



TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY SUPPRESSED 4 1/2% = TUC SPEAK ONLY FOR THEMSELVES!

By endorsing the 4 1/2% wage deal agreed between Healey and the General Council in April, the TUC Special Conference has accepted a wage cut. But in doing so the union leaders do not speak for the working class. They speak only for themselves, and for the bankers and speculators who will benefit directly from it.

The working class were never asked what they thought of the deal. Millions of votes were cast by a handful of people. In the T&GWU for example 37 people on the Executive cast 1.8 million votes, after consulting *nobody* at all.

In the one case where workers were asked - the miners - they voted *against* the 4 1/2%, though the totals were swung by the votes of foremen and clerical workers (see back page).

The argument used by Jones and Murray is that workers must "save the pound". This is a complete fraud, which ensures workers lose *either* way.

On the one hand they are told that a cut in real wages is needed to save the pound. This of course has no real effect on the pound, since the crisis is not caused by high wages.

And on the other hand as the pound continues downwards, prices of imported goods go up, *again* slashing the living standards of the working class. To follow Jones' line of "defend the pound" is to face a *certain* wage cut.

As it was, even *before* the TUC Conference was held Healey had signed up a £3,000 million loan from international bankers to "save the pound".

While Callaghan and Healey loudly declare this cash comes with "no strings attached", everyone, especially the TUC, knows it means further savage cuts on social service spending are on the way.

HELD BACK

These cuts have been consciously held back until *after* TUC endorsement of the 4 1/2% deal, to avoid further embarrassing union leaders like Drain of NALGO and others with large memberships facing cuts and redundancies.

But the TUC leaders are not hiding their acceptance of the cuts. Last week on television Hugh Scanlon said that further cuts were "a matter for unions with members affected".

But *all* workers, including *all* AUEW members are hit by social service cuts, so it is clear where Scanlon stands. And all those who argue "save the pound" will

obviously accept social service cuts just as they accept wage cuts.

The crisis of the Callaghan government in this situation - a reformist government offering no reforms - is shared by the trade union bureaucracy who are politically inseparable from the Labour leaders.

In order to vote for the 4 1/2% and accept the social service cuts they are having to launch a full scale attack on democratic rights within the unions.

The problem for the bureaucracy is that the working class is strong. If its most advanced sections and those under the most direct attack were called on to fight for the defence of living standards, the response would be enormous.

The bureaucracy is therefore determined to break up any section of workers, group of shop stewards or union conference which initiates such an opposition.

UCATT CONFERENCE

The events at the UCATT Conference at the beginning of this month are probably the most striking example.

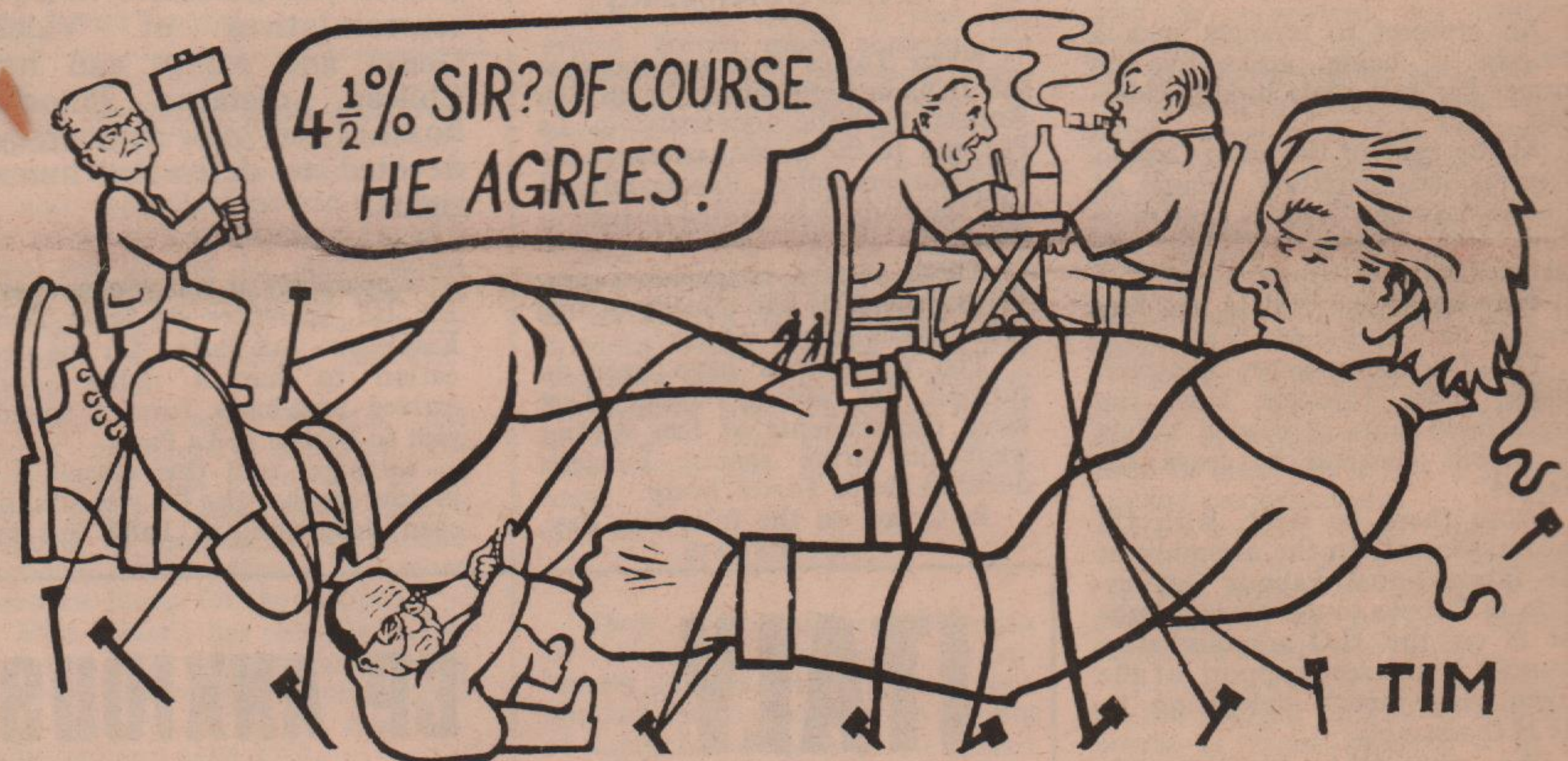
Following the defeat of the Executive resolution supporting the 4 1/2%, General Secretary Smith announced that he would not carry out the conference decision on the basis that it was "unrepresentative".

Uproar followed, but Smith stuck to his position saying that the UCATT delegation would *abstain* at the TUC conference; that the membership would be balloted; and that then if the membership voted in favour of wage control this would 'prove' that the conference is unrepresentative and *he* would have to "reconsider" its future role.

Yet the UCATT Biennial Delegate Conference is, under rule, the highest body in the union, the supreme policy making body and comprised completely of elected delegates.

A similar position prevails in the T&GWU. Jones is acting completely without mandate.

Though he obtained an executive decision in favour of the



4 1/2% because the fake lefts collapsed in front of him, Jones, together with the Executive, is acting contrary to the decisions of the last Biennial Delegate Conference - as in UCATT, the supreme policy making body.

Indeed the wages policy adopted at the T&GWU BDC supports the social contract with the Labour government *only* on the basis of a list of stringent conditions - including massive *increases* in public expenditure and no interference in the right of free collective bargaining.

STEWARDS ATTACKED

In order to flout union policy and get away with it Jones and his supporters have had to carry bureaucratic dictatorship into every level of the union.

In particular, they have had to attack the independence of the shop stewards movement.

In Hull docks all 16 T&GWU shop stewards have had their stewards cards suspended by the Regional Committee in an attempt to crush the power and independence of the unofficial port shop stewards committee.

In Leyland the Ryder plan is being brought into full use as a lever for the introduction of company wide bargaining as opposed to individual plant bargaining.

This would be a major blow at the shop stewards movement. It would further hamstring the struggle for wages in Leyland, and

SYRIAN TANKS DEFEND ISRAEL

The true role of the Arab League's token "peace keepers" in the Lebanon is to put the seal on the Syrian invasion. They are there to act as a political "buffer" protecting the 12,000 Syrian armoured troops from the Palestinians and the Lebanese leftists.

And this role is one that most elements in the PLO leadership are being driven to accept - all in the name of Arab "unity".

As Libyan Prime Minister Jalloud emerged as the chief "peace keeper" at the weekend, while Syrian armoured units dug themselves in round Beirut and PLO chairman Yassir Arafat negotiated in Cairo for Egyptian "support".

