

Workers' ACTION

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Just five men have Labour on the Trot



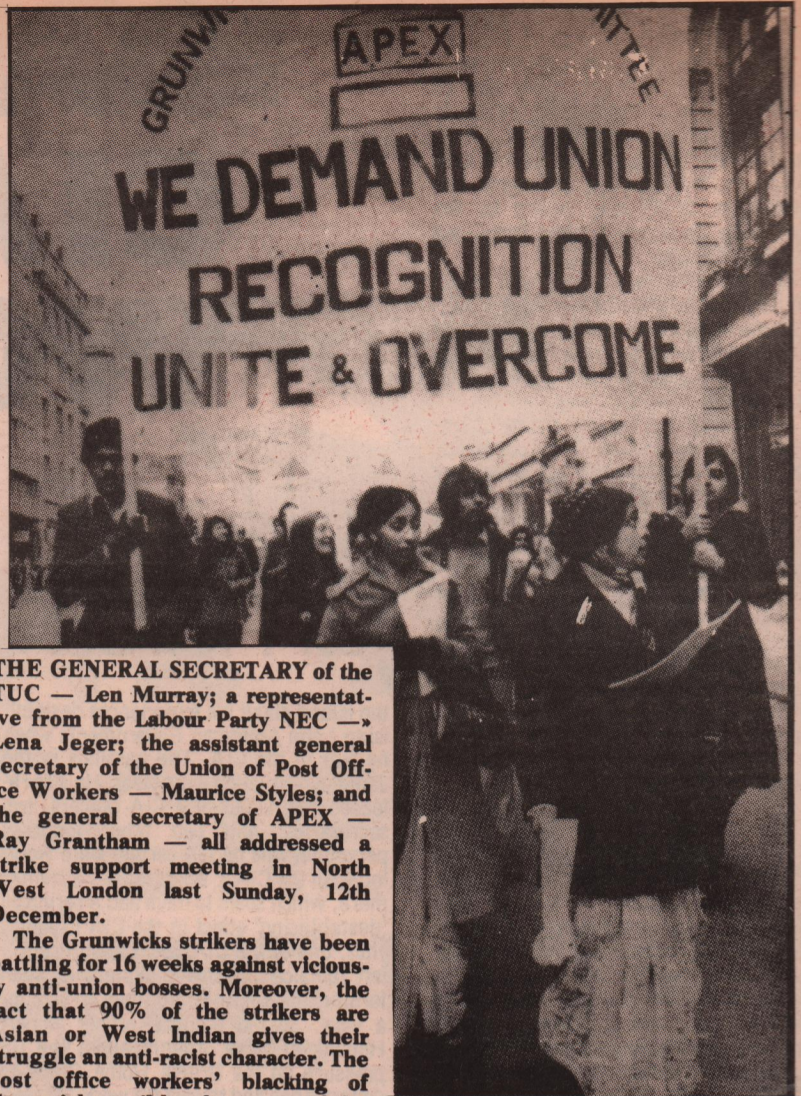
By Don Coolican

The Enemies Within

From the Express November 30

Express dossier on the unknowns behind the Red challenge to Jim

THESE are the men who are challenging Prime Minister James Callaghan. The top five of the Left, they have that Labour the chosen by the elector- HAVE



THE GENERAL SECRETARY of the TUC — Len Murray; a representative from the Labour Party NEC — Lena Jeger; the assistant general secretary of the Union of Post Office Workers — Maurice Styles; and the general secretary of APEX — Ray Grantham — all addressed a strike support meeting in North West London last Sunday, 12th December.

The Grunwicks strikers have been battling for 16 weeks against viciously anti-union bosses. Moreover, the fact that 90% of the strikers are Asian or West Indian gives their struggle an anti-racist character. The post office workers' blacking of Grunwicks mall has been one of the finest examples of solidarity in recent workers' struggles in Britain.

But what has caused the massive show of official support for the dispute is Grunwicks' blatant flout-

ing of the industrial-cconciliation mechanisms set up by the Labour Government and the TUC under the Social Contract.

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STOP THE WITCH HUNT

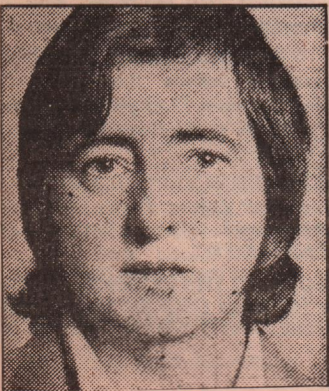
and this one, too!

We're all by now familiar with the case of the unfortunate Reg Prentice, whose Constituency Party doesn't want him as its candidate in the next elections. Many and varied are the people who have come to his aid, and given him what aid and comfort they could.

Now another MP is under pressure. This time it's coming from those very papers who were outraged by the attack on Prentice. And this time, there have been no protests from Michael Foot or Harold Wilson, Prentice is to be removed for his politics. That, apparently, is an outrage. But MAUREEN COLQUHOUN, MP for Northampton South, is being hounded because she shares a house with another woman and not with Mr. Colquhoun.

Let's hear some protests about the treatment of Maureen Colquhoun from those who were so quick to defend Reg Prentice.

And from everyone else too, for that matter!



WHAT'S GOING ON IN THE LABOUR PARTY?

To read the popular papers, you'd get a picture of a party whose leaders are decent, ordinary, likeable people like 'you and me' or the man-next-door, summed up in the cozy figure of Smiling Jim Callaghan the all-time Mr. Ordinary.

Then there are the alien "infiltrators" that you'd hardly think are human: grey, furtive, twilight figures in dingy bedsits, they's "totally dedicated" to political aims — unlike normal, non-political you-and-me ... and Callaghan and Prentice and all the others.

That's the picture. Now let's take a closer look.

First, Mr. Ordinary. He is one of the masterminds of the decline in our living standards. Under his direction, hospitals are closing down, education is looking increasingly Dickensian

Under Mr. Ordinary's beaming, benevolent gaze, working people suffer and working people die.

Callaghan is Leader of the Labour Party by the grace of a few dozen MPs. His policies were not endorsed by Conference. And they are utterly alien to the working class and its needs and aims.

From such a position, Callaghan dared pronounce on the "infiltrators": "There are too many of these people who have infiltrated this party already. Get them out!" he told his audience. "These people", Callaghan raged, "say 'What do we want? Everything! When do we want it? Now!'"

(Or, as the Irish revolutionary socialist James Connolly once put it "Our aims are very modest — we only want The

Earth".)

But "these people", who say 'forget the crumbs, we'll just take the bakery', "these people" who fight back in the Party against the cuts and the wage curbs — "these people" ARE the Party, its activists and solid base without whom Callaghan would be quite unable to cut any sort of dash on the political scene.

Who is "alien" to the working class — politician Callaghan, gentleman farmer and friend of the Police Federation; or the rank and file militants of the

Party?

What about the Trotskyists? What are they?

Simply this: militants who fight for the interests of the working class, and the power of the working class, in Britain and world-wide.

We need more "Trotskyists" — that is, more fighters for the interests of labour — in the movement.

The bluster and the threats and the witch hunt (currently focussed on the appointment of Andy Bevan as Labour's National Youth Officer) are in

fact part of a continuous struggle by the bureaucrats and right wing of the party to prevent the rank and file controlling Labour's policy, so they can have a free hand to do what they like in the Cabinet and in Parliament.

In reply to the with-hunt, the rank and file must go on the offensive: demand that the NEC call a special conference of the party to call to account "these people" who ride roughshod over party decisions and over the interests of the working class.

WEAK FLANKS IN THE LEFT'S DEFENCE

DURING the 1966-70 years, militants disgusted with the Labour Government's anti-working class policies simply quit the Labour Party. This time round, they are staying in, even coming in, to fight inside the Party. And the Labour leaders and bureaucrats are alarmed.

They first sounded the alarm signals when Newham North East constituency party moved against their right wing MP Reg Prentice. The latest attempt by the rank and file to gain a say, in Hayes & Harlington where Neville Sandelson (treasurer of the right wing Manifesto group) is MP, has met with loud opposition not only from the Labour right but also from supposed left wingers like Michael Foot and Party general secretary Ron Hayward.

Also worrying the government leaders is the reflection of the rank and file discontent through the Labour Party's elected National Executive Committee. This reached its height with the NEC's support for the November 17th day of action against Government cuts policy.

The NEC has appointed Andy

Bevan, LPYS chairman for four years and a member of the Militant tendency, as Labour Party National Youth Officer. The National Union of Labour Organisers, faced with the drastic reduction over recent years of Labour Party full-time agents' jobs, protested at the post going outside their ranks.

The Daily Express leapt on the issue and started a Red-hunt against the "Marxist" Bevan. And Callaghan and Foot, following in the path of the Tory Express — are trying to persuade the NEC meeting on 15th December to reverse the Youth Officer appointment.

Wedgwood Benn, however, has spoken out for Bevan and the NEC may well stand firm.

But most of the defences of labour democracy so far have huge gaps, through which less bludgeon-like blows at the left could well be aimed.

Keith Waterhouse, in the Daily Mirror, ridiculed the Express's horror of "dedicated extremists". "If Labour is not to be infiltrated by extremists, by whom is it to be infiltrated... Is there, somewhere, a safe young cost accountant or civil

servant, of about 26 years old, wearing a blue suit and living with his mother, whose dearest wish is to make moderate speeches from the Labour benches?"

The Express also denounced "self-confessed Trotskyists". (Not only are they 'Trotskyists': they haven't even got the decency to be ashamed of it!) Wedgwood Benn exposed that line: do we want "the establishment of some machinery for political interrogation, first to identify and then to expel... those who admitted to being influenced by Marx, by Trotsky, or by Harold Laski?"

But Benn left a huge loophole in his speech defending Andy Bevan's appointment as Youth Officer.

It was right, he said, for the Labour Party to ban the Communist Party from its ranks, for two reasons: that the CP has put up election candidates in opposition to the Labour Party, and that it has supported Stalinist suppression in Eastern Europe.

In fact the CP was first excluded

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WEDNESDAY'S GENERAL ELECTION in Jamaica will be a crucial test for the policies of the People's National Party, led by Michael Manley. It will also be crucial for the Caribbean policy of the US State Department, and the CIA, which has devoted large resources, both in cash and in the form of 'destabilisation' and subversion, to securing victory for the right-wing Jamaican Labour Party, led by Edward Seaga.

Manley's close relationship with neighbouring Cuba, together with the programme of reform based on working class support which has been PNP policy since 1974, are the basis of US interest in Jamaican affairs.

