

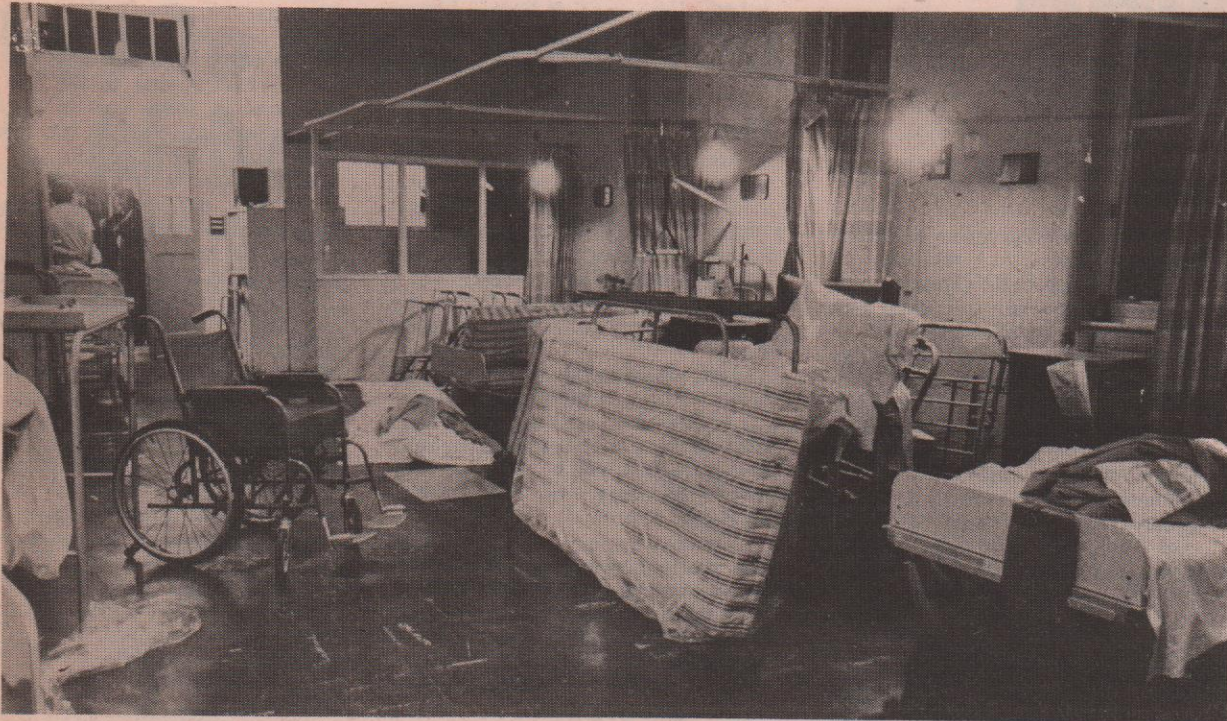
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PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report



HOUNSLOW: CALL NATIONAL STRIKE ACTION

A wave of strikes throughout London hospitals has been the immediate response of health workers to the smashing up of Hounslow Hospital last week, which at the latest count has left four patients dead.

The occupation committee have called on national executives of all health service unions to call national strike action until the hospital is reopened and the cuts reversed.

Hospital after hospital recorded massive votes at mass meetings to support the one day strike this week and to support the lobby of the Area Health Authority that carried out the attack.

VICTIMS

Staff at Hounslow had been working in for six months to prevent the closure of the 66 bed hospital—one of the earliest victims of the Labour government's cuts.

Until last week's raid, and with the support of local trade unions, the trades council and local community the hospital workers had managed to maintain services to 21 patients—many of them geriatric cases. Two members of the Area Health Authority had agreed to move that the hospital stayed open at its meeting this week.

Last Thursday AHA officials aided by police consultants a

handful of scabs from the West Middlesex Hospital, forced their way in.

They hauled patients from their beds and bundled them in their nightclothes through pouring rain to the waiting ambulances.

Beds were dismantled, personal belongings left behind and some patients made to wait 40 minutes in front of an open door.

DEAD

Patients were even bundled out without their teeth. Four patients are now reported dead in the aftermath. One suffered a heart attack. A terminal cancer patient was sent home because there was no room at West Middlesex Hospital and died.

A patient of the West Middlesex itself was refused admission because of the influx and died before he could get treatment.

Now admissions at the West Middlesex have been stopped. The hospital which had been declared "redundant" has proved too much to handle—until a few more patients die and leave their beds vacant.

OCCUPATION

The immediate response of the staff at the Hounslow Hospital was to declare a full scale occupation to defend the building.

They called strikes throughout London this Wednesday (October 12) and a lobby to demand the reopening of the hospital.

A key role in supporting the occupation is being played by the

Stewards in the Health Service (CLASH).

At three previous conferences CLASH has adopted a programme centred on the fight to halt and reverse the cuts through national strike action.

To defend the Health Service against inflation, CLASH calls for government spending to be linked to rising costs, as assessed by trade union committees with access to AHA books and accounts.

A meeting called jointly this Monday by the Hounslow Occupation Committee, CLASH and Hospital Worker attracted 150 stewards.

ALL OUT STRIKES

A London Strike Committee has been elected and a near unanimous vote decided to call all out strikes in London hospitals if the AHA does not change its mind on the closure.

Hospital workers pledged themselves to visit London factories to call for supporting strikes.

Workers at the Hammersmith Hospital had already voted to strike on Wednesday. A mass meeting of 500 at St. Bernard's Mental Hospital voted unanimously to strike.

DELEGATIONS

Both Ford's at Dagenham and Trico have agreed to send dele-

WE MADE IT!

Well we went over the top on the £3,000 fund! With money still coming in from the areas we now have a total of £3165.62. A magnificent effort over the last two weeks brought in an additional £520.75.

Among the contributions received were the following: West London £7; Liverpool £2.75; Hull £17; Birmingham £47.30; South London £35; Oxford Bazaar £254; Coventry £20; Amsterdam supporters £55.

The Special Fund is now closed and we would like to thank everyone who helped us to successfully complete it on time.

Now that we have raised the necessary finance to launch the weekly we must turn our attention to the raising of the finance necessary to sustain it. That means fighting each month to raise in full our monthly fund which we have continued to raise during the period of the Special Fund. The monthly target is £600 and while in recent months we have not raised it in full we now feel confident that this is possible.

All donations should be sent to:

Socialist Press Monthly Fund
31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

'Lefts' surrender to Coalition

"Lib-Lab Conference, Week Two" quipped the 'Daily Telegraph' cartoonist last week, aptly characterising a Labour Conference which saw the complete and grovelling collapse of the self-proclaimed 'left' wingers and no challenge to the continuation of the kind of policies beloved by industrialists and international bankers.

All the decisions had been taken the week before, when, under the approving eye of the Tory press, the Liberal Party endorsed a continuation of the Lib-Lab coalition deal—provided only that no socialist policies whatever were adopted.



PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

Callaghan

From then on the vacant rhetoric, histrionics, arm waving and lectern thumping of the 'lefts' in the Labour Conference could be clearly dismissed as irrelevant by everyone except the most gullible readers of *Tribune* and *Militant*.

Militant proudly claimed that eleven speakers on the first day alone got up to proclaim

the *Militant's* own toothless abstract category, stripped of any call for a break in the Lib-Lab coalition, it is easy to understand why it had no impact whatever in shaping the developments at the Conference.

The smattering of 'left' resolutions that were adopted by Conference will of course come in for the time honoured cold shoulder treatment from government ministers, who have always regarded the Conference as a diverting week by the sea rather than any mandate for action.

Among the more improbable proposals passed by Conference was the ritual demands for a restoration of public spending cuts (passed just as final plans for the sacking of Hounslow Hospital were being approved) and a call for a reduction in the "unacceptable" level of unemployment which the government has accepted and consciously built up over the last three years.

COALITION

Naturally neither policy can be implemented while the Lib-Lab coalition remains intact.

As the *Telegraph* summed up the 1977 Conference, the affair will have:

"... little or no impact on current Government policy—Mr Callaghan's position is too strong for that and the left does not want to chance its arm by endangering the new found unity of the party in the run-up to the election."

This 'new found unity' so valued by the 'lefts' is unity with the *Liberal Party*, unity with the friends and co-thinkers of Prentice who remain the dominant force in the Labour leadership, unity with the very forces that are liquidating the mass base of the Labour Party within the working class.

This unity must be broken, as must the coalition deal with the Liberals, before any progress can be made in the fight for socialism.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

CARRILLO COMFORTS FRANCO'S HEIRS

Spain's Francoist government led by Adolfo Suarez is supported by a minority of the population (even after vote-rigging it got barely one third of the votes in the general election in June).

And it is now suffering major internal disputes which resulted two weeks ago in the first ministerial resignation.

But no matter what its troubles, it knows it can count on one group of real friends—Santiago Carrillo and the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party.

Carrillo has never uttered a word of public criticism of Suarez and has frequently come to his aid.

ABSTAINED

For instance, in the regime's first parliamentary test last month, when the Socialist Party demanded the resignation of the mass murderer Martin Villa as Interior Minister after armed police had beaten up a Socialist MP, the Communist Party ostentatiously abstained, leaving the government with a decisive majority.

This was an example of the unswerving CP support for the armed repressive forces of the state.

parties will be headed by the right-wing veteran leader of the Generalitat in exile, Josep Tarradellas, a man very close to Suarez.

MINISTERS

There will be two Socialist Party ministers and one each from the bourgeois nationalist Democratic Pact for Catalonia, the Union of the Democratic Centre (Suarez' grouping) and the United Socialist Party of Catalonia (the CP), plus several other 'technicians' to be chosen by Tarradellas.

The agreement on the provisional Generalitat, therefore, has led to the formation of the first popular front government in post-Franco Spain.

Though this is only in one region of Spain, a similar arrangement is now being planned for Euskadi (the Basque region).

But at the national level too, Spain is rapidly heading for the formation of a popular front government.

Last week the Suarez regime proposed to the 'opposition' parties an agreement on a governmental programme to resolve the growing economic emergency of Spanish capitalism in exchange for parlia-

mentary support from the opposition parties.

They are a programme of democratic reforms in relation to women's rights and freedom of expression especially on radio and TV, measures to allow workers to 'have a certain level of control in the factories', along with an economic programme which deals with inflation and unemployment, and 'structural reforms' relating to energy and food policy.

These conditions are all stated so vaguely that they could well have come straight out of Suarez' election manifesto.

NOT BEST

His proposals are not the best possible programme, Carrillo added. The best would be 'a more complete and radical programme, though not of course, he assured his audience, a socialist one.'

"Today in Spain I don't believe in socialising the economy—but in a plan to strengthen the economy. We need to consolidate democracy and then think about the rest."

Most of Carrillo's remarks were about the relationship of the Spanish CP with the Spanish Socialist Party and the Soviet Union.

He made it clear that his

ARRESTS FAIL TO SOLVE CRISES

Mr Bhutto, the deposed prime minister of Pakistan, and Mrs. Gandhi, the ex-prime minister of India, have been taken into police custody on corruption charges. The legitimacy of these charges is of less significance than their timing.

Mrs. Gandhi, after a few months seclusion came out with a forceful criticism of the right wing government. She not only criticised its various political, economic and social policies but counterposed a programme which was radical by the standards of the Congress Party.

Her demagoguery was all too effective in securing support.

Bhutto was arrested only four days after a massive election rally in Karachi which clearly outnumbered any of the PNA's meetings.

These frenzied reactions, and the postponement of elections in Pakistan show both the desperation of the six month old right-wing Desai government in India and the determination of General Zia's military regime to hand over power to the right wing PNA.

Both Gandhi and Bhutto were brought down through hysterical campaigns, based not on any coherent political or economic programme but on a strange mixture of metaphysics and morality.

These campaigns gained support because neither ruler offered any solution to the problems facing the Indian and Pakistani masses and because both, after coming to power, more or less abandoned their 'socialist' programmes.

The only people campaigning

directly against them, on the political level were right wing coalitions.

They gained massive support. But the Desai government and the PNA backed military regime cannot assure a consolidated right wing rule in either of the countries.

The fact is that in the previous elections in India and in Pakistan the defeat inflicted on the supposedly 'left wing' Congress and PPP was not decisive.

These parties still retained considerable militant support as well as a bulk of the population which could be decisively won over.

It is obvious enough that neither a bourgeois democracy nor a fascist military regime is able to solve the problems inflicted on the people in those countries, and that the only system which can resolve these numerous political, economic and social problems is a socialist system.

Even more obvious is the historical conclusion drawn from the February and October revolutions in 1917, is that in the backward countries even basic democratic tasks of bourgeois revolution can only be achieved by a socialist revolution, brought about under the leadership of the organised working class with the help of peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie.

Utter confusion on this question has been created by both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Communist Parties in both India and Pakistan.

Their false policies are now clearly the decisive factor in preserving the system as well as letting a desperate population denied independent leadership face death and humiliation in the process of changing one reactionary bourgeois government for another and then back again.