CRUSH

The Syrian attempt, by its invasion of the Lebanon, to crush once and for all the freedom of the Palestinian liberation movement to openly organise in the country has received a set-back.

The Syrian invasion was preceded by President Assad's completely spurious charge that the Muslim left wing Lebanese and the PLO were:

"implimenting a plot aiming the partition of Lebanon and creating a Palestinian state on Lebanese soil instead of in Palestine".

ESSENTIAL

On the contrary, the freedom to organise of the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon is *essential* to the struggle for the liberation of Palestine.

Assad's motives for stepping intervention in the Lebanese civil war were several. Firstly the threat of a left-wing Muslim Palestinian defeat of the right-wing bourgeois Maronite regime would act as an inspiration for Syrian masses to act against the Assad regime in Syria itself.

Numerous arrests among military in Syria followed criticism of Assad's strategy from within the army.

Secondly, if the PLO gain

Cont'd on back page

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

S. AMERICA ROUND UP

BOLIVIA

Hard on the heels of the murder of two prominent members of the now suppressed Uruguayan parliament, came the killing of Juan Torres, ex President of Bolivia.

Bolivian military dictator, Hugo Banzer, who seized the presidency from Torres in 1971 and unleashed the most murderous repression of Bolivian workers and peasants, attempted to use Torres' body to counter some of the rapidly mounting opposition to his regime from workers and students.

Torres did a lot of opportunistic left talking during his ten-month Presidency but systematically prevented the workers from arming themselves against the right-wing reaction.

In spite of this he has retained some popularity among the Bolivian masses, if as nothing more than a symbol of their hatred of Banzer.

Banzer declared national mourning for Torres and arranged for his body to lie in state in Bolivia.

HEADQUARTERS

When Torres' wife insisted that the lying-in-state should be in San Andres Catholic university in La Paz and in the headquarters of the mineworkers union, Banzer refused and the body was buried instead in Mexico.

These events triggered a new development of the already strong mass action against Banzer.

The universities have been in turmoil for several weeks. Last week the students of San Andres went on strike against Banzer's decision about Torres' body.

In Oruro on the following day,

in a protest over the ending of deferment of military service for students, two students were killed.

Among Bolivia's powerful tin miners discontent has been growing for some time. Banzer did not dare to stop them recently holding an open congress (the first for 2½ years) at which they elected the former (now exiled) reformist leader Juan Lechin as president, and voted to pursue a large wage claim with strike action.

The events surrounding Torres' death and the murder of the student demonstrators sparked off a wave of protest strikes in the mining areas.

CHILE

Banzer's representative was in congenial company when he attended the conference of the Organisation of American States in Chile. There he was able to rub shoulders with the representatives of Videla, Geisel and others and hear Chilean dictator Pinochet boast of the "new democracy" devoted to defending human rights.

Apparently it was too new even for US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger - not noted for his dedication to human rights - who arrived post-haste from a friendly visit to Banzer in La Paz.

Kissinger told this assembly of murderers that the US was anxious, even desperate, to hand out vast

The Banzer government has reacted with panic. It has brought forward the university vacation and sent all students home.

The army has occupied mining centres and radio stations in the Altiplano (the high Andes). It has arrested the main mineworkers' leader still in Bolivia, Veta Lopez, along with many others.

Torres' death prompted Banzer to offer amnesty to any exiled Bolivian in Argentina who returned home. The three former ministers in the Torres government who accepted this offer are now also in jail for their gullibility.

sums of money to the Chilean junta, as soon as it ceased to be quite such an embarrassing ally and released some of its political prisoners.

Pinochet appeared only to half-understand the hint. The day before Kissinger arrived, 60 prisoners were ostentatiously released, just as before the visit of US Treasury Secretary Simon four weeks earlier.

Unfortunately it turned out that nearly all of them had only been arrested a few days earlier simply to be released in this public display! And during the last month, Chile's many thousands of long-term political prisoners have been joined by 500 more.

This is the biggest wave of arrests for many months and includes large numbers of the remaining leaders of the Communist Party.

GUYANA

In Guyana there is now talk of the People's Progressive Party, led by Cheddi Jagan, joining the government of Forbes Burnham's ruling People's National Congress.

Burnham came to power in 1964 with the help of the CIA's "destabilization" campaign against Cheddi Jagan's Soviet-backed 'Marxist' government.

He has stayed in power through a combination of election rigging and an opportunistic "drift to the left", the main feature of which has been large-scale nationalisation now encompassing 80% of the economy.

This culminated last month in the nationalisation of the Booker McConnell Company which for over a century has dominated the Guyanese economy through control of sugar and many other interests.

Bookers get modest compensation of half the book value of its assets in bonds redeemable over 20 years.

Although Jagan's Peoples Progressive Party (PPP) has demanded no compensation plus the nationalisation of foreign banks, the Bookers nationalisation was enough to "justify" Jagan's ending his 3-year boycott of parliament in protest against election rigging.

The rapprochement between the PPP and Burnham's People's National Congress (PNC) began last year.

Jagan announced "critical support" for the PNC government soon after a meeting with Castro, who also prepared the deal personally with Burnham.

Thus in their own ways both US imperialism and world Stalinism are attempting to impose a stabilisation which can neutralise the independent struggle of the working class.

ARGENTINA

In Argentina, a new decree has outlawed over 40 more organisations, most of them already on the 'suspended' list.

They include the 'Trotskyist' Socialist Workers' Party (PST) as well as Peronist, Maoist and other left organisations.

Notwithstanding its political criticisms of these organisations, *Socialist Press* gives unconditional support to the protests being made throughout the international labour movement against these gross violations of democratic rights.

We call for a united struggle of workers' organisations to overthrow General Jorge Videla's vicious dictatorship.

PERONIST

An attempt to strangle such a struggle is being made by the former Peronist trade union leadership.

At the time of the coup Casildo Herrerias, the secretary general of the Argentinian General Confederation of Labour (CGT), was "accidentally" in Uruguay.

Two weeks ago Videla had him brought back to Buenos Aires.

The US ambassador, however, having more foresight than the Argentinian junta persuaded Videla to permit Herrerias to leave for Mexico.

From there he went, with US encouragement, to the assembly of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva to use his influence (he is on the ILO administrative council) in discreet support of the Argentinian junta's delegation to the ILO assembly.

The ultra-right death squads continue to have free rein and are responsible for a sharply rising number of murders and kidnappings, especially of refugees from other Latin American countries.

Philippines Crack-down

At the beginning of last week the army arrested en bloc over two hundred workers on strike in a factory in Manilla, capital of the Philippines.

The strikers, who worked in a rope-factory producing for export, were rounded up under the savage martial law exercised by the dictatorship of President Marcos, and carted off to a military concentration camp.

This was only the latest in a series of acts of repression. A few days earlier several hundred people demonstrating against the forcible evacuation of areas of the Manilla slums were also arrested by the army.

The Marcos dictatorship, traditionally a protege of US imperialism in SE Asia, is now attempting - after the collapse of the US in Vietnam - a measure of diplomatic 're-alignment'.

And, despite its utterly reactionary character, it is being enthusiastically courted by the Stalinist bureaucracies in both Peking and Moscow.

ITALY

Fiat managing director Umberto Agnelli is standing as a Christian Democratic candidate in the Italian elections because he says the party needs "renewing".

Benigno Zaccagnini, the party's general-secretary boasts through election posters that "the new Christian Democracy has already begun".

DESPERATE

But there is nothing new about the way the Christian Democrats in this election campaign are conducting a desperate and unscrupulous fight to hang on to their near monopoly of power.

Aided by anti-communist campaigning by the Pope and clergy, their campaign has been strongly slanted towards getting some of the 9% of the votes cast for the MSI fascist movement in the last general election.

Violent incidents in the campaign are cynically used by the Christian Democrats (as they are by the Communist Party) to point to the need to elect a party of "law and order".

Some Christian Democrat leaders have even tried to use violence as an excuse to postpone the elections.

SHOT

In the most violent incident of the campaign a CP member was shot dead by a group of MSI fascists which included one member of parliament (Sandro Saccucci) and one member of the state

CP ANXIOUS TO AVOID POWER

security service.

With some reluctance, Christian Democrats voted to end Saccucci's parliamentary immunity and (after he had been given time to disappear) a warrant was issued for his arrest. He was later arrested in London.

The CP has reacted to this *not* by calling for measures of workers' self defence but by calling on the fascist-wooing Christian Democratic government to "enforce the law".

While the Christian Democrats fight to retain power, the CP is fighting to avoid winning it.

