We should confront capitalism strongly to show the evils of money when it is accumulated and used for evil purposes!'"

Reports of panic among the Libyan bourgeoisie are said to be "much exaggerated!"

A more serious analysis appeared in *The Newsletter*, paper of the WRP's forerunner the Socialist Labour League shortly after the coup which brought Gaddafi and the "Revolutionary Council" to power in 1969.

## UNDERSTOOD

It is quite clear that the SLL understood Gaddafi's demagogy very well then:

"The first pronouncement of the 'revolutionary council' broadcast over Radio Tripoli on September 1, spoke on the one hand of 'building a revolutionary Libya, a socialist Libya', and of the efforts of the 'third world' to end social and economic under-development, and on the other hand promised to defend and maintain 'the moral values of the Koran'."

This is plainly the demagogy of a Bonapartist group attempting to balance between different political forces...

This kind of future [the kind promised by Gaddafi] can only be achieved by a real socialist revolution, led not by nationalist army officers, but by a Marxist party based on the masses.

Although the WRP now admits to some (evidently secret) ideological differences" with Gaddafi, it has uttered no word of reservation about Gaddafi's latest demagogic constitutional changes.

## ABOLISHED

The Revolutionary Command Council has been abolished: it rather expanded to embrace the whole people who are supposed to exercise their "power" through "people's committees".

It is, Gaddafi said in a speech in Tripoli on March 8, "the first true democracy since Athens" adding, somewhat inconsistently that "for the first time in the history of the world, power is in the hands of the masses."

Miraculously, there are no more "wage earners"; exploitation is impossible because all people are equal.

Yet the capitalists still hold on to many of the means of production and the "General Secretariat of the General People's Congress" turns out to be led by none other than Gaddafi and his bunch of cronies who previously composed the Revolutionary Command Council!

## EXPLANATION

We continue to demand that the WRP gives an explanation of its present obsequiousness towards a regime whose hypocritical democracy is a smokescreen for a ruthless dictatorship which is totally hostile to the rights of the masses.

Can the WRP Central Committee be so gullible? Or are there other reasons for this contempt for Trotskyism and for the aspirations of the Arab masses?

# YOUTHS' RIGHTS FLOUTED

## Report of Islington labour movement inquiry

The report of the labour movement enquiry into police brutality and the position of black youth in Islington has now been published. ("Under Heavy Manners", 25p plus 10p postage from Islington 18 Defence Committee, 161, Hornsey Road, London N7).

The report mainly consists of evidence submitted to the committee of enquiry by parents and members of the Defence Committee including teachers, youth workers and law centre workers.

It documents in a lively way the experiences of the Islington 18 and their families at the hands of the law: the systematic flouting of basic democratic rights by police, magistrates, legal aid solicitors and barristers, the Judge, Old Bailey warders and social security officers; and the total failure of the services of the so-called welfare state—schools, social services, youth service, and housing—to provide for even the most basic needs of young blacks.

### RECOMMENDATIONS

Many of the 22 recommendations made by the members of the enquiry are directed at the labour movement.

Labour Party branches, trade union branches and the Trades Council are urged to call on the Labour Party NEC, trade union sponsored MPs and the TUC and Home Secretary to investigate the arrest and trial of the Islington 18 and to demand that:

- 1) the Judges' rules for police conduct be made statutory;
- 2) the withholding of legal aid and bail by Highbury Magistrates Court be investigated;
- 3) the defendant's right to challenge the jury should be matched by the right to challenge the magistrate or judge;
- 4) the use of 'sus' and 'conspiracy' charges by the police be abolished;
- 5) harassment of the black community by the police should cease.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Black youth and anti-fascists under police attack in Lewisham

The suspension and investigation of six police officers and two stipendiary magistrates is called for and the open inspection of police stations by a committee of labour movement representatives.

Local labour movement organisations are called on to recruit young people into their ranks so that they may fight for their rights in an organised way, and the Trades Council is urged to mount a campaign for apprenticeship training for unemployed youth at proper union rates.

The Workers Socialist League has fought throughout the

campaign for demands such as these which force the issues into the labour movement.

They contrast sharply with the policies of the SWP, which are restricted to calling on blacks to mobilise themselves for street demonstrations.

These demands are basic and straightforward but they were too strong for John Ward, representing Central Islington Labour Party and for Stalinist Ray Pinder representing North London Teachers Association, both of whom thought the whole approach to the report and the recommendations was 'too

political'.

Such people clearly recognised that a fight on even these reformist demands would shake to its roots the uneasy domination of right wingers and Stalinists on the local Labour Parties and trade unions.

It is their stranglehold which has for years obstructed the fight on many of the issues raised by the case of the Islington 18. To break through their record of betrayal by fighting on these recommendations is therefore of the utmost importance.

# Devlin crisis for SDLP

In the last issue of Socialist Press we drew attention to the fact that the recent royal visit to Northern Ireland was part of a deal arranged between Michael Foot and the Ulster Unionist MPs at Westminster.

These concessions to the Unionists have so far not been publicly revealed, but they are no less tangible for all that.

One party in particular, the Catholic SDLP, has sensed these changes and is now frantically trying to resist them.

Shortly after the Queen's visit, the Executive Committee of the SDLP announced that it had accepted in principle a policy committee report recommending greater party emphasis on the so-called "Irish dimension".

The present report, to be discussed by the party's general committee on September 3, criticises the Unionists for failing to respond to SDLP initiatives, it criticises the British government for its do-nothing, "let-things-drift" policy—a policy which the SDLP sees as leading to full integration with Britain; and it finally decides to relaunch the notion of the legitimacy of aspirations to a united Ireland—the so-called "Irish dimension".

Prominent SDLP leader Paddy Devlin has rejected the adoption of the new policy, thus precipitating a minor crisis within the party.

Devlin's action is not motivated by consideration of principle or concern for the Irish working class.

Instead he is acting out of personal interest alone, for he now sees the SDLP evolving into a rump party like the old nationalists—declaring itself committed to a united Ireland while objectively preserving the partition of the country. He is thus getting out before the rot sets in much further.

The new policy signifies no fundamental change at all; it instead confirms that the SDLP's appetite for administering the imperialist garrison in the north is as sharp as ever.

# BIG BUSINESS BACKS SCAB PRESS

Wanted - an extra £6,000 to smash the print unions. That is the urgent plea put out by the little-known group of fringe fascists around the Dowager Lady Birdwood.

Self-Help, and its sister grouping the Current Affairs Association, has put out an urgent, private and confidential memo, to businesses which have helped it in the past, appealing for funds.

They say that they will use the money to set up a second press in the south of England run entirely by scab labour, ready to help to break a strike in Fleet Street.

In addition the group will try to establish a mobile printing press to be used in towns such as Darlington which are hit by local disputes.

Clearly the existence of such presses would be useless without the readiness of capitalists to use them but the letter reveals that several large firms have given money to the fascist group in the past.

### SECRET PRESS

Self Help publishes the *British Gazette* and boasts that the location of its scab press has been kept a secret from the left for four years.

The letter, dated August 24, says—inaccurately—that Fleet Street was on the verge of being shut down over the *Financial Times* dispute.

"It is to meet such an eventuality as this that, with your help, our organisation came into being, and our newspaper printing works always stands by ready to go into production of up to three million copies a day of a national news-

## Birdwood calls in cash pledges to break news strike

closing down."

The letter does not explain how the existence of the Press would allow this group to gather news or distribute the papers it prints.

But clearly (judging from the direction from which *Socialist Press* received the leaked letter) large anti-union firms are prepared to put finance into the organisation.

The letter continues:

"The moment we do start publishing an independent newspaper, the whereabouts of our works are bound to become known to the unions . . . immediately we shall almost certainly have to contend with massive picketing and violence.

We have made all possible



**SELF-HELP**  
and the  
**CURRENT AFFAIRS ASSOCIATION**

Controllers of the only newspaper printing works in the country independent of combines and trade unions. The works is equipped with its own generators and stands ready day and night to publish a daily newspaper if the national press goes on strike.

~Official Organ: The British Gazette  
39, KESLAKE ROAD, LONDON, NW6 6DJ

Urgent, Private and Confidential Memo on

OUR PLANS TO COUNTER VIOLENCE WHEN THE FLEET STREET CRISIS COMES

*Dear Sir*  
Fleet Street has just avoided another crisis. It

preparations for such an eventuality as we believe that it is absolutely essential that in no circumstances should the unions be allowed to stop production and distribution."

Self Help claims that the short term option they have acquired on a second press in the south of England will allow them to print token editions should someone throw a bomb at their present works.

The letter says:

"This letter is being sent to past contributors of substantial amounts to our funds, of whom you are one."

It is this link with big business which rescues Self Help from the boy scout world to which its members gravitate.

The group organised an attack on the Randolph Hotel picket line in May which led to 39 anti-fascists being arrested by police.

Last week Lady Birdwood leafleted houses in Notting Hill calling for the carnival to be banned, accusing the government and local council of not being able



The contributions made by business to such organisations must be exposed and the only way this can be done is with a sustained campaign in the unions to end business secrets and open the books of



# CAMPAIGN GIVES LEAD TO PAY FIGHT

At its meeting on Saturday August 20 the Organising Committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement set the date for two conferences centred on the key political questions facing workers in the coming period. More details on both conferences, and credentials (50p) are available from CDLM, Secretary Kevin Lee, 44, Devonshire Handsworth Wood, Birmingham.

We reprint below the two statements issued by the CDLM.

## CARWORKERS CONFERENCE

A number of major issues now face workers in the car and component industry. Major wage claims have been lodged in almost every sector.

Some claims, such as at Cowley, are for large increases plus cost of living clauses and without strings. Other claims, such as at Longbridge make major concessions to the employers.

In a number of parts of the industry strikes are in progress which are being stubbornly resisted by the employers.

### STRUGGLES

In British Leyland a major thrust is underway directly from the government to try and end plant bargaining and establish a corporate agreement. In Fords the struggle for 100% lay off pay is still pending as well as a wages struggle. In Chrysler the company is trying to enforce corporate bargaining and most factories have opposed this and submitted major claims. Already in components, wage struggles are erupting.