Carrillo (centre) with Italian CP leader Berlinguer and French CP leader Marchais

The member of the armed police shot dead on September 27 (the anniversary of Franco's judicial murder of five left wing militants two years ago) was immediately declared by the CP to be a 'good democrat'.

On other such occasions the CP has sent condolences to the police and representatives to the funeral. One of its members has been expelled from the party and denied the party's legal aid after he killed a fascist thug in self-defence.

Carrillo and the CP leadership have been calling for the last three years for a popular front government of national reconciliation which would be a coalition of Stalinists, reformists and the loyal servants of Franco who remain in charge.

This treacherous class collaborationist plan has come several steps nearer fulfillment over the last two weeks.

AUTONOMY

In the first place the Suarez regime has finally granted a provisional 'statute of autonomy' to the Generalitat to the four provinces of Catalonia.

mentary support from the opposition parties.

This appeal was mainly directed towards the Socialist and Communist Parties.

Though there is no doubt about the willingness of Felipe Gonzalez' Socialist Party to enter into this kind of sordid deal, it was as usual the CP which replied first, with near rapture, to Suarez' initiative.

It was a step, the CP spokesman said, towards the government of national reconciliation which the CP had been proposing.

RUSHED

Carrillo, alone among 'opposition' leaders rushed to Suarez' office to talk to him about it face to face.

Having done this, Carrillo shot off not to Moscow but to Brighton where he has been an observer of the Labour Party conference.

There he was able to meet some of the experts on undeclared class collaborationist coalitions.

On a day off from the conference Carrillo spoke, even less guardedly than usual, to an audience of academics in London University.

differences with the Soviet Union are not some positive rejection of Stalinism but part of a complete rejection of internationalism.

The fragmentation of the world communist movement, he said, was not only not a tragedy but a sign of the development of the revolution.

"The more the revolution grows", said Carrillo, "the more it will fragment and therefore diversify".

The victory of socialism will be the victory of the progressive force in each country.

"It has to be national."

The Communist Parties therefore have to be totally independent of the socialist powers.

Having liquidated in this way the basic political need for proletarian internationalism Carrillo went on to the organisational liquidation of the CP.

There was 'no essential difference in programme', he argued, between the Spanish CP and the Socialist Party.

The only obstacle to the fusion of the two organisations was the unwillingness of the Socialist Party leadership.

"I feel more representative, much more representative, of the

DEAD END AT GENEVA

The most recent outbreak of Middle Eastern "shuttle diplomacy" last week reached epidemic proportions with Israeli and Arab ministers traipsing to Washington for frenzied consultations with American President Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

At issue is the reconvening of the Geneva conference to achieve a "peaceful" settlement in the Middle East, satisfactory to international imperialism and providing a secure basis for the Zionist state.



Dayan

The major sticking point has been the composition of the Arab delegation, behind which lies the question of two and a half million Palestinians denied a homeland.

The Zionists, with their new ultra right wing government, have been adamant in their refusal to negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Foreign Minister Dayan's insistence was underscored by Israel's much publicised invasion of

This incursion, complete with bombers, gunboats facing the harbour of Tyre, and a substantial array of tanks, carried a particularly public message to Carter.

It backfired. Although Israel is a major client of US imperialism in the Middle East, it is not the only one; nor are the Zionists proving reliable servants of American interests.

Carter is seeking a compromise whereby the governments of the major Arab states would line up behind a proposal for a Palestinian mini-state on the West Bank. In pursuit of that aim he is clearly willing to tread on Zionist toes.

By the end of his Washington trip Dayan had changed his tune.

A major pressure point was the joint statement issued by the US and Soviet Union on October 2 in favour of "insuring the rights of the Palestinian people."

This helped push the Zionists into accepting a compromise formula involving a single Arab delegation (rather than by countries), which would include mildly disguised representatives of the PLO, probably in the persons of the West Bank mayors.

Another effect of Carter's position was to enable Egypt and Jordan to retreat from their earlier insistence on separate PLO representation at Geneva.

The chances of reconvening the Geneva talks by the year's end now seem fairly high. But the chance of such talks offering any way forward to the Palestinian people are precisely zero.

A broken state, the most "progressive" possible outcome, would be the result of the Palestinian masses' struggle for liberation.

The liquidation of revolutionary

BIKO: ONE MORE MURDER IN PROGRAMME OF REPRESSION

Apartheid system key to capitalism in S. Africa

The death in detention last month of Steve Biko, a prominent leader of the black consciousness movement in South Africa, is one more event in the systematic programme of murder and repression being carried out by the South African state to crush any popular resistance to apartheid and the capitalist system which it maintains.

Biko was a founding leader of the independent black students organisation, SASO, and later became a leader of the Black People's Convention, one of the organisations of the black consciousness movement.

Over the last few years Biko suffered from continuous police repression. He was put under house arrest, banned (ie deprived of political and personal rights) and on a number of occasions held in jail.

His latest arrest came only a few weeks before his murder.

NOT UNUSUAL

In itself, Biko's death is nothing unusual for South Africa.

Hardly a month goes by without the recorded murder of a black liberation fighter inside a South African jail.

A recent report by the South African Institute of Race Relations puts the number of political prisoners killed in detention since 1961 as 41, 18 of those being since March of last year.

And these are merely the known deaths; many others have simply 'disappeared'.

Biko's death, however, has been given particular prominence, not only because he was the best known leader to have been killed but because the capitalist governments of Europe and the United States have seized upon his death as a pretext to exude ritualistic moralism about their 'abhorrence' of apartheid.

Many opponents of apartheid point out quite rightly the bare-faced hypocrisy of such 'abhorrence' when it is coupled with economic complicity in maintaining apartheid.

MASK

But that hypocrisy is not just a moral shortcoming which could be corrected by moral pressure, argument and persuasion.

It is a necessary part of the ideological mask by which international capital deliberately mystifies its relationship with racialism in general and with apartheid in particular.

The international task of revolutionaries in relation to the South African struggle is not to follow the diversion of exerting 'pressure' on capital to 'reform itself' inside South Africa, but to provide all solidarity, material support and assistance for the struggle to build a South African revolutionary party.

The presence of western diplomats at Biko's funeral was itself part of the way that imperialism tries to mask its true nature, its role in the development and maintenance of racism and exploitation throughout the world.

STRUGGLE

The representatives of imperialism can have no real solidarity with

Because, ultimately, that struggle is against imperialism as a whole.

Apartheid is the particular form in which capitalism needs to maintain itself in South Africa.

And racist South Africa is a vital strategic fortress, market, producer and cheap labour pool within the international capitalist network.

The laying of a wreath on Biko's coffin by the United States ambassador was a cynical insult to the struggle to which Biko was committed.

While the functionaries of international capitalism attended the funeral to express their concern and abhorrence, the system they represent continued to maintain the system which led to the murder.

PIOUS

And while they compete with each other in pious protestations, their secret police co-operate with the South Africans to help them capture their future victims.

The face of the British Foreign Secretary was grave enough at the memorial service to Biko which he attended in London.

But it was much graver the next day when the Labour Party conference passed, against his impassioned pleas, a resolution calling on the labour movement to give material and moral support to the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe.

Unfortunately missing from that resolution was any call on the government to prevent the activities of Smith's and Vorster's extensive security forces in Britain.

The hypocritical moralising of the imperialist governments, through trying to mask the real role of imperialism in sustaining

apartheid, is an attempt to divert the struggle against apartheid from the path of struggle against all capitalist exploitation and oppression.

The South African working class must rely, not on international capitalism to reform one of its inevitable consequences, but on its own independence and programme to destroy the system of which Steve Biko was one of countless victims.

SPONTANEOUS

The black consciousness movement of which Biko was one of the leaders, like all spontaneous movements with strong petty-bourgeois influence, does not involve a clear commitment to the independence of the working class.

It is a movement which filled some of the political vacuum which followed the demoralising defeat of

Sharpeville in 1961 and which was partly produced by the desertion of the masses by the traditional nationalist movements in favour of guerrillism.

In this respect, black consciousness, despite its political limitations played a progressive role in the ideological and organisational mobilisation of the black masses.

Objectively it represents the groping of the black working class towards the building of new weapons of struggle—political, theoretical and organisational—after the catastrophe of Sharpeville.

But because of its petty-bourgeois limitations it cannot forge those weapons adequately.

While saluting the courage of Steve Biko, as a liberation fighter and a leader of the black masses in struggle, we believe it would be wrong not to make at the same time the necessary criticisms of the black consciousness movement.

For Biko's murder, and the repression of which it is a part, highlights the responsibility of revolutionaries in helping to build the theory, programme and organisation with which the South African working class must be armed.

TROTSKYIST

It is only the theory of permanent revolution, a revolutionary programme of transitional demands and a Trotskyist revolutionary party, as a section of international revolutionary party which can fully meet the needs of the South African working class to take the struggle forward to socialist revolution.

The struggle in South Africa must be a central concern in rebuilding of the Fourth International.



Sharpeville



IN BRIEF



AUSTRALIA

The Premier of the State of Victoria has taken sweeping emergency powers to attempt to defeat the six week old wage strike of electricity supply workers, which is bringing industry in the state to a halt. His threat to call in the troops has prompted widespread calls for a national general strike.

ETHIOPIA

There are growing reports of discontent within the army of dictator Mengistu. Mutinies are reported from both the Ogaden and Eritrean fronts. The West Somalian Liberation Front, backed by the Somalian army is now in full control of the long-disputed town of Jijiga.

POLAND

The Workers Defence Committee set up to combat the repression which followed the strikes of June 1976 has changed its name to the Committee for Social Self-defence. The 23 founding members declare their objective as fighting against repression, violation of legality and the rights of man and "abuse of power by those who govern us."

SRI LANKA

Using its two thirds majority in parliament (which was boycotted by former Prime Minister Bandaranaike's Freedom Party and by the Tamil Liberation Front), Jayawardene's repressive reactionary government has changed the consti-

power in the hands of the president who will of course be Jayawardene himself.

HOLLAND

Yet another attempt to reconstruct the Tory-Labour coalition government has failed due to disagreement over the number of seats for each party in the Cabinet. Dutch capitalism has now been without an authoritative government for six months since the elections.

ITALY

The Communist Party, which supports the anti-working class programme of the nominally Christian Democratic government has jumped at the government's proposal not to hold the important municipal elections which are due next month. They will be postponed until sometime in 1978.

Violent confrontations have taken place between left-wing demonstrators and both fascists and police after the murder of a militant of the centrist group Lotta Continua by members of the fascist MSI.

BANGLA DESH

A group of soldiers, reportedly supporters of the 'revolutionary' National Socialist Party tried unsuccessfully to make use of the confusion created by the presence at Dacca airport of the hijacked Japanese airliner to depose Zia ur Rahman's dictatorship, which they helped to bring to power in 1975.

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 policies and method of Trotsky's Transitional Programme is not 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 W.S.L. 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

LOBBY SPOTLIGHTS 'LEFT'

TALKERS

Break the Coalition? "Get knotted" — Heffer

'Marxists' keep mum on real issues: No call to break pact

While Workers Socialist League lobbyists fought to draw out the real position of the Tribune 'left' MPs, no support was forthcoming from the self-styled 'Marxists' of the Militant group.

Indeed the front page of their 16-page 'Conference Special' paper was turned over to the diversionary call for 'Socialist Policies Now!'

Such a demand, unless firmly linked to the central call for the breaking of the Lib-Lab coalition, is completely spurious. And nowhere in the 16-pages did Militant make this call.

As the WSL leaflet stressed, the main decisions of the Labour Party conference had already been pre-empted by the Liberal Conference vote to continue the deal with Callaghan *only so long as no socialist policies were introduced.*

But for Militant the call for "socialist policies" has always been no more than window dressing to camouflage cringing, opportunist relations with cringing, opportunist elements within the Labour Party.

This was clear from the obsequious way in which Militant sellers greeted Heffer and the other 'lefts', and from their failure to challenge the platform on anything other than import controls.

And it is borne out by the 7 October issue of Militant which astoundingly headlines not the collapse of 'left' opposition at the Labour Conference, but some of the left rhetoric of a handful of delegates.

"The Marxist Paper for Labour and Youth" has again proved its real role as a cheerleader for the fake lefts and the right wing.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Heffer

The seeds of last week's complete collapse by Labour's self-proclaimed left-wingers were evident in the pre-conference public meeting staged by the Tribune Group the Sunday before.

The meeting, featuring no less than seventeen 'left' MPs, was lobbied by a contingent of over 30 WSL members and Socialist Press readers demanding to hear where these 'leaders' stood on the question of the Lib-Lab coalition.

A WSL leaflet spelled out the link between the 'lefts' and the Lib-Lab deal.

Last week the Liberal Party Conference decided that if any left wing policies are adopted by the Callaghan government they will break the coalition.

This means that whatever left speeches are made by Tribune Group MPs they are absolutely worthless unless they are prepared to bring the coalition down.