Jamaica has been under a state of emergency since June. The pamphlet, 'Jamaica destabilised', published by the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee, details the escalation of political violence, from the time of an IMF conference in Kingston in January 1976, to the declaration of Emergency in June. The murder of security forces, burning of working class suburbs, a machine-gun attack on a PNP youth club dance, and an attempt to cause chaos by poisoning a shipment of flour to Jamaica, are included in this account, together with more straightforward distortion of the media and economic sabotage.

The pamphlet goes on to say: "Though charges of destabilisation in Jamaica are difficult to prove — just as they were in Chile before the coup — a pattern is discernible behind the events which rocked the country for six months. The organisation and planning which went into these acts of violence — political assassination, arson against the poor and working-class communities of Trench Town, and the plot to overthrow the Government... suggest outside interference in Jamaican affairs.

"The danger posed by Manley to US interests was not so much in what he had accomplished through democratic socialism, but in his encouragement of the political awakening of the Jamaican people and in what he represented to oppressed peoples throughout the area. Socialism in the Caribbean could no longer be contained on one island".

Philip Agee visited Jamaica in September and addressed PNP meetings. "he spoke before packed audiences all over

DANGER — CIA AT WORK

...in
Jamaica...

the island about his experiences destabilising Latin American Governments when he was in the CIA. The parallels to the Jamaican situation were clear. He also released the names of 7 CIA officers, two secretaries, and two other embassy personnel who he felt certain were working with the CIA". No doubt his activities there, which seem to have had a seriously 'destabilising' effect in the CIA ("James Holt, one of the CIA operative officers... left Jamaica suddenly in September when former CIA officer Philip Agee arrived for a visit. So did political officer Robert Houdek") have brought about the US pressure on the British Home Office to deport Agee and thwart his work.

The irony of the situation, pointed out in the pamphlet, is that the British Labour Party, a member of the 'Socialist International', is deporting Agee for his activities in trying to prevent the CIA from overthrowing the PNP, another member-party of the International!

The last section of this pamphlet consists of press cuttings that show the CIA's involvement in the overthrow of Cheddi Jagan, left-wing premier of Guyana in the '60s. The parallel with recent Jamaican history, right down to similarly poisoned food shipments, are clear.

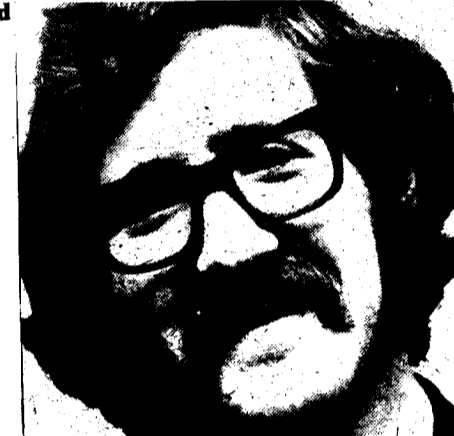


Manley (above), Agee (top), and Hosenball.

And are such things a world apart from British 'democracy'? The CIA has spent \$75 million in Italy since 1948, \$10 million of it on the 1972 election alone. And connections between the CIA and the Labour Party right wing in the '50s are by now clearly established.

BOB SUGDEN

The pamphlet, 'Jamaica destabilised', is available from the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee, 186 Kings Cross Rd, London WC1, price 25p. For WORKERS' ACTION's view of the situation in Jamaica, see WA 26 [29th July 1976].



...and in
Britain

THE CAMPAIGN to defend Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball has made an important addition to its demands — Repeal the 1971 Immigration Act.

It is under one of the clauses of this iniquitous Act that the two American journalists are under threat of deportation as alleged dangers to 'national security'.

As the Act stands, they have no right to know the specific charges against them, and their only right of appeal is to an 'independent' panel of 3 men, all Home Office appointees; Agee's appeal is on January 11th, Hosenball's has been moved back to January 19th.

The indications are clear: the CIA has pressed the Labour Government into service to silence the exposures by Hosenball and Agee (a former CIA agent himself) of CIA and other secret-service activity.

Last week the Agee-Hosenball defence committee organised two pickets of the Home Office, plus picketing of homes in London of known CIA agents.

A teach-in was also held, which included speeches from Franco Caprino, who successfully fought a deportation order in 1975, and Vishnu Sharma from the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants.

They showed the racist nature of the 1971 Immigration Act. 'Repatriation' is a reality now, because of the deportations without real right of appeal; and most of those subject to deportations are not articulate and well-known journalists, like Agee and Hosenball! For entry, the 'burden of proof' rests with the dependents of immigrants from Asia, Africa, etc. On the other hand, there are 30 million people throughout the world who can enter and settle in Britain freely. They are mostly white.

Support
the
campaign
to thwart
the CIA

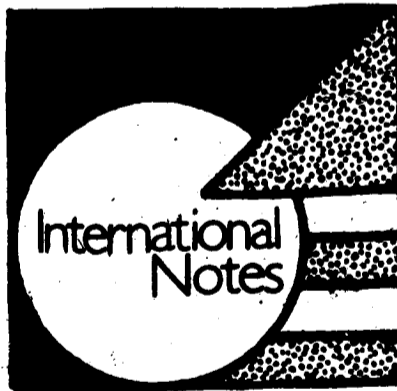
BENEFIT FILM PERFORMANCE
See the CIA's dirtiest tricks! A personal story of Watergate conspirator Howard Hunt. "Paperback Vigilante". And hear Phil Agee tell his own CIA inside story.
Saturday 18th December, 4pm, at The Other Cinema, 25 Tottenham Court Rd, W1.

NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION
Assemble outside Embankment underground station, 12.45 pm, Sunday 9th January. March to the Home Office and the US Embassy.

SEND RESOLUTIONS OF PROTEST
from your Labour Party, LPYS, or trade union branch, to Meryn Rees, Home Office, Whitehall, SW1.

CONTACT THE DEFENCE COMMITTEE
at 168 Kings Cross Rd, London WC1 9DE.
phone 278 4575, 609 3625, 251 3495, 451 0900

STOP THESE DEPORTATIONS TOO



A YOUNG Turkish Cypriot couple, Metin and Hulya Satin, are about to be deported from this country. They came here in the Spring of 1974 from an area now in the Greek sector of Cyprus.

They were arrested after an anonymous call to the Home Office; they have been imprisoned for three weeks, and 'recommended for deportation'.

Caterina Stylianou, a Greek Cypriot refugee and a widowed mother of six, came here in November 1975 from an area of Cyprus now in the 'Turkish sector'. All her family are now living in this country. In a letter from the Home Office she was told that the Home Secretary has "no reason to allow you to remain in this country..."

These two cases place in danger of deportation the ten thousand Greek and Turkish Cypriots who came here in 1974, and who the British government refuses to recognise as refugees.

And the racist attacks don't stop there. Other Cypriots are being blackmailed and intimidated by employers who exploit the Home Office's refusal to grant them work permits. Others are refused entry to Britain by racist immigration officers.

A Cypriot Defence Campaign has been launched to fight for an immediate end to the deportations. It also wants all Cypriot refugees recognised as such, and not as "long term visitors". They will campaign for all Cypriots to be allowed to stay in this country as long as they wish to and be granted work permits.

Their statement goes on: "These rights should be granted to all immigrants" and they demand an end to all immigration controls. They call on trade unionists and other immigrant organisations to support

The Cypriot Defence Campaign can be contacted at 90 Mountview Road, London N4

Maoists fuse in France

THE BRITISH left has one fortunate peculiarity as against the left in most other major capitalist countries: the extreme weakness of Maoism.

That weakness is partly due to the fact that the "go to the masses", "serve the people" mood fuelling the growth of Maoism elsewhere in the late '60s was in Britain capitalised on by IS. This link between IS and Maoism — inconsistent though it is with IS's theoretical positions, which define China as state capitalist — has been made manifest in recent years by IS's attempts to link up with Avanguardia Operaia in Italy and 'Revolution' in France.

AO and Revo both belong to the 'critical' wing of Maoism, which has become more and more critical of China's foreign policy, and now — since the elimination of the "group of four" — even of its internal regime (though they still define it as socialist).

An increasingly sharp line has been drawn between them and the 'orthodox' Maoists who, following Peking's line slavishly, have ended up denouncing the USSR and the CPs as the "main enemy" and hence supporting NATO and French and German militarism (even Franz-Joseph Strauss!).

Something like a critical-Maoist 'International' is emerging. It does not, to their

chagrin, include IS: the British group closest to it is "Big Flame".

In Italy AO and PdUP (a group mainly led by the ex-CP "Il Manifesto" tendency) have for some time been edging towards fusion. It is a process repeatedly racked by crises, the latest of which is the resignation from the PdUP leadership of two prominent figures, Lucio Magri and Rossana Rossanda, in protest against obstruction of the fusion.

'Revolution' have been more successful, fusing on 5th December with GOP (Gauche Ouvriere et Paysanne — Worker-Peasant Left), a tendency which came out of the PSU

The new 'Revolution'-GOP fusion, however, retains (at least on the part of its GOP component) an uncritical attitude to Albania, and the classic Stalinist ruling against organised tendencies and factions within the group. Their chief ideological characteristic is a chaotic eclecticism.

In the euphoria of the Cultural Revolution, in 1967, it seemed to many that Maoism was a new, fresh revolutionary alternative, better than 'dogmatic' Trotskyism. (Both AO and 'Revolution', in fact, came from splits from the USFI in that period.)

The euphoria is wearing off. And the quicker, the better! M.T.

Re-trial for Marie Murray — in the same court

MARIE MURRAY, sentenced to death for the capital murder of a policeman last year, is to be re-tried, the Irish Supreme Court decided on December 9th.

The court upheld the appeal against the death sentence by her husband Noel, who will now serve a life sentence.

The sentence of death by hanging had threatened the lives of the Murrays ever since June 9th, when the no-jury Special Criminal Court — denounced by Noel Murray as a "farce" and a "sentencing tribunal" passed sentence.

The Murrays were accused of the murder of an off-duty policeman during a bank robbery in September 1975. Noel and Marie were subject to police brutality, and Marie explained to the Irish Times in June 1976 that "All that connects us to the raid and the death of Garda Reynolds are

the statements made by us under duress: in my case mental torture, in Noel's case, physical torture". The third defendant, Ronan Stenson, was so badly tortured by the police that he was put in a mental hospital.

The Supreme Court decided that it could not be proved that the Murrays had known the dead man was a policeman, and therefore the capital murder charge, which only applies to police on duty or officers of state, did not apply. The legal debate will continue in the Special Criminal Court when the retrial is heard.

The judges' mental powers were certainly sharpened by the fact that there has been no hanging in the 26 Counties for 22 years, and no woman has been hanged for 40 years. There is also the fact of the general mood in the 26 Counties: the delicate

situation over the State of Emergency since September 1st, and the new Emergency Powers Act, plus the resignation of President O'Dalaigh, who was called a 'thundering disgrace' by the Defence Minister when he questioned the constitutionality of that Act.