The leadership problems in the car and component industry are extremely sharp. The shop stewards movement, for years one of the

strongest, has been weakened by participation and collaboration with the employers. Workers are strong but clear leadership is necessary if major wage settlements are to be won and conditions defended.

The purpose of this conference is to discuss in some detail the problems facing car workers and the programme necessary on which to fight.

\*Catching up claims to regain what we have lost since 1974.

\*For cost of living clauses to protect against inflation.

\*Break the 12-month rule.

\*Opposition to corporate bargaining.

\*No to participation with management.

\*100% lay off pay.

\*For a nationalised car and component industry.

The conference will be held at the Digbeth Institute on Sunday September 19 commencing at 11.00am until 4.00pm.

Credentials may be obtained (price 50p) from Kevin Lee, 44, Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Lucas toolmakers vote to continue their pay strike.

A deluge of wage claims have been tabled by workers anxious to take immediate steps to regain the losses inflicted on them by two years of TUC-policed wage controls.

Although blacked out in most cases by the media, hundreds of wages strikes are now in progress despite every effort of the TUC leaders to head them off.

But the TUC remains committed to wage controls. Though unable to register formal support for Chancellor Healey's 10% limit ultimatum, the TUC has set its face against any attempt to restore living standards to 1974 levels, and against any section of workers breaching the 12-month rule.

Already both TGWU and AUEW leaderships have breached their own conference policy to strengthen the TUC's stand. The TGWU has circulated officials telling them to uphold the 12-month rule—a policy specifically rejected at the union's conference only last month—while the AUEW is campaigning not for free collective bargaining in line with conference policy, but for 'moderate' wage increases and the 12-month rule.

The role of the trade union leaderships in the Grunwick and Desoutters recognition disputes shows that they are opposed to mobilising against the employers. If workers are to win the large claims they need to restore living standards and defend themselves against inflation it will only be through a fight against union officials, 'left' and right wing alike.

The 'left' wing, bolstered by the Communist Party will attempt to bolster the case for claims of 15-20% as they have done at Fords and at Longbridge. Such claims may sound large, but even if won in full they are inadequate to regain lost living standards. In negotiation they will be whittled down to real increases in line with Healey's 10% limit.

Meanwhile the right wing will seek to ensure that wage struggles are stalled, diverted, sabotaged and isolated. A barrage of fraudulent propaganda claiming that wage increases cause sackings and inflation will be churned out by union officials, particularly in the public sector, aimed at persuading workers to tailor their wage demands to the profitability of the employer.

In this situation the elements needed are a clear programme to regain and defend living standards and a leadership developed within the working class to carry such a programme into practice.

The Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement was the only rank and file organisation carrying out a consistent fight for the breaking of Phase 2 of wage controls. In its two conferences since last October it has developed a clear programme on the wages struggle, calling for big increases protected from inflation through a cost of living clause providing automatic rises to compensate for the increases in the cost of living as determined by committees of trade unionists and housewives.

It is clear from the wave of wages strikes already in progress that the working class are prepared to fight. What is lacking is a leadership and a programme for these battles.

This is where the CDLM can make a major contribution. For this reason we are calling a Conference on October 23 which can bring together those in struggle on wages and discuss the role of the trade union leadership; the role of the government and the need to break the coalition and establish a government which will support the working class; the attitude of the lefts within Parliament and the trade unions; and the programme on which wages struggles should be fought.

1. For wage increases to regain what has been lost since 1974.
2. For cost of living clauses to protect against inflation.
3. For workers committees to assess a working class cost of living index.
4. Support for wage strikes, particularly by low paid workers.
5. Support recognition strikes such as Grunwick and Desoutters.
6. Call on left Labour MPs to break the LibLab coalition and support all pay strikes.

## HEALEY'S DOLE QUEUE GROWS

Yet another post-war peak in unemployment this month—with 1,635,950 registered as out of work—is a further confirmation that the orchestrated press clamour about "booming Britain" is a conscious fraud designed to create the climate for renewed wage controls.

For TUC leaders the figures can only be an acute embarrassment. A main line of argument for wage control has for some time been that without it workers could "price themselves out of the market".

Yet now, after workers have suffered unprecedented cuts in real wages over the last two years, unemployment continually scales new peaks.

The latest figures show an

overall increase of 13,591 even after 21,977 school leavers succeeded in finding jobs—meaning that the real increase in adult unemployment is nearly 35,000, while unfilled vacancies also dropped by 5,659.

### SHORT TERM SCHEMES

Meanwhile some 307,000 jobs are now dependent on some form of government aid measures, including short term job creation and "work experience" schemes which carry a virtual guarantee of redundancy as soon as they expire.

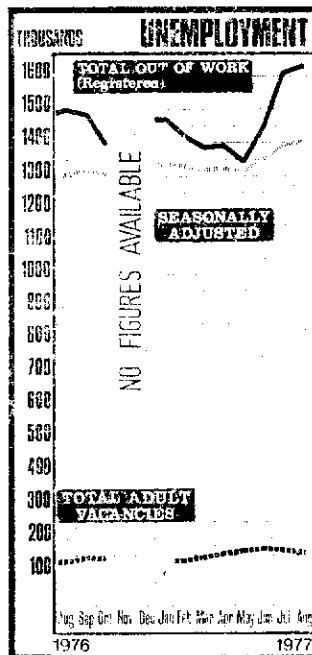
These figures fit into a European picture which shows that one in twenty of the labour force in the Common Market is unemployed—a total of 5,680,000, 12% above last year's figure.

Indeed in many ways the economic situation in Britain is also worse than this time last year—when inflation was 5% lower at 12.9%, and the figure for increases in earnings was 7% higher at 17%.

And in the field of production, the figure for new housing starts over the last year is 78,000 lower this year than last, at an abysmal 274,000.

### STAGNATION

The only way out of this situation of stagnation decline and plunging living standards is a socialist policy of nationalisation of the major industries coupled to a



unemployed youth and adults at trade union rates and under workers control.

Such a policy can only be implemented if the reactionary parliamentary coalition between the Liberals and the Labour Party is broken and the extreme right wing Callaghan-Healey leadership removed.

### BREAK COALITION

A number of Constituency Labour Parties have passed resolutions against the coalition. It is essential that they mobilise maximum forces to lobby this year's Labour Party conference demanding that delegates fight for such a position.

In particular they must demand that the self-styled 'left' MPs cease their support—whether tacit or open—for the coalition and its leaders and take up a campaign throughout the Labour and trade



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TROTSKYISM TODAY ★

# WHY THE FASCISTS FAILED BEFORE IN BRITAIN

Previous articles in this series have been concerned with the question 'How did fascists seize state power'. This one turns itself to the opposite question. Why did fascists not come to power in Britain? The workings of capital are international and the needs of capital are international. How was it that capital did not require the fascist solution in Britain?

The answer to this question will not be found in any notions such as British love of "justice" or democracy or British "character". These sort of bogus notions are swept aside when capitalism, in crisis, is fighting for its life.

For it is in response to capitalist crisis that fascism emerges. Unable to solve the endemic problems of slump and stagnation in the 1930s, the capitalist class could only impose the economic measures necessary for survival by attacking the working class; in Germany, Spain, Italy and Portugal by entirely breaking the back of the working class.

## CRUSHED

In that situation of economic catastrophe, with bourgeois democracy unable to maintain a stable social order, the "little men", feeling themselves crushed by the growth of monopoly, not wishing to identify with the workers' movement, turned in desperation and panic to fascism.

Small shop keepers, farmers, small businessmen, lower professionals and the peasantry form the social layer from which fascist parties take their recruits. These fascist parties none the less served the interests of capital.

Why in Britain did these layers not turn in such numbers towards fascism? There was of course no peasantry in Britain and the small capitalist farmers were also very few in number. Despite the size of the urban petty bourgeoisie the class nature of British society was one where there were fewer of the kinds of social groups that fascism incites to action.

## WEAKENED

The answer to the question, however, lies mainly in two areas. Firstly the nature of the capitalist crisis and the relation of class forces were not such in Britain as to demand a fascist solution. It was possible, because of the earlier defeat of the working class in the 1926 General Strike, for solutions to be imposed by the capitalists on a working class greatly weakened by the earlier betrayals of its leaders.

The British ruling class did not need to call the fascists to power to break the working class; the British ruling class could rattle the sabre of fascism but did not need to hand over state power to the fascists.

But secondly, at crucial moments the British fascists were physically taken on by the workers' movement and were physically halted on the streets. These events demand special attention today as once again street battles break out against the fascists.

But before looking at the dramatic climax of the rise and fall of the fascists in Britain, we should see in some more detail how the ruling class managed without putting the fascists into power.

Britain at the end of the 1920s experienced the economic depression which was world-wide. Between 1929 and 1932 the British official index of industrial production fell by 17%. Coal output in 1931 was no higher than it had been in 1900; and iron production was down to that of

CONCLUDING OUR SERIES ON FASCIST MOVEMENTS IN EUROPE.

By DI PARKIN.



Moseley inspects his 'troops' before the battle of Cable Street.

ment reached 3 million. In the twelve months to June 1933 the world tonnage of merchant shipping showed a net decrease of 1,814,000 tons—more than half this decrease being tonnage owned in the UK. In many ways, however, this crisis in Britain was less precipitate than in other major capitalist countries because British capitalism had failed to achieve even the modest, short-lived boom of the 1920s.

Following 1926, when the General Council of the TUC handed the working class on a plate to the government, British capital was able to operate with the most abject collaboration of the leaders of the labour movement. Thousands of militants in the factories had been sacked at the end of the strike and the Tory government passed the anti-union Trades Disputes Act in 1927. Then, in 1931, MacDonald and Snowden betrayed the labour movement by entering a coalition government with the Tories. What was left of the Labour Party went down to a catastrophic electoral defeat.

## TAMPERING

The "National Government" engaged in repressive measures against the working class. As a commentator at the time put it:

"The record of the National Government is largely the history of a movement away from democracy. The tampering with parliamentary forms, the reorganisation of the police and their increasing violence, the restrictions on free speech and assembly, the Royal Defence Corps (a new body of the Territorial Army to deal with 'foreign agents' i.e. the left) the Unemployment Act (cutting the dole and means testing), the Incitement to Disaffection Act—behind all these is a purpose essentially fascist . . .