All the CP wants, its leaders repeat, is to *share* power - with the parties of the capitalists.

This is part of what party secretary Enrico Berlinguer, in a meeting organised by the French CP in Paris, called "euro-communism".

"NATIONAL UNITY"

Euro-communism, he made clear, is not about power for the working class but about "national unity" and "stability".

In other words about giving the bourgeoisie what, either with or without CP help, it so desperately needs to impose the massive costs of the economic crisis on the working class.

The CP-supporting daily *Paese Sera* proudly quotes a statement from the former secretary-general of the Gaullist Party (UDR) in France, saying that in Italy the CP is the party most capable of producing this stability and unity.

This election is about power in a much more profound sense than



Berlinguer addressing CP rally in 1973

who is in the coalition.

It could open up a road leading towards workers' power, but only if the treacherous collaboration of the CP leaders is rejected.

The first step along this road must be the formation of a government of workers' parties for which it seems certain that the election results will provide a basis.

SPAIN

NO END OF REPRESSIONS

The monarchy "will ensure the orderly access to power of distinct political alternatives, in accordance with the freely expressed will of the people". So lied King Juan Carlos speaking to the US Congress.

Meanwhile, back in Madrid, it was clearer what he really meant.

His government took fierce steps to suppress all newspapers carrying facts about the widespread and barbaric tortures practiced in his jails.

His prosecutors were demanding an 18 year sentence for CP leader Sanchez Montero arrested for speaking to a meeting in Madrid university in February.

It is true that some of those arrested for organising demonstrations in May have been released on bail (including Marcelino Camacho).

Also the Cortes (Spain's largely appointed "parliament") passed a law which appeared to legalise political parties.

Unfortunately for the credibility of this measure, it has so far refused to change the penal code to allow anyone to belong to these "legal" parties!

ILLEGAL

More important, the regime is legalising scarcely any of the organisations which workers have shown themselves interested in joining and supporting.

So the Spanish CP will remain illegal along with the Communist



PHOTO: The Militant (SWP)

Movement (MCE), Labour Party (PTE), the Revolutionary Workers Organisation (ORT), all Trotskyist and Maoist groups and the Workers Commissions.

Spain's political "reforms" remain as phoney as on the day Franco died. But the CP and Socialist Party dominated alliance, the Democratic Coordination (CD), has taken a further perilous step down the road to collaboration with Franco's successors.

The CD has always disguised its collaborationist line by calling for a democratic "break" (*ruptura*)

rather than gradual reforms.

NEGOTIATIONS

It has now frankly proclaimed itself in favour of a negotiated break (*ruptura negociada*) - the negotiations, of course, to be with the fascist government of torturers and single minded enemies of the working class.

The real break must be with all forms of class collaboration - mobilising the united independent strength of the Spanish working class to end fascism.

JAPAN Bribes scandal lives on

A desperate struggle is taking place in Japan to remove Prime Minister Miki.

The attacks on Miki come from his own right wing 'liberal democrat' party; other leading members are appalled by his insistence that the general election which must take place this year can only be

won by 'coming clean' on the Lockheed bribery scandal.

The scandal broke in February when it was revealed in the US that Lockheed had paid millions of dollars in bribes to "official persons highly placed in the Japanese government" to secure sales of aircraft and other equipment.

This revelation came only two months after Miki had become Prime Minister. Because of his 'honest' reputation he had replaced the previous Prime Minister Tanaka, who was forced to stand down when it was discovered that his personal wealth had been greatly increased by financial embezzlements.

The Lockheed scandal has almost completely paralysed the government. The opposition in his own party claim that Miki's removal is needed, to eliminate factions and prepare a more 'modern' image for the election.

Miki himself has recently stated that the party must undergo a big clean-up before the election, and that the 'black sheep' must be identified and dealt with.

The only information about the scandal which has surfaced in the Japanese press is that which was made public in the US during the Lockheed hearings.

Official investigators also rely on US information. No arrests have been made, but the role of leading politicians is widely recognised.

Top of the list of 'highly placed' persons is the militarist Mr. Kodama, leader of the extreme right-wing in Japan.

His part in the distribution of bribes is well known, yet so far he has escaped arrest because of 'health reasons'.

Whichever way the struggle over Miki's proposals to bring the Lockheed scandal into the open goes, the right wing party's election prospects must be severely damaged.

The Workers Socialist League

The Workers Socialist League was formed in December 1974 to struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism in Britain and towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay - demands which at the 1975 T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy. In today's fight against the TUC's 4½% pay cutting proposals this demand for a sliding scale of wages (rising according to the rising cost of living as assessed by trade union committees) is the essential basis of consistent opposition.

In the Health Service WSL comrades have led the struggle for a sliding scale of NHS spending, for the start of workers' control of the service (beginning with opening the books of the Health Authorities), along with the fight to end all private practice. Perhaps more important we have led the growing call for *strike action* to defend the NHS against the cuts and to implement these policies, fighting those like the ASTMS leadership who substitute the words for the action.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry has won a mass response.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment, calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement.

The WSL is the only movement that fights consistently for transitional demands, going beyond mere trade union militancy to pose the political issues to workers.

In doing this our comrades have been forced also to lead struggles for trade union democracy against the bureaucratic manipulation of the Stalinists and right-wing.

While these interventions have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

OUT NOW!

THE BATTLE FOR TROTSKYISM

Two documents of the WRP opposition plus an account of the expulsions prepared by the Executive Committee of the Workers Socialist League

Available from WSL 31, Dartmouth Park Hill

PORTUGAL ELECTION: BOSSES CONFIDENT

If the capitalist press has given little coverage to the June 27th Portuguese presidential elections, it is because they are confident that their candidate will win.

And the main reason why he will win is that he has the endorsement of Mario Soares, right-wing leader of the Socialist Party.

Gen. Antonio Ramalho Eanes, Soares' chosen man, is commander in chief of the Portuguese armed forces.

REWARD

He was promoted to that post as as reward for his brutal suppression of the mobilisation of workers and soldiers on November 26th 1975, and states that his principal aim is to "crush extremist disorder, which is harmful to the country's fragile economy".

Eanes fits in well with the desire of Soares to turn back decisively the development of workers' power and to make the country safe for capitalism.

He is still relatively unknown, and has a talent for low profile and ambiguous statement. For the sake of the campaign he has discarded his uniform, and speaks of the need for a less visible military, which must be "cohesive and permanently non-partisan".

What this means is that the armed forces must support the "rule of law" in a bourgeois parliamentary government, and be prepared to smash the attempts of workers and farmers to defend themselves against economic crisis.

The broad confidence that the Armed Forces leaders have in Eanes is a major reason why Soares is supporting his campaign. The Socialist Party decided from the beginning that, in order to preserve the alliance with the armed forces necessary to their aims, their candidate would have to be a military man.

REJECTED

They also considered Pinheiro de Azevedo, the much better-known current Prime Minister, but rejected him because of the doubts of important sections of the armed forces.

Azevedo declared his candidacy anyway, in order "to prevent a one-man contest", but does not have the support of any party.

His political line does not differ seriously from that of Eanes, except that Azevedo is a bit more open in his support for American imperialism, saying that the Communist Party will be kept out of the government "as long as the United States wants it that way".

Eanes has returned Soares' favours, intimating that he would support the minority Socialist Party government that Soares intends to form.

A Bonapartist president supported by a Socialist Party minority

government would give the bourgeoisie an ideal basis for preparing a decisive assault on the jobs and living standards of Portuguese workers.

EMBARRASSED

The CP also considered endorsement of Eanes. They decided against it in the end, not because of his anti-working class position, but out of embarrassment at being found in the company of the right-wing bourgeois PPD and CD, which have also declared for Eanes as have the Maoist MRPP and AOC.

The Stalinists therefore put forward a candidate of their own. He is Octavio Pato, number two in the party hierarchy, and known as "moderate" who supports the openly class-collaborationist road of the French and Italian CPs.

The Stalinists' strategy is to try to win enough votes to be able to strike a bargain with Eanes. Pato has already stated that the CP will not show hostility toward members of the Revolutionary Council (Eanes and Azevedo) provided the Stalinists are given a governmental role to play.

OBSTACLE

A serious obstacle to the CP manoeuvre is the candidacy of populist Maj. Otelo de Carvalho who is supported by centrist groupings such as the PRP and ME and the Maoist-influenced UDP.

Carvalho has been released from house arrest for the campaign where he had been placed for his supposed part in the November 26th rising, and has attracted a large following of militants.

Seventy thousand people greeted the arrival of his special train in Oporto.