There is much popular opposition to the quasi-police state: at Easter twenty thousand supported a banned Provisional Republican-organised demonstration to commemorate the Easter Rising of 1916.

The Government probably estimates it could not cope with the popular reaction aroused if the Murrays were hanged.

Although Marie has been removed from the condemned cell, the campaign for a proper retrial by jury and for the abolition of the Special Criminal Court must continue.

NO INTERVENTION IN ZIMBABWE

Editorial

THE GENEVA talks on the future of Zimbabwe have been adjourned until the New Year, with the delegates apparently nowhere near an agreement. Long-term issues apart, the Nationalist delegates have, according to British imperialist spokesman and conference chairman Ivor Richard, agreed to wait 15 months for "independence", while the Smith regime is still insisting on a 23 month timetable.

Just what is so crucial about those eight months?

The refusal of the Smith delegation to compromise on the points outlined in their version of the Kissinger "peace package" is one major obstacle to a neo-colonial solution. Britain and the USA want a conservative black government in Zimbabwe, one which would guarantee the property and interests of the multi-national firms. Smith, however, has other interests to protect. His lack of "enlightenment" isn't due to being a particularly pig-headed individual; he knows that a black regime — whatever its politics — would seriously infringe on the privileges of the whites in Zimbabwe.

Since the talks started, Smith has managed to gain concessions from South Africa. Trade has increased and more Rhodesian goods are being allowed through the railway network to South African ports. With Vorster under heavy pressure to help Smith, the talks have meant continuing, and possibly heavier, military aid.

Meanwhile the war goes on, with bloody 'pre-emptive' strikes across the Mozambique border in a clumsy attempt by the Smith regime to 'soften up' the negotiators by demoralising the guerilla militants.

The talks also offer the white settlers a wider horizon of options than their backs-to-the-wall situation gave them before. Their intransigence over military and police control in an interim period no doubt comes partly from a lurking idea of renegeing on any agreement once the economy has been sorted out with the lifting

of sanctions.

Smith also has plans, if the talks fold, to negotiate with "moderate" black leaders. After the 1974 attempts at settlement failed, Smith tried to come to an agreement with Joshua Nkomo. Now it is Bishop Abel Muzorewa who appears to the Smith regime as the "most reasonable", since Nkomo's attempt to associate himself with the "terrorists".

But Nkomo's unilateral negotiations with Smith in '74 damaged his standing (which is why he isn't trying it now). Smith's inclusion of the African chiefs in his cabinet failed to win the world-wide approval he evidently expected; and if Muzorewa were to negotiate with Smith on his own he would increase his isolation — and defeat the point of the exercise for Smith.

A veritable scramble is taking place among nationalist politicians to associate themselves with the guerilla movement. The Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA) is the most credible force in the eyes of Zimbabwe's black population, and there isn't much of a career ahead of any Nationalist politician who can't latch onto it.

The Rev. Ndabaninge Sithole who lost control of ZANU's fighting forces early this year is a spent force politically; Bishop Muzorewa, who does appear to have a mass following inside Zimbabwe, has suffered a number of embarrassing defections to the Nkomo-Mugabe camp, with 10 members of his Geneva delegation going over to the "Patriotic Front".

Nkomo's accord with Mugabe is an attempt on his part to be regarded as a "member of ZIPA", a claim Nkomo has frequently repeated since the alliance was cobbled together. Yet Mugabe himself is not the "ZIPA guerilla leader" of his repute.

However, their "Patriotic Front" has effectively established itself as a political formation far more significant than any of its rivals, a situation it may maintain — if it doesn't fall apart first...

The "Patriotic Front" rests tentatively on ZIPA, and what happens in and to ZIPA will determine whether a peaceful defusion of the Zimbabwe powder keg is possible. The settlers certainly aren't going to agree to anything unless ZIPA is disbanded. But who is to disband ZIPA, and how is it to be done?

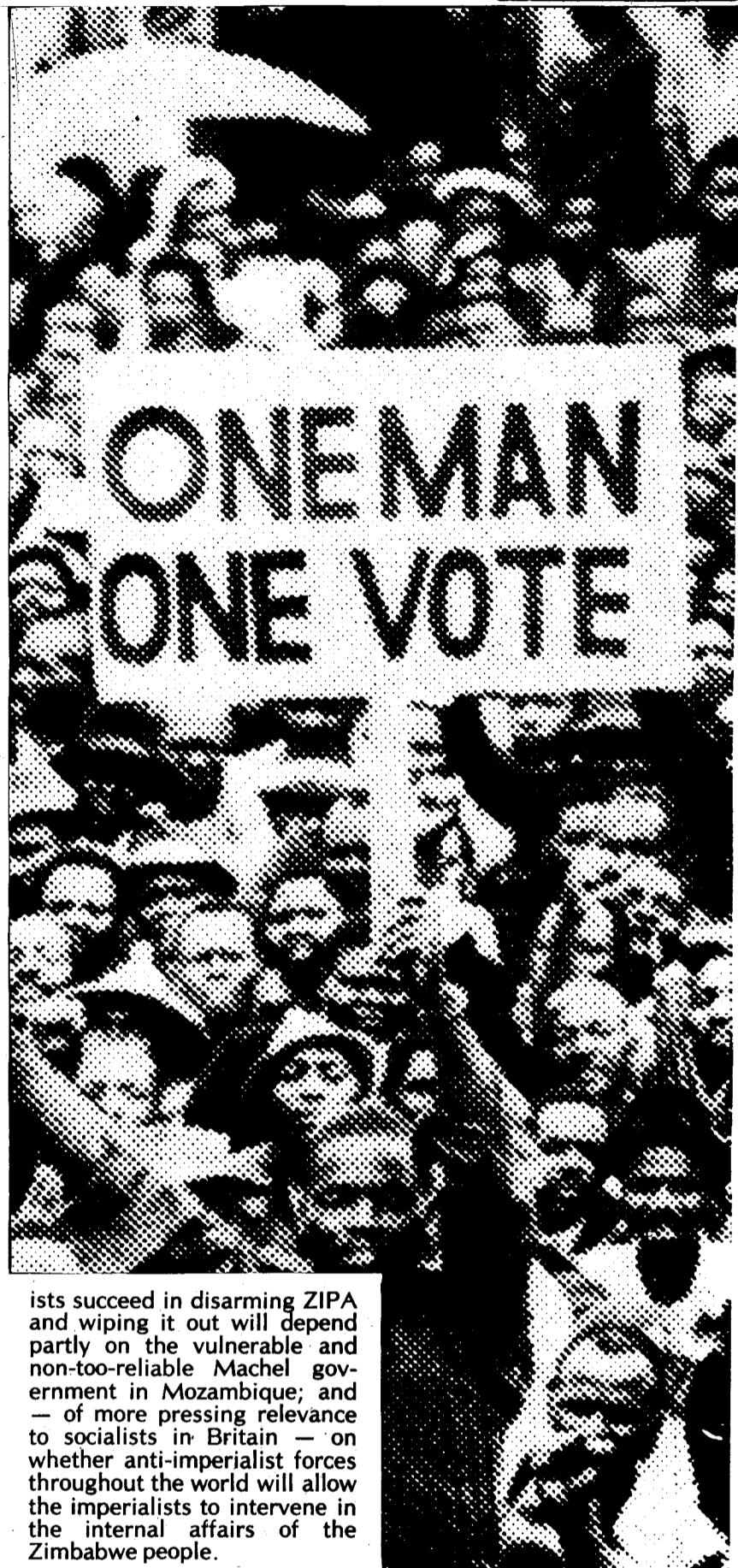
ZIPA was set up largely on the initiative of Samora Machel and was modelled closely on Frelimo. Its leaders envisage establishing a state in Zimbabwe similar to that in Mozambique. And that isn't something that any of the characters at Geneva are in favour of.

Machel, for his part, has been opposed to the Geneva talks; but economic and political restraints and dependences (involving South Africa and the OAU) have stopped him doing anything to undermine them. His opposition to the talks is based on a reluctance to see a pro-US neo-colonial regime on the lines of Zambia on his western border which could complicate his relations with the USSR. So, though the presence of ZIPA guerillas in Mozambique has caused ructions inside Frelimo, Machel does not favour a disbanding of ZIPA at the present time, especially if it is done by imperialist troops.

The key question for Zimbabwe at the moment is: who will control the state in the "interim period" before independence, if there is to be one.

Clearly the maintenance of a white-controlled army and police is unacceptable for ZIPA, and if anything causes a breakdown at Geneva, this will be it. But before that happens, projects like a joint British-US-Zambian-Tanzanian "peace-keeping" force will be aired, and no doubt some such formula will be worked out that both sides can accept. Zambian and Tanzanian troops have already played a role in intervening to curb ZIPA forces.

Outbreaks of fighting in ZIPA camps indicate that militants are prepared to oppose the neo-colonial settlement plans being cooked up at Geneva. Whether the imperial-



ists succeed in disarming ZIPA and wiping it out will depend partly on the vulnerable and non-too-reliable Machel government in Mozambique; and — of more pressing relevance to socialists in Britain — on whether anti-imperialist forces throughout the world will allow the imperialists to intervene in the internal affairs of the Zimbabwe people.

WILL EANES GIVE SOARES HIS CARDS?

THE ARMY, declared General Ramalho Eanes, President of Portugal, in a speech celebrating the first anniversary of the counter-revolutionary coup of 25th November "is the pillar of the new democratic society".

Eanes is not a man to waste words. After the coming municipal elections of 12th December, he will probably give a practical demonstration of his own principle. Not, to be sure, by imposing a straightforward military regime; but by replacing the existing Socialist Party parliamentary government with one further to the right including representation from the PSD (formerly PPD) or even from the CDS.

25th November, though it crushed the radicalisation in the army, only demoralised the working class rather than beating it down. The Socialist Party government in office since July has thus been the best instrument for extending the "25th November in the Army" to a "social 25th November". A PSD-PPD and/or CDS government might have provoked too sharp a reaction from the working class.

The "social 25th November" has



Eanes

required also, as Manuel Alegre — a prominent right-wing SP member — says openly, a "25th November in the party". Since the SP Congress at the end of October, that has been proceeding apace, with expulsion after expulsion from the party.

In early 1975, in its fight to win control in the unions from the Communist Party, the SP constituted 'labour commissions', enjoying a degree of autonomy in the party. Until the formation of the SP government, the main drive of these commissions was anti-communist. But they attracted, also, militant

workers repelled by the CP's bureaucraticism.

The central aim was to shake the solid CP control, existing since 25th April 1974, over the trade union federation, the Intersindical (defined by an early 1975 law as the only authoritative central union body). At present 1,500,000 organised workers are in the Intersindical, and some 500,000, mostly white collar workers, are in non-Intersindical (usually SP-led) unions. A congress to form a new single trade union federation, "CGT-Intersindical", is to be held late in January.