According to the advertisement for this meeting, there will be 17 Tribune Group MPs on the platform. This is more than enough to bring the government down (more than the Liberals).

If those MPs on the platform this morning were to declare that they would not place their votes in support of the Government on any policies which attack the working class, the coalition could not continue.

The responsibility for the continuation of the coalition therefore rests squarely on the shoulders of the Tribune Group MPs.

The replies by the Tribune MPs were unusually clear and unambiguous on this point.

Eric Heffer, for example, was asked by a carworker why he did not fight to break the coalition: 'Why don't you get knotted?' retorted Heffer, pushing his way through lobbyists.

'NOT ACCOUNTABLE'

Veteran left talker Ian Mikardo was equally explicit:

'Why don't you mind your own business? I'm not accountable to you,' he spluttered on his way in to speak enthusiastically about the need for reselection of MPs—a demand to be ignominiously abandoned later in the week.

Only Denis Skinner attempted any serious answer on the coalition question, claiming that he had not yet had the chance of a vote for or against the Lib-Lab deal—but that if he did 'get the chance' he would vote against it.

And it was Skinner alone who took a similar stand from the platform of the meeting itself, declaring that he was opposed to the deal:

'If Jim Callaghan wants to get a private deal together that's one thing. But for me to vote for it is quite another thing.'

But Skinner found himself in complete agreement with his motley platform colleagues on one central question: like them, he was



Ron Thomas

not prepared to lift a finger in any campaign to force a vote on the coalition, or for the removal of the Callaghan leadership.

Indeed every one of the Tribune spokesmen spelled out that the aspect of this 'left' grouping they value most is its political incoherence and—the very fact that the Tribune Group is incapable of leading or developing campaigns.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Ian Mikardo

Ian Mikardo boasted that, as the present-day successor to the Keep Left tendency in the 1940s and the Bevanites in the 1950s, the Tribune Group remains purely 'a body for self education', with 'no whips, no resolutions, and no real structure'.

The fact that this ensures that the Group has no power to fight the right wing and no principles also appeared to be regarded as a virtue.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Orme

Ireland man Orme rattled by hecklers

In a meeting that reeked throughout of nationalism and tacit support for British imperialism, perhaps the most obvious give-away was the presence on the Tribune platform of Stan Orme, until recently a junior minister in Northern Ireland.

Orme in his introduction assured the meeting that despite this role, presiding over the imperialist occupation, at least once a week he was a socialist—continuing to attend Tribune meetings.

To make sure he did not forget his socialism he wrote these meetings down in his desk diary!

Orme came in for a continual barrage of abuse from WSL lobbyists demanding he explain his actions in Ireland, and that the other Tribunes separate themselves from him—and remove him from the platform.

But other Tribunes were showing themselves as no better. Chairman Ron Thomas in particular used the cover provided by the taking of a collection to hold forth in defence of the nationalist policy of import controls, claiming that these were justified because most imports came from Western Europe.

EXCLUDED

Tribune 'internationalism' clearly excludes solidarity with workers of Western Europe!

Fords: 'Reject 12 per cent' says Kinnock

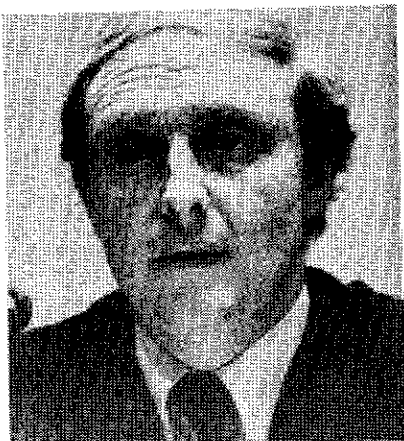
Asked outright where the Tribune Group stands on the struggles now taking place against the government's unilateral 10% limit on wage increases, three MPs were prepared—in the sanctuary of the meeting—to state a limited degree of support for workers.

Meanwhile an ageing Tribune Minister Michael Foot calmly surveyed the proceedings from a seat in the back row—possibly talent spotting for Callaghan, or revelling in nostalgia for the days in which he, too, used to talk 'left'.

Neil Kinnock declared outright that in his opinion, 'Ford workers would and should reject the new offer', which had been raised to 12%.

Kinnock declared himself opposed to government intervention to prevent Fords paying over 10%.

If the government picks fights with workers by moves against



Kinnock

ful not to state support for pay strikes now in progress.

And a mere two days later Kinnock had changed his position considerably, telling a Radio interviewer that the government ought to 'be flexible on the 10% norm', and that each case should be viewed on the merits.

A similar two-faced stance was

'dangerous' to the labour movement—not least electorally!

Yet at the same time Wise took her distance, proclaiming that the wages issue was a 'trade union matter' in which MPs could not play a role.

Skinner, too, though rejecting the 12-month rule and the 10% limit, did so strictly from the sidelines, with no intention of carrying through any fight for such views within the Labour and trade union movement.

If the 'lefts' felt obliged to mince their words about the wages struggle, they felt no such constraints in holding forth on general issues where no action seemed likely.

PUBLIC WORKS

Heffer for instance regaled the meeting with demands for a 35 hour week, and a programme of public works to end unemployment, along with the restoration of all cuts. Others nodded earnestly in agreement—but kept quiet on the prospects of such a policy ever being adopted by the Callaghan-Steel coalition.

Such unpleasant realities were only brought into the meeting by

imports:

'It is not socialist to be opposed to import controls', he claimed.

'What we need is workers' control, not import controls', retorted a heckler.

Thomas, rattled, went on to attack Trotsky as 'out of date'. 'He supported all kinds of fiscal policies', he claimed.

'He was an internationalist and a socialist not a British chauvinist', responded another heckler.

FACE HIDDEN

In the closing moments of the meeting, Orme, who had been hiding his face in his hands, was stung into action not only by continual shouts but also by the speech by Selly Oak MP Tom Litterick, who condemned the government's 'shameful support for British imperialism in Ireland.'

Litterick had made a long contribution attacking careerist elements in the government—interrupted by shouts of "Ask Stan Orme!"

Orme finally got to his feet and denounced what he called "fascism" on the part of "both the Provisional IRA and the Protestant extremists"—to roars of hostility. He blundered on, attempting to change the subject, claiming personal credit for the payment of child benefits.

After the shouts abated on this it was left to Jo Richardson MP to sum up the views of the platform on the topic:

"The pubs have been open for 47 minutes", she said.

LESSONS FROM DESOUTTER SELL-OUT

Last Monday week the 60 or so workers who had stayed on at the Desoutter plant in North London went back to work—their spirits still high despite the blows dealt them the previous week by the local AUEW leadership.

The strikers returned to work without their convenor Fred Hopper, and without securing their central demand—full union recognition for the purposes of collective bargaining.

The document which formed the basis of the return can rightly be called a model of bureaucratic betrayal. Only "individual" union recognition is conceded, and nowhere are there any references to elected shop stewards or union representatives.

A union noticeboard is to be provided—but all notices are first to be submitted to management for vetting.

And capping this is the open declaration that the AUEW recognise management's right to run its enterprise in such a way as to secure "maximum efficiency".

HARDSHIP

It may seem surprising that workers who stayed out for 20 weeks through great financial hardship should go back to work with so little to show for it.

In truth, though, the return was forced on the workers by a series of measures enacted by the bureaucracy throughout the strike.

In the first place the AUEW—locally as well as nationally—lifted not a finger to impose national blacking on Desoutters' tools, despite the fact that even the threat of such a move would have quickly brought the employer to heel.

The Executive Council—on which the Desoutter workers were allegedly represented by Maoist and self-styled "Marxist-Leninist" Reg Birch—considered a call for blacking, but rejected it, arguing that such a course would leave the union open to legal action.

Clearly for the AUEW leaders, the bosses' laws stand higher than the defence of members' interests.

The local AUEW leadership—the CP-dominated London North District Committee—had given verbal support to blacking calls.

OUTSIDE LONDON

Ironically the only places where effective blacking occurred were all outside the London North District: Oxford, Sheffield and Heathrow Airport.

This do-nothing attitude on blacking was outdone only by the treacherous attitude adopted by the District Committee on finance. Not only did District Committee members squash all calls for the raising of a district levy, but they failed even to take up collections in their own workplaces.

And, as reported in the last issue of *Socialist Press*, the District Committee deliberately voted down a call for a levy knowing that this would help drive the strikers back to work.

WEAKNESSES

It took divisional organiser Bill McLoughlin though to put the finishing touches on the sell out. At the mass meeting he divided the strikers by harping non-stop on the strike's weaknesses, rather than pointing to any of its strengths. His line of argument was that the docu-

This argument—on the surface reasonable enough—was false to the core.

The balance of forces was dictated not by the numbers on the picket line, but by the blacking which was undoubtedly hitting the employer hard. (From all accounts the wages bill for security alone was astronomical).

PRESSURES

Faced with such pressures and lacking a strike leadership sufficiently experienced in dealing with such manoeuvres, the strikers voted to accept the document as the basis of a return.

The following Thursday they agreed to return minus the convenor.

Even though they returned empty handed in terms of full union recognition, they go back aware now of how their own District Committee will act in the future.

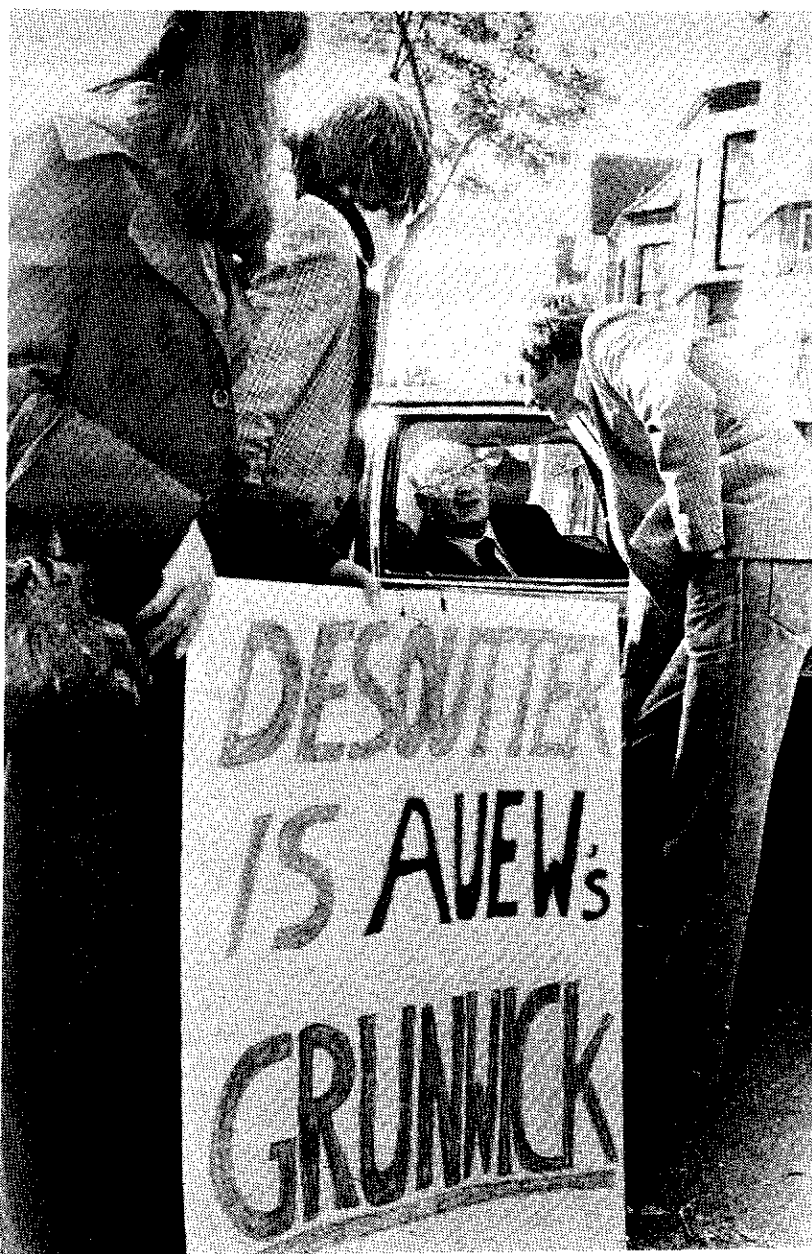
Moreover, McLoughlin's argument actually begged the question why so many had returned. The answer lay in the question of finance, which McLoughlin with his cronies on the London North District tried to cut off throughout the dispute.

But to draw out the full lessons of the strike it is necessary for the Desoutter workers to go beyond mere awareness of how the bureaucracy will act, to a full understanding of why they act as they do.

We must begin an analysis of the bureaucracy from the point of view of classes, not from consideration of any individual bureaucrat's personal characteristics.

In *Socialist Press* we have consistently argued that the bureaucracy in no way reflect or fight for the interests of the working class.

Instead they form a social stratum which is entirely hostile to



Desoutter workers picket AUEW head office demanding support.