It is the good fortune of British capitalism that it has so far only

needed to adopt a part of the authoritative fascist procedure. It has been able to achieve its purposes—the partial subjugation of the working class without resort to anything glaringly undemocratic, without the trouble of dressing in coloured shirts."

(W.A. Rudlin, *The Growth of Fascism in Britain*).

## BEATEN

Yet there were those who dressed in coloured shirts and they did need to be physically beaten. This was the movement that Mosley built. There were fascist bodies in Britain prior to the formation of Mosley's British Union of Fascists but it was this movement that was most significant. Indeed the history of the British fascist movement is often seen as the history of one man—viewed by the bourgeoisie as brilliant but erratic, as a maverick who could have been Prime Minister. Beatrice Webb, the Fabian, described Mosley in 1923:

"Here is the perfect politician who is also a perfect gentleman."

This gentleman was to lead a movement which marched through the East End of London chanting "The Yids, the Yids, We gotta get rid of the Yids" and initiated and ordered the worst scenes of thuggery seen in British politics this century. This was Mosley.

## ARISTOCRAT

He was an aristocrat who entered Parliament as Conservative member for Harrow in 1918—yet by 1920 he had crossed the House and joined the Independent Labour Party in 1923. By 1926 he reached the Labour Party national executive and became Labour MP for Smethwick (having ironically been defeated in Birmingham Ladywood).

In 1930 he was defeated at the Labour Party conference on a resolution urging a programme of action on unemployment. He

straight away began to build a new party which was to move rapidly right towards fascism.

Like Mussolini he moved from the left to the far right.

Mosley was supported financially by big business: to begin with by William Morris the motor manufacturer, one of the fathers of what is now British Leyland, followed later by Lord Rothermere, owner of the *Daily Mail* and *Evening News*.

Mosley began building the action wing of his movement in his youth clubs where young thugs were trained in physical combat.

Various intellectuals, such as Harold Nicholson and Osbert Sitwell dithered at the edge of Mosley's movement, not quite able to commit themselves nor to break from its horrid appeal.

The New Party failed resoundingly and Mosley moved to model his movement more closely on the continental pattern and came out in favour of that key aspect of fascist policy, the corporate state.

## HARMONY

"A society working with the precision and harmony of a human body, every interest and every individual is subordinate to the overriding purpose of the nation."

He toured Spain, Germany and Italy (as honoured guest of Mussolini) and came back a convinced fascist.

The British Union of Fascists, which by 1934 had 370 branches and perhaps 5,000 active members had 3 conditions of membership, loyalty to King, Empire and leader, acceptance of discipline and payment of one shilling a month.

Its themes were its appeal to youth, nationalism, anti-communism and anti-semitism. It relied on the politics of action, of marches, demonstrations and rallies, in its moves to set up a corporate state where the employers, workers and consumers would be equally "represented; there would be no strikes, no trade unions and decisions of the state would be unchallengeable.

The Mosley movement, dressed in its black shirts and black boots, made scapegoats of the Jews—blaming them for unemployment. There was, they said, a conspiracy



of Jews and Bolsheviks which must be physically fought. From the beginning the Mosley movement engaged in physical violence against its opponents. It was at the rally in Olympia in 1934 that it reached its peak and revealed most sharply the dangers of fascism. Mosley stood, picked out by a spotlight in the vast hall. When he was repeatedly heckled by anti-fascists in the audience he stopped speaking and the spotlight turned on them and they were beaten up.

Even a Conservative member of parliament who was present was shocked:

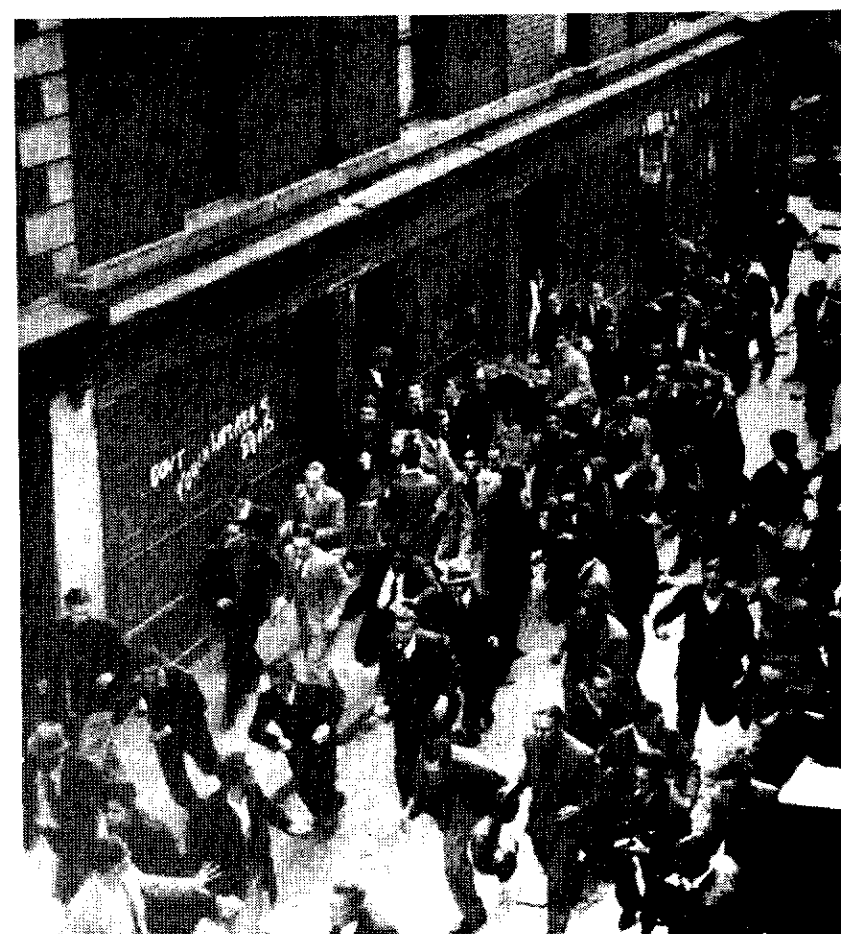
"Men and women were knocked down and were still assaulted and kicked on the floor. It will be a matter of surprise for us if there were no fatal injuries."

The extreme violence of the Mosleyites led to the timid dithering calls by the Mervyn Stockwoods and Mayor of Lewishams of those days that "the government ought to ban fascist marches".

## PUERILE

The Communist Party, too, lent support to the demands for the government to do something—rather than relying on the strength of the working class. But as the Trotskyist paper *Militant* put it just before the Cable Street march:

"The methods with which the Labour Party and Communist Party are opposing Mosley's proposed march are equally puerile. To ask a capitalist government to ban the activities of the Fascists, the agents



Anti-fascists fall back from a harricade near Aldgate as police charge it from

# TWIN VICTIMS OF JUDICIAL MURDER

By KEITH WHITE

and throws the mud of slander on them."

Those who waited under the shadow of the executioner were quite clear as to which policy they favoured. In a letter to the ILD Vanzetti wrote: "I am one of the old guard who appreciate and approve the solidarity and have been solidarity with all . . . Only the revolutionary workers, the people, can give us life and freedom."

The campaign of solidarity caught the imagination of workers through America and Europe.

In every large city in the USA protest meetings were held. In New

York 18,000 people attended a meeting at Madison Square Garden. Resolutions poured into the office of Massachusetts Governor Fuller. Leaflets, posters, buttons and articles ran into thousands. Eugene Debs, the great American pioneer socialist issued a call to action which proved to be his final public act in support of the oppressed masses. An indication of the scale of the campaign can be seen by the fact that in one evening baton wielding police smashed up 20 protest meetings in Chicago alone. At times the movement reached strike proportions.

Support came from the labour movement in Britain, Germany, Italy, France and the USSR.

After the Mass. Supreme Court decision to reject a defence appeal for a new trial Sacco and Vanzetti were sentenced to die on July 10th. Cannon wrote "Such slender legal resources as yet remain must be utilised . . . But the real hope must now be placed in the protest movement of the workers" (LD May 1927).

In the last months the defence committee had to contend with a whole range of attacks. Militant action by the workers forced stays of execution—a tactical ploy on the part of the authorities to take the steam out of the protest movement. A series of convenient bomb explosions allowed Governor Fuller to point to the "irresponsible nature" of the friends of the prisoners. Police action, such as that described above, was stepped up. Threats against all foreign-born workers from Congressmen Johnson

Fifty years ago this month two anarchists, Niccola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti became the victims of judicial murder by the state government of Massachusetts, USA.

It was seven years from the time of their arrest on trumped up charges of robbery and murder until their execution. During that time a campaign for their release mobilized support throughout the world.

Niccola Sacco had been active in a shoe workers strike in 1918. Bartolomeo Vanzetti led a long strike in a rope mill for which he was blacklisted, and at the time of his arrest was living as a fish peddler.

In the immediate post-war period the American radical movement was subjected to vicious attacks. In May 1920 Sacco and Vanzetti organised a meeting to protest the killing, in a Department of Justice prison in New York, of Andree Salredo an Italian printer "suspected of radicalism". They were arrested in Brookton, Massachusetts, and framed for payroll robbery and murder.

## INNOCENT

It is now accepted that they were innocent of the crime - although they have yet to receive a pardon. The Massachusetts state government was reported in the Times (20.7.77) to be about to announce that Sacco and Vanzetti were not given a fair trial. As this article is written it is reported that the Massachusetts State Senate has voted 21-14 to condemn Governor Michael Dukaki's proclamation which declared August 23rd "Sacco and Vanzetti Day".

While the Liberal and Conservative wings of the American ruling class battle over the memory of two of our most famous class warriors we should direct ourselves to the lessons of the Sacco and Vanzetti case.

It should be a source of great pride to the present day Trotskyist movement that one of the chief founders of our movement, James P. Cannon, played a central role in the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the clutches of their would-be murderers.

At that time Cannon was one of the leaders of the American Communist Party and Secretary of an organisation set up to defend class war prisoners—International Labour Defence (ILD).

## MASSES

Cannon correctly stresses the necessity to depend first and foremost on the workers movement.