But the CP's position is still strong. And more and more the SP labour commissions have come into conflict with the government. At the SP Congress it was they who proposed the 'left' list for the party leadership elections, against the official list. Since the Congress, a campaign has been carried out against the labour commissions. "We cannot tolerate the existence of another party inside our party", says Alegre.

The SP is caught in the classic dilemmas of a party serving the bourgeoisie but basing itself mainly on the working class. It has driven rural workers off 'illegally' occupied land in the Alentejo region; it has, on 6th December, imposed a ten-day

ban on Government credits to collective farms and cooperatives for wages, seed, fertiliser and machinery, and demanded that all units hand in immediately accounts of the loans they have received; it has declared it will supervise collective farms, no longer allowing unions to control them.

But when, on 18th November, the CDS put down a resolution in the Assembly against any further implementation of the existing land reform law (passed in July 1975), the resolution was defeated by the combined vote of SP, CP and UDP (Maoists). The SP stressed that this did not mean any general policy of united front with the CP and UDP, and that they did not approve of the July 1975 law! But the fact still was that the SP felt sufficiently concerned to vote against the CDS motion, and to declare (on 10th December) that application of the July 1975 land reform would continue...

The SP's anti-worker policies will lose it votes in the municipal elections — and the SP leaders know that. The CP, running under the "Povo Unido" ('The People United') label, will by all accounts do relatively well; but everything is set for gains by the PSD and CDS which will provide a show of popular endorsement for

Eanes to change the ministry.

In face of this, the UDP (now by far the biggest organisation on the Portuguese far-left) has nothing better to say than that an "anti-fascist government of national independence" is needed. The Portuguese Trotskyists in the Liga Comunista Internacionalista and the Partido Revolucionaria dos Trabalhadores seem to be repeating the errors they made in June with their proposed common candidate (later withdrawn) for the presidential elections.

Then they proposed a "revolutionary presidential candidate" whose main platform was to appoint (if elected) a "workers' united front government" led by Soares. Now their (common) candidates run under the main slogan "for a workers' (i.e. CP-SP) majority in the municipal elections".

The united front is a necessary tactic for revolutionaries. But it does not apply to election candidates. As Trotsky put it when arguing for the united front in Germany in the 1930s "Deals arranged from above which lack a basis in principle will bring nothing except confusion. The idea of nominating a candidate for president on the part of the united workers' front is at its root a false one. A candidate can be nominated only on the grounds of a definite programme. The party has no right to sacrifice during elections the mobilisation of its supporters and the cause of its strength."



A YEAR AGO the Government announced an 'independent' committee of inquiry, to be chaired by Lord Bullock, to look into "workers' participation". It was given the following terms of reference:

"Accepting the need for a radical extension of industrial democracy in the control of companies by means of representation on boards of directors, and accepting the essential role of trade union organisations in this process, to consider how such an extension can best be achieved, taking into account in particular the proposals of the TUC report on industrial democracy as well as experience in Britain, the EEC, and other countries. Having regard to the interests of the national economy, employees, investors, and consumers, to analyse the implications of such representation for the efficient management of companies and for company law"

The Bullock report is due out this coming week. With its publication, the labour and trade union bureaucracy, in collaboration with the more far-sighted capitalists, will have succeeded in dictating the terms of a debate they didn't start and that they are doing their best to subvert: the debate over workers' control.

The pressure for workers having some say in the control of industry was a main feature of the struggles of militant trade unionists from the early 1900s up to the General Strike, and has been building up again since the end of the 1960s.

"For the efficient management of companies"

Fittingly, whereas it was the days of working class militancy that threw up the slogan, it is the lean years of the Social Contract that give it its formal, official — and soon legislative — expression.

Thus, responding to grass roots pressure in 1968, Jack Jones recommended to that year's Labour Party Conference that there should be:

"... experiments in placing representatives of the workers directly concerned on the boards of publicly owned firms and industries (or, alternatively, provision for attendance at board meetings) and this representation should not be confined to full-time officers of unions. Workers' representatives should be drawn into decision making at every level, particularly at the various points of production"

The powerful urge of the rank and file to control industry, to replace its anti-working-class anarchy, its capriciousness and savagery, was thus teased, turned and trimmed into a perfect expression of bureaucratic tinkering. In this sense, however progressive the grass roots pressure, the activity of the trade union bureaucracy on this question has been utterly reactionary.

Not surprisingly, the Labour Party didn't do anything about the issue until the pressure had been partly killed off. It was not until the publication of the Election Manifesto of

February 1974 that the Labour Party pledged itself to:

"... socialise the nationalised industries. In consultation with the unions, we shall take steps to make the management of existing nationalised industries more responsible to the workers in industry and more responsive to their consumers' needs".

Thus the Bullock Report derives from an attempt to divert a potentially powerful mass movement against capitalism to a safe legislative 'solution', not only within the system, but "having regard to the interests of the national economy".

One of the main aims of the report is to obscure the issues for the working class.

For revolutionaries, however, the issues are perfectly clear. Firstly, participation with the capitalists or with the industrial chiefs of the nationalised industries within a stable capitalist economy assumes that there is common ground between the workers and the capitalists. There isn't. There is conflict — class struggle — in industry, not because of misunderstanding, but, on the contrary, because each side, bosses and workers, understand their interests and refuse to give up the struggle for them.

Secondly, it assumes that the form in which industry is run (a so-called democratic, participatory form) determines the content of the decisions made. But it is not so. What determine the decisions are the laws of capitalism and how they apply to the pursuit of profit in a particular enterprise.

"A historic legislative programme?"

Thirdly, it assumes that the firm or branch of industry is the logical unit for decision-making. What that means is that it is "logical" for electricians in one company to advise on the investments necessary to drive electricians in another company out of work. That may be logic for the capitalists for whom cut-throat competition is the law of life, but it is not for the workers' movement, whose basic principle should be *solidarity, unity and collective action* — both nationally and internationally.

Fourthly — and this is perhaps the main thing — it assumes that a stage of permanent advance can be peacefully achieved, in which the capitalists who in the past have fought tooth and nail to maintain their absolute authority simply lose this power without a whimper. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The aim of this exercise in obscuring simple realities was summed up very well by Hugh Scanlon, "To the Tories and most industrialists, industrial democracy is about participation — in other words, securing the consent of workers to the decisions management has already made". The big problem for the workers' movement is that it isn't just the "Tories and most industrialists" who are trying to tie the workers to the interests and decisions of the capitalists — it is the bulk of the labour and trade union bureaucracy, too. The enemy is within!

Len Murray, putting forward the official TUC view, described the coming legislation — assuming it does come — as "the third stage" in "an historic legislative programme carried out by the Labour Government, aimed at strengthening workers' collective power".

Just imagine: here is this Government that last time round tried to shackle the unions with their version of the Industrial Relations Act, and that this time round has succeeded in drastically cutting the working class's standard of living... introducing "an historic [no less!] legislative programme... aimed at strengthening workers' collective power"! Unbelievable!

The Illusion of Power

PARTICI

What is the TUC's policy? It is for:

(a) A new set of statutes for the nationalised industries;

(b) These would provide for 50% direct trade union representatives on the policy-making boards of the nationalised industries;

(c) The other 50% of the board should be appointed by the minister: there will need to be further discussion about the composition of this half of the board;

(d) The statutes should allow for a variety of arrangements and experiments below board level, according to the characteristics of the particular nationalised industry".

In the 'private sector', it says:

"There should be a new Companies Act, to be introduced by stages, at first in enterprises employing more than 2,000 workers; such companies would have a two-tier board structure with Supervisory Boards, responsible for determining company objectives, which would appoint Management Boards;

(b) This change should be reflected by a statutory obligation on companies to have regard to the interests of workers as well as shareholders.

(c) One half of the Supervisory Board should be elected through trade union machinery, normally at company and combine level..."

In addition they state that the Supervisory Board should be the supreme organ of the company, and not bound by the shareholders' general meeting.

The AUEW document does not agree with the TUC's. It captures the danger of its tricky promises in a brilliant phrase: "Just as nothing enslaves more effectively than the illusion of freedom, the illusion of power that these proposals would create would undermine the strength that the movement has built up over the years".

And it comments aptly on the other systems the British industrialists sing the praises of: "In West Germany, the 'co-determination' system has been in existence for 15 years, with works councils and supervisory boards being compulsory.

"A recent survey of workers' participation in the Common Market found that in West Germany employee representatives do not appear to have much influence on merger proposals or investment decisions in either co-determination or works constitution industries".

"Illusion of power would undermine us"

The trouble with the AUEW's approach is that all these insights and sharp observations are swept aside as soon as its document deals with nationalised industries, which it sees as pockets of socialism within a capitalist system. Obviously Wedgwood Benn was forgetting the AUEW when he said: "We used to think that nationalisation plus Lord Robens equals socialism, now we know better".

The Communist Party does not know better, any more than the AUEW. Their attitude on the shop floor is well illustrated in our report this week from Leyland, Longbridge. The official position is summed up in an AUEW-TASS advertisement which gives that union's policy on "Industrial Democracy". "In the public sector", says the advertisement, "A majority of trade union representatives on the management board and effective control at all levels. In the private sector: unlimited extension of collective bargaining into every area of company activity. There is a difference: ownership is a prerequisite of control".

This last line is a real gem of Stalinist quackery devised to muddle the minds of the union's members. What are the facts? We have written before in *Workers' Action*: "All nationalised industries have been taken over by the state not in the interests of the working class, not as a socialist measure, but simply to

benefit the capitalist system and class as a whole. For instance, the steel industry was nationalised because it was going bust and the British bosses needed cheap steel; the Tories (who are completely opposed to the idea) nationalised Rolls Royce because the company was essential to the continuation of the British aviation industry".

Another version of the participation line is that touted by the *Militant* tendency, some Stalinists, and other left social-democrats: that "democracy" means that throughout industry boards should be composed of one third elected from workers in the industry, one third TUC nominees, and one third the Government. (The formulation on the representatives from 'workers in the industry' varies: sometimes the call is just for representation from 'trade unions in the industry').

Brushing class struggle under the carpet

More radical though this might seem, this too evades what Lenin called "the main thing, namely, the actual conditions on which the practicability of these promises depends". "We must face the truth squarely. We must not gloss it over, we must tell it to the people in a straightforward manner. We must not brush the class struggle under the carpet, but clarify what relation it bears to the high-sounding, specious, delightful 'radical' reforms" (our emphasis).