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

independent working class activity; a parasite growth on the workers' movement representing the influence of the capitalist class within working class organisations.

FIGHT

Right throughout the Desoutter strike we argued that this break could only be effected by sharply fighting against the bureaucracy, by boxing them into a corner and by forcing them to provide the materials needed to win the strike.

And in the course of such a struggle we pointed out that a new leadership could be built capable of ousting the bureaucracy.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) on the contrary, proposed a purely organisational response to the political question of how to purge the trade unions of the bureaucracy.

The SWP went on to argue that to sharply attack the District Committee for their inactivity would "alienate" those elements on the District Committee who were "sympathetic" to the strike.

Individual Committee members did certainly vote for a district levy; but the District Committee as a body voted the levy down.

By not ceaselessly exposing where the District Committee stood the SWP actually covered up what the Committee were doing.

BYPASS

They argued that all one had to do was to by-pass the District Committee, to organise at rank-and-file level and to establish direct links between workers in different factories.

Such a solution appeared very attractive to the strikers since it

corresponded almost entirely with their own immediate feelings when confronted with sell-outs and betrayals.

Such a response was and is entirely inadequate, for it merely allowed the local bureaucrats to perform their work unhindered.

The bureaucracy are the ball and chain which hold the workers' movement back. And just as one cannot get rid of a ball and chain by pretending it is not there, so one cannot get rid of the trade union bureaucracy by ignoring it.

CUTTING THROAT

The last strike committee leaflet (produced by SW Litho) carried a statement saying that the London North District were in favour of blacking.

At that very point the District Committee were in reality cutting the strike's throat.

Equally amazing was the post-strike report in *Socialist Worker* (8 October). The AUEW Executive Council was mildly scolded for its "inability" to "take any decision on blacking".

The very headline of the report speaks volumes; blandly stating "Desoutter Strike Ends", whereas in reality it was coldly and cynically sold out.

And nowhere in the article is there any reference to the fact that it was the Communist Party who dominated the London North District Committee; instead there are nostalgic references to the London North's past militancy.

What this militancy actually consisted of is unclear—but what is undeniable is that this reputation was gained in a period when even Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon were considered red devils!

The Desoutters sell out is the latest in a long list which extends from the hotel disputes to the current struggles at Grunwicks and Murphys.

STRANGLEHOLD

Every worker must seriously study precisely why and how the strikes were betrayed; but such a study must be used as the basis of a fresh onslaught against the capitalist class and their bureaucratic agents within the workers' movement.

The question is how to free the existing trade union movement from the stranglehold of the bureaucracy.

Offering the strikers a new address in Seven Sisters Road is not enough. As Trotsky said:

"It is necessary to seek out the masses where they are and to lead them."

This is one of the major lessons of the Desoutters strike and one which the workers there must seriously grasp.

Strikes show need for conference

Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement invites trade unionists to discuss

THE PAY OFFENSIVE AND THE FIGHT FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES



Conference
Sunday October 23
10.30 - 5.00
Digbeth Hall, Birmingham

Credentials 50p from: KEVIN LEE 44, DEVONSHIRE RD HANDSWORTH WOOD B'HAM 20.

The wave of pay strikes from one end of the country to the other is testimony to the determination of the working class to confront the wage cutting policies of the Government.

These fights, breaking out afresh as every week goes by, put at risk the cosy coalition between Labour and Liberals.

more sacrifices, and government threats to bankrupt firms which meet workers' demands—a policy which was part of the 1974 Liberal election manifesto.

They confront also the policies of class collaboration which drive union leaders to join with employers in undermining claims, selling out strikes and ensuring that the threat to the government is reduced to a minimum.

COALITION

If willingness to fight were the sole criterion then government would not have survived Phase 2, coalition or not, let alone survived to try to force through another year of wage cuts.

The question of leadership confronts pay strikes and those workers fighting the decimation of the health service, the growing queues of the unemployed and the bitter struggles for union recognition.

In the wages struggle, the crucial policy that must be advanced by workers is for a sliding scale of

levels.

This policy not only has the ability to maintain the living standards of the working class despite the crisis, but also raises the struggle to a new level.

Wage rises must be computed not by the TUC in collaboration with the government, but by elected committees of workers and housewives, determining what rise is needed to protect their standard of living.

The demand sweeps aside the diversionary hotch potch of productivity agreements, incentive schemes and bonus payments which are being used to dress up wage cuts and speed ups which the employers are trying to force through.

The Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement has made this demand central to its policy since its first conference in October last year.

It has shown the link between the deliberate betrayals of the union officials in every sort of struggle and their central task of defending capitalism.

The CDLM held the only confer-

other so called lefts were condemning them as splitting the working class.

If the working class is to unite it must now do so on a programme which declares its independence from capitalism and all its supporters.

That is why the conference of the CDLM in Birmingham on Sunday October 23 comes at a critical time. We call on all supporters of *Socialist Press* to give this conference full backing.

All labour movement organisations are invited to send delegates. The conference is also open to individuals. The conference will be taking up not only the question of wages but also the struggles at Grunwick and Desoutters, the sacking of Hounslow Hospital and other vital unionisation battles.

FLOOR SPEAKERS

Conference organisers have decided that this third CDLM conference will concentrate more than ever before on contributions from the floor, while inviting speakers from a number of major struggles including Hounslow, Desoutters, Leyland, the tunnellers, the Fire Brigades Union, NUPE and others.

More information and credentials (50p) can be obtained from the conference secretary, Kevin Lee, 44 Devonshire Rd, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham B15 2JN.



Leading SWP members Novack and Wohlforth—accept Mandel's notions



Mandel



ALL ROUND CONFUSION ON STALINISM

Concluding the two part analysis of positions of 'Trotskyist' tendencies on Stalinism.

The criticisms that Trotskyists make of the regime in the USSR are fundamental. But they flow from a completely different class standpoint than that of the French, Italian or Spanish Communist Party leaders.

These bureaucrats stand in reality in defence of both capitalism and the Stalinist bureaucratic apparatus.

Only Trotskyists stand for the fight for complete political independence of the working class.

DEFENCE

And at the same time only Trotskyists uphold the principle of unconditional defence of the nationalised property relations in the USSR, which remain the living gains made in the revolution of October 1917.

Trotskyists alone call clearly and prepare consciously for political revolution to oust the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy that feeds off those gains.

We must stress that there is nothing progressive about either the statements or the related actions of the CPs within the capitalist countries.

They may make criticisms of the lack of democratic rights in the Soviet Union—but purely in order to preserve and strengthen their own position.

Nor can their statements have the galvanising impact attributed to them by Ernest Mandel, leader of the majority of the so-called 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International.

The statements of the 'Euro Communists' in favour of political pluralism and democratic freedoms are avidly received, not because they recognise capitalism and the bourgeois state, but because these statements are seen as an alternative to the present form of political rule in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

ENDORSEMENT

But in the July 21 issue of *Inter-*

ope — Hungarian CP chief Kadar — endorsing 'EuroCommunism'!

In what way, then, can 'Euro-Communists' be seen as a threat to the Stalinist state bureaucracies?

Mandel goes even further, however, claiming that in Eastern Europe the "central question . . . remains that of proletarian democracy".

PABLO

Such statements hark back to the start of the 1953 split—in which Pablo was arguing for Trotskyist forces simply to "integrate themselves" into the newly purged monolithic Eastern European CPs and wait for revolutionary events—abandoning the fight for Trotskyist parties to lead political revolution in order to overthrow the bureaucracy.

The fight for clarity on Stalinism today is thus continuously driven back to a consideration of unresolved problems of the past.

In Britain Mandel's position is aped by the majority of the International Marxist Group, who have enthusiastically carried extracts from the book by Spanish CP leader Carrillo.

HISTORY

Diplomatically skirting around the obvious counter-revolutionary history of this former GPU agent accused of torturing Trotskyists during the Spanish Civil War, they hail the decision of Carrillo to 'rehabilitate' Trotsky and Trotskyism.

The IMG assure us that Carrillo's book will 'open up an important discussion' among Spanish CP militants.

'It is with these militants that revolutionary socialists will have to conduct a dialogue' they proclaim.

In pursuing such a 'dialogue' the IMG in Britain have arranged a series of so-called 'debates' with veteran Stalinist hacks including noted anti-Trotskyist Monty Johnstone, while reprinting and uncritically reporting large chunks of material and speeches by both sides in the current split in the British CP.

A Marxist analysis needed as basis to reconstruct the Fourth International



Italian CP leader Berlinguer with Yugoslav President Tito—so-called 'EuroCommunism' no threat to Stalinist regimes

completely to exclude discussion on the counter-revolutionary politics of Stalinism, and centre instead on the secondary issue of 'democracy'—both within the British CP and within the Soviet Union.

In the public discussion between IMG spokesman Robin Blackburn and the CP's Monty Johnstone on 'Trotsky and Revolutionary Strategy in Europe' the IMG's debating society attitude to Stalinism came out clearly.

Blackburn's contribution attempted to compare the size of the British CP to that of the French section of the USFI.

He advised Johnstone: "I think you should therefore seriously study the strategy and tactics that Trotskyists have debated over the last decades."

In this way Blackburn reduces differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism to a question of numbers, or simply "wrong" tactics adopted by Stalinist parties.

HEAD OFF

This leaves out completely the fact that the British CP leadership is not looking, and has no intention of looking for tactics to mobilise the working class in struggle. They are looking for manoeuvres to head off and defuse workers' struggles in the name of 'peaceful coexistence'.

Blackburn goes further, and gives us a revealing insight into the reactionary political implications of the IMG's current "unity" campaign.

the Stalinists, Blackburn leaves out any reference to the Fourth International. And he attempts to pass off the history of Trotsky's struggle against Stalinism as a series of isolated 'specific contributions' to understanding the development of bureaucracy.

And, having swept the Trotskyist movement contemptuously to one side, Blackburn extends a friendly hand to the Stalinists, calling for

"the creation of a united Marxist party. . . There is a burning need for a framework of united action for all Marxists to the left of the Labour Party."

Leaving aside the dubious notion that the British CP in practice stands to the 'left' of the Labour Party, this incredible statement hands every Stalinist free credentials as a 'Marxist'.

For this reason the British CP has gladly accepted the 'left' credentials handed to it by the IMG, and sent speakers to participate in set piece discussions.

And the IMG has responded by remaining silent throughout the 'debate' on the treacherous practice of the British Stalinists in the class struggle.

DEPTHS

Such are the depths to which Mandel's British followers have sunk. But their inability to analyse or fight Stalinism is shared by other forces within the motley 'United' Secretariat.

Until a few weeks ago the main rival faction to Mandel within the

USFI—the so-called Leninist Trotskyist Faction—followed the political line of the US Socialist Workers Party (which itself is barred by reactionary legislation from international affiliation).

But in the wake of the SWP convention this August a hasty marriage has been rushed through in which the LTF has dissolved itself into the majority tendency.

Certainly the SWP shares Mandel's complete confusion on the role of Stalinism and the processes that have produced the phenomenon of so-called Euro-Communism.

PROGRESSIVE

The SWP accepts Mandel's notions that Western CPs have criticised the regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR because of 'pressure from the masses', and that such criticism is progressive.

It has gone one further, and offered some 'advice' to these Stalinist leaders as how best to defend themselves from the Kremlin. For instance *Intercontinental Press* has this to say of Moscow's attack on Carrillo's book:

'The weak response of Carrillo's French and Italian allies to this attack does not augur well for their 'independence' from Moscow. If they do not put up more of a fight they will either be forced to isolate themselves from the radicalising masses in their own countries or be decimated by Kremlin factional operations.'

In his June 27 news conference, Carrillo boasted that his party 'may have means of defending itself that are greater than those of a state'. In fact a CP can defend itself effectively only by means of support from the workers of its own country. And winning such support requires putting the workers' interests above those of 'peaceful coexistence' with the capitalists nationally and internationally.

Otherwise the non-ruling CPs may be torn to pieces by the contradictions of Stalinist opportunism.

The SWP don't attempt to inform baffled readers why these CP's should suddenly pay attention to the 'workers' interests' after years of betrayals.

Instead, by fostering the illusion that mass Stalinist parties can be transformed into parties responsive to the revolutionary demands of the working class the SWP is dredging up all the worst confusion and blunders which brought the split in the Trotskyist movement in 1953 and the unprincipled 'reunification' of 1963.

DEGENERATION

Another major participant in those events, the leadership of the present-day Workers Revolutionary Party, gives the appearance of a correct analysis of the nationalist tendencies within the mass non-ruling Communist Parties.

But the theoretical degeneration of the WRP distorts this analysis.

For instance, while correctly attacking the use of the term 'Euro-Communist' to describe these nationalist tendencies, the WRP proceed to argue for the parallel term 'Euro-Stalinist'—restricting its application to Europe.