Carvalho's programme includes progressive slogans such as nationalisation of industry and collectivisation of land, but is full of confusion and inconsistencies.

He stresses the need for "independence from international capitalism", instead of calling for the mobilisation of workers against capitalism of whatever stripe.

And as if that were not enough he has pledged himself to appoint Soares as Prime Minister if he is elected!

NO ANSWER

None of the candidates provide any answer to the central question of an independent working class leadership based on the organs of workers' power.

The demand must be for the Socialist Party and Communist Party, which together commanded a majority in the parliamentary elections, to break from the Armed Forces Movement and form workers' government based on the workers' committees.

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DEFEND AGAINST RACIST

ATTACKS! BUILD WORKERS' DEFENCE SQUADS

The racist attacks continue. Deaths now stand at 3 in recent weeks with many more beatings-up. With the vote of the TUC in favour of wage cutting the press is continuing on its campaign to turn the frustration caused by the trade union leadership into racist channels.

Every action of the fascists is receiving massive publicity - whether it be a National Party member punching a Labour councillor on the chin in Blackburn (3rd item on TV news) or the continuous coverage for Robert Relf's hearings at which a handful of National Front supporters have demonstrated.

There has been coverage of Relf's wife asking him to give it up. Every one of those minor fascist demonstrations was given as much if not more coverage than a demonstration of 4,000 through Southall, against racialism.

More racist attacks are going to take place. The necessity for developing defence squads in those areas where attacks are already taking place is therefore becoming more urgent.

The task of revolutionaries is both to defend those being attacked and show that these attacks are a class issue, and that fascism is about breaking up the organisation of the working class as a whole.

Those immigrant organisations or individuals who have started the formation of vigilante groups have taken a step forward in breaking from the reformist position of appealing to the police, the capitalist state, to defend themselves against fascism - which itself is a form of capitalism.

Unlike the International Marxist Group and other groups we do not say it is a question of "Build labour movement support for Black self-defence" (*Red Weekly* front page statement 10.6.76) or "Only the defence of the black communities by blacks themselves are any guarantee for protection against racist attacks" (IMG national leaflet).

We fight for the organisation of defence on a class basis; fascists have already attacked public meetings on Ireland and will be soon attacking pickets and the labour movement as a whole.

WSL members and supporters in affected areas must raise at their union branches, trade councils and Labour parties the fight for joint formation with immigrant organisations of workers defence squads.

Where possible, we must fight for this within the immigrant organisations urging immigrant workers to seek the support of the labour movement as a whole in their struggle against fascist attack.

WSL members and supporters in areas affected must propose at their union branches, trades councils and Labour Parties that a fight is waged for workers defence squads organised jointly between immigrant and trade union organisations.

Where possible, we must fight for this within immigrant-organised defence squads by attending as delegates from the trade unions and urging that they unify with trade union bodies, particularly trades councils, in their fight against fascist attack.

LEEDS 'WHITE VIGILANTES'

The leader, or 'fuehrer' as he used to like to be known, of the Leeds-based British National Party has announced the formation of 'White Vigilante' squads in a move calculated to stir up racial violence and to seek to intimidate immigrant workers.

The claimed object of these "vigilantes" is to "protect" local white people and property from "continued harassment". Making this announcement a Mr. Eddie Morrison, national organiser of the BNP, refused to comment on whether his groups of "activists" would be armed.

Morrison, a travel agency manager, was formerly leader of the National Democratic Freedom Movement, which during its short existence established a notorious reputation for violence.

The NDFM only established itself in Leeds with the aid of large-scale publicity given to it by the *Yorkshire Evening Post*. The latest moves setting up "White Vigilantes" has also been splashed across the front pages of the *Yorkshire Post* and *Evening Post*, while only the mildest moral attack is made on them in inside page editorials.

Morrison has also announced

Burnwal in Yorkshire was only eight miles from Jordan's farm house.

As well as encouragement from the press, the fascists clearly expect full cooperation from the police - and have announced their intention to "cooperate" with them in every way.

Given the history of the local police against immigrant workers this "cooperation" can only benefit the fascists. The Leeds police include not a single West Indian, and the main immigrant area of the city seems more and more like an occupied country. With this kind of force patrolling in Chapelton, Leeds, and Manningham in Bradford, the "White Vigilantes" have stated that they will not go into these areas. The "vigilantes" are already there - in blue uniforms!

The defence of immigrant workers against the groups of thugs being assembled by Morrison is a task for the labour movement as a whole. It must not be seen as a question simply of "black" vigilantes versus "white" vigilantes. Racism is an attack on the strength and unity of the whole of the working class.

Trade unionists in Leeds and Bradford must face up to this responsibility, and build workers' defence squads. The question is no



More than 3,000 workers and youth, the majority of them Asians, marched through Southall last Saturday to protest at the racist killing of Gurdip Chaggar, the third Asian youth to be murdered in recent weeks.

The march, which started with less than a thousand demonstrators, quickly swelled as Asian youth came from their houses to join the demonstration as it passed by.

As the marchers reached the spot where Gurdip Chaggar was murdered the chanting stopped and the demonstration passed by in complete silence. Asian owned shops in the centre of Southall closed briefly as a mark of respect.

A number of contingents could be heard calling for workers defence squads to be set up. The enormous response of the local community in joining this demonstration makes the formation of defence squads a real possibility.

The local labour movement must now take responsibility for organising these squads jointly with local immigrant organisations.

LEAMINGTON: TRADES COUNCIL GIVES LEAD

A special meeting of Warwick and Leamington Trades Council has backed an ASTMS resolution calling for a demonstration in Leamington against Robert Relf and the present racist campaign to be held on Saturday June 19th.

Relf, a self-confessed Nazi who has a ten year long record of racist violence, and his supporters, including the British Movement, (who consider the National Front to be 'Jew-ridden') and the fascist National Party (who stood a candidate in recent local elections in Warwick), have been using his case to try to split black and white workers in the town.

In Automotive Products, the biggest factory in the area, the right-wing leadership of the Shop Stewards Committee have done nothing to stop the fascists circulating their petition for Relf's release and making racist propaganda.

And an Indian Workers' Association leader claimed last week that an unwritten deal between management and some stewards in the plant now barred the hiring of coloured workers.

These events make the Trades Council's initiative extremely important. A strong trade-union lead (which has been completely lacking on a national level) can open the way to clearing racists out of the labour movement.

7,000 leaflets are to be distributed through trade union branches and plant committees, calling on all workers to demonstrate, and pointing out the divisive effects of fascism and the responsibility of the Labour government for the bad housing, low wages and unemployment that the racists seek to blame on black workers and which have opened the door to racism.

Tom Litterick, MP for Selly Oak in Birmingham, who poses as a 'left' MP, has been invited to address the rally that will end the demonstration.

This will be a test of whether he will come out with more than the conventional anti-fascist phrases, and take up the fight to remove the Labour right wing and end their policies.

The refusal of the 'lefts' up to this point to carry out such a fight is a clear indication of the need for new leadership.

The local MP Dudley Smith (a right-wing Tory) has also been asked to speak. Although he sits on the Community Relations Council

he is notorious for his anti-immigration stance, which he has reiterated recently in the local press. He is correctly hated by Indian workers locally and would disgrace a trade union platform. There are no grounds to justify the presence of Tories or other employers' representatives in the fight against racism.

It is a class question which can only be resolved through the independent mobilisation of working class strength against the employers. It is those who hold workers back from this fight that provide the breeding ground of racialism.

Indian workers are keen to demonstrate if support from white workers is forthcoming.

Mobilisation for the march in every factory and estate is imperative, so that the fight for a new programme and new leadership can move forward, destroying any foothold the fascist parties may have gained amongst backward workers.

Demonstration assembles 10.30am Saturday 19th June, Eagle Recreation Ground (opp. Flavel's), Clarence Street, Leamington.

EAST LONDON MARCH

A demonstration, well over a thousand strong, marched through East London last Saturday against unemployment, social service cuts, and against the attacks by racist thugs which have claimed the lives of numbers of young Asians in London.

Over half the marchers were

contingents from the Trade Unions - AUEW, TGWU (Fords and Royal Group of Docks) showed that workers in East London are prepared to unite and fight back against the growth of the fascist National Front and National Party.

Attempted harassment of the march by fascists showed the degree of organisation and militancy of the black workers who have begun building defence squads against the fascists in East London.

The Communist Party delegates to the Newham Action Committee, which together with West Ham Trades Council sponsored the march, argued that the issue of the march should be only unemployment, completely avoiding the question of racialism.