It is this, the class struggle, that the more conservative advocates of workers' participation seek to eliminate. It wouldn't work, but it would succeed, if introduced, at least temporarily in holding off or misdirecting that struggle. But, while wise to this, the solutions of the Communist Party and the *Militant* tendency actually ignore that struggle, preferring instead to devise basically bureaucratic blueprints of a socialist enterprise. In the final analysis, therefore, their solutions are no less dangerous than those of Bullock, Murray, etc.

Their omission of class struggle matches up with their failure to see the question of the class nature of the state and of the ties of the trade union bureaucracy with the state, and how that affects the class character of their "1/3-1/3-1/3" proposal. Under the present-day, capitalist, state — and neither the CP nor *Militant* advance any programme for smashing that state and replacing it with a state of workers' councils — their scheme would not be democratic, but a crushing, reactionary blow to the independence of the trade unions from capitalism.

Workers' Action's attitude to participation is: DON'T TOUCH IT. We are not in favour of any of these schemes. We are not in favour of any kind of participation. We are against standing for election to such participation boards, or taking part in such elections. We counterpose the struggle for rank and file workers' control and for the opening of the capitalists' books to workers' inspection.

"Management responses to a challenge"

The argument that the vast mass of workers are in favour of participation has no statistical support. (Nor would we change our position if in this or that firm it were the case). A recent survey of workers' attitudes towards participation, published in *New Society*, unmasked the spurious attempts to suggest that the interest at the top in workers participation directly reflected a popularity for the idea on the shop floor.

Instead, it asserted: "The current wave of interest, seen as an evolutionary step in industrial relations, turns out to be merely the latest of a series of such policies. These include Whitleyism and the fashion of joint consultation after the second world war. The pattern can be traced back as far as the 1860s. In each case they chiefly represent management responses to a period of challenge to their authority... When employees are offered a say in return for adopting a 'responsible' attitude, they are likely to discover that 'responsible' means safeguarding profits at the workers' expense".

And the TUC knows it...

je parti
tu parti
il partic
nous part
vous parti
ils profite



Bullock Committee: 2 professors, 3 union bureaucrats, 2 bankers, 3 top capitalists.

ipe
cipes
re
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THE ONE-YEAR trial period of participation at British Leyland plants will be over next month. A decision will have to be taken by the unions: for or against participation in the future. But there are no signs, in many factories where the union leaders are participating, of this decision ever being put to the membership.

At Cowley, T&G leading stewards are trying to avoid such a vote, and instead merely asking stewards for their comments on the trial period. And at Longbridge there is not even a whisper of a vote on the shopfloor; the Works Committee is apparently set on taking the decision itself.

Wherever participation has been put to the shopfloor, it has been rejected (e.g. Triumph Canley and Rover Solihull). But it is fairly evident that such opposition is not going to be reflected in the Longbridge Works Committee's decision.

Derek Robinson, Communist Party member, Longbridge Works Convener and Chairman of the Leyland Cars Combine Committee, gave an interview to the *Morning Star* in October, in which he outlined his attitude on this question and on the general situation in Longbridge now.

The article is a cynical attempt to talk about anything and everything apart from the real nature of participation. But it succeeds only in exposing its author for the bureaucrat and scab he has become.

Robinson is asked "Is participation at Leyland a 'one way traffic', with the workers still being informed and not consulted?" He replies "It is only 9 months since the Ryder Report was off the ground, and we have been trying to implement the participation proposals. There are some positive aspects and also things we would like to change."

He then gives an account of a dispute at Jaguar Coventry over the site of a proposed new paintshop.

In effect he says "they wouldn't participate; the Birmingham unions did; therefore Birmingham got the paintshop; therefore it serves Jaguar right!"

But a child can see that if both groups had been involved in participation, someone would still have been decided against!

He then offers some "wait and see" generalisations — and that's it. No account of the real nature of participation, and not even an honest answer to the question he was asked.

Are Longbridge stewards "policing the Social Contract"? asks *Star* reporter Ken Graves. The answer Robinson gives is, effectively, YES. But to be precise, he says they're trying to "ensure that Trade Union discipline is accepted throughout the factory" on the basis of a policy "not

The 'Ryder era' at Longbridge: Policing the Con-trick

to accept wage restraint after July '77": in other words, to accept it till then.

It is true that most shop meetings in the factory have voted for this policy, in the absence, as they see it, of a viable alternative. But whose fault is this to start with? Robinson and the rest of the Works Committee must take the largest part of the blame. These CP and Broad Left supporters dreamt up the policy, proposed it, argued in the stewards meetings that there was no alternative, and argued this again on the shopfloor.

So this is what the CP's "opposition to the Social Contract" is worth. In a factory where they have an immensely strong position of leadership, a factory unrivalled for trade union organisation and tradition, where frustration over wages has led to a long string of sectional disputes all year, they fight for submission to the Social Contract. When your leaders do this, and resort to every trick in the book to enforce their decision, it does take a while for a viable alternative to emerge and win support in the workforce.

It is not 'good trade unionism' to fight for "trade union discipline" in these circumstances. It is in fact *policing* — by a man who has shed all his principles. You cannot cover that up with a phrase like "trade union discipline"!

And it means in effect scabbing on workers who do have a go. It has meant a ban on unofficial action, forced through at Longbridge with blackmail by the management and union leaders involving threat of closure and a massive press campaign.

This ban was not just aimed at "discipline" on wages. As Robinson's own press release made clear at the time, it was aimed at *all unofficial action* with the single exception of action against victimisations. This is very significant because it shows that there is more to the ban than a "conserving of our forces" for a big struggle against wage restraint later.

In fact it is directly connected with participation.

Are we to think that it is coincidence that Robinson and his assistants have degenerated on wage controls and on participation simultaneously — that there is no link between them? Unfortunately, there is a link. In this 'Ryder era', as Robinson likes to call it, the upper layers of stewards in each factory are enticed into accepting responsibility for the profits and losses of the company by the facade of their involvement in decision-making. They are persuaded, for example, that an "uninterrupted run of production" is in their interests. And then they go back and sell these aims to the other stewards and the workforce.

Thus they are terrified of actions by sections of the rank and file which might expose them as the careerists and scabs they generally are; and simultaneously they are terrified of management, which can scold them with their inability to stop disputes, or by-pass them whenever it likes — and which therefore must be won to the idea that "full industrial democracy" is necessary and viable.

So they attack all unofficial bodies in the trade unions, and they attempt to tie the hands of the workforce with bans like this one.

Robinson finds himself in a position like Napoleon's when besieging Mantua: two armies had to be held off while the city was taken, because Mantua was strategically more important than a single victory over either. Unfortunately the strategic project Robinson is pursuing on participation committees and Councils is either (if we are to be generous to him) the achievement of "full industrial democracy" or (if we are cynics) the crowning of his career with a seat on the Board.

Thus although the CP's record of subordinating the struggles of workers to the needs of their bureaucratic alliances or the imperatives of their class-collaborationist political line, goes back a long way before Ryder — and before the Social Contract — the fact is that participation is giving



leaders like Robinson a material reason to go further and further along this road, and to launch new attacks on trade union democracy and independence and choke all struggles at the base.

And what is this "full industrial democracy" which "justifies" Robinson's dictatorial contempt for the jobs and living standards of his members? It is of course only an extension of the involvement of tame union leaders in the running of capitalist companies in a capitalist society. It isn't something which belongs in a communist programme at all.

Robinson's interview contains references to the basic policies of the Leyland unions on retirement, wages and conditions, and on nationalisation. It is crystal clear that this sort of talk (retirement at 60, a 35-hour week, nationalisation with better participation) is intended to deceive *Morning Star* readers about the real policies Robinson and his kind are pursuing. It is interesting, however, that he makes at one point a vague promise of a struggle against wage control soon ("in the next few months"!). Clearly he feels he has to promise CP members and supporters *something* on the question.

This is because there are many militants, in and out of the Party, who take seriously "op. position to the Social Contract" and who actually want to fight. Such militants exist in large numbers in the car industry, and they could play a very decisive role in leading struggles against wage control, speed-ups, redundancies and lay-offs if they can be brought to break with Robinson and his kind and with the idea of participation. Many of them already see it as "a farce" and "a con-trick". But only if they take the further step of actually starting a fightback on these issues — a fightback at present hindered by participation — will it eventually be buried, alongside Mondism, "consultative" committees and other 'enlightened' management tricks of the past.

DICK BRADLEY

Who's afraid of the big bad Press?

AT A recent meeting of Cardiff South East LPYS the subject was raised of Callaghan's action in attempting to block the appointment of Andy Bevan as National Youth Officer.

A motion was put forward by a *Workers Action* supporter that a resolution should be sent to the GMC calling upon Callaghan (the MP for Cardiff SE) to explain his motives for blocking the appointment and to withdraw his veto immediately.

It was argued that such a motion was doubly important. Callaghan would have to explain his reasons for blocking the appointment; and, by raising this specific issue, the more general issue of working class democracy inside the Labour Party, and the right of all socialist tendencies to exist and organise inside the Labour Party, could be raised in the wards and trade unions affiliated to Cardiff SE GMC.

However, supporters of *Militant* (Andy Bevan's political grouping), who constitute the majority of the YS branch, refused to support the motion — and for that matter, even raising the issue in the wards and trade unions. They argued that to attack Callaghan would only give him ammunition against the YS, and that further bad press about *Militant* would be published in the local paper the *Western Mail*.

In fact Callaghan and his supporters on the GMC could quite easily close down the YS branch tomorrow, with hardly a murmur from most GMC delegates. Only a principled fight in organisations affiliated to the GMC, explaining all the facts and the issues, could seriously hamper Callaghan's moves against the left.

As for 'bad press', since when have revolutionaries been worried about that?!

The lessons of such political cowardice should not be lost. On the one hand it shows that *Militant*, far from being the serious (let alone revolutionary) tendency they claim to

be, are nothing more than weak-kneed reformists who not only duck out of the fight with the Labour bureaucrats, but are even not prepared to fight for working class democracy.

Running from attempted witch hunts is no way to fight the right wing. They should stand up in the open and campaign inside and outside the Labour Party for their right to exist and to organise in the mass party of the working class.

Such cowardice in the face of the right

wing is all-of-a-piece with their ritual appeals to Labour governments for nationalisations which are supposed to turn capitalism into socialist via the Westminster voting lobby.

In both cases, we see a total lack of political guts: the class struggle is relegated in the struggle for 'socialism'; and the democratic involvement of the working class in the fight against the right wing is discarded.

STEVE LEHARNE
CARDIFF

WHY DO YOU CALL US PETTY BOURGEOIS?

IN *Workers Action* No.36, Alan Cherit made a number of criticisms of your paper. Specifically that it had not adequately analysed the anti-imperialist struggle taking place in Ireland.

The reasons you gave in your answer, considering the situation in England, were understandable; however, I feel that although you are doing a good job against tremendous opposition in countering anti-Republican propaganda, it would be most helpful for the English working class if you ran a series of articles analysing the Irish struggle.