This is of course wrong. These pressures within the Stalinist movement are worldwide—affecting, for example the Australian CP, the Japanese CP, the Communist



WRP leader Gerry Healy

Parties in Latin America, and the Indian CP which maintained until the very end its support for the Gandhi dictatorship.

FALSE

The WRP editorial in Labour Review No 2 makes some correct points against Mandel, but goes on to say:

'Mandel's position is, however, no accident. For it is the continuation of the original revisionist line put forward by his Pabloite tendency: that the pressure of the working class could bring about the self reform of the bureaucracy inside the USSR and force the Stalinist parties in capitalist countries to take state power. This was and remains the defining characteristic of Pabloism'.

This conclusion is just not true. A false analysis of post-war Stalinism is only one of the 'defining characteristics' of Pabloism.

Essentially, Pabloism consists of an abandonment of Marxist analysis and an opportunist looking to forces other than the revolutionary party at the head of the working class to bring about the overthrow of capitalism.



Redgrave

It is the post-war counterpart of the opportunist tendency Trotsky analysed in Stalinism:

One of the psychological sources of opportunism is superficial impatience, the lack of confidence, the lack of confidence in the gradual growth of the party's influence, the desire to win the masses with the aid of an organisational manoeuvre or personal diplomacy. Out of this springs the policy of combinations behind the scenes, the policy of silence, of hushing up, of self-renunciation, of adaptation to the ideas and slogans of others; and finally, the complete passage to the positions of opportunism'.

(Communism and Syndicalism 1931)

While in 1953 the Pabloites upheld a revisionist notion of Stalinism, the post-war later tended to establish a revisionist approach to the working class in colonial countries and to a revisionist role.

CASTRO

A supreme example of the Pabloite view of Stalinism is the 'Natural Marxist' who was the main proponent of the platform for

Pablo himself went so far as becoming an adviser to Ben Bella in Algeria.

Why does the WRP not ram this point home? For the very good reason that Pablo's attitude to Ben Bella was almost exactly the same as the WRP's present attitude to the Gaddafi dictatorship in Libya, where the WRP has dropped any call for a Trotskyist party and instead simply reprints Gaddafi's speeches.

As with all sectarian currents, the flip side of the WRP's 'principles' is the most brazen opportunism in practice.

Of course this opportunism is not confined to reactionary bourgeois nationalists, but extends to the WRP view of Stalinism also.

On the one hand WRP writers have developed an extended defence of the Stalinist leadership of the Vietnamese Communist Party, against the historical analysis presented by the Workers Socialist League. This has involved the WRP in excusing the Stalinist murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyist forces after 1945.

And on the other hand when WRP emissary Vanessa Redgrave, found two meetings of Spanish WRP supporters banned by the governor of Madrid, she made a beeline for CP leader Santiago Carrillo.

After a 2 1/2 hour tete-a-tete she emerged with a pledge that Carrillo would campaign for the legalisation of the 'Trotskyist' Communist Workers League!

In case readers are curious as to the topic of the WRP's banned meetings, both were intended as a platform to denounce veteran SWP leaders Joseph Hansen and George Novack as GPU agents!

REAL AGENT

But even while Redgrave pleaded with a real GPU agent to secure her a platform to frame up these two SWP leaders, the pages of Labour Review were carrying a correct formal statement on Stalinism:

'Stalinism remains for us, unlike Mandel and all revisionists, what it always was: the main counter revolutionary force in the working class throughout the world. This was Trotsky's position since 1933 and it is ours today. There never could be and cannot be today any compromise with Stalinism' (LR No 2).

ESSENTIAL BASIS

The fight for a Marxist analysis of the present day trends within Stalinism and for an examination of the sources of the confusion that is rampant within every wing of the divided Trotskyist movement internationally is an essential basis for the fight to reconstruct the Fourth International.

In such a struggle it is clear that no tendency can lay claim to a monopoly on the truth, and that every tendency is obliged to defend its positions on its own merits.

It is the duty of every socialist to defend the truth and to expose the errors of those who would lead the working class into a dead end.

By TONY RICHARDSON

CRIMINAL LAW ACT GIVES MAGISTRATES NEW POWER

The Criminal Trespass law is being introduced at a time of massive unemployment, falling living standards, continuing savage cuts in public spending, and large scale homelessness. Originally the brainchild of the Heath government, it is now being implemented by Callaghan's Lib-Lab coalition in a bid to tame the working class.

In fighting back against these conditions, occupations of factories will be a vital weapon for the working class.

Already the tactic has been widely adopted in a range of struggles.

Occupations: Industrial occupations have taken place to fight off redundancies and closures.

Since the Upper Clyde 'work-in' of 1971, well over 200,000 workers have been involved in some 200 occupations.

Hospital work-ins have been taken up by four hospitals in the last year to oppose closure and to ensure that patients and equipment are not removed.

Squatters: Over 30,000 homeless people have been forced to 'squat' in some of the 850,000 empty houses in England and Wales, to get a roof over their heads when councils have refused to help.

Students: To protest against teacher unemployment and fee increases, to oppose cuts and closure students have been forced to occupy their colleges in their fight back.

Social Security: Claimants and strikers have occupied social security offices to secure their full entitlement to benefit when it was being withheld and refused.

Every week occupations are mounted—generally by house wives—to demand that facilities such as nurseries, community centres, and refuges for battered women be set up.

PASSED

Now the Criminal Law Bill (Part 2 of which is commonly known as the Criminal Trespass Law) has been passed and has become the Criminal Law Act 1977.

This new law creates five new criminal offences relating to trespass, and threatens with jail and heavy fines those taking part in any form of occupation, work-in, 'squat' or sit in.

It gives the police new powers to enter, search and arrest without a warrant, on the grounds of suspicion that one of the five new 'crimes' has been committed.

The Act provides for jail sentences of up to 6 months and fines of up to £1,000.

This type of legislation highlights the treacherous role of local trade union leaders who serve as J.P.'s, fining workers and sending them to prison.

FINING WORKERS

How is it really feasible for such people to ever lead a working class organisation into any meaningful fight back against closures when at the very next instant they are fining their fellow workers for taking part in occupations?

A glaring example of such a leadership is the IGWU 560 Branch at Leylands Body Plant Oxford where the Branch Secretary and Senior Shop Steward, Bill

Roche, together with his arch crony, Deputy Chairman Alec Morton, are both prominent members of the magisterial bench.

Full time Oxford TGWU District Secretary David Buckle is himself a J.P.

Together with the Sheriff of Oxford, 5/60 Branch Chairman, The Rev. Tony Williamson O.B.E., these trade union leaders act as a godsend to capitalism in its efforts to police and pacify the working class.

ARRESTS

Judicial rulings in the courts (like the attacks on picketing and the injunctions against occupations) have of course been part of the latest capitalist offensive against the working class.

400 pickets have been arrested outside Grunwicks alone. Pickets were arrested during the hotels disputes in Oxford and heavy fines were imposed on trade unionists, whilst fascists and right wingers arrested in the same disturbances got off scot free or with minimal fines.

TGWU District Secretary David Buckle had asked members of his union to picket these hotels (The Randolph Hotel and The Linton Lodge Hotel). But he could well have found himself in the position of being asked to sit on the judicial bench that imposed fines on those very same trade unionists!

Similar collaboration is rife throughout the trade union movement.

OCCUPATIONS

But there is no doubt that despite such leaders, the working class will continue to use occupations in the fight back against closures.

The task before the movement is to ensure that this new law is not allowed to be used to intimidate or threaten those in occupation, or those considering occupation as a tactic.

In the event that it is used, whether against industrial workers, public service workers, tenants, students, homeless people squatting in empty houses, or against protesters occupying public buildings, the working class has to be prepared to respond by mobilising in strength to defend those attacked.

How can the new law be used?

OFFENCE 1. 'Using or threatening violence to secure entry into premises where another is present, opposing your entry'.

No violence need occur for this offence to be committed. Just outnumbering the opposition, as every occupation will, whether at work, at college, or in the community, is a 'threat of violence'.

NO WARRANT

What's more, if any security guard, caretaker, or management rang the police and claimed that they had been threatened, the police could raid any occupation and make arrests without a warrant.

Any squatter or ex-licencee could be evicted without a court order at any time, if they were out of their home.

OFFENCE 2. 'Adverse occupation of residential property'.

This offence is designed mainly to suppress the actions of homeless people housing themselves by squatting. It would also affect other groups of people where



there is residential accommodation, if it is claimed that access to that accommodation was being blocked.

Under this offence for example, landlords who could claim to use a property occasionally as a residence (by putting a few scant items of furniture in it) would be allowed with the help of employees or friends to take any action—including violence—to evict squatters or ex-licencees without going through the courts.

OFFENCE 3. 'Trespassing with an offensive weapon'.

This offence would allow the police to intervene in any occupation without a warrant if, in a factory occupation for instance, the management claimed that someone had used something as an offensive weapon.

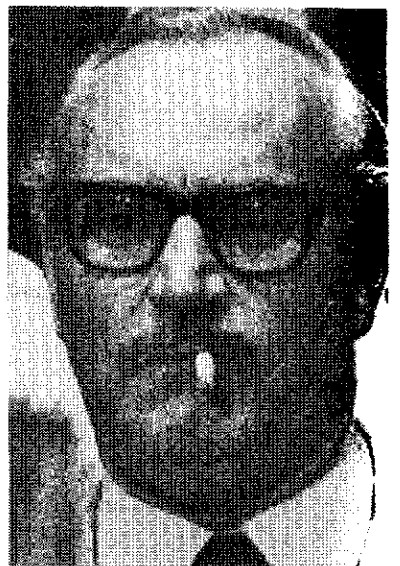
In law an offensive weapon can be anything: tools, coins, shoes, butter knives...

OFFENCE 4. 'Trespassing on embassy premises'.

This offence explicitly makes completely peaceful occupations of embassies (like the Iranian students' occupation of their embassy in 1975)—a criminal offence.

OFFENCE 5. 'Resisting or obstructing a Bailiff or Sheriff'.

Anyone occupying their work place, home, college, etc., could be arrested immediately if they obstructed, even passively, the court officers sent in by the owner to evict them. Pickets protecting the occupation would also face arrest.



Leyland Body Plant convenor Bill Roche JP

Any person or meeting advocating or agreeing to take any action which leads to arrests under these offences could be charged with conspiracy.

The maximum penalty for each of these offences is six months in jail or £1,000 fine or both: with the exception of the offensive weapon offence, where the maximum jail sentence is three months.

There is no right to choose to be tried by jury for any of these new 'crimes': all charges under the new law will be heard by Magistrates Courts.

This brings us back to the question of how trade union officials could represent the working class in their struggles while at the same time act as Magistrates enforcing capitalism's laws and jailing and fining the working class.

In the fight back against the ruling class, the working class should take a hard look at the people in the leading positions of their organisations.

'MILITANT' COVER FOR LEYLAND UNITY FRAUD

TGWU Convenors have ended their sham 'opposition' to the plans of the British Leyland Board and the NEB to restructure wage bargaining.

Agreement has been reached with the national officials of the unions involved, and now the Confed is to be used to tackle the real obstacle to the plan—the bitter hostility of the British Leyland labour force.

The new wages structure which is central to management strategy is based on the principle of centralised, or corporate, bargaining.

This is not a goal in itself, but is another crucial step towards the employers ultimate goal—industry wide, American-style legally binding Master Contracts negotiated by the top officials of the major unions and only reviewed every two or three years.

DESTROY

At this stage Leyland management want to destroy the principle of plant level bargaining which from their point of view gives too much power and independence to the shop floor.

It is not surprising that Leyland management have been supported in this by the trade union leaders, in particular Scanlon of the AUEW and Evans of the TGWU.

The starting point of these officials has long been the viability of the employer and they do not flinch in sacrificing their members to that end.

Workers may however, find more surprising the staunch support Leyland policy is receiving from the self-styled 'revolutionaries' of the Militant Group.

This group regard corporate bargaining as an important step towards the 'unity' of the working class.

The position of the Militant group on this is argued at some length in an article by Rover convenor Bob Ashworth in the 'Militant' of August 12th, entitled 'Unity for One Claim'.

MANAGEMENT

In many ways the article articulates management policy more clearly than official company spokesman.

Certainly it makes a significant contribution to British Leyland's campaign to force in corporate bargaining.

Many formulations used in Ashworth's article could have been lifted straight out of standard management propaganda material.

Ashworth tells us, for example, about the collaborationist working party of convenors set up this year to open the door for management:

'The working party of convenors and national officials was set-up following the toolmakers dispute to bring order into the anarchic state of Leyland negotiations.'

'ANARCHY'

Ashworth goes on to attack incentives. He does so however not from the principled position (that incentive schemes cause unemployment) but from the position that: 'We (?) have ended the anarchy of piecework' and

It is hard to see any difference between this and the position of management.

But this position is not just verbally defended by 'Militant'.

At the meeting of Leyland Cars convenors on August 4, referred to in Ashworth's article, 'Militant' followers supported a motion from Rover stewards.

ACCEPTANCE

This motion called for the acceptance of the corporate bargaining 'principle' and for an immediate corporate claim of £15.00 per week.