"There is a higher count than that of the solemn reprobates who decreed the death of Sacco and Vanzetti. The labouring masses of America and the world have faith in Sacco and Vanzetti. It is time now to appeal finally to the masses. It is time for workers to say their word."

In the January 1927 issue of *Labour Defender* (paper of the ILD) Cannon outlines two contrasting policies in the defence campaign:

"One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the centre of gravity in the protest movement of workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favouring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organised protest on a national and international scale.

"The other policy is one of 'respectability, of the 'soft-pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle. It shrinks from the 'vulgar noisy' demonstrations of the militant workers



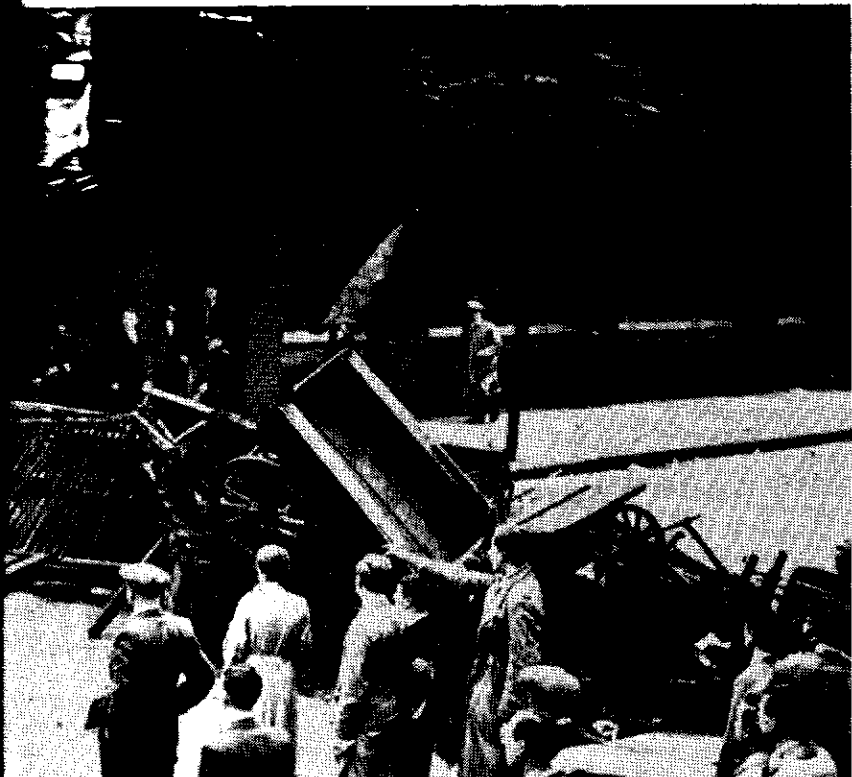
The committee which decided Sacco and Vanzetti had had a fair trial—painting by Ben Shahn

We must always remember that the law does not stand above classes but is designed as an instrument of the ruling class. The methods used by the ILD in the Sacco and Vanzetti campaign serve as a basis for our fight today. Use the courts where you can but start from the mobilisation of the workers. Agents of the ruling class within the labour movement will seek to divert the movement into compromise. In the October 1927 issue of LD Cannon lashed the official leaders of the labour movement who had fought the militants and in the case of the AFL leader Green appealed to Fuller to give Sacco and Vanzetti who were innocent of any crime, life sentences instead of execution!

As we know now the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti failed. But if the Massachusetts State Government thought they had silenced Sacco and Vanzetti on August 22nd 1927 they were wrong. As James P. Cannon wrote two days after the execution ". . . their names will live forever, for the electric current that killed them has burned their names permanently into the hearts of the toilers of the world. Their miserable executioners will be buried in oblivion while the names and struggles of Sacco and Vanzetti still remain a stirring guide to the masses, an inspiration to the oppressed everywhere".

Cannon's words have stood the test of time. Whenever the oppressed face the violence of capitalist courts and "justice" the names Sacco and Vanzetti are evoked. That is a testimony to the courage shown by the anarchists and the type of campaign waged in their defence.

Other side.



Red Flag over a barricade in Bermondsey.

of capitalism, but to leave unhampered the activities of the working class, the enemies of capitalism, must appear ridiculous . . . to anyone who recognises the existence of the class war instead of talking only about democracy."

Nowadays the Communist Party presents the crucial battle in which the workers defended themselves in Cable Street in 1936 as if it was entirely the Party's idea. This is an unconvincing falsification. Such a position would have been totally out of keeping with the policy of Stalin and the Comintern to "fight" fascism through class collaboration in "democratic" fronts with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. It was the Stalinists' refusal to see the fight against fascism as a class question which throughout the 1930s strengthened the hand of the fascists.

## SHARPNESS

There is other more concrete evidence available on the role of the Communist Party in Cable Street, a role initially very like that of CP leaders in Lewisham on August 13, of avoiding the sharpness of the fight in the interests of class collaboration.

The following letter was sent to a CP member in the East End by the East London organiser of the CP.

28.9.36

Dear Joe,  
Arrangements re Mosley's march. A party meeting at Salmon and Ball and another at Poplar, i.e. near to each end of the march.



Meetings to be kept orderly. Avoid clashes, keep order: no excuse for government to say we, like BUF, are hooligans. If Mosley decides to march, let him. Don't attempt disorder (time too short to get a "they shall not pass" policy across). It would only be a harmful stunt. Best see there is a strong meeting at each end of the march. Our biggest trouble will be to keep order and discipline. \*

The party line changed only 3 days before the march after it was evident that the decision to stop Mosley had already been made by the workers of East London despite the line of the CP.

The Mosleyites, with their usual police protectors, planned this provocative march on October 5, 1936, through London's poorest area, with its high proportion of Jews, as a gesture of intimidation.

The fascists were held out of the East End at Gardners Corner by 100,000 anti-fascists; and in the barricade battle at Cable Street some of the police surrendered to the anti-fascists.

This enormous physical show of strength was a decisive turning point for Mosley—the march was unable to continue and the Mosleyites were unable to display that action and control essential to a fascist movement.

## DECLINE

From that moment the BUF went into a sharp decline. It was the action of the working class on the streets which halted the advance of fascism, rather than gestures like the Public Order Act of 1936 forbidding the wearing of uniforms.

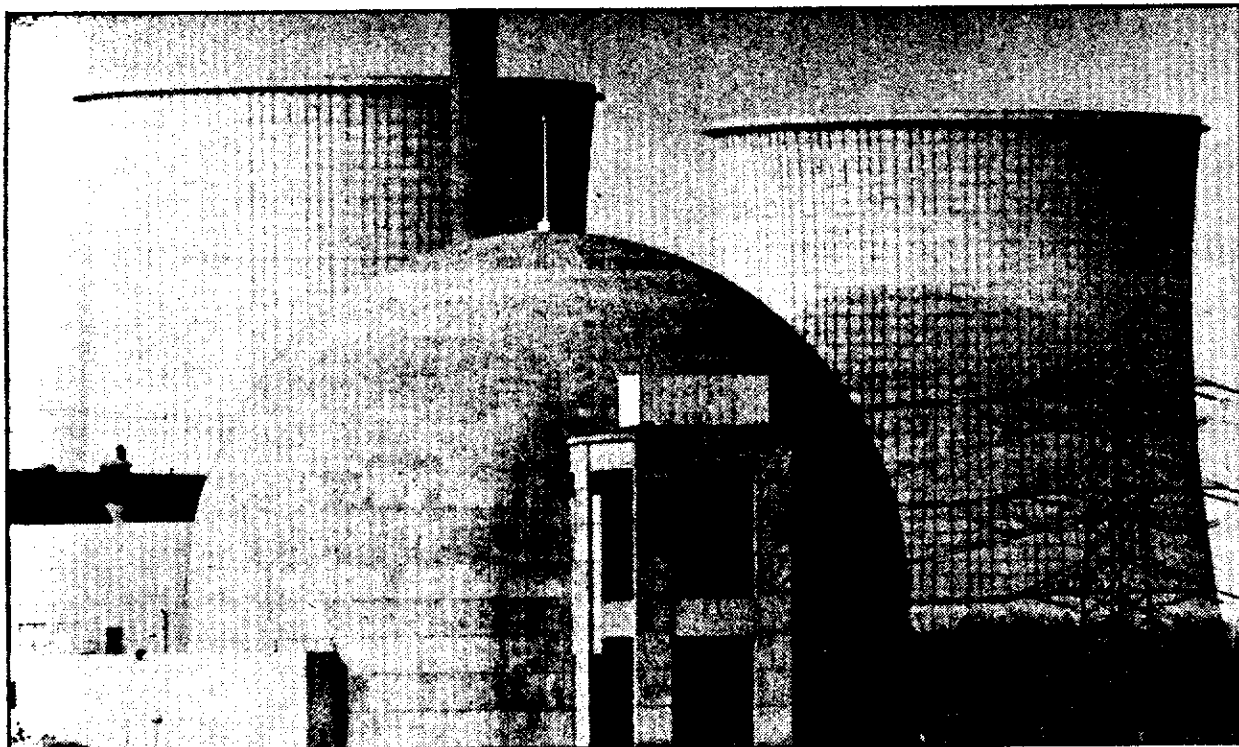
Mosley's movement, not called upon by the ruling class, was smashed by working class awareness of the fascist danger; a danger which was understood in a political sense not only for its racism but as a deadly menace to the whole workers' movement.

There could be no clearer lesson for today of the need to build workers' defence organisations. The fight against the British Union of Fascists then, like that against the National Front today, is not just a battle against racialism; it is the defence of the independence and material conditions of the whole working class. The most important weapon in this fight is the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

\*For opposing this line and similar positions, the recipient Joe Jacobs was finally expelled from the CP and spent the remaining 40 years of his life, first in the Trotskyist movement and later in the anarchist movement. He died earlier this year.

The letter to Joe Jacobs is published by kind permission of Solidarity.





Nuclear power plant in West Germany

## ATOM POWER LUDDITES

By John Lister

Savage attacks on anti-nuclear protesters in France have given recent prominence to struggles against capitalist plans for new reactors.

These struggles have erupted in a wave of massive demonstrations on an international scale.