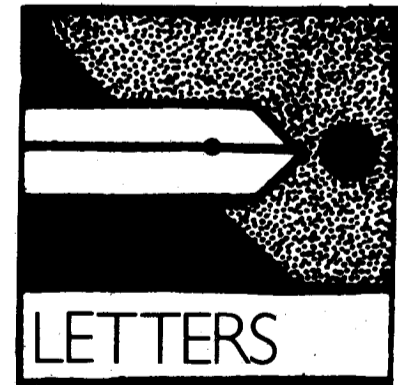
Also in his letter Alan Cherit made the point, which you agreed with and to which I took great exception, that the Republican movement is a "petty bourgeois nationalist movement".

I will not dispute with you the fact that the Republican movement, like all organisations, has its right wing element; and considering the fact that the question of national unity is at the top of the priorities for the future establishment and development of a Socialist Republic in Ireland, it is understandable that nationalism appears to be the dominant influence in Republicanism.

But it should also be remembered that, in trying to discredit our struggle, organisations and political parties over the years have sought to brand us as "Green Fascists"; and some of this muck has unfortunately stuck.

I can, I hope, dispel any thoughts anyone might have that we are a "petty bourgeois political movement". Here in Long Kesh we have over 400 Republican POWs imprisoned for their part in the anti-imperialist struggle. Within our ranks we have men who have held rank at every level in the Irish Republican Army, from Volunteer to Brigade and GHQ Staff level. Long Kesh is without doubt representative of the internal structure of the Republican Movement, and here of over 400 Republicans less than 2% could be classed as "petty bourgeois". The rest come from the working class areas of Derry, Belfast, Newry, Dublin etc.

There are those I suppose who would possibly claim that we are the tools, and that the "petty bourgeois" direct the policies. This is untrue. For possibly the first time in centuries the Irish proletariat is being led in the struggle against British imperialism not by the intellectuals of the middle class but by men and women who are themselves of



the working class.

Perhaps your criticism of our policies, that they are not socialist enough, is correct. However, they are socialist and to us they are the first step on the road to establishing a socialist Republic in Ireland.

B. McCaffrey, POW Long Kesh.

COMMENT: We were of course referring to the politics of the Republican movement, not its personnel, when we classed it as "petty bourgeois nationalist": the question is, will the "first step" you envisage lead beyond capitalism. The present programme of the Republican movement does not clearly do so. Of course many in the movement have ideas and intentions that do go beyond capitalism, but we must judge the movement's politics on its present stated programme, and this is not a programme of working class power.

We do intend to provide, in the coming months, a better analysis of the Irish struggle; that analysis will include a detailed criticism of the politics of the Republican movement.

We will also be taking up the points raised in Comrade MacAuley's recent letter on withdrawal of British troops.

Angola is known — rightly — in the labour movement for its victorious struggle against colonialism. But less is known about the emergence of independent councils of 'Popular Power' in Angola and their suppression by the Stalinists in the MPLA.

We continue our publication of the interview with Paulo Quicuchi, a member of the Angolan Trotskyist group GRS, which took place with a member of the German Spartacusbund in August 1976 and has been published by the Spartacusbund as a pamphlet. Last week's excerpt described how the organs of 'Popular Power' were forged and developed in 1974-5. In the passage translated here, comrade Quicuchi describes the problems of the civil war period, and the crushing of the 'Popular Power'.

As we noted in relation to the first excerpt, Workers' Action does not necessarily agree with all comrade Quicuchi's analyses, but we publish this interview to give otherwise unavailable information and as an act of solidarity with the proletarian revolutionists in Angola facing the MPLA's repression.

■ Can we go into more detail about the events in Angola — or Luanda — from June 1975, which led to a relative stabilisation of the dominance of the MPLA in Luanda — at the cost of the independent movement of the working class.

□ In August 1975 a period of civil war began, for which the extreme left had no complete and coherent answer. As I have already said, the extreme left had no weapons and the workers' movement was not armed — the weapons were in the hands of the FAPLA. The FAPLA was accordingly the only force that was able to confront the situation of civil war and the aggression of the FNLA and UNITA of which Angola became the victim. Having said that the FAPLA alone was armed, it follows that the MPLA alone could give an answer to the war.

We saw the rapid advance of the Stalinists in the MPLA. We were convinced that it was necessary to give the workers' movement an answer to the situation of the civil war, so that the revolutionary process was not interrupted by the war, but moved forward.

Militias

There was only one possible answer: militias. The building of armed people's militias was thus the answer that the extreme left gave through the independent organs of the workers' movement, through the Orgao Coordenador of the neighbourhood committees. And there was no other solution.

Yet for these people's militias to come into being, they needed to have weapons. But the weapons were in the hands of the FAPLA and the MPLA. Thus the problem was posed of whether the MPLA would arm these people's militias. And here was the only chance: entering discussions with the MPLA so that they would arm the militias.

In order to come to such an agreement, negotiations began with the Stalinist wing of the MPLA, which had replied to our invitation to negotiate in the



Luanda: workers organised by the Popular Power clearing debris after FNLA attack.

name of the MPLA. But the project of the Stalinists was clear. They had seen that it was not easy for them to break the independence of the workers' movement and its organs. They needed favourable conditions for their attempt. And the situation of the civil war provided those conditions.

The Stalinists likewise understood how to lay their plans so that it was we ourselves who brought about the conditions that were favourable for their politics. The Stalinists succeeded in tying us up for almost a month in negotiations over the arming of the militias and over the question of who should control the militias (the neighbourhood committees or the MPLA).

But this month of negotiations had a serious psychological impact on the workers, who increasingly saw the danger that the FNLA would enter Luanda, which — as I have already said — would have meant the smashing of the workers' movement.

The workers were turning to the neighbourhood committees every day and demanding arms. They wanted at last to know how the negotiations had gone. The constitution of the militias had already begun. But to constitute them without weapons was difficult...

Without the guarantee that the militias would be armed, the workers could expect little from

the setting up of militias. Thus the workers had already lost some of the readiness which they possessed at the beginning. They paid more attention to the civil war and the threat of their being smashed than to advancing the revolutionary process.

They felt that it would be better to halt the movement for a time and solve the problem of the civil war than to go too far ahead and be smashed, because objectively we could not provide a concrete answer which would prevent that occurring.

These were the consequences of the situation into which the Stalinists had led us. This was the situation. But there was more than the negotiations, in which they tied us up. Throughout this period, their machine was moving into action. On the one hand, their apparatus of communications, newspapers and radio, on the other hand, their (few) cadres who belonged to the neighbourhood committees.

Slanders

Thus there appeared daily in the papers and on the radio attacks on the 'ultra-lefts', and Nito Alves himself said at a meeting in the district of Sao Paulo that the invasion of Angola from the south was the work of the extreme left. The whole apparatus began to work against us.

We always had less chance of replying, as the papers in which we might have been able to reply were eventually forbidden. That was the case with the "Jornal de Angola", whose editorial board was first of all replaced, while later the paper itself was forbidden. In the same way, the paper "Poder Popular" (Popular Power), the organ of the neighbourhood committees, was prohibited, as was the case with the "Voz dos Trabalhadores" (Voice of the Workers), the organ of the trade union federation UNTA.

Lastly, the weekly magazine ABC which appeared in Luanda was banned. With the banning of all papers which were under the control of the extreme left or alternatively which were ideologically influenced by it or through which we could make our voice heard, we no longer had any chance of replying to the attacks of the Stalinists.

From then onwards, the propaganda machine of the Stalinists rolled. As the slanders were spread, workers increasingly came to doubt whether it was possible to provide answers to the situation of civil war.

ANGOLA: THE MPLA AND THE WORKERS

Part 2: REPRESSION

The problem of the civil war and the danger of physical liquidation was so grave that we had to take this into account. The only possibility we — the 'extreme left' — saw was to hold a second Week for Popular Power.

It was our aim to reply to the Stalinists through meetings, demonstrations and political discussions. Objectively, it was our only chance. At the same time we wanted, by doing this, to take another significant step in the revolutionary process and to show the Stalinists that despite all their attempts, they would not be able to hold back the revolutionary process.

But this second Week did not achieve what we expected. It resulted in our destruction.

The first meeting showed at once that the Stalinists, with their slanders, their bureaucratic apparatus and their influence in the military apparatus (the FAPLA) had achieved a good deal.

Propaganda

The meeting hall was surrounded by a unit of FAPLA. Our calls to the meeting could not appear in the papers, with the result that not even the necessary propaganda had taken place. Most of the leading Stalinists were present in the hall, including Commander Nito Alves. This meeting — which had been foreseen as a meeting on the question of "How should the struggle for Popular Power be carried onwards?" — was transformed into a meeting on "The aim of the extreme rightists and the plan for the constitution of people's militias". We were accused of wanting to create an armed wing to fight against the MPLA after the defeat of UNITA and the FNLA and to take political power from the MPLA.

The meeting was not a discussion but just an endless series of accusations and slanders.

The Stalinists went so far as to take up directly racist positions: the mischief, they said, lay in the fact that the extreme left organisations were dominated by Portuguese who had come from Europe with ultra-left ideas; in Angola, they declared, it was the Angolan people and under no circumstances the Portuguese, (who stood at the head of the

far left groups) who had to prevail.

That is how they argued. And at the end of the meeting a motion was carried transforming the Second Week for the Establishment of Popular Power into a week of "support for the correct line of the MPLA and President Agostino Neto".

Also at that meeting, actual threats were made against some of the best known leaders of the far left and of the independent workers' organisations: such as that they should 'decide for the camp of the revolution' or else they would find themselves in an execution or re-education camp.

Immediately afterwards, there began the first persecutions. The whites (the Portuguese) were forbidden to work in the neighbourhood committees and excluded from them. The climate of control and repression of these committees became ever more pressing.

At the end of the Week there took place as its high point a meeting "in support of the correct line of the MPLA and of President Agostino Neto", at which all the speeches — especially those of Nito Alves and Betinho — emphasised as the greatest victory of the Angolan people the victory over the "ultra lefts" which, they stressed, had not yet been completed. At this meeting it was made known that the paper of the neighbourhood committees was being banned.

Defeat

The whole period of struggle between the far left and the Stalinists came to a conclusion thus: with the defeat of the left, with the workers' movement placed under bureaucratic control and, soon afterwards, with the arrest of a whole number of our comrades. The premises of the neighbourhood committee of Sao Paulo — one of the most important — were then occupied by the FAPLA, and nine members of the committee were arrested.

There were further arrests; and the posts in the committees were taken over by the Stalinists. With this the Stalinists put into effect their control over the neighbourhood committees.

Eventually the Orgao Coordenador was deposed and replaced by a Comissao Directiva consisting of Stalinists.