This disgraceful line by the Stalinists is an attack not only on those black workers currently taking the brunt of the growth of

CHAPELTOWN 12

The trial is now underway in Leeds of the Chapeltown 12 — 11 blacks and 1 white arrested after a violent clash between police and black youth last November 5th.

The incident had arisen out of a clear provocation by the police, who despite a declaration that they would maintain a "low profile" sent patrols into the Chapeltown area, which finally succeeded in creating a confrontation.

Immediately a waiting force of a dozen police vehicles were rushed into the area. The youth resisted, throwing bricks, and two black youth, along with a white reporter community paper were arrested.

Subsequent arrests pushed the total facing charges to 12.

The defendants challenged 56 members of the jury to obtain one consisting of workers under the age of forty. But conspicuously there were no blacks in the pool of jurors.

While the United Caribbean Association of Chapeltown has attempted to put the November 5th events in their context — with 25% of Leeds unemployed living in that one area, and the consequent constant police harassment of youth — the *Chapeltown News*, though supporting the youth, separates this case from the general problems facing the working class.

Meanwhile the police are all set to use the case as a pretext for even further intervention and harassment of youth and unemployed.

BRIXTON TRIAL

Fifty black youths demonstrated outside Brixton police station on June 1st when Victor Johnson, a local shopkeeper, was arrested after being stopped and searched by police.

Three others who went to his assistance were also arrested after a bottle was thrown at police who then called in reinforcements.

Harassment of the black community by the police is a common feature of life in Brixton. But the speed and determination with which the youth organised the demonstration is an indication that such harassment will not in future go unopposed.



An 'ad hoc' defence committee has been formed with plans for further pickets and a public meeting in defence of the "Railton 4".

The Lambeth Council for Community Relations has called for a public enquiry into relations between the police and immigrants in the borough after this and other recent incidents of police harassment. But the defence of the black community against police and fascist harassment is a class question. Lambeth Trades Council, Lambeth Labour Party and local trade union bodies must take responsibility for launching a workers enquiry into police harassment.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report.

The Manchester conference

NUS: BROAD LEFT RIG CONFERENCE

The lengths to which the Stalinist-right wing 'Broad Left' leadership of the NUS will go to contain the militancy of their members were revealed at the special delegate conference on the student teacher occupations on June 5th.

Pressed by constitutional resolutions to recall the NUS conference (which by the constitution they were obliged to do within 6 weeks) they called instead their ad hoc delegate conference, at which colleges of education and universities with education departments had 3 delegates each.

Other colleges and universities were allowed observer status only. Immediately the conference opened their ruling was challenged by an observer from Heriot-Watt University which although having no student teachers has been in occupation in sympathy.

The conference supported his call for all constituent organisations of the NUS to be allowed delegate status.

This was the first blow against the Executive's plan to contain the action within the student teacher section.

They argued that the present action had to be "consolidated" — and then ended tidily "with a show of strength".

They should all end on the same day said the Broad Left instead of "fading gradually"

Starting from such pessimistic perspectives, the main plank of the Executive's position was the national NUS demonstration they had planned for June 15th to lobby Parliament. The composite amendment in opposition to their position argued that it was the trade union leaders who through their deals with the Labour government were allowing unemployment and education cuts and therefore the major focus had to be on the lobby of the TUC on June 16th.

SPREAD

The composite position also argued for the action to be spread to the whole NUS membership in order to strengthen and broaden the fight, and that NUS should act with the rest of the trade union movement.

These positions won the vote — the Broad Left screaming out for a recount and making accusations of non-delegates voting etc. After a recount the Executive had to concede defeat, by 171 to 169.

Then the full extent of the Executive's manoeuvrings emerged. When asked if they would carry out the newly agreed policy they declared that since the conference was not the constitutional NUS conference — they were not mandated by its decisions, but would only take advice from the conference!

The central importance of the teaching unions was discussed

widely by the conference. The main point raised was that if the NUT policy since 1969 of not teaching classes of over 30 was implemented 58,000 more teachers would be required nationally.

The conference agreed that NUS should demand that NUT executive implement this, and also extend their 'refusal to cover' actions nationally. It was also agreed to demand full trade union rights for unemployed teachers.

Action must now direct towards opening the books of the LEAs to elected committees of students and trade unionists. Local teacher union leaders must be forced to break from the policy of 'negotiating the cuts' pursued in many areas.



NUS President Clarke

Further inquiries would reveal the massive sums paid out to educational suppliers, school building firms, and examination boards.

Instead of cuts in the budget there must be a huge injection of finance into education, along with all other sections of the social services, and a sliding scale of expenditure to protect these services from inflation.

The educational suppliers and building firms must be nationalised, instead of vital social services funds going straight into the pockets of private shareholders.

*The 'Broad Left' leadership of Leeds University Students Union (where there is a large Institute of Education) called a special meeting to discuss the fight — at 4 hours notice!

When only 30 students attended, they then claimed this showed that nobody was interested. When a WSL member demanded why there had been no warning, no publicity or campaign for the meeting, the Broad Left members and the Executive walked out of the hall. Militant students are now fighting for the 250 signatures

MONKBRIDGE FORGE — BAN CALLED

An overtime ban has been called by the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at Monkbridge Forge, Leeds, in an attempt to save the jobs of 355 workers declared redundant.

Monkbridge Forge is owned by the giant International Nickel company of Canada. Many of the company's smelters have been hit by a series of long and bitter strikes which must have left the employers with little room for manoeuvre in Britain.

The firm makes the majority of turbines manufactured outside the USA, but its high quality product used in the Concorde has come under increasing pressure from lower grade machined turbines and from carbon fibre turbines.

will be equally tough in defence of its profits in Leeds.

The overtime ban is not enough to fight this. The stewards must fight for the opening of the books of the company in order to expose the full international ramifications and workings of the firm to all the Leeds workers.

This will establish the case for the nationalisation of the firm without compensation — many of the machines are already owned by the government and leased to Monkbridge Forge.

There must also be serious preparation to occupy the plant to prevent the sackings going through. The redundancies are only the prelude to further attacks for the whole workforce. While those sacked face a long period on the dole, those remaining would face a

NATFHE PAPER OPPOSITION

Against the opposition of a third of the delegates, the annual conference of further and higher education teachers' union, NATFHE passed a resolution which supported the 4½% pay plan.

Attached, however, were provisions that the government should control prices and dividends, sustain investment and maintain nationally and locally real levels of spending on education and social services.

Since all these provisions have already been violated, then logically NATFHE, even on the basis of a resolution, should be committed to oppose the wage policy.

The objective of the motion, however, is not that logic should be followed, but that the leadership's obvious readiness to cave in on the question of wage cuts should appear to be tempered by some attempt to protect the conditions of members.

RETREAT

The other resolutions passed at the conference contain the same apparent opposition to the Labour government's spending cuts which in reality covers the retreat of the leadership.

For instance, the emergency motion on the student teacher occupations ties its support for the students' demands to support the NUS.

Given the retreat of the NUS leadership over this issue, the NATFHE leadership need have little fear that its backing for NUS actions will actually commit it to any concrete action.

The policy on the sit-ins subsequently adopted by the executive is a clear example of where such resolutions lead: the NEC say they understand the reasons for the students' action; but they give not a word of support, let alone they call on NATFHE members to take any action.

On the question of public spending cuts as a whole an emergency resolution declared absolute opposition to the cuts and instructed the NEC to take 15 forms of action. But not one of these invitations to 'urge', 'encourage', 'resist', 'oppose' or 'give the closest attention to' really commits the executive to do anything but talk for which it needs no encouragement. The strongest words of the resolution ask the NEC to resist the effect of cuts 'by all appropriate means'. It is left to the executive to decide what is appropriate.

It is clear that very strong feeling exists in the union against the Labour government's economic policies. This was shown up by the hostile reception received by Education Minister Fred Mulley when he addressed the conference. Mulley displayed the grossest cynicism by advising student teachers who would be unemployed next year to go find a job somewhere else. He did not volunteer any advice to the other 1¼ million unemployed.

REJECTED

The Outer London Regional Council of NATFHE has overwhelmingly rejected the Labour government/TUC wage cut policy and many other regions hold the same view. The clear majority of NATFHE members who oppose the government's economic policies must realise that resolutions like those passed at the conference represent no more than paper opposition.