It was eventually voted down by the slimmest of margins.

But Ashworth defends the motion in clear terms:

'The right to factory autonomy', he says, 'goes against the experience and principles of the labour and trade union movement.'

'Our over-riding responsibility', he goes on, 'is to strike for the unity of all workers.'

To support his argument for abstract 'unity' divorced from the requirements of the real world, Ashworth points to the two miners' strikes.

These, he says, were examples of corporate bargaining creating 'unity'.

MASSIVE FALL

Yet miners' wages fell massively after flat rate payments and corporate bargaining were brought in.



Longbridge workers marching against wage control earlier this year

This was only reversed years later, when the miners had reached close to the bottom of the wages league.

Corporate bargaining is designed to hand the advantage to the employer.

The influence of the strong is replaced by the influence of the weak.

Under plant bargaining the strongest plants lead the field on wages and bring forward the rest.

bargaining?

We could take the argument further: if 'unity' is created simply by widening the bargaining units, then the ultimate in 'unity' must be the social contract—through which all organised workers were supposedly 'represented' by the TUC.

FALSE 'UNITY'

It is clear to everyone that such 'unity' is false. It simply creates the best conditions for the employers.

What must be developed instead is a fighting unity. A unity which starts from the independence of the working class from the trade union bureaucracy and the defence of workers' living standards.

This cannot be done by accepting corporate bargaining—even with a 'democratically elected' negotiating committee.

It can only be done by recognising and defending the right of every group of workers to struggle for wages.

Once you reject that principle you raise some awkward questions.

What would 'Militant' do for example, now they have accepted corporate bargaining, about workers in a plant who refused to accept a pay deal and struck against the majority decision of the rest for an improved offer?

BROUGHT TO HEEL?

Should such workers be brought to heel in the interests of 'unity'; or would 'Militant' support them in their bid to break up the new corporate structure?

The need is not for 'left' formulations of management policy, but an independent programme pointing the way in which workers can fight to regain and defend their standard of living.

This is the only basis for the unity of the working class.

Tunnel Miners Fight TGWU Officialdom

Action has been suspended for four weeks in a unionisation dispute involving tunnel miners in struggle with 'lump' employers.

TGWU officials are once again at the centre of attempts to sell out a section of their members engaged in struggle over union organisation.

Yet this is not an easy job for union officials face to face with the determination and experience of these workers who have spent the last three years building up their own national branch against the combined hostility of TGWU headquarters and building contractors.

NOTORIOUS

The present dispute has been precipitated by the notorious lump employer, J. Murphy of Highbury Corner, North London.

Whereas other contractors, particularly in sites north of London, eg, Leicester, Preston, have given in to the tunnellers' demand to employ members off their list, Murphy has been put up as the one to break the arrangement.

In response to this the tunnellers branch called out all their members and stopped 39 sites throughout the country.

They have been picketing the Finsbury Park site, and even sat in the hole for 48 hours.

disturbed by these carryings on only a few hundred yards from his office against an employer who is said to donate a large amount of money to the TGWU every year.

Especially annoying for him is the fact that these workers, with good reason, hate and distrust all full-time TGWU officials, particularly Regional Secretaries.

They have attempted to by-pass them through organising themselves nationally and not being accountable to regions; and of paying their own full timer, Pat Duffy.

Todd has tried to portray things as an inter-union dispute and maintains that TGWU members are digging the tunnel but are just not members of the tunnellers branch.

He made an ostentatious visit last Thursday morning to inspect the cards of the scabs and to everyone's amazement five scabs produced GMWU cards—although they had hotly maintained up till then that they were TGWU members!

Todd then had a discussion with Murphy and his solicitor later in the day at Transport House, although Murphy maintains he has nothing to do with hiring the labour.

Pat Duffy is not recognised by the TGWU and was refused admittance but the branch committee later met officials Todd and Kavanagh.

These officials stressed that they



Tunnellers pickets

with the Employers' Federation on a closed shop.

Unfortunately they said the hundreds of pickets at Finsbury Park were "jeopardising" this agreement. If action could only be called off for four weeks all would

morning unfortunately swallowed this line and voted to suspend action.

Like all other sections of workers, the tunnellers have received many vicious blows from the union bureaucracy

GADDAFI'S ASYLUM FOR MAUDLING & BOOTH

BY JOHN LISTER

The Workers Revolutionary Party has created new suspicions as to its relationship with the viciously anti-communist dictatorship of Colonel Muammar Gaddafi of Libya.

The September 14 edition of the WRP's daily paper *News Line* carried, sandwiched next to ten columns of a speech by Gaddafi, a frenzied attack on the Workers Socialist League.

In particular, *News Line* attempted to refute an article from *Socialist Press* 68 in which we highlighted the reactionary nature of the Gaddafi regime and the grovelling support extended to it by the WRP leadership in their press.

We had also shown how this current position of the WRP stood in stark contradiction to earlier, correct assessments made by the same leaders in 1969, and to Trotsky's theory of Permanent Revolution.

DISTORTED

The *News Line* reply felt unable to confront the real points being made and set out instead to distort our argument, accusing the WSL of letting Egyptian leader Sadat "off the hook" by our critique of the Gaddafi regime.

Of course the WSL extended no support for Sadat. Nor would we extend support to Gaddafi in a war between these two reactionary



Maudling

bourgeois regimes.

Our policy does not start from searching, in the Stalinist manner, for "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie to give our support to, but from the necessity for the

complete political independence of the working class.

While of course we have not failed to give critical support even to bourgeois leaderships of colonial countries when forced into struggle against imperialism, we have always started from the need for the working class to organise independently within such struggles.

THROWN OVERBOARD

The WRP have clearly thrown overboard this cardinal principle of Trotskyism. They make this crystal clear when they assert that:

"If Gaddafi is a 'dictator' he is the first in history to announce the arming of the people with light and heavy weapons."

The WRP are silent on the

question of what independent working class organisations exist in Libya.

They fail therefore to inform us how this limited distribution of weapons to the population clearly under the control of the Libyan state and armed forces, is any more "revolutionary" than the armed Home Guard established in Britain during World War II.

'SECULAR'

Perhaps more incongruously, the WRP claim that Gaddafi supports the PLO call for a democratic, secular state of Palestine is thrown into doubt by the first five words of Gaddafi's speech on the same page:

"In the name of God [!] it gives me pleasure first to salute the guests, brothers and friends who have come from all over the world to take part with us in the great popular celebrations which are held today to mark the eighth anniversary of the great First of September Revolution".

DELEGATION

These international visitors included an official delegation from the WRP.

But it has proved impossible to confirm whether the WRP delegation was present at the grand British beer-up held on September 29 again to commemorate eight years of Gaddafi's rule.

Certainly the WRP leadership might have felt somewhat uncomfortable at this function, organised in a plush West End hotel on an unlimited budget by the Libyan ambassador.

While champagne at £20 a bottle and the range of expensive French wines and liqueurs would no doubt have gone down easily, it is possible that even the new WRP "principles" might balk at rubbing shoulders with some of the 1,250 guests.

Prominent MPs, High Commissioners and 40 ambassadors flooded

in to celebrate the Libyan revolution, sitting at 100 tables in a ballroom banked with flowers.

COALITION MINISTERS

Possible conversation partners for any WRP delegation would have included leading members of the Lib-Lab coalition government—wage cutting Employment Secretary Albert Booth; Social Service destroyer David Ennals; and the man currently in charge of Britain's army of occupation in Ireland—Roy Mason.

Of course it was not all Labourites. There were other "revolutionaries" present, unable to resist the lure of unlimited food and drink and overjoyed at the prospect of celebrating the eighth anniversary of Gaddafi's coup.

Perhaps the most famous of these 'revolutionaries' were Lord Longford and financier Sir James Goldsmith, though no such celebration would be complete without the congenial figure of that noted Marxist, Reginald Maudling.

Such a party certainly places a question mark over Gaddafi's statement, quoted straight-faced by *News Line*, that the Libyan regime is henceforth "a political asylum for revolutionaries from all over the world".

LONG DISTANCE

Socialist Press has been unable to confirm whether or not a WRP delegation was present at this feast. But if no delegation was sent then the obvious question is why: the WRP chose to travel thousands of miles to Tripoli to participate in an identical event, but not to take a taxi a few miles to the West End?

Is class collaboration only acceptable to the WRP at long distance?

Again we repeat our demand that the WRP account to the international workers movement for their brazen violation of Trotskyist principles and their cringing subservience to the reactionary Gaddafi regime.

PRESS GANG Keeping up with the Jones

It was a stirring way to preface the Labour Party conference. Jack Jones sounding off, calling for a clean up in the labour movement.

No to corruption, no to fat salaries and a life style in the super tax bracket. No to the embarrassing exposures that seem to crash around the Labour Party every other week.

The press caught the measured tone of Jones' heartfelt plea with grudging respect—flat cap Jack, unaffected by the spoils of power; the only man at the orgy with his shirt still on.

Of Mrs. Evelyn Jones' reaction we know less. Her speeches on corruption are not thought worthy of reporting, and as far the public is aware she gets on with her own life quietly in Dulwich—the Jones' south London home.

But Mrs. Jones is apparently an expert in her own right, on the future development of Redditch in Worcestershire and this special knowledge has earned her a place on the Redditch Development Corporation.

This job is not actually elected. In fact appointments to the board are at the whim of government ministers or civil servants in their department.

The post yields only £700 a year, tax free, with expenses thrown in.

Mrs Jones has in fact some catching up to do. Her husband Jack can show a clean pair of heels when it comes to "Quango" jobs.

In addition to his £145 a week as general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, he receives £1,870 a year as deputy

as an ACAS council member.

Nice work if you can get it. And at £10,300 a year you can live 'modestly' and you need never get your hands dirty.

Property developer Ramon Greene has a few debts to pay—£15 million pounds to be exact. He says he has assets of £30,473—not quite enough to go round.

Mr Greene, who made and lost his fortune in property deals which are not thought to have involved much hard physical labour, is likely to be declared bankrupt at the end of the present hearings.

If this misfortune overcomes Mr Greene, he will not of course be able to keep piles of money stashed in the bank to comfort his sorrow.

How fortunate then that he had the foresight to give away about £800,000 to friends and relatives who will be unaffected by any ruling.

Could it be that the £114,998 worth of jewellery he gave his wife as a birthday present, could possibly pay the rent if things get really bad?

Sir George Baker has been married for 42 years but is an expert on divorce.

As president of the family division of the High Court he has just revealed that one in every two and a half marriages end in the divorce courts.

A sign of the recognition of past mistakes? A reflection of a major social change in attitudes to family life?

Well yes and no. Sir George believes, like us, that capitalism still has need of the family ties.

He told the conference at which he released his figures that "society would be endangered" if it allowed

PUNK ROCK - NOT ALL ROTTEN?

A personal view of the latest 'New Wave' of pop music, by IAN BURNS.

Everybody has no doubt heard of the popular cult of Punk-Rock. It first came to the notice of the masses when Punk heroes, 'The Sex Pistols', used four-letter words during a television interview, and the popular Press spent the following days discrediting the whole movement.

The main reason for this obvious over-reaction lies in the fact that Punk Rock has a relatively high level of political motivation.

Its main aim is to bring music back to the streets. It is rock music, as music of the working-class, being played by working-class kids and not the millionaire rock stars, that the past generation has created.

It also dares to attack the established authorities which govern its existence and in doing so has endured probably the worst backlash from the Tory establishment that musicians in recent years have had to endure.

Records have been banned and interfered with; concerts have been cancelled, and so much bad publicity has been built up that members of groups have been beaten up on the streets.

Throughout history of course, music has been politically motivated and influenced.

For most teenagers this began in the Fifties when kids sought an outlet for their share of the

business was only too happy to provide them with it.

Thus the modern record industry was hatched.

The way we dress, hairstyles, attitudes to race and class and most of all our attitudes to sex, have all been shaped to a certain extent by the exploitation of modern music fashions by the media.

Unfortunately though, the groups that started out as



Sex Pistol singer Johnny Rotten

'revolutionaries' in the past, the ones who helped erode the old standards and restrictive principles, have all finally accepted the attractive life which fame has

to the problems which sparked them off.

It is true that these same pitfalls will soon become a danger to the new wave of bands. Many have just jumped on the bandwagon in order to gain wealth and fame. It remains to be seen if all do the same.

No-one can deny, however, that people are taking a serious attitude about the political nature of a lot of Punk-Bands.

One Tory M.P. has said that if this music threatens to destroy the institutions of our society, then we must destroy it first.

The Socialist Workers Party has started a group which utilises rock music to combat racism and this has the support of a lot of Punk-Bands—although it is in the usual 'gimmicky' style of the SWP.

We must hope of course, that the seriousness of the music's oppressors will be reflected in the stance of the musicians' and its followers.