Biggest so far was on July 14 in Bilbao in Euskadi, Spain, where 200,000 demonstrators rallied against the proposal to transform the Basque coast into a nuclear zone and in particular to halt the building of the Iberduero power station in the outskirts of Bilbao.

Interestingly the march is reported to have featured a contingent of Westinghouse workers - the main company involved in building the new power station.

In West Germany a whole series of actions against proposed and existing nuclear power stations have taken place, each supported by thousands of marches, as well as Japan.

And in the United States, opponents of nuclear energy this Spring staged a sit-in on the site of a new plant under construction at Seabrook, New Hampshire.

drew attention to the dangers of fast-breeder reactors (FBRs) and the unsolved scientific problems in their use—problems disregarded by capitalists in their dash for profits.

But the answer to the problem is to pay *more* and not less attention to nuclear energy. While we call for a halt to plans to construct full scale fast breeder reactors as at Windscale in Britain, we call for a massive programme of research to be financed by the government under workers control in order to resolve the new problems caused by FBRs and the unsolved problems caused by existing technology.

Such a fight cannot be entrusted to the fickle hands of the 'eco-freaks' and petty-bourgeois radicals

that comprise the bulk of the anti-nuclear protest movement.

It is a task most centrally for the workers movement, calling for workers control to be imposed on processes at present monopolised by the capitalist class and its state machine.

Open up the records of these power plants and the books of the private suppliers. Expose the capitalists' scorn for safety. Expose the dangers of existing processes.

But expose also the possibilities of advance beyond this point once science is set free from capitalism, and the need to approach these fields of knowledge *objectively* and not with the frenzy of the enraged petty bourgeois.

### PABLOITES

These protests have been greeted by uncritical acclaim from the Pabloites in the US Socialist Workers Party, who in a major two-part article in their paper the *Militant* have announced blanket opposition to nuclear power of all types.

"The fight against nuclear power is an essential part of the fight for safe working conditions."

The motivation behind this reactionary argument is clear. The SWP has for years drawn its forces principally from liberal-democratic campaigns based on the radical petty-bourgeois rather than the fight for programme and leadership within the organised and unorganised working class.

They see the forces drawn into action around the anti-nuclear campaigns as more grist for this mill.

### ADAPTING

And since the characteristic of Pabloism is that it seeks to "win" forces by adapting its own programme to this level, the SWP has gone overboard on a Luddite binge, hoping to draw a mass movement in tow.

"The antinuclear movement has the potential—like the anti-Vietnam War movement—to win over the majority of the American people [notice 'people', not 'working class'] It can do so if its positions are clear and it tries to involve as many people as possible in its to build a mass movement."

The SWP goes on to insist that "A workers government would immediately shut down every nuclear plant inherited from the profits-first capitalist system."

### DEVELOPMENT

Nowhere does the SWP article call for the necessary demand a planned development of nuclear power under workers control. Instead the whole of atomic science

## LETTER

### Overtime Bans and Import Controls

Liverpool  
1.8.77

Dear Comrade Editor,

I am writing to take up a couple of points in your report of the T&G Conference (SP No.65).

Firstly in your report of the unemployment debate you quote, with implied support, a resolution calling for the T&G Executive to "give official support to all branches, shop stewards committees and groups of members in the fight for a 35 hour week without loss of pay, and for official overtime bans".

While fully supporting the bulk of the resolution it is my view that the call for overtime bans to fight unemployment is incorrect. Among the supporters of this call are leading social contract advocate Hugh Scanlon and, providing their customary left cover for the bureaucracy, the SWP.

The logic of the demand is that a certain amount of work is done as overtime by people in employment. If these people refused to work overtime then the employers would have to take on workers from the dole queues in order to get the work done and thus, at a stroke, thousands of new jobs would be

fault of greedy workers and nothing at all to do with the anarchy of the capitalist system, and the daily betrayals of the trade union bureaucracy which refuses to lead any fight to defend jobs. The demand is, of course, completely reformist, as is the bulk of the SWP's demands.

Have the SWP given a second thought as to why workers are working so many hours of overtime? It is obviously in an effort to combat the steady erosion of their living standards that has taken place under the social contract.

Overtime working will only decrease if substantial increases in basic pay are won, that can restore living standards to pre social contract levels. Such increases should have escalator clauses attached to ensure pay rises to keep up with inflation.

As for the question of providing work for the unemployed, a programme of useful public works at trade union rates of pay and under trade union control must be fought for.

Secondly, in your report of the 'import controls' debate you quote, again with implied support, a Coventry delegate who stated that "cheap foreign labour" was a myth.

due to advanced technology and various government subsidies, is clear proof that "cheap foreign labour" is far from being a myth. The duty of British workers is to support the struggle of workers internationally to improve their wages.

However, some of the more devious fake-left MP's and bureaucrats (not that all of them aren't devious to some extent) pose import controls as a gesture of support for exploited foreign workers ie. as some form of blacking. This bogus argument must be completely rejected. The strength of the working class, lies at the point of production. Unemployed workers have no power to fight low wages, while employed workers have the ability to strike or apply other sanctions. To throw them out of work, which is what import controls would do, would be to take this power from them.

Yours fraternally,  
D.J.

### EDITOR'S REPLY.

Comrade DJ is correct to point out the dangers of seeing the call for import controls as an adequate

## PRESS GANG Minority Rule

The Press has stuck diligently but with increasing difficulty to its task of denigrating the working class upsurge over pay.

No sooner has one section of workers been caught in the withering fire of its editorials than two more jump up fully armed in its place.

It is not surprising therefore that Fleet Street, radio and TV hailed the 'rebellion' at Longbridge as a liberating army.

In jubilation the Press threw caution to the winds.

No more would the angry tramp of workers be heard outside the window. We were on the verge of a new dawn when the production lines run non-stop and the only noise that can be heard above them are the sounds of militants being fed into the power presses and the workers' new chants: "Less pay: longer hours"!

The whirlwind that Robinson and his Stalinist companions reaped was of their own making. Even as they called a strike workers' democracy was treated as a commodity.

But even with this unprincipled and disastrous leadership the true voice of Longbridge came over loud and clear—a two to one vote in favour of the first all-out strike at the factory for years.

This majority was ignored entirely by the Press, or treated merely as a counterweight to Robinson's ridiculous claim of a 50-1 majority.

The *Sun* called it a victory over Communist leadership, the *Sunday Telegraph* an assertion of common sense by "ordinary workers" and the *Express* thought it went further still.

"All honour and credit to the angry men led by paint shop worker, Ronnie Hill, who converged on the office of the head

shop steward. They knew where their enemy was.

"When one remembers Mr. Robinson's 26-year-old affiliation to the Communist Party, and looks at the ambulating shambles to which a great British company has been reduced, one marvels at how much has been endured by such people".

The *Sunday Telegraph* described Hill as "the man who has become Britain's latest folk-hero" and found space on their front page for an interview with his wife, testifying to his principles, among which are apparently a lack of interest in "politics or unions" and a refusal to take on the role of shop steward.

Even in this piece of left bashing Mrs. Hill was unable to keep reality out altogether.

"We are sick of all the publicity suggesting that car workers are all highly paid and grasping. Ron only brings home about £41 to £42 a week."

The actual confrontation between the workers and Robinson was lovingly detailed in every paper. Details of what workers said and did actually found their way into the headlines.

This is in sharp contrast to events when workers are striking or demanding that their officials take action. Then they are called a "mob" or a "minority of politically motivated wreckers".

Gone too was the fetishism of majorities. If a minority of workers had demonstrated *in favour* of a strike—if a minority had actually walked out in defiance of the result of a two to one vote to stay in, what a field day the Press would then have had.

Now, the figures became insignificant. The Press had found the voice of the working class that they wanted to hear. Minority rules.



were implying that the Workers Socialist League advocates such a position.

The reasons we are opposed to overtime working is because it diverts from the necessary struggle for an adequate basic wage, and in this way subjects whole sectors of workers to even more intensive exploitation.

We gave a favourable reference to the resolution calling for official overtime bans because, short of the full programme offered in the 5/293 Branch resolution (which we quoted), this was the motion that came closest to offering a course of action rather than a form of words on unemployment and the 35-hour week.

The article stressed that while Jones and the TGWU Executive had verbally backed the 35-hour week demand, they opposed this second resolution aimed at winning it.

We would agree with comrade DJ on the need for solidarity with workers internationally, and stress also the other side of this: the need to break from any concept that British workers and British employers have any "common" "national" interest in fighting





"Eurocommunist" CP leader Berlinguer—Stalinist bureaucrats are subject to a dual pressure.

PART TWO OF OUR SERIES ON THE ROOTS OF THE SPLIT IN THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY.

# TWO SHOTS FROM SEED OF STALINISM

The inability of the Communist Party to offer workers a lead independent of the TUC bureaucrats in the British 1926 General Strike brought a profound setback to the British CP.

But far more serious was the defeat inflicted on the Chinese Party as a result of the Stalinist policy of dissolving the Chinese Communist Party into the bourgeois nationalist party the Kuo Min Tang, led by Chiang Kai-shek.

For Stalin, Chiang's opportunist "support" for the USSR was worth more than the political independence of the Chinese workers and peasants.

But of course as soon as it suited Chiang he changed course abruptly, and turned against the Communists, slaughtering them in their tens of thousands, and forcing the remainder to retreat into the countryside.

## LEFT OPPOSITION

The only opposition to the Stalinist concept of 'socialism in one country' which was the basis of the Chinese policy, was Trotsky and the Left Opposition who anticipated the defeats that occurred.

Within Russia itself, the dangers warned of by the Left Opposition also emerged. The prosperous peasants (Kulaks) whom Stalin had nurtured began to assert themselves and began to challenge the basis of the workers' state, staging grain strikes in 1928 and 1929.

Stalin, who had opposed a planned approach to the problem of the Kulaks was forced to take a sharp turn to dispossess this newly-emerging capitalist class, and force through massive nationalisation.

In the process millions of Kulaks and others were killed, and crops and livestock destroyed on a devastating scale.

The sharp lurch leftwards in Russia was paralleled by a similar switch in the line of the Communist International. Social Democratic parties in every country were suddenly denounced as "social fascists"—worse than the fascists themselves.