An MPLA demonstration

workers' ACTION

supporters' groups

BASINGSTOKE, BIRMINGHAM, BRISTOL, CAMBRIDGE, CARDIFF, CHELMSFORD, CHESTER, COVENTRY, EDINBURGH, HUDDERSFIELD, LEICESTER, LIVERPOOL, LONDON, MANCHESTER, MIDDLESBROUGH, NEWCASTLE, NEWTOWN, NORTHAMPTON, NOTTINGHAM, READING, ROCHDALE, SHEFFIELD, STAFFORD, STOKE.

Write for details of meetings and activities to:
WASG, 49 Carnac Street, London SE27

NUS Broad Left retreats before Tories

"THE TORY AIM is to get supporters of the ultra-left to combine with them to sack Broad Left president Charles Clarke, over the collapse of NUS Travel Services".

The "Morning Star"'s attempt, on the eve of NUS Conference (10-12 December) to smear criticism of the NUS leadership, inverted the real course of the conference: one of the Broad Left Executive riding through by making every concession possible to the Tories.

Their most serious political concession was on racism and fascism. Trevor Phillips, for the Executive, argued that NUS "no platform for fascists" policy should be dropped. It had not won over a lot of students, therefore it was 'redundant and sterile'.

Conference, however, rejected the Executive recommendation, believing that students must continue to fight to refuse fascists

itches they can use to mobilise for their racist thuggery. If many students are not yet convinced of the 'no platform for fascists' policy, the job is to win them over, not to drop the policy!

The Executive, however, also retreated towards the right on Ireland — supporting the 'peace people' despite previous NUS policy for 'troops out now' — and on the expulsion of Keith Joseph from the conference.

Joseph arrived, uninvited, at the conference debate on the cuts, on Friday evening. He had no visitor's credentials. Delegates challenged his presence, pointing out that Joseph is an outspoken advocate of cuts such as would reduce the public education system to ruination.

The Executive voted to exclude Joseph; and then, the next day, issued a statement condemning the exclusion! Obviously they were reacting to the pressure of the Federation of Conservative

Students leader Steve Moon, who led a protest walk-out of 30 or 40 delegates.

The Executive statement censured students who, they alleged, tried to assault Joseph and stop him leaving the hall. The fact is that there was no assault, and the students concerned, far from wanting to stop Joseph's departure, were among those who most wanted to get him out!

Over the collapse of services, the Executive defeated the two opposition motions: the left's, calling for nationalisation of the services and for a vote of no confidence in the Exec majority; and the Tories', calling for the sacking of Clarke and the NUS Treasurer.

The executive's arguments were indistinguishable from Toryism. A campaign to save the jobs of sacked NUS services staff would be 'unrealistic' and 'not relate to the mass of students'.

Perhaps there had been insufficient accountability, but it was "difficult to get across complex financial information to the membership". A good deal had been found for the sale of NUS's Endsleigh Insurance Company, which would give the NUS two seats on the board and £20,000 p.a.

Unfortunately, much of the revolutionary left was sometimes less than politically clear. In the fascism debate, for example, IS's amendment said that 'no platform for fascists' should be secured by 'democratic action' — without saying what 'democratic' meant.

But there is only one way to stop disintegration and Tory domination in NUS following the services collapse — and that is not the Broad Left's way. Socialist students must fight for clear, principled policies that can sustain NUS as a militant campaigning union.

A TOUCH of James Bond and more than a touch of (literal) Whitehall farce marked the BBC television series on Suez 1956. But its tale of intrigue — no less than the nostalgic articles on the 10th anniversary, in 1966, rueful but full of regrets for the 'great days' of British imperial strategy — skimmed the surface of the real significance of Suez, in terms of the relation of forces within and against imperialism.

In 1952 a "colonel's revolt" had overthrown King Farouk and ended the British military occupation of Egypt. The new regime moved to unprecedentedly radical state-capitalist nationalisations and land reform.

President Nasser's government nationalised the Suez Canal on 26th July 1956, after a previously-agreed US-Britain-IMF loan for the Aswan High Dam project had been withdrawn in a move to force Egypt to stop buying arms from Britain.

Through control of the Canal Egypt could gain revenue to make up for the refusal of the loan. Those who would lose were British and French capitalists, who were almost entirely dependent on Middle East oil supplies, and who counted among their number the shareholders of the Universal Suez Canal Company (who were, however, promised compensation).

Nasser did not expect military retaliation. He reckoned — correctly — that the US would not support such retaliation, and the USSR would definitely oppose it.

But the French ruling class, engaged in bloody war against the Algerian national liberation struggle, were in no mood to react calmly to Arab nationalism. In May 1956, the aide to the French Minister of Defence, Bourges-Manoury, told a Lyons audience that Nasser was 'a new Hitler'. Socialist Party prime minister Guy Mollet took up this theme and spoke of a "great Islamic conspiracy" against France, with "Egypt at the middle of this spider's web".

France was interested in breaking Britain away from US foreign policy, and the racist propaganda against Nasserism began to have an effect in Britain too. The Daily Herald's headline on 28th July was "No More Hitlers", and two days later the Daily Mirror compared Nasser with Mussolini.

Under pressure from the French and a small group of Conservatives led by Julian Amery, prime minister Eden began to see the Suez question as a point of honour for British imperialism, and to believe that failure to act against Nasser would be a repeat of the disastrous appeasement policy of Munich 1936. Moreover, Britain not only had huge investments in Middle East oil, but was almost totally dependent on it for both industrial and military purposes.

The British and French began to plan intervention. But how? Consumed by their own racist prejudices, they were at first convinced that the Egyptians would fail to guarantee safe and free passage to shipping now that Britain and France had recalled their nationals working on the Canal. Intervention would then be legitimated by the 1888 Treaty of Constantinople.

The Times sneered: "an international waterway of this kind cannot be worked with a nation without technical and managerial skills such as the Egyptians". But in fact Egypt ran the canal efficiently and expertly. It did not seize any ships, endanger any lives, cut off any oil supplies, or stop the access of any ships except those of Israel, with whom Egypt was officially at war.



So the French suggested another pretext. The Israelis would attack Egypt and march on the Canal. The British and French would then land troops on the Canal to "separate the combatants and ensure peace".

Plans were laid for a march on Cairo and a full-scale occupation of the Nile Delta, together with an eight-day aerial leafletting campaign calling on the Egyptian people to overthrow Nasser.

But Israel's racism obstructed the plan. Prime minister Ben Gurion refused to agree to a scenario by which the Anglo-French forces would issue an ultimatum to both sides to withdraw to points ten miles away from the Canal. It was unthinkable because it placed the Israelis and the Egyptians on the same moral footing.

In the event only a tiny Israeli force, if that, went anywhere near the Canal. While Eden, lying through his teeth, was reporting to the Cabinet that "Israeli troops... had reached a point half-way between their frontier and Ismailia. A second Israeli force was reported to be striking towards Suez" — the Israeli General Dayan pointed out: "We are not within ten miles of the Canal and we have neither interest nor plan to come closer to it". Israel was interested instead in Aquaba, Sharm-el-Sheik, Gaza, and the Egyptian islands in the Straits of Tiran.

MILITIAS

No matter. On 30 October British and French forces invaded Egypt. The anniversary accounts do not describe the spontaneous resistance of Egyptian people's militias — and the vigorous attempts by Nasser to restrain them. When the masses demanded arms, the most he conceded was limited training, mostly without weapons, under strict official control.

But the accounts do make clear that the British-French operation was riddled with blunders.

Plans were laid, for example, to attack Alexandria airport, thus knocking out the Egyptian Air Force. In the nick of time the British chiefs of staff discovered

that the only victims of their planned raids would have been... United States troops, who were leaving Egypt through the airport!

An even more idiotic blunder was the plan to bomb Radio Cairo very early on. The Anglo-French forces didn't realise that Radio Cairo wasn't in Cairo at all! To compound the idiocy, a team hired to broadcast anti-Nasser messages in Arabic from Cyprus turned out to be pro-Nasserite... so that made two pro-Egyptian radio stations!

The official Egyptian forces had speedily surrendered, and the Israeli force had never reached the ten-mile limit. So — facing angry reactions at the UN, especially from the USA and the USSR (delighted to turn attention away from its intervention in Hungary) — the British and French forces had no choice but to withdraw.

Eden tried to cover his tracks with lies. "Her Majesty's Government", he

have accordingly agreed that everything possible should be done to bring hostilities to an end as soon as possible".

On December 20, Eden still had the gall to claim, "There was no joint decision about the use of the French Air Force in advance of hostilities... There was no foreknowledge that Israel would attack Egypt... There were no plans got together to attack Egypt...".

An obscure corner in the affair is Macmillan's role: first going up Eden to attack Egypt, then taking over control of domestic policy while Eden went ahead. After the fiasco, he was well placed to let Eden and Butler (Eden's obvious successor) take the rap, and to emerge himself as 'the obvious' replacement for the discredited Eden.

As obscure, and more important, is the US role. Contrary to French calculations, Suez led to greater, not less, British subservience to US foreign policy. The US was certainly in general against the British-French operation: but there is some evidence that the CIA helped the operation, with a view to giving Britain and France a lesson.

PROLETARIAT

For one of the changes in the world balance of forces which Suez crystallised and registered was the ascendancy of the USA over the other imperialisms.

At the same time, the jousting between the two pillars of world reaction, the USA and the USSR, allowed a larger margin of manoeuvre for 'third world' forces especially Arab nationalism.

That larger margin allowed the nationalist bourgeoisie to take limited actions against imperialism. But the added confidence and prestige it gave to the Arab rulers also permitted them to launch sharp attacks on the left and working class organisations of the Arab East.

And that is why today, 20 years after Suez, the result — given the absence of a powerful party of the proletariat in the Arab East — is not the routing of imperialism in that region, but rather the gradual crushing of the most combative fighters against imperialism, the Palestinians.

PAUL ADAMS

From top: British troops; Nasser in Alexandria after nationalising Canal; Eden; and Macmillan.

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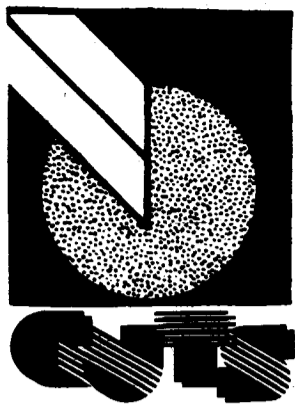
"The Foreign Secretary", he continued, "discussed the situation with the US Ambassador early this morning". In fact Selwyn Lloyd had been busy concealing all he could from the Ambassador, while gratefully accepting the help of the CIA. While Britain and France were trying to continue 'hostilities' as long as possible, Eden stated: "H M Government and the French Government

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Hospital work-in gains support

67 HOSPITALS across London are known to be due for the chop, and the number increases daily, a shop steward and health worker from Greenwich told the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson [EGA] hospital support conference on Saturday 11th December. The Department of Health and Social Security proposes to 'rationalise' the service so that we are left with just 20 inner London hospitals out of 150.