The more established wealthy rock musicians are now fighting for their own interests. Some top British musicians have said they would perform as part of the Liberal Party's Election Campaign, simply because, no doubt, of the Liberals' pledge to reduce the maximum level of taxation from 83% to around 50%.

Perhaps the Punks are not right in everything, but in turning people away from this selfish and corrupt rock aristocracy, they have a cause



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

CP HELP SABOTAGE CLAIM

On Friday 7 October TGWU shop stewards at BLMC Cowley Body Plant received the company's reply to their claim for an increase of £33.64 a week on top wages with a cost of living clause.

That reply was that Leyland were not willing to break the 12 month rule unless it was done through the shop stewards accepting their corporate bargaining offer.

Ever since the claim was agreed by an overwhelming majority of stewards the right wing have been preparing to get it dropped.

NO INFORMATION

The main basis of this preparation has been ensuring a complete lack of information to the membership. Many of the members didn't even know the claim had been submitted. This silence was supplemented by delaying tactics which meant that Friday's stewards meeting was held a week after the claim was meant to have been paid.

During this period the right wing created a massive diversion with talk of 'incentives'. They claimed incentives offered a way to win money without a fight.

This is because of course the company is also talking about incentives.

So with most workers having just come back off a long lay-off through the Lucas dispute; with a large number on the Marina track just starting another lay off; with the company again threatening



closure; and with the recognition that the fight against the 12 month rule would also be against the TGWU leadership the right wing considered now was the best time to make their move.

In the usual tradition of the right wing, no mass meeting was held. Individual opinions only were taken.

PROCEED

Indeed where meetings of sections were asked, they pronounced clearly in favour of proceeding with the claim.

But through the technique of asking a handful of individuals none of this class solidarity could be felt.

So sure enough, when the

stewards meeting discussed the claim the company reply was simply noted and the claim 'left on the table'.

PROP

The work of the Communist Party was essential to this right wing sabotage. CP members have openly argued in favour of Company-wide bargaining and against proceeding with the claim on the grounds that their members wouldn't fight.

Such arguments provided a vital prop for the right wing.

MASS PICKET AND BLACKING NEEDED AT GRUNWICK

Not a finger has been lifted by the TUC in support of the Grunwick strike since the grand-sounding but empty resolution was passed last month.

The strike committee has responded by taking a belated but necessary step towards independence by issuing a call for mass picketing to resume from October 17.

In doing so they have thrown out the bid by APEX General Secretary Roy Grantham, who tried desperately to force strikers to rely on the 'good intentions' of the TUC.

There is little doubt that if Grantham fails to regain control over the strike committee he will again resort to the threat of withdrawal of strike pay in his efforts to restrict the dispute.

CONFLICT

It is not a question of "ignoring" these official union leaders, as the Socialist Workers Party would have us believe.

Rather the working class must be mobilised to struggle with these leaders to force them to support picketing action and the cutting off of services to Grunwick, and expose and deal with those who will not act.

and cannot of itself win the dispute.

The strike committee must therefore struggle to enlist the

general correct, it would have real significance at this point only in the event of an attempt by Ward to close the factory.

ABSTRACT

Taken on its own as an abstract slogan, the nationalisation demand, supported by strike committee spokesman Jack Dromey, of Brent Trades Council, can only be a diversion from the immediate fight for blacking action.

Indeed the Brent East CLP Labour conference resolution (endorsed by the strike committee though not discussed at conference) went further and actually conceded the argument of right wing union officials that blacking action is "illegal".

PROTEST

There is no point in bleating in protest to the Callaghan-Steel coalition government for socialist legislation.

The task now is twofold: to mobilise full support for the mass picketing from October 17 and to mobilise blacking action and ensure full support for any section victimised by the law for such action as well as to fight to break the current Lib-Lab deal which blocks all socialist policies.

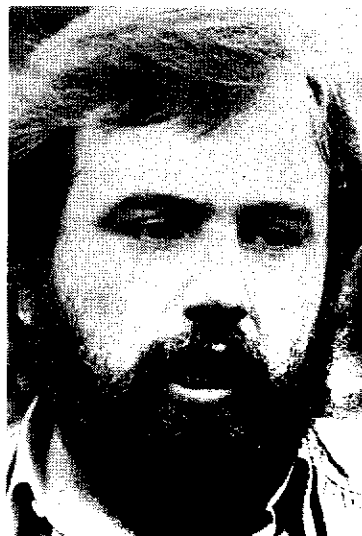


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Jack Dromey active support of post office workers, electricians and water board workers both for directly imposing blacking and in the struggle to make such actions official.

This means joint lobbies of appropriate union executive committees and district committees demanding this action.

While of course the demand for

STOKE CLAIM

Workers at Chrysler's Stoke Plant in Coventry are still pursuing a 25% pay claim passed by a mass meeting over a month ago.

Increasing pressure will be brought to bear on these workers, especially now that Chrysler's other main plants, Ryton in Coventry and Linwood in Scotland, have voted to accept the Company's 5% offer

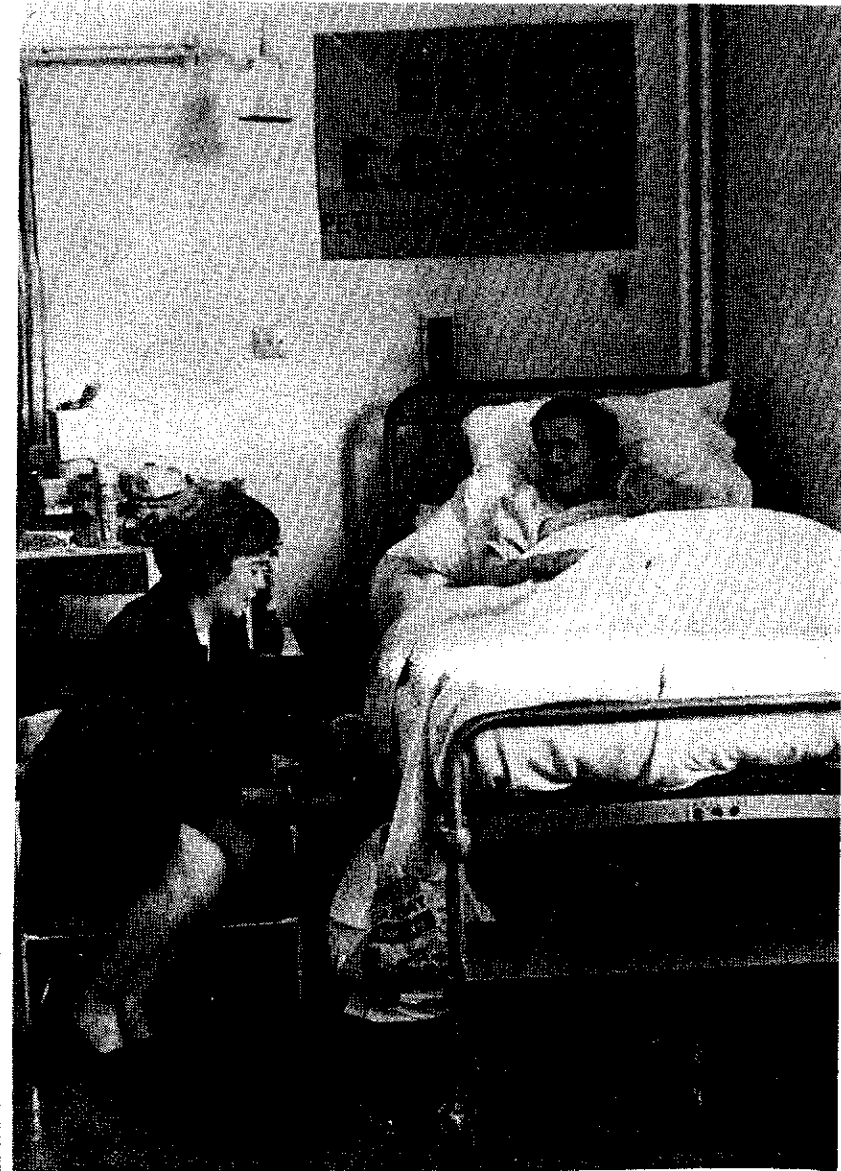
which was deferred under Phase 2. In a recent meeting representatives from Ryton joined those from Stoke in rejecting the 5% offer.

However, stewards recommended acceptance at the Ryton mass meeting last week.

The same meeting rejected company proposals for changes in sickness benefit, security of earnings and incentive schemes.

MARCH AGAINST PLAISTOW CUTS

PHOTO: Angela Philips, IFL



The first London hospital work in at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson

On October 7 700 people marched through Plaistow and East Ham in defence of Plaistow Maternity Hospital.

The rumour is now rife that the Area Health Authority plans to close the hospital by Christmas—though no official notice of a date has been given.

The work-in at the hospital continues and the workers' Action Committee is determined to keep the services provided functioning.

PICKETS

In the wake of the Hounslow affair, a call is now going out for labour movement organisations in the area to provide pickets in the event of an attempt to remove equipment from the hospital.

A decision has also been taken to approach the unions of workers in the area who might well find themselves instructed to scab on the fight by taking away furniture and cutting off supplies.

The fight now stands at the crossroads. The demonstration and other activities have shown that there is a wide basis of support in the East London Area where two hospitals have already been closed as a result of the government's spending cuts.

But as one worker said after the march, listening to the speeches of protest: "This is all very well but where do we go from here?"

protests of various kinds.

Yet there is a widespread recognition that protests to David Ennals et al have never saved the hospitals already closed.

The government and the Area Health Authority can simply ignore this kind of activity.

A Workers Socialist League leaflet distributed on the march pointed out that the fight against the cuts, to be successful, must be based on strike action, not a policy of going cap-in-hand to the authorities.

The demand must be that the hospital workers unions pledge to call solidarity strike action in other sections of public services, and call on unions with members in industry and the docks in East London to do likewise.

Such a perspective for the fight stands in sharp contrast to that (pursued and peddled by the Communist Party and others) of simply requesting Labour councillors to 'speak out' or 'protest' to the Area Health Authority.

The clearest indication of the utter importance of such a strategy is that the British Association of General Practitioners' Trade Unionists is willing to participate.

That the Tories can use such a campaign as a platform for their divisive anti-trade union policies (eg the Health Care Act) is to be regarded as a disgrace by many principled trade unionists who want to fight the fight of the Lib-Lab deal.

LEYLAND FULL SPEED AHEAD TO SCRAP PLANT BARGAINING

Leyland Cars management and the National Enterprise Board are poised for a major thrust against shop floor workers. Their objective is to force in American-style wage agreements.

Leyland have set a November 1 deadline for the abolition of plant level bargaining and the introduction of centralised or 'corporate' negotiations.

This long-term ambition becomes an immediate objective now because Leyland are receiving the enthusiastic support of national union officials, in particular Scanlon and Moss Evans.

These leaders have succeeded in stifling any opposition from the 200 or so convenors from 34 Leyland Cars plants.

In this process Leyland's 'participation' scheme, softening up convenors by sucking them into management and convincing them that first priority has to be the viability of the Company and not their members' interests has played a key role.

Latest act in this drama was last Thursday when Moss Evans manipulated his way around the remaining resistance of TGWU convenors

at a meeting in Eastbourne.

These convenors never held a principled objection to corporate bargaining. They wanted bargaining to be subdivided into area units—which in itself abolishes plant negotiations.

The 'virtue' of area bargaining was seen as the preservation of personal negotiating positions and prestige. But such opportunist opposition to Leyland's plan was easy meat for Evans.

He simply read the riot act on the financial state of Leyland. He threatened that the next £50 million in "public aid", due on November 1, would be withheld if no progress was made.

Evans then put a carefully worded and completely ambiguous motion to the meeting, which could be interpreted as acceptance of the corporate bargaining principle:

"This Delegate Conference . . . re-affirms its policy determined on 15 September 1977. Would however be prepared to discuss the principle of centralised bargaining in 1979, providing full satisfaction is achieved on:

A. Mutually agreed plant incentive schemes on November 1 1977.

B. Full staff status.

C. Comparability of wages."

The final 'conditions' are clearly



Evans

a smokescreen for the main meat of the resolution, and will be surreptitiously abandoned.

The key passage "discuss the principle of centralised bargaining in 1979" leaves in doubt whether it means new discussions in 1979 or final implementation of corporate bargaining in 1979.

Whatever the convenors thought when they accepted this, Evans made it clear he regarded it as management's foot firmly in the door when he spoke later in the day at Brighton.

Although some 'problems' remained, he said, the way was now clear to discuss further on the principle of corporate bargaining.

This was clearly understood by

Leyland's Industrial Relations chief Pat Lowry, who promptly moved in and proposed:

*November 1 1977 to become the common review date for all Leyland Cars plants. Both sides to approach the government for dispensation on the 12-month rule to facilitate this.

*Where agreements expire before November 1, the Company would offer a 10% increase.

*A Leyland Cars negotiating body should be set up to negotiate on the 'fringe benefits' document thrown out by mass meetings in January.

*Incentive schemes to operate from January 1 with increases backdated to November 1 if

production targets were reached.