## HITLER

Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought this turn, particularly in Germany where the ultra-left Comintern line threatened to split the working class in the face of Hitler's fascist offensive.

Trotsky's answer was to develop the tactic of the 'united front'—through which the CP should demand the Social Democratic leaders form a united front against Hitler.

"No common platform with Social Democracy or with the leaders of the German trade unions. No common publications, banners, placards! March separately, but strike together!"

The Comintern line however was

arguing that it was better for the open fascists to take power—because the CP's would take over after them.

When Hitler did take power in 1933 all the workers' parties were decimated.

It was the complete lack of any opposition or reaction to this catastrophic defeat within the leadership of the Comintern or its parties that led Trotsky and the Left Opposition to declare that Stalinism had now transformed the Comintern from a revolutionary into a counter-revolutionary force.

Now it was necessary to build independent revolutionary parties of a new international.

This position was vindicated in 1934 and 1935 as the Comintern swung from extreme ultra-leftism to the right wing opportunism of the Popular Front with no change of leadership and no criticism of its previous line.

## PEOPLE'S FRONT

The social democratic parties that were denounced only weeks before as 'social fascist' were suddenly accepted, along with "progressive sections of the bourgeoisie" into a "people's front" alongside the Stalinists.

This policy, just like the 'social fascist' policy and the previous

the Chinese Kuo Min Tang, stemmed from the Stalinist perspective of "socialism in one country".

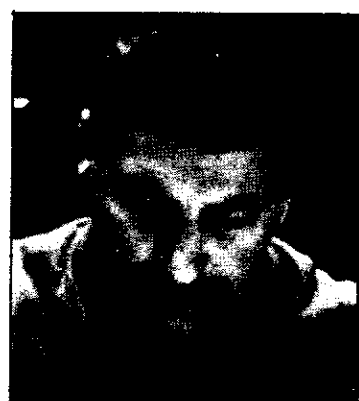
The Popular Front line led directly to the defeat of massive sit-in strikes in France; and of the Spanish revolution.

It was this period which first saw the emergence within the Comintern parties of clearly marked nationalist tendencies in conflict with the requirements of the Kremlin.

"As regards the ex-Comintern, its social basis, properly speaking, is of a two-fold nature. On the one hand it lives on subsidies of the Kremlin, submits to the latter's commands, and, in this respect, every ex-Communist bureaucrat is the younger brother and subordinate of the Soviet bureaucrat.

On the other hand, the various machines of the ex-Comintern feed from the same sources as the Social Democracy, that is, the super profits of imperialism.

The growth of the Communist Parties in recent years, their infiltration into the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie, their installation in the state machinery, the trade unions, parliaments, municipalities, etc., have strengthened in the extreme their dependence on national imperialism at the expense of their traditional dependence on the



Stalin



Kremlin leader Brezhnev

"Today we can predict with assurance the inception of a new stage. The growth of imperialist antagonisms, the obvious proximity of the war danger, and the equally obvious isolation of the USSR must necessarily strengthen the centrifugal nationalist tendencies within the Comintern.

Each one of its sections will begin to evolve a patriotic policy on its own account. Stalin has reconciled the Communist Parties of imperialist democracies with their national bourgeoisie.

This stage has now been passed. The Bonapartist procurer has played his role. Henceforth the Communo-chauvinists will have to worry about their own hides, whose interests by no means always coincide with "the defence of the USSR".

(Trotsky, *Writings 1938-39*, pp. 71,72,73.)

## DUAL PULL

The effects of this dual pull on the CP bureaucracies in each country were only beginning to develop at that point. The dominant force was still the Kremlin bureaucracy as war-time developments soon showed.

In August 1939 Stalin took the bureaucratic notion of 'Socialism in one country' to the lengths of

Hitler.

This meant that from 1939-41 the position of all Communist Parties was that the war was an imperialist war. The CPs supported strikes and opposed their own bourgeois governments.

But when Hitler invaded Russia in 1941, Stalin promptly allied with Britain and France. Every Communist Party immediately reversed course. In the allied countries every CP now supported the war as a 'People's War' and gave support to bourgeois governments, opposed strikes, and enforced speed-up.

## WOUND UP

In order to show his support for the status quo in the allied countries Stalin wound up the Comintern in 1943.

This of course gave increased weight to the pull on the CPs from the national bourgeoisie in each country. The resolution dissolving the Comintern actually described the International acting as "a drag on the further strengthening of the national working class parties."

But when Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill came together to divide up the world into "spheres of influence", the Communist Parties had the task of defending the agreed status quo.

In the 'capitalist' sphere the CPs disarmed the working class and where necessary entered coalition governments with capitalist parties.

In France this meant providing ministers in de Gaulle's government and voting for arms to back imperialist wars in Vietnam and Algeria.

In Italy the CP backed a monarchist government.

In the 'Soviet' sphere of influence the Red Army disarmed and broke up revolutionary upsurges while the Communist Parties entered coalitions with bourgeois and even monarchist forces.

Only in Yugoslavia (designated 50-50 in the 'spheres of influence deal') and in China were the Communist Parties forced to go beyond the bounds proposed by Stalin, in each case these CPs took care that the working class was kept under strict political control.

In 1946 Churchill made a speech at Fulton that opened the 'Cold War'—stressing the irreconcilability of capitalism with the nationalised property relations of the USSR.

The US launched the Marshall Aid Plan aimed at bolstering capitalism in war-torn Europe. Part of this plan included the removal of CP ministers from governments in Italy and France.

## CONTROLLED

With this increasing pressure Stalin gave the go-ahead for the controlled, bureaucratic process of socialising the means of production in the 'buffer states' of Eastern Europe.

In the course of this extension of the property relations prevailing in Russia, Stalin needed to establish complete bureaucratic control over the national Stalinist leaderships installed with the backing of the Red Army.

This was why when Tito in Yugoslavia set out to forge links with the CP bureaucracies in other 'buffer' states, and stood out against some of the economic demands being placed on the buffer states by Stalin, he was promptly denounced by the Kremlin as a 'fascist' and even a 'Trotskyist'.

This clash between Tito and Stalin had a marked impact on workers' struggles in both the new, deformed workers' states, and in advanced capitalist countries.

But at this stage every Communist Party—including the British Communist Party—supported Stalin against Tito, and repeated all the Kremlin slanders against him.

Despite this show of subservience Stalin launched a massive series of purges in the Eastern Europe CPs, rooting out any possible support for 'Titoism'—any element likely to stand out against complete subordination to Kremlin dictates.

But the problems within Russia, in agriculture and in industrial development were still building up—not to be fully seen until after Stalin's death in 1953.

The next article will examine the effects of Stalin's death and the relationship between splits in national Stalinist bureaucracies and the Western CPs, of which the British CP is only one.





# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## EPS STAY OUT FOR £15

### Strike busting bid falls flat

700 members of the TGWU at Export Packing Services in Banbury near Oxford have completed their third week of strike action for a £15 per week pay claim.

The plant does export packing work for British Leyland and Chrysler.

Last week was a week of threats and pressures from management.

It started on the Monday with a massive Grunwick-style bussing move to break the picket line.

Management sent through the post, to each worker, details of 30 coaches and scores of pick-up points covering a 20 mile radius round the factory.

Workers were told that if they did not report for work on Monday the factory would have to be permanently closed.

They were advised not to travel to work in their own cars, but to use the coaches.

On Monday morning everything was ready. A hundred pickets were on the gate and the police were there to clear a way for the coaches.

When the coaches arrived they were almost empty. Only a tiny handful of workers had responded to the strike breaking move.

On Wednesday management tried again. They made an offer of £5.15. For this they wanted a reduction in the labour force of 47, tightening up on rest periods and an extension of the working week from 38 hours to 40 hours.

If this offer was not accepted, they said, they would sack the labour force first and then close down which would avoid paying redundancy money.

A mass meeting last Thursday rejected this ultimatum with only 13 votes in favour of the offer, and the strike continues.

The management's bluff has now been called. Preparations must be made to meet this threat if it is carried out.

The plant must be occupied if it is closed and workers in the motor industry approached to ensure that the work is blacked until the plant is re-opened, all the workers reinstated and the wage claim met in full.

## Jaguar's £20 strike

Stewards representing striking Jaguar workers voted on August 24 not to meet for a further 2 weeks.

The strike, in support of a £20 a week claim, has almost closed down the Radford plant in Coventry—only the toolroom and the staff are working.

### REFUSED

Workers at Radford refused to settle under Phase 2 in April and the present claim includes a contin-

uation of the secure earnings plan (drawn up to compensate for the switch from piecework to Measured Day Work in 1974) which also expired in April.

Management have so far offered the 5% due under Phase 2 and indeed sent a letter to the workforce detailing their intention to include this payment in the September 1 pay packets.

With only the toolroom not on strike or laid off they alone will get this rise.

At the Brown's Lane plant



EPS pickets outside the plant last week

## LAW'S THF BETRAYAL



After six months the strike at Trust Houses Forte Night Out theatre restaurant in Birmingham is over.

The strike, over union recognition and the reinstatement of a

victimised waitress ended in the same bureaucratic sell-out as the two earlier strikes at THF hotels in Oxford and Sheffield.

Like the strikers at Oxford and Sheffield the Night Out strikers were forced to accept a cash settlement as the only 'realistic' solution.

Pat McGuire, whose victimisation began the strike, does not even receive a cash settlement. Her case will go before a tribunal, where she will almost certainly lose.

Moreover, the vote to end the strike and accept a cash offer was taken while Pat McGuire was attending a funeral in Ireland and unable to be present.

The blame for the defeat of the strike rests entirely with Alan Law, the Regional Trade Group Secretary who took personal charge of the strike from its early weeks.

From the time he ended the selected blacking he was organising of THF establishments in the Birmingham area Law had done nothing to show that he had any intention of winning the Night Out strike.

### BURDEN

On the other hand there were plenty of signs that he found the strike a burden he would rather be rid of.

In the latter weeks of the strike Law continually refused to see the strikers on the grounds that he was "too busy", although he was never too busy to make statements to the press.

His office even refused to put the branch stamp to strike fund collection sheets, arguing that Alan Law did not like appealing for "charity".