The EGA — a unique hospital, staffed by women, for women patients — is scheduled for closure. The Minister involved, Ennals, has commented: "The EGA — I've never really taken it seriously. It's just an issue for cranks and lesbians".

Both local Labour MPs, Lena Jeger and Jock Stallard, have failed to support the fight against the closure. But, by occupying the hospital, the EGA workers have shown they realised the only way to stop the closure was to take things into their own hands. They have been told they must be housed temporarily at the Whittington, in wards of a lower standard, and are turning this down.

One of the consultants from the EGA pointed out that the DHSS had gone back on the promise made by Barbara Castle (then Health Minister) in March, to find the hospital another site, and that the

authorities have no intention of finding EGA another place.

The conference also heard of the cuts elsewhere — and the fight-backs elsewhere.

Colin Kenny, from St Mary's Hospital joint shop stewards' committee, the NHS advisory service of ASTMS, and Westminster Trades Council, pointed out that closures in his area — closure of Joyce Grove, Princess Beatrice, and two acute wards of St Charles, among others, are called by the DHSS a 'standstill'.

From Hounslow there was a report of a campaign committee, linked to shop stewards' committees, to defend the three hospitals in the area. 400 health workers have marched through the High Street against the cuts.

Another important move is the conference organised on 23rd February 1977 for all London shop stewards in the health service.

But one thing that did not come out clearly from the conference was whether or not the EGA campaign was organising a workers' cooperative — or an occupation under workers' control. It was disturbing that, with all the talk of workers' control, the workers themselves are having to solve many of the problems that are not their responsibility, but the Area Health Authority's. For instance, when the heating broke down, the EGA workers got in

their own engineer to repair it — against the instructions of the AHA.

It was a victory in that the authorities could no longer use the heating as an excuse to close down the hospital. It will be a victory if the money is found and the lift is repaired, it will be a victory if £1,000 is found to replace the tube that has gone in the X-ray machine. But for how long can the EGA workers solve these headaches themselves?

The conference, in an amendment moved to the main resolution, called for an immediate injection of funds into the NHS, and for a scrapping of the Rourke report,

which bases the cuts in London on a reallocation from 'overprovided' areas of London, hypothetically to worse-off districts.

The amendment also called for all NHS unions and all other unions to organise a day of all-London strike action against the closures.

The problem with this part of the amendment was that only some of the 80 people present at the conference were delegates. The conference lacked the authority to send representatives back to stewards' committees, trade unions, and so on to organise such a day of action.

Part of the resolution called for the conference committee to explore the possibility of a full delegate conference in the New Year. This should be built for now, and the call for all-London strike action should go out from that conference. The 11th December conference recognised that it is vital that health workers go out and win the support of industrial workers in their fight against the cuts.

The EGA campaign can be contacted at 30 Camden Rd, London NW1, where it meets every Tuesday night at 6.30pm. Pickets and resolutions of support are needed.

MARIAN MOUND

'Right to work' marcher could get life sentence

THREE OF THE 43 marchers arrested on the Right to Work March from Manchester to London have been sentenced to prison. And on 5th May, the secretary of the 'Right to Work Campaign', John Deason, is to appear at the Old Bailey, facing charges far more serious than those in the other 42 cases: maliciously wounding with intent, causing grievous bodily harm with intent, causing grievous bodily harm, and assault.

The first two charges carry possible sentences of life imprisonment. The police are evidently out to get John Deason. It cannot be coincidence that the most serious charges are all levelled at one person, who just happens to be the secretary of the campaign and organiser of the march.

The role of the police at Hendon, where the arrests took place, is notorious. They attacked the Carib club; they have laid into a peaceful picket line outside Grunwicks; they attacked a miners' picket line in 1974; and they have picked several people up under the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act'.

This police action against the 'Right to Work' marchers must be defeated, and all charges must be dropped.

Three sentences have been handed out: Mike Lynch, chairman of Dunfermline Labour Party, six months; Bobby Burds, 2 months; and Willie Dolan, one month. The date of their appeals is 31 January, and they need mass support for the picket outside Middlesex Crown Court on that day.

Stephen Corbishley

Grunwicks: now make sure we win

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

Four days after the post office blacking started on October 28th, Grunwicks bosses said they would allow ACAS, the government's conciliation service, to ballot the workers on the disputed question of union recognition for APEX. Since then, however, they have first refused to let ACAS into the factory, and then insisted that the ballot not include the strikers — for the catch-22 reason that the strikers, after starting their battle for union recognition, had been sacked by Grunwicks. Instead the ballot should be conducted among the scabs now employed by Grunwicks at rates above the poverty wages (£25 to £28 basic) paid to those now on strike!

If Grunwicks are allowed to get away with this, it will make nonsense of Section 11 of the recently-passed Employment Protection Act, under which the ballot was to be held.

However, the celebrities at the 12th December meeting, which was organised jointly by the strike committee with the local Trades Council and Labour Party and the London Co-Op Political Committee, failed to give the clear guarantee of massive official action which could bring Grunwicks bosses to their knees within days.

Blacking of Grunwicks has been widespread, including by French CGT trade unionists, but the postal blacking is decisive, since the firm receives most of its work by mail. Grantham called for the re-introduction of the UPW blacking — lifted when Grunwicks went to ACAS — but Murray evaded the issue by saying that the dispute would not be won by the British post office workers but 'by the whole trade union movement' backing the strikers.

Styles said that the UPW executive (due to meet on 15th Dec-

ember) would introduce blacking if officially requested by APEX. "But", he hedged, "the APEX executive must be required to give long and serious thought, as must the TUC General Council".

The UPW is running scared before the capitalist courts. After the first blacking, Grunwicks bosses, with the aid of the extreme-right wing 'National Association for Freedom', secured a High Court ruling against the UPW to "safeguard further postal deliveries to the firm."

Styles declared that post office workers impeding mail are liable to prosecution under the conspiracy laws, and recalled the fate of the Shrewsbury building workers. If postmen are put in prison, he said, there must be a different response from over Shrewsbury.

In fact, the more likely legal result of blacking would be proceedings for contempt of court against the UPW exec; and if the UPW and the TUC stand firm on the blacking, it is very unlikely that the Government will allow proceedings to get very far.

But suppose serious legal action is taken against the UPW or against post workers. Then indeed there must be a different response from over Shrewsbury!

If Murray, Grantham, Styles, and Jeger — as well as rank and file trade unionists everywhere — pledge themselves to call for all-out strike action as soon as any post workers are jailed, then those jailed workers will be out of prison even quicker than the Pentonville Five dockers were in 1972. Indeed, probably no-one would dare make arrests.

On 1st November, local police arrested nine pickets because there were "too many" on the picket line. If there had been nine hundred, they would not have been declared "too many".

If the official movement mobilises, this strike can be won — and won completely and straightforwardly, ACAS or no ACAS. ALAN CARTER



RALLY FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

THE WORKING WOMEN'S Charter Campaign (WWCC) is organising a national rally on the new legislation on women's rights, the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act, on 26th February 1977, at the Alexandra Palace.

So far, the legislation has been a mockery in terms of ensuring equal rights for women. The supreme example is the 21-week-long fight by 400 women workers at Trico

Folberth in West London. The tribunal system set up under the legislation found that the women had no case. The strikers' union, the AUEW, boycotted the tribunal, and the women went on to win equal pay!

The rally will assess how much, or rather how little, the legislation has done for women's rights — and what must be done next.

The WWCC hopes to get 2,000 along to the rally.

From Page 1

THE LEFT'S DEFENCE

from the Labour Party when Josef Stalin was still a little-known second-rank bureaucrat. The CP's chief forerunner, the British Socialist Party, had long been affiliated to the Labour Party.

The CP was excluded not for Stalinism and not for being a separate party, but because of the Labour bureaucrats' fear of the CP's struggle at that time for the revolutionary socialism of Lenin and Trotsky, the socialism of workers' councils.

The CP should not have been banned then; and it should not be banned now. The Labour Party leaders, who in government have directed military actions of British imperialism in India, Aden, Cyprus, Greece, Malaya and Ireland, are in no position to ban the CP for its support to Stalinist counter revolution in Hungary.

The Morning Star's editorial on the affair summoned up enough courage to argue against the ban on CP members being eligible as GMC delegates from trade unions — but not against the general ban on the CP! It combined vapid bluster against the right with a sharp thrust against "the conspiratorial operations of sectarian groups like Militant based on the so-called tactics of 'entrism'". They are, it said "un-

democratic [and] can be a positive obstacle."

Being against the right to organise factions and tendencies in its own ranks, it is not surprising that the CP doesn't argue for that essential element of democracy in the Labour Party. Nor is the sight of the CP giving back-handed support to suppression of the left any surprise to those who know the CP's practice in trade unions like the NUT.

Militant is the chief target at present. But in the early '60s that tendency supported the expulsions of left-wingers from the Labour Party saying they were "disrupters". And just last year they had not a word to say in defence when the Workers' Fight tendency faced a witch-hunt in the Sunday Express and the Sun.

And their attitude today [see for instance the letter on our Page 5 this week] is one of cringing best-behaviour quietism — hardly calculated to initiate any fight-back.

Thus each layer of the Establishment 'Left' leaves escape hatches to permit action against a more combative section of the left.

There is, too, another scheme to allow a limited strike against the left, while fending off the 'McCarthyites' Under the banner of the fight "against intolerance", Labour Party general secretary Ron Hayward in-

So get resolutions through your trade union and Labour Party branches, get support from your local women's groups, and try to organise meetings in your area to build for the rally.

Sponsors for the rally so far include 11 MPs, 3 prospective Parliamentary candidates, NUPE NEC, Westminster, Lambeth & West Ham Trades Councils, Ernie Roberts, and Jack Collins,

veighs against the extreme red-baiters and against constituency militants seeking to replace their MPs.

But the Labour Party should be both completely tolerant AND completely intolerant. The basic reason for founding the Labour Party was workers' intolerance towards capitalism and its attacks on the working class. And socialists need to fight for intolerance towards all utilisation of the Labour Party as an instrument for such attacks — particularly the vile attacks of racism, contrary to the most elementary principle of the solidarity of labour.

At the same time, in the Labour Party as in the trade unions on which it is based, we need the widest tolerance and democracy in debate — for ALL those committed to fighting for the advancement of the working class, in these different arenas.

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CHRISTMAS BREAK
Workers' Action will be taking a 2-week break over Christmas. No. 41 will appear on January 6th.