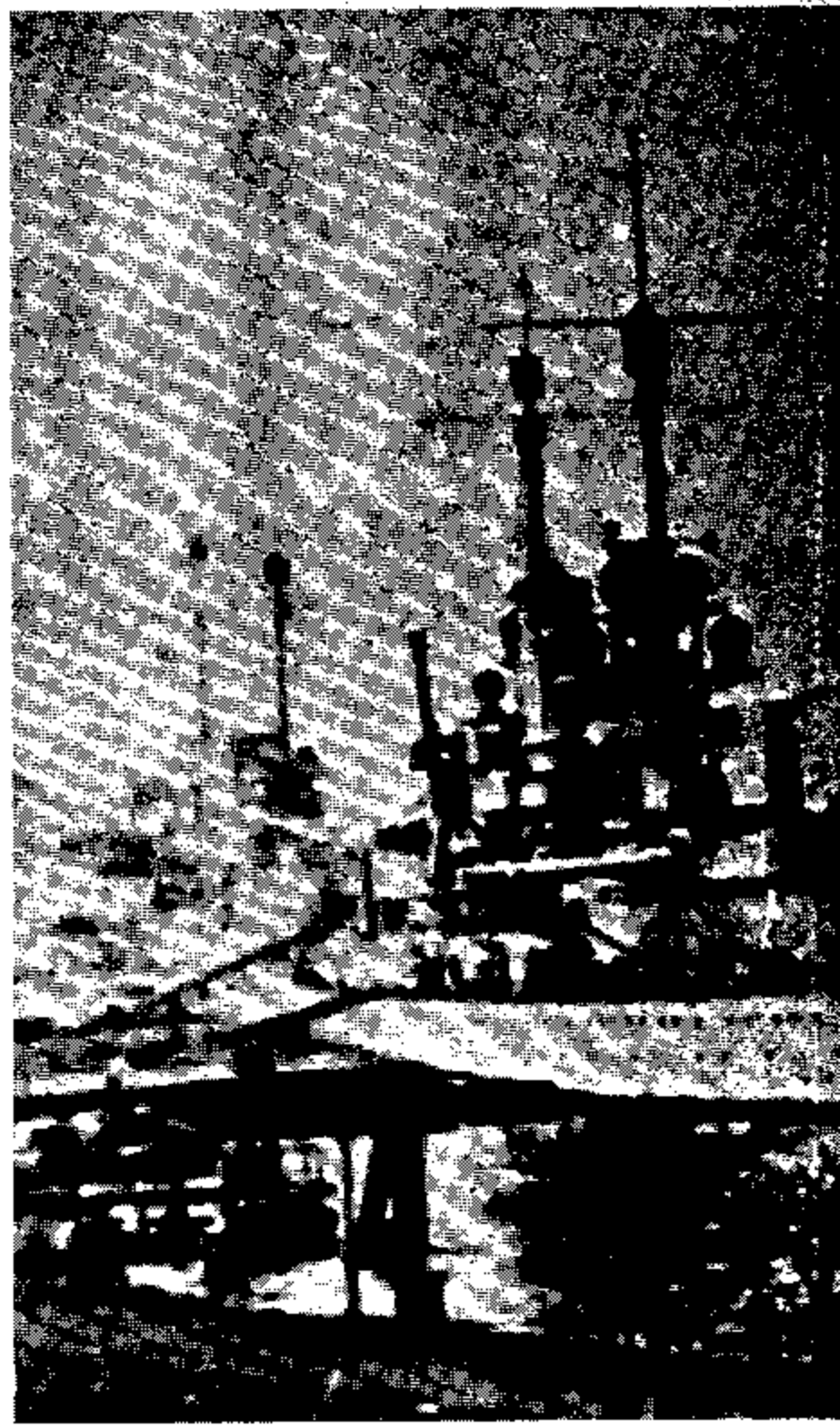
The task is now to take up the fight in the union to demand that the national executive organise national strike action until the policy of cuts has been reversed. This is the 'appropriate action'. But it is one which the national leadership, for all its earnest profession of opposition, will avoid.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

ECONOMIC

PROBLEMS OF THE

REVOLUTION



Mutinies and revolutionary struggles in G

pursued by a revolutionary government. It would be an idealist petty bourgeois position to insist on the application of such a formula, regardless of the conditions which were in fact inherited from the old society.

It was for making such a mistake, that, in May 1918, Lenin attacked Bukharin and the group known as the 'Left Communists' in his scathing pamphlet, *Left-Wing Childishness and the Petty-Bourgeois Mentality*.

INCENTIVES

Bukharin had opposed many of the economic policies of the leadership, in particular the use of piece-rates and wage differences as an incentive to work, measures taken against workers' control, one man management in industry and the failure to establish collective agriculture.

Lenin turned their accusation against them. If they did not have a petty bourgeois idealist conception of the revolution, he argued, they would see that, in comparison with the existing state of Russia's economy, state capitalism would be an advance.

No one denied that the Soviet economy was an economy of transition between capitalism and socialism. But the 'Left Communists', said Lenin, failed utterly to understand the nature of that transition.

FRAGMENTS

'The present system contains elements, particles, fragments of both capitalism and socialism'.

More specifically there were various socio-economic structures co-existing in Russia: 1) patriarchal peasant farming; 2) small commodity production (the majority of peasants who sold grain); 3) private capitalism; 4) state capitalism and 5) socialism. There was, according to Lenin, no conflict between 4 and 5.

State capitalism involved large-scale production organised on national lines, based on the latest discoveries of modern science and, most important, founded on 'national accounting and control of production and distribution'. This was a necessary step on the way towards socialism and planned economy.

WORKERS STATE

Moreover, state monopoly capitalism was no danger to the revolution, because the character of the state which owned and controlled it was firmly proletarian.

In Russia, therefore, there was a struggle between commodity production and private capitalism on one side and state capitalism and socialism on the other. 'Russia cannot advance from the economic situation now existing here without traversing the ground which is common to state capitalism and to socialism (national accounting and control)'.

Lenin used his idea about the progressiveness of state capitalism to emphasise further the essentially international nature of socialism. While it was Russia where the prol-

ideal but as a perceived condition for the survival of the revolution in Russia.

The Bolshevik revolution was seen as the first step in a revolution of the European, and eventually the world, proletariat. There was agreement on three points which Trotsky summarised: 'the workers' state cannot stand unless it overthrows imperialism in the west; in Russia the conditions are not yet ripe for socialism; the problem of socialist revolution is international

The fact that the Russian economy was 'not ripe for socialism' didn't imply that the revolution had been premature. The political breakthrough in Russia was as essential to the development of the world socialist revolution as were the more developed economic resources of the industrialised West. On many occasions Lenin repeated the idea (very close to Trotsky's theory of combined and uneven development) of this mutual interdependence of the advanced and backward sectors of capitalism.

'For us it is easy to begin a revolution', he said in May 1918, 'but harder to continue it. In the west it will be harder to begin a revolution, but it will be easier to continue'.

FORCES

Lenin and Trotsky saw socialism as Marx had, as developing in the womb of the old society. Capitalism built up the social needs and the forces of production which were necessary to a classless society. At the same time it developed the working class, the only class capable of leading society towards socialism. But the development of capitalism was contradictory and uneven and socialist revolution could not hope to escape the consequences of this. The birth pangs of the new society would be acute.

The contradictions of the arrival of the proletariat to power in the most economically backward country of Europe, where the peasantry were the overwhelming majority of the population, could only be resolved by the international revolution. Lenin believed that, even if that did not come soon enough to save the revolution in Russia, then the experience gained by the Soviet revolution would still benefit future proletarian revolutions.

INHERITED

Every revolution is bound to inherit its own particular set of problems, emerging out of the contradictions of the previous development of capitalism in that country. There could, therefore, be



PART 12 OF OUR 'HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION' SERIES

The world's first victorious proletarian revolution took place in the most backward of the major capitalist countries. The devastation and destruction of the First World War made the economic effects of its backwardness even more intense.

Production collapsed, rich territory was lost and supply routes were shattered. The revolution was thwarted immediately by a complete economic boycott by the capitalist powers; and shortly afterwards by capitalist military intervention in alliance with Russian counter-revolutionaries who for two years waged a civil war against proletarian power.

All manner of sabotage and

enemies of the revolution. For five years after the seizure of power the country was on the brink of famine, was producing only a small fraction of the industrial goods which had been produced before 1913 and was wracked by hyperinflation.

In addition there were mistakes resulting from inexperience and tensions created by the flood of just demands from workers and peasants which could not at once be met.

All these were, as Lenin observed, '...difficulties which are due to the fact that the workers and poor peasants for the first time in centuries are themselves, with their own hands, organising the whole economic life of Russia'.