After demoralising the strikers for months with his stonewalling and his refusal to organise any action Alan Law was able to present the sell-out deal he had hatched up with THF as a 'realistic' settlement.

He went so far as to describe the deal as a 'victory', although clearly the victory lay entirely with Trust Houses Forte, who aided and abetted by the bureaucracy of the TGWU have this year defeated three attempts to organise a union in their establishments.

## LUCAS STRIKE STAYS SOLID

Lucas toolroom workers overwhelmingly threw out the latest offer from management at a mass meeting in Birmingham despite a plea from AUEW bureaucrat, Terry Duffy, that this was management's last offer.

The offer was for a £3 a week rise, and a £100 cash payment for loss of earnings during the dispute.

The toolroom workers are sticking firm on their demand for a minimum £5 increase on their bonus.

As part of the package, management were proposing an "alternative self-financing bonus scheme" whose details were to be worked out by a working party, including representatives from the toolroom.

### INTIMIDATION

The response by management to the overwhelming rejection of their offer has been to try and intimidate the toolroom strikers, and set other Lucas workers against them, by threatening that there will have to be sackings because, they claim, Lucas will lose its position as the main supplier of electrical components to the car industry and aerospace.

Clearly management are worried by the effects of the strike.

Despite British Leyland stockpiling before the strike began, Wilkinson, an Executive Director of Lucas, has been quoted as saying that supplies to the motor industry are drying up and there will be substantial lay-offs.

Already workers engaged in the

Jaguar workers have reluctantly voted to accept the 5% they refused to settle for in April—but only after a series of manoeuvres by right-wing stewards.

### CLAIM SUBMITTED

On returning from holiday Brown's Lane workers found that Radford had submitted the £20 claim.

There was a clear opportunity to forge unity by following the Radford lead.

Not wishing to expose themselves right wing stewards argued against taking a vote on the claim at the shop stewards committee and a decision was taken to put it to a mass meeting with no recommendation.

To the dismay of the right wing the mass meeting voted to support the £20 claim.

Faced with this difficult position the right wing submitted the claim and approached the shop floor with a proposal to post strike notices within five days.

### LAY-OFFS

There was no strategy to win the strike put forward and with the knowledge that the Lucas strike would lead to lay-offs fairly soon anyway the mass meeting voted against a strike.

The right wing were triumphant and gained a majority (due to a large number of abstentions) for putting the management's 5% offer to a further mass meeting.

In face of this sort of leadership the meeting voted to accept the 5%.

### LEADERSHIP

Several days later the letter arrived from management saying the money would be paid on September 1 anyway. Brown's Lane is now laid off due to the Lucas strike.

The lack of leadership at Brown's Lane is mirrored at Radford where again no strategy for winning the strike has been put forward.

To date there have been no mass meetings at all (the strike votes were taken at section meetings) and

## 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

### BOOKS

**THE TOOLROOM STRIKE AND THE FIGHT TO END WAGE CONTROL**

Brings together analysis of struggles against Phase 2 with a full account of the Toolroom strike - the mass action that brought down the Labour government and brought the Lib-Lab coalition to power.

Also includes the programme of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.  
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been laid off; while lay offs at Vauxhall will occur shortly.

Toolroom stewards are presently considering a campaign to black alternative supplies of components.

Such blacking action is essential



# BEHIND LONGBRIDGE

## FIASCO CORPORATE BARGAINING GIVEN A BOOST

Forced into a corner, the negotiating committee at Leyland's Longbridge plant called a strike for Monday August 29.

Then as soon as a few hundred confused workers—nothing like the thousands claimed by the press—marched on the office of convenor Derek Robinson demanding the strike be called off, he caved in.

Robinson, a Communist Party member meekly told the protesters:

"If you want us to call it off, we can."

But he was far from dismayed at this result.

As *Socialist Press* has made clear, the major objective for Leyland management is to push through corporate bargaining, to take control away from shop stewards and place it in the hands of the union bureaucracy.

A Joint Working Party, composed of management and union bureaucrats, was set up for this purpose.

Leyland management produced a document, as a result of the discussion on the Working Party, which are designed to bring in corporate bargaining; an incentive scheme which would massively increase speed-up, with each worker's output being raised from an average of 8 cars a year to 15; and it also included the fringe benefits and penalty clauses thrown out by virtually every Leyland plant last January.

### 20% CLAIM

It was on the basis of these proposals that Robinson and the Longbridge negotiating committee drew up the wage claim for the annual review.

The claim was in fact for only 20% (as against the 47% the press have claimed) which on an average wage of £65 is a rise of only £13; it also included incentive payments, modelled on management's own proposals for increasing speed-up.

The only resistance to this claim when it came up on the shop stewards committee came from SWP members but Robinson was able to oppose their inadequate alternative of £20 as "too conservative" because it even fell short of the negotiating committee's claim which, together with the productivity parts, totals approximately £31.

Robinson then duly lodged the Longbridge claim with management



Longbridge workers demonstrate against the Social Contract earlier this year.

When management flung it back at him and said that they were not prepared to negotiate separately with Longbridge, Robinson had no alternative but to call a strike.

Robinson found himself caught between two pressures: management with whom he has worked hand in glove and whose main objective of corporate bargaining he openly supports; and the pressure from Longbridge workers, a pressure which Robinson has likened, on several occasions, to a boiling pot which threatens to boil over.

When management refused to negotiate there was a spontaneous demonstration by workers on Thursday who left the tracks and

marched on management in the pouring rain demanding the right to negotiate.

Meetings were held in each section at which stewards put strike action to the vote. Workers voted on strike action to force management to negotiate; but Robinson chose not to call a mass meeting.

### MAJORITIES

On the day shift, there were massive majorities in favour of strike action. Robinson then went on television claiming there was a fifty to one majority in favour of strike action.

This was a major mistake because the night shift had not

yet voted, and it gave management an ideal opportunity to intervene in a decisive way to reverse the strike call.

They handed out a letter to every worker. In this letter they claimed that they had made an offer to Longbridge workers.

What they were referring to was their document which came out of the Joint Working Party which was still being negotiated on.

In addition, the wage increases they were offering were strung out over two years.

They were able to point out quite correctly that their offer was basically the same as the Longbridge claim.

"the claim presented by the Trade Unions at Longbridge embodies all the principles contained in the Company's offer..."

This created a state of confusion. Workers thought that they had been conned by Robinson and the stewards.

### NOT MENTIONED

Why hadn't management's offer been mentioned before? Why were they going on strike if their claim was no different from what management anyway were offering?

It also appeared that management were prepared to negotiate.

Not surprisingly the voting on the night shift swung the other way. However, on sections where stewards were prepared to explain the issues carefully, sizable minority votes for strike action were recorded.

There was still overall a substantial majority of two to one in favour of strike action when the voting ended - with 8,889 in favour of action and 4,979 against.

However, because voting took place section by section those sections who were opposed to strike action did not feel the pressure which a mass meeting would have created to accept that they were a minority.

The feelings of the majority were shown when a number of protests took place against calling off the strike.

But when Robinson spoke of his decision he made no reference to postponing the action - simply saying it was off.

Robinson may have found himself having to lead a strike but he cannot have been entirely unhappy with the outcome, even though, in the course of climbing down, largely as a result of his own errors of leadership, he lost some face.

Management's campaign for corporate bargaining, a campaign which he has supported, has been given a boost.

In our view Robinson's collapse was entirely wrong: the strike should have gone ahead. In any event the problems flowed from his own contempt for the membership in failing to prepare for strike action with a mass meeting.

Steps must be taken to retrieve this situation. The stewards must meet to adopt a principled claim. A clear statement must be made rejecting corporate bargaining.

And the call must be for strike action to force Leyland to negotiate with the Longbridge committee

## NUJ CALL BLOCKED

Leaders of the print unions have blocked a call to extend the strike at North of England Newspapers throughout Westminster Press.

They refused to allow Evening paper journalists to join the three month old strike or to call out their own members in those areas.

The three month strike for a closed shop has reached deadlock and Westminster Press management are digging in for a long fight.

Last week they spent more than £3,000 on a glossy brochure attacking the closed shop for journalists. A copy was sent to every worker in the firm—at their home address—with a first class stamp.

At the same time a less well publicised company document was revealed which instructed local editors on how to block NUJ claims for 'house agreements' giving better local pay and conditions.

### SELECTIVE

It gives detailed instructions to refuse across the board pay claims—offering instead selective rises for company chosen staff—and to reject calls for fewer hours, sabbatical leave, or manning agreements.

The document also remarks regretfully: "The law . . . denies employers a convenient method of ridding the company of trouble makers after industrial action." The document is no more than an embarrassing confirmation of the political fervour with which Westminster Press opposes the union operating effectively for journalists.

It underlines the immediate need to step up the three month old strike at Darlington as the NUJ Westminster Press group chapel has proposed.

The National Executive of the NUJ meeting last week took the weak kneed attitude of finding out what the print unions thought about such a call.

At the Printing Industries Committee of the TUC, Wace, (NCA) O'Brien, (Natsopa) Keys, (Segat) and the others made their predictable decision.

They were not prepared to allow the strike to spread.

The proposal is to be discussed again at the TUC, and *Socialist Press* urges all NUJ members in Westminster Press to join the lobby in Blackpool on September 5 to force the print union leaders to implement the democratic decision of the NUJ members involved.

## HEATHROW STRIKE LEADER VICTIMISED

Under pressure from both British Airways management and AUEW officials, Jack Gatsky, the senior steward who led the Heathrow engineers strike has now been victimised.

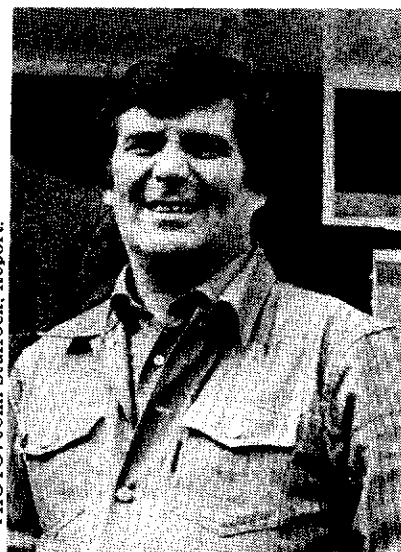
Gatsky was originally suspended and then sacked by the airline for comments he made about safety standards at British Airways after their fleet of Tridents were grounded for checks when cracks were discovered in the wings of some of the aircraft.