*Pay parity for all 34 plants to be achieved by November 1979 in five stages, providing rises can be financed by higher production.

This clearly means acceptance of corporate bargaining. But Lowry played Evans' game of words by fraudulently claiming that until November 1979 "plant bargaining" would continue.

66 paint shop workers in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant have been on strike for two weeks against Leyland attempts to impose speed-up on the paint tracks.

New man assignment sheets (produced by industrial engineers in line with Company and NEB requirements) call for a cut in the labour force from 66 to 42 paint workers along with a slight increase in the hourly programme.

Management and Senior Shop Stewards have been trying to persuade the striking workers to "give the new assignments a try" whilst the stewards on the sections have been pointing to the company's breach of the plant mutuality agreement.

Now that willing TGWU convenors have been hoodwinked the pace will hot up.

The Confed Executive meets at York this Thursday and, with Evans certain to use last Thursday's motion as his authority, it is likely the Company proposals will be endorsed.

The Confed will then call a meeting of all Leyland convenors on October 18 which seems certain to accept the plan.

But among Leyland workers feeling centres on the demand for more pay—without strings, deals or corporate bargaining.

In opposition to both right wing and Communist Party members whoswill back corporate bargaining, workers must reject the company plans outright and pursue in each plant pay claims to regain and defend living standards.

NUJ DOVES FAIL TO BRIDGE THE GAP

The ACAS mediator's report on the Darlington NUJ strike is expected this week with the two sides further apart than ever.

Talks held to find common ground between the NUJ and Westminster Press over the closed shop dispute which has led to a five month strike revealed an amazing approach from the employers.

They offered to cut jobs at Darlington and redistribute the victims' pay in the form of a wage rise to other journalists!

This offer confounded even the NUJ leadership who have been hoping for some solution to emerge over the table which will allow print unions and the NUJ to send their members back to work.

When the management was asked to think again they proposed as 'proportionate' closed shop by which new staff would be recruited according to the present ratio of NUJ members and IOJ or non-members.

NO LOGIC

This offer revealed a curious lack of logic on the part of the employers. One of their stated 'principles' throughout the dispute has been that they will not vet the political views of job applicants.

Their new proposal would mean that detailed opinions of every single new recruit would have to be known. One too many NUJ members applying for a job and they would doubtless find themselves turned down with regret on the grounds that it was a scab's name.

too stupid to see it, the talks had provided them with the best opportunity so far to get an agreement favourable to their long term aims.

The union team—despite previous assurances to the contrary agreed that an interim closed shop would be acceptable. As pointed out in *Socialist Press* 70, this was the same solution which settled a six month strike at Kettering earlier this year.

FREE TO LEAVE

Since that strike ended, members who had been kept in the union have been told by Bill Keys, general secretary of SOGAT and chairman of the Printing Industries Committee of the TUC, that they are free to leave.

Such an interim agreement at Darlington therefore would probably lead to a breach of the closed shop in six months or a year's time, with the choice facing the chapel of starting their strike all over again or caving in.

The union leadership had also promised that the London dispute—

where members were locked out for refusing to strike break at Darlington—would be a condition of settlement.

The mediator informed them that as far as he was concerned it was not even on the agenda. Incredibly the union team accepted this.

The anger of journalists and printers alike has been mounting over the later stages of this dispute—with votes coming from papers all round the country in the Westminster Press empire to be called out on unlimited strike if the mediation does not bring an acceptable solution.

With the annual pay review talks due to start soon and the sharp increase in Westminster Press profits announced last week, more members than ever are determined to take action in support of London and Darlington journalists and printers.

The task will be to get the new General Secretary of the NUJ, Ken Ashton, to show any more willingness to spread the dispute than his unlamented predecessor, Ken Morgan.

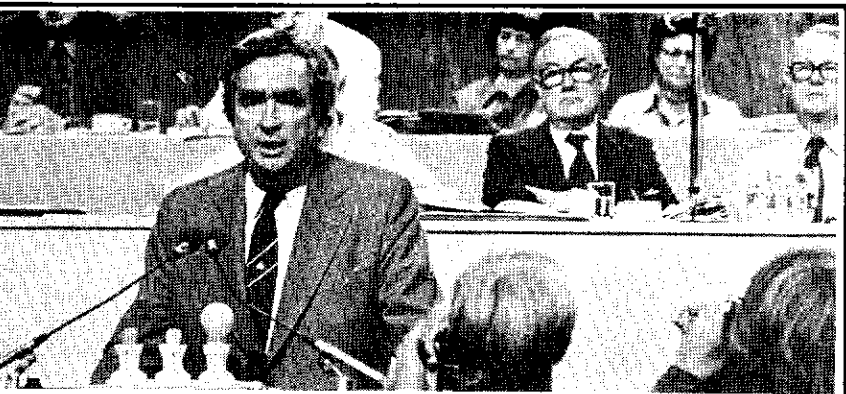


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

RESOLUTION

We reprint below sections of the resolution to be presented at the October 23 Conference on the Wages Struggle and the Fight for Cost-of-Living Clauses, by the Organising Committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement. (see article, page 5)

The vote at the TUC conference to accept the 12 month rule and the lack of any challenge by the 'lefts' to the Labour Party leadership at the Labour Party conference over the continuation of their wage cutting policies, shows that the trade union and Labour leaders are determined to defend British capitalism by making the working class pay for the crisis.

The so-called 'alternative' policies offered by Labour and union 'left-wingers'—nationalist import controls and reflation of capitalism—offer no real challenge to this perspective.

The determination of the working class has meant that several sections of workers have broken the 10% government norm.

But trade union leaders still fight to uphold the 12 month rule and for "responsible" claims. They still call for unemployment-creating incentives schemes.

What are required are straight wage claims, big enough to catch up what the working class has lost since 1974 and to defend these increases with cost of living clauses

Wherever struggles develop around such claims in local areas, the fight must be to bring other sections of workers out in support, particularly in the public sector.

Such campaigns should, where possible, be developed further, to build Councils of Action to offer leadership independent of the bureaucracy.

This conference pledges itself to fight inside the working class on the following points of policy:

1. To bring workers into action to break the 12-month rule and 10% norm.

2. Reject productivity deals.

3. For catching up wage claims with cost of living clauses whereby wages would rise point by point with the cost of living as decided by elected committees of trade unionists.

4. For a campaign inside the labour and trade union movement for the breaking of the Lib-Lab coalition and for the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership of the Labour Party.

5. Abolition of cash limits and to fight for a sliding scale of public expenditure.

6. Equal pay.

7. £60 minimum wage.

This conference pledges to fight in all union conferences, in branches and in shop stewards com-

MASSED POLICE BACK

FASCISTS

Police re-arrest black youth



Home Secretary Merlyn Rees

For anyone who maintains illusions in the political 'neutrality' of the state the situation in Manchester on October 8 ought to have offered a stark lesson.

An estimated 9,000 police using helicopters and roadblocks were mobilised in a hitherto unprecedented exercise to protect the fascists of the National Front.

Outnumbering by about five times the total number of demonstrators on both sides, the police clearly utilised the situation to gain experience for future confrontation with the working class.

BODYGUARD

When fascist leader Martin Webster carried out his one man protest march through Tameside it was with the backing of a police bodyguard numbering thousands.

This, together with the confessed collusion of Manchester Chief Constable Anderton in keeping secret the venue of the later NF march in Levenshulme shows clearly that the original Tameside ban imposed under the Public Order Act was part of a major move to restrict democratic rights not of the fascists but of the workers' movement.

HOME SECRETARY

All this takes place under the direction of Labour Home Secretary Merlyn Rees. Meanwhile those union bureaucrats like Colin Barnett of the North West TUC, who were so keen to support the police ban in Tameside and suppress support for the Trades Council's picket of Webster, act on the basis of considerations going beyond the struggle against the fascists.

The mass support that was being

won for the counter picket before the police ban showed that, had the fascist march gone ahead as planned the thousands of workers mobilised in opposition would have been in a position to gain important experience as a force independent of the police and the state.

COURTS

It is this that the bureaucrats of the labour movement fear in a period when these 'leaders' are increasingly prostrate before the intrusions of the courts (as at Grunwicks).

The number one priority of the bureaucracy is to police Callaghan and Healey's wage-cutting pay policy.

This means holding back the increasing sections of workers coming forward to assert their own class interests to regain and defend their standards of living.

OPPOSED

Tameside has shown quite clearly that the police ban, far from being merely an 'unreliable' means of defeating the fascists (as the Socialist Workers Party and the International Marxist Group assert) was not a result of the 'pressure' of the mass mobilisation, but the *opposite*—a bid to prevent such a mobilisation from taking place.

All such bans should be opposed by the labour movement. The indications are already quite clear that the fascists can be dealt with provided there is a consistent fight for workers self defence.

In every area affected, the demand should be taken up for the setting up of workers defence squads based on the trades unions to protect movements and immigrants' areas etc against increasing fascist provocations.

Police harassment of black youth in the Lewisham area of South East London escalated again last week with the rearrest on October 5 of two of the 'Lewisham 21' along with two other young people.

One of them, Chris Foster, the son of Lewisham 21 Defence Committee chairman, David Foster, was so badly battered in the process that he later had to be taken to hospital.

Intimidation has centred on the Foster family, who have been particularly active in organising the defence of the 21.

ROUGHED UP

On September 17 Faith Foster and three of her children, including Chris, were roughed up and arrested by policemen who entered their home on the pretext of checking on the whereabouts of the defendant.

With the approach of the trial, and with these latest examples of the intention of the police to create an atmosphere of tension and fear, support for the Lewisham 21 is urgent.

Trade union branches, Labour Parties and other labour movement bodies in the area should send delegates to the Defence Committee and offer desperately needed financial aid.

The Lewisham 21 Defence Committee will meet at the Students Union Committee Room, Goldsmith College, Dixon Road, off Lewisham Way, New Cross on Sunday October 16 and Friday October 21. Meetings begin at 7.30pm.

Prentice: throw out his friends

Labour Party militants will welcome the long-delayed departure of Reg Prentice to the Tories as a breath of fresh air. But the Labour Party is not out of the woods yet.

Prentice's former admiration society - that group of MPs and bureaucrats that petitioned in his support and sought to defend him against moves to unseat him as MP - still remain in the upper echelons of the Labour Party, the main bedrock of support for the Callaghan-Steel coalition.

Constituency parties must take this seriously. Motions must be put down demanding that all those members with a history of backing Prentice follow his lead and clear out of the labour movement.

Those that refuse to do so should be expelled.

Meanwhile, even as Prentice's membership forms were being stamped at Tory Central Office, writs were still flying at Newham NE Labour Party last week.



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Prentice

Hotel strike

200 GMWU members at the London Metropole Hotel near Marble Arch began indefinite strike action on 10 October in support of a claim for a £50 minimum wage.

Some of the strikers—mainly porters, waiters and chambermaids—earn as little as £30 and the chambermaids who "live in" receive only £9 of this.

Talks broke down last Saturday when management invoked the 12 month rule, claiming that the workers had received their last increase only last March.

Messages of support and financial contributions should be sent to Mr. A. Gager, 76, Hatherly Road, Walthamstow, London E17.

PROFITS UP WITH LABOUR



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gations on the lobby.

Workers at Great Ormond St. Hospital have blacked private ambulances and NHS ambulance drivers at Isleworth, Hillingdon and Hanwell have disrupted the non-urgent service at the West Middlesex Hospital.

There can be no better testimony of the willingness of hospital workers to fight against the cuts.

Instead of capitulating to the gangsters of the AHA, they have stepped up the fight.

The smashing of the Hounslow work-in is a reminder to all workers of the lengths to which the government and its agents will go to break resistance to cuts.

Responsibility for this attack lies firmly with the Labour government, but the union bureaucracy is equally to blame.

SMASHED

the National Steering Committee of Public Sector Unions announced plans for a week of action against the cuts in November—almost a year to the day from the last national protest against the cuts.

Proposals have been made for petitions, exhibitions and lobbies. But it is specifically emphasised that strike actions and demonstrations of the size of November 17 1976 will not be tolerated.

Attempts within the NHS shop stewards movement in London to link the work ins at Hounslow, the EGA and the Plaistow Hospitals have been thwarted by full time officials who have insisted that each hospital be treated as a "special case".

SACKING

The left MPs have not been slow to call for inquiries and the sacking of particular administrators.

Not surprisingly, Roland

for dismantling the national health service, has rapidly agreed to an enquiry.

These hypocrites voted for every cut in Parliament. Now when their policies are carried out, they express horror.

EXPOSE

The events at Hounslow have provided a new opportunity to build mass strike action against the cuts and to expose the betrayals of the social democratic and Stalinist leaderships.

The chief danger is that the movement will again be diverted into a 'Day of Action', the focus of which will be the demand for the dismissal of one or two administrators.

Only national strike action can challenge and reverse the government cuts and spearhead the fight to protect the social services against inflation through a rising scale of public expenditure to compensate for rising costs.