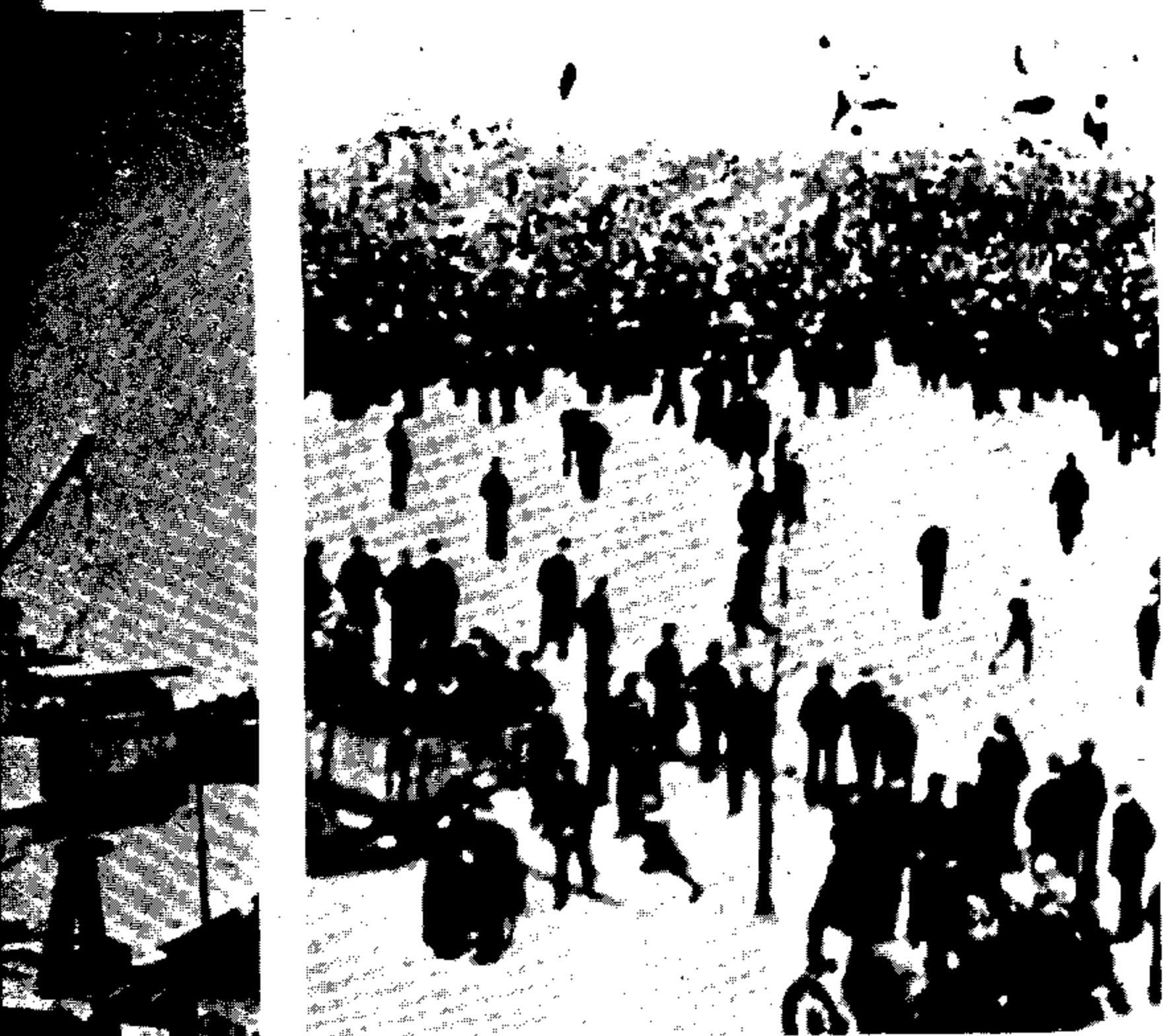
In his report to the Fifth All-

1918, he warned that:

"those who believe that socialism can be built at a time of peace and tranquility are profoundly mistaken: it will everywhere be built at a time of disruption, at a time of famine. That is how it must be".

Lenin did not need to specify that when he spoke of 'building socialism' he was not thinking of the possibility of the construction of socialism in a single country, let alone in backward Russia. Of such an idea, which Stalin was later to make the cornerstone of his systematic betrayal of the principles of Bolshevism, there was, as Trotsky said, 'not a peep' from any section of the Bolshevik leadership until 1924.

Every statement of Lenin and other Bolshevik leaders on this question was steeped in international



Germany 1918: The failure of this revolution left Soviet Russia isolated.

Germany where state capitalism - that is, monopoly capital integrated by the state into a national economic plan during the war - was most developed.

'History' Lenin said '(which nobody except Menshevik blockheads of the first order ever expected to bring about "complete" socialism smoothly gently, easily and simply) has taken such a peculiar course that it has given birth in 1918 to two unconnected halves of socialism existing side by side like two future chickens in the single shell of international imperialism. In 1918 Germany and Russia have become the most striking embodiment of the material realisation of the economic, the productive and the socio-economic conditions for socialism, on the one hand, and the political conditions, on the other'.

IDEALIST

Some, like the 'Left Communists' held idealistic positions about what was economically possible in Russia.

But apart from this there was very little disagreement among the Bolshevik leaders that the strategic aim of the Russian revolution could not be the immediate introduction of a socialist society.

In general the leaders saw the question as being one of holding on to Bolshevik power until the proletariat of the West could come to the aid of the Russian working class.

This was not seen as any kind of military-administrative holding operation. As Lenin said:

"We can give serious co-operation to the socialist revolution in the west, delayed for a number of reasons, only to the extent that we succeed in solving the organisational problems which stand before us."



Stalin - advocate of 'socialism in one country'

That was the strategic aim of the Bolshevik leaders. It was maintained despite major disagreements over tactics and two very major tactical changes in policy.

These changes were the introduction of "war communism" from mid-1918 onwards, and then the change to the New Economic Policy (NEP) in the next months.

The consequences of Russia's economic backwardness appeared in the first major economic decree of the new government - the Socialisation of the Land.

All land was to be nationalised and redistributed, with the peasant given the right to the use of his own plot.

SPEED

The measure was carried out with extraordinary speed and led to a very considerable equalisation of land holdings. The proportion of the rural population having more than 4 *desyatins* (about 11 acres) of land fell from 31% in 1917 to 8% in 1920. The number of landless workers was halved.

This reform, enormous as it was, remained, as the Bolsheviks knew, a bourgeois-democratic and not a socialist measure.

Socialism in the countryside would require the rationalisation of agricultural holdings into large, collective, scientifically managed units (the application of industrial methods to farming.).

For this the peasantry was, as yet, not politically prepared.

The task as the Bolsheviks saw it was to complete the democratic reform (of which the Provisional Government had been incapable) and then to initiate the long political preparation of the poorer peasants for the voluntary grouping of land holdings into collective farms.

To begin with, therefore, state farms were established only where capitalist agriculture had already begun to operate.

INDUSTRY

In industry, there was initially no dramatic equivalent to the expropriation of the land. The policy was to leave industry under its former management but make those managers subject to workers' control through the factory committees.

Nationalisation was punitive and spontaneous; that is, it was only to be carried out against capitalists who refused to cooperate and it was done by local groups of workers, and *not* centrally by the state.

The priority in industry was seen to be the organisation of national trusts for each industry. These were to be run by the state together with the capitalists and managers. It was of the highest importance not to lose any of the forms of national accounting and control which capitalism had developed - but these must be exercised increasingly on a national scale.

Events forced enormous and rapid changes in this initial policy. In the first place the degree of capitalist sabotage of soviet plans was even greater than had been feared.

There was clearly little chance in any industry of securing reliable collaboration from the major capitalist firms.

WORKERS CONTROL

Secondly, 'workers' control' was being widely interpreted by factory committees to mean complete disposition over the assets of factories by their own workers, without any reference at all to the economy as a



Russian peasant farmers.

'Workers' control', which should have been a step towards socialist planning was thus given a syndicalist interpretation and became, therefore, a step towards economic anarchy.

In some places factory committees sold off all the assets of factories and distributed the proceeds to themselves.

A rapid campaign was undertaken by the national leadership against this form of 'workers' control', which gradually gave way to a greater participation of the nationally organised trade unions in economic planning and in taking responsibility for the maintenance of production and labour discipline.

Tendencies towards the collapse of labour discipline and productivity also led to the introduction of piece-rates and other material incentives to the maintenance of production.

Scarcities of goods, however, and rapid inflation soon made such incentives almost meaningless in practice.

GERMAN

The increasing purchase of Russian industry by German financial interests, along with the growth of capitalist opposition and sabotage, prompted increasing nationalisation measures.

The first major expropriations had been the banks at the very end of 1917. This was then followed in June 1918 by the decree authorising the nationalisation of all Russian industry apart from one-man businesses.

All these expropriations were carried out without a kopek of compensation paid to the capitalists.

The old managers and experts, however, were still encouraged (sometimes with material privileges) to stay and continue their normal work.

The nationalisations were not in practice carried out all at once, but over the following year or so.

WAR COMMUNISM

The difficulties of the early months were soon to be dwarfed by the problems created by the civil war and capitalist military intervention. The greatest of these, and the problem which dominated the first five years of the revolution, was that of food supply. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk signed in March 1918 involved the temporary loss of Russia's largest grain-producing areas; and during the civil war other food surplus areas were also temporarily lost.

That was one problem. In addition, there was the question of how much surplus was produced in the areas which remained under Soviet control. And thirdly, there was the problem of mobilising that surplus and distributing it where it was needed - in the towns and cities and increasingly in the army. Theoretically there were two possible solutions to the problem of mobilising the peasants' food surplus - getting them to exchange it for money or industrial goods or confiscating it.

In the early months of the

less and less common; there were hardly any industrial products available to be exchanged for food; and exchange for money was pointless since the inflation made it almost worthless overnight. Attempts were, therefore, made to tax the peasantry on the basis of the size of their holdings but these were difficult to administer and easy to avoid.

It was inevitable that increasingly the food surplus was mobilised by a combination of persuasion and force, though a good deal of it still found its way to the town through the black market.

In the summer of 1918 the poor peasants' committees were set up in the countryside to help identify the surplus in the hands of the kulaks and better-off peasantry. At the same time the People's Commissariat of Supply and the Soviets organised armed detachments of workers to go to the countryside and, in cooperation with the poor peasants' committees, confiscate and distribute the food surplus. The poor peasants were to have some, but most was destined for the towns and the army. It was made the duty of all peasants to surrender any surplus they had in excess of their own requirements.



Zinoviev (top) and Kamenev supported Stalin's revisions.

These new moves were the beginning of the period which came to be known as 'war communism'. In industry, war communism involved giving top priority to the supplies needed by the Red Army which had to be produced regardless of cost. Financial transactions between industries virtually ended and so did all calculations of cost

had been introduced by the Provisional Government, now became virtually the only way of distributing goods.

And, with the inflation accelerating even further, it became pointless to pay wages in cash; hence the rationing was administered at work places and almost the whole wage came to be paid in kind. At the same time labour was increasingly directed to where it was required.

The policies of war communism were never conceived in advance by the Bolshevik leaders. They were a specific response to the acute crises of supply produced by the civil war. As Trotsky remarked, 'Having mounted the saddle the rider is obliged to guide the horse - in peril of breaking his neck.'

ACCIDENT

More by accident than design, they produced a situation which on the surface resembled a fully socialist mode of distribution. Production was not for the market but was considered a duty; consumption was by right, through rationing, and was very egalitarian, mainly as a result of the extreme shortage of goods. Money had been virtually abolished, both in the distribution of consumer goods and in transactions between productive enterprises.

Some Bolsheviks came to see the measures as desirable in themselves and a major step towards a fully socialist economy. Lenin, Trotsky and most of the leaders, however, were quite clear that the policy was in most respects a response to immediate problems.

SCARCITY

Some of the forms of a socialist system existed but not on the basis of material abundance, which socialism would require, but on the basis of the most extreme possible material scarcity.

The objective basis of socialism actually receded during the period of war communism. The food shortage in the towns forced many workers to return to the countryside to find food from relatives. The number of workers employed in industry fell from 3,000,000 in 1917 to 1,240,000 in 1921. And real wages in the towns fell to one third of their pre-war level. The size of the urban proletariat shrank at enormous speed. The population of Petrograd fell by 57% in 3 years; that of Moscow by 44%. In 1920 industrial production fell to a mere 16% of its level in 1912. In the metallurgical industries the figure was 6%.

by Bob Sutcliffe

The second article on Economic Problems of the Revolution will deal with the New Economic Policy.

'NEWSLINE': THE ROT GOES ON

"Although Communists may not be writing for bourgeois publications today, the Communist publications are for the most part run by second-rate bourgeois journalists. The explanation for this is that the apparatus of the press and party, materially independent of the party membership itself, has grown to monstrous proportions upon a narrow internal organisational base and now not only provides employment for Communist journalists, but also attracts bourgeois journalists, most often incompetents who are unable to make successful careers in the capitalist press. In particular, this explains the extremely low level of the Communist Party press, its lack of principles, the absence of any independent views or individual merit in it and its readiness at a moment to call black white and vice versa." Leon Trotsky in 1929, writing on Communists and the Bourgeois Press.

Trotsky's comment was directed nearly forty years ago at the corruption of the Communist International in the hands of the Stalinist faction. But it sheds an equally sharp light on the political degeneration of the press of the 'Trotskyist' Workers Revolutionary Party.

In six weeks of publication the *News Line* (successor to the collapsed *Workers Press*, built as a daily paper in the 1960's by the then Socialist Labour League) has established a lamentable record.

And it has revealed that the "new" leadership of the WRP are loyal to not a molecule of Trotskyist principles or even of political consistency.

News Line is presented as reflecting the political positions of the WRP.

NOT ASSESSED

Yet in the main the news reports are taken straight from the agency wire services or the capitalist press, with little or no attempt made to assess or develop the material so as to bring out its class significance, though occasionally a concluding paragraph is routinely tacked on. Trade union news, and the most outrageously hypocritical statements of labour bureaucrats, are more often than not reported without comment, as though they were of good coin.

And where the WRP do commit themselves to expressing their opinion it starkly exposes the political degeneration which gathered pace over the last two years under former General Secretary G. Healy and has continued under his equally sectarian and opportunist successors.

The May 26th Day of Action, for example, brought a prime example of straightfaced lying next day in *News Line*'s 'What We Say' column:

"The Workers Revolutionary Party supported the demonstration because we will always back any action by trade unionists to defend their rights."

In fact, the *News Line* carried not one word of support for the May 26th demonstrations until *May 26th itself!* On the actual day, with characteristic opportunism, it carried a statement of support.

CONTINGENT OF 2!

But while a dozen or so WRP paper sellers busied themselves on the London demonstration, the WRP mobilised a contingent of ... TWO people! One each end glumly carried a "Teachers Section" "All Trades Union Alliance" banner.

This one incident exposes one of the main characteristics of the *News Line*: it presents itself as the voice of a big movement with roots in the working class - while in practice speaking only for a small sectarian group with no serious practice or programme in the workers' movement.

Indeed its programme has now reverted to sectarianism even more shrill and empty than the WRP programme abandoned within the

and others.

That challenge led to the expulsion of over 200 WRP members thought to be critical of the Healy leadership, combined with a temporary adaptation to Thornett's critique in the form of printing some of the demands in Trotsky's Transitional Programme.

GONE

These demands have now all gone from the WRP's press, replaced by barren calls to "Bring Down the Labour Government", to "Read the *News Line*" and join the WRP.

Elsewhere in the paper the international news - especially relating to the Middle East and Palestinian struggles and Vietnam - is presented in utterly selective and opportunist fashion, reflecting in this case the turn of the WRP leadership to Stalinist and nationalist policies.

News Line even includes reports from its 'own' correspondents which are open apologetics for anti-communism.

Take, for example, the two lengthy pieces billed as "from our special correspondent" in Tripoli (the capital of Libya) on May 5th and 7th.

These were totally uncritical praise of the nationalist regime of Colonel Gaddafi, and his stage-managed campaign for mass support to counterbalance the pressures being applied by Egypt, Tunisia and US imperialism against the Libyan line of support for the Palestinian struggle.

PROPAGANDA

The articles could virtually have been written verbatim by the Libyan propaganda services:

"The crowd was now pressed up to the platform, trying to get nearer to their youthful leader" ... "This is the awakened and unmistakable voice of the Arab masses" ... "A short speech, not demagogic or falsely emphatic, punctuated by chants, cheers and claps. A last short sentence and straight into the waiting Range Rover. The mercurial Colonel is off again."

In three full pages not a word of political criticism or even assessment of the Gaddafi regime was uttered. Yet what is the political character of the Libyan government?

Gaddafi came to power by toppling the pro-American clique round King Idris in 1969. His regime is Arab nationalist, certainly, but at the same time based on a narrow caste in the Army and petit-bourgeoisie, thoroughly and explicitly anti-communist, and based ideologically on the religious shackles of Islam and the Koran.

In May-June 1973 Gaddafi launched a 'Cultural Revolution' aimed against 'decadence', atheism and communism.

BOOKS BURNED

Marxist books were piled on the street and burned, and members of the (illegal) Communist Party were rounded up and jailed.