A mass meeting of engineers voted to strike unless he was reinstated.

But union officials eager to avoid a strike pressured Gatsky into accepting management's conditions for reinstatement. These were that Gatsky acknowledged his incompetence to comment on safety standards; that he would be suspended for four weeks without pay and that he would be moved from shift work to day work, thus losing his steward's position.

### HASTILY

At a meeting of the shop stewards, which was so hastily convened that many of them did not even know about it, the full time officials led by AUFW Regional Officer Chollerton persuaded the stewards to call off strike action.



Jack Gatsky

Gatsky subsequently had second thoughts and appealed against the suspension but was, of course, informed that he had accepted management's conditions and that the suspension stood.

The other steward facing disciplinary action, Ian Morris, has now been suspended for two weeks without pay for remarks he made after Gatsky was disciplined.

He is still working pending his appeal.

Morris is arguing that his comments were limited to the defence

of another steward and a reply to a political attack on members of the shop stewards' committee by the Chairman of British Airways and had nothing to do with the question of the airline's safety standards.

There is no doubt that this shoddy sell-out of Gatsky has weakened trade union organisation amongst the maintenance men who still have not received a penny of their shift pay claim over which they struck earlier this year.

The government has made it clear that the men will have to wait until January under the 12-month rule and that even then they will only be able to receive an overall increase of 10%.

Only a fight by the maintenance men under a strong leadership against the 12-month rule and the government "guidelines" will ensure that the men receive not only their justified shift pay claim but also a substantial increase in pay under their annual review.

Due to a lack of space the article on left groups and corporate bargaining has been held over to a future issue.

## AUEW STRIKE VOTE

250 AUEW stewards from all over Sheffield attended a special meeting on August 16 called to discuss the union's position on the 12-month rule and on Scanlon's circular endorsing it.

This show of feeling forced Stalinist District Secretary George Caborn to promise letters and resolutions in a bid to reverse the position of the AUEW Executive.

Discussion from the floor showed overwhelming opposition to the 12-month rule and support for immediate strike action.

In response to this the TASS senior steward from Osborn Hadfield, a supporter of *Socialist Press*, detailed the £20 claim submitted by his members, which is linked to a demand for a sliding scale of wages.

Eventually a resolution calling on the District Committee "to call an all-out stoppage on September 5th" for a lobby of the TUC was passed with only 3 abstentions.

Despite this indication of rank and file pay militancy all eyes remain on the manoeuvres of Caborn who seems already to be preparing to climb down on the 12-month rule issue.



# OWEN PLOTS TO PRESERVE IMPERIALIST RULE

The British-American plan for Zimbabwe has leaked out a few days before the proposed Southern African sales tour by British Foreign Secretary David Owen and Carter's UN Ambassador Andrew Young. It is a clear plan for the preservation of imperialist rule.

Its main provisions are the disarmament of the guerrilla liberation armies, the "temporary" installation of a British administrator to take over from Smith who would stand down, free elections under the "protection" of a United Nations army to take over the maintenance of law and order from the present racist army which would be disbanded, and a large injection of American money to buy off the whites.

This plan should be rejected in its totality by the masses of Zimbabwe who can expect nothing but treachery from "protectors" like Owen and Young.

*Socialist Press* has consistently argued the need for labour movement support for the struggle of the liberation movements in Zimbabwe but has warned of the danger that the leaders of these movements may treacherously seize on opportunities to compromise with the imperialists.

This danger was apparent in the

participation of the leaders of ZANU and ZAPU (which together comprise the Patriotic Front) in last year's imperialist-sponsored Geneva conference.

Last week the danger showed itself again when both ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo and ZANU leader Robert Mugabe were both reported as saying they would not oppose the British-American plan if it were implemented immediately.

## PLAN ACCEPTED

Nkomo made a reservation about the disarmament of the guerrilla army but appeared to accept the rest of the plan.

Meanwhile in Zimbabwe itself, Bishop Muzorewa and the Rev. Nolabaningi Sithole have sharpened their competition to do an alternative deal with Smith who seems to be certain of remaining Prime Minister after next week's "general election" among the whites.

Muzorewa seems to have been outmanoeuvred by Sithole who has captured some Muzorewa aides.

The Bishop has dismissed the whole national committee of his



Vance, Owen and South African Foreign Minister Botha.

African National Council. These sordid manoeuvres will almost certainly further expose the irrelevance of these meddling priests to the problems of the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe.

ZANU and ZAPU supporters must now demand that their leaders completely reject the plan which

can only establish new obstacles to national liberation and the building of socialism in Zimbabwe.

And the British labour movement can support these demands by pursuing an uncompromising campaign against the imperialist schemes of Owen and the Labour Party leadership.

# GRUNWICK CONFERENCE - CP DIVERTS FROM BETRAYALS

The anniversary conference in support of Grunwick strikers could have produced an important opportunity to draw the lessons of the struggle so far, and to plan action for the next state of the fight.

Instead it proved no more than a stage managed side show by the Communist Party and their 'left' bureaucratic friends, who covered up the labour leaders' sabotage with a smokescreen of left demagoguery. This was inevitable given that the conference was organised by the South East Regional TUC and the TGWU London Regional Committee.

Despite this it revealed the massive support for the strike that exists in the working class. This was shown not only in the high number of trade union organisations represented, but also in the enthusiastic ovations given to the speakers from

the strike committee, Mahmood Ahmed and Jayabeen Desai.

But it had already become clear that such support was not enough to overcome the leadership that the supporters of the strike were confronted by.

Mass action around picketing and behind the Cricklewood postmen's action had forced Grunwick's boss, Ward, and his NAFF and Tory backers to hand the initiative to the APEX and UPW bureaucracies who were intent on defusing the situation.

## HAND PICKED

The procession of hand-picked Stalinists who spoke from the floor had no intention whatsoever of pointing this out.

Typical of Communist Party duplicity was the contribution by

George Anthony from the AUEW North London District Committee.

His impassioned plea for all-out mass picketing and blacking to close Grunwick had a hollow ring, particularly to the delegation from the AUEW official strike at Desoutters.

This north London factory has been on strike 17 weeks for the same principles, but Anthony who is their District Secretary, has consistently refused to fight for these same key demands.

Eric Rechnitz from the TGWU Regional Committee, recalled the mass struggles to free the Pentonville 5 dockers in 1972. He did not say that Regional Committee had reversed a unanimous vote to back the August 8 mass picket.

The TGWU platform speaker had had the nerve to refer to the prolonged strikes for union recognition by TGWU members against Trust Houses Forte.

The defeat of those actions in Sheffield, Oxford and Birmingham was due entirely to TGWU leadership's refusal to organise effective blacking.

Recognising that hypocrisy was to be the keynote of the conference and not wanting to be left out of the act, Tribune Group MP Martin Flannery assured everyone that the working class of Sheffield were behind the strike.

The strikers at Sheffield's THF owned Grosvenor Hotel fought for 5 months on his own doorstep without a scrap of support from Flannery.

The sharp contrast to this double-talk was the contribution from Archie Sinclair, Assistant Secretary of the Cricklewood UPW branch who bitterly attacked the actions of Norman Stagg and his union executive.

The organisers' anxiety to protect the bureaucracy was brought out most clearly in the closing minutes. Chairman Jack Dunn, a Stalinist from Kent NUM called on the meeting to endorse a strike committee call to the TUC for blacking and the restoration of mass pickets to be moved by APEX.

An amendment from the floor called for Jack Jones of the TGWU, (the other union directly involved) to second the resolution was ruled out of order by Dunn.

When a TGWU strike committee member asked to raise a point on the amendment, Jack Dromey, self-styled spokesman, refused to allow him.

Only a political understanding of these leaders can explain the contradiction voiced by Mrs. Desai—"We are drowning in support; but starving for action!"



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

The Grunwick picket line.

A Workers Socialist League public meeting in London—How to Win at Grunwick and Desoutters—survived twin threats recently. First Jack Dromey urged strike committee members not to attend—a plan that fell on deaf ears.

Next the pub where the meeting was due to be held was visited by the National Front. The publican and his family were threatened. Police told him that any trouble would be on his own head (five days after protecting the Lewisham NF march).

The WSL would of course have gone ahead, preferably without police present. As it was presented with a fait accompli a successful meeting of

**CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT LOBBY OF THE TUC**

We call on all readers and supporters to rally on 5 September at 11.00 am. in Blackpool, on the following demands:

- \*TGWU and AUEW accept conference decisions.
- \*No to the 12-month rule.
- \*End unemployment! For a programme of public works.
- \*Stop all sackings: occupy and demand work sharing on full pay.
- \*Regain and defend living standards: wage claims to restore 1974 levels with cost of living clauses.
- \*Full-scale blacking of Grunwick by all unions.
- \* National strike action to force a halt to all cuts in social services.
- \*TUC must break Lib-Lab coalition.

**£3,000 FUND**

Urgent action is needed if we are to reach our target on time! With only one month to go we are now only two-thirds of the way towards our target of £3,000.

This money is urgently needed for the launching of the weekly *Socialist Press* in October.

With workers up and down the country prepared to take on the government's 12-month rule and 10% 'guideline', a weekly *Socialist Press* will be an indispensable weapon in the fight for a new leadership in the unions based on a programme that can defend workers' living standards.

All readers and supporters are urged to send donations and help us raise our target on time.

Among the latest contributions are: South London £93; car workers, £31.50; Birmingham £17; Leeds £33; Coventry £5; Hull £5.50; PC £10; AG £2: "a principled IMG member" £1

The total received since the last issue was £226.10, giving us a grand total to date of £1912.18.

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

1917 ... 1977



To commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution the WSL has produced a five colour silk screen print of a recruitment poster for the Red Cavalry during the Russian Civil War.

This poster is available from local branches of the WSL, price £1, or from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR, price £1 plus 25p p&p.

All proceeds to the Socialist Press Special Fund for the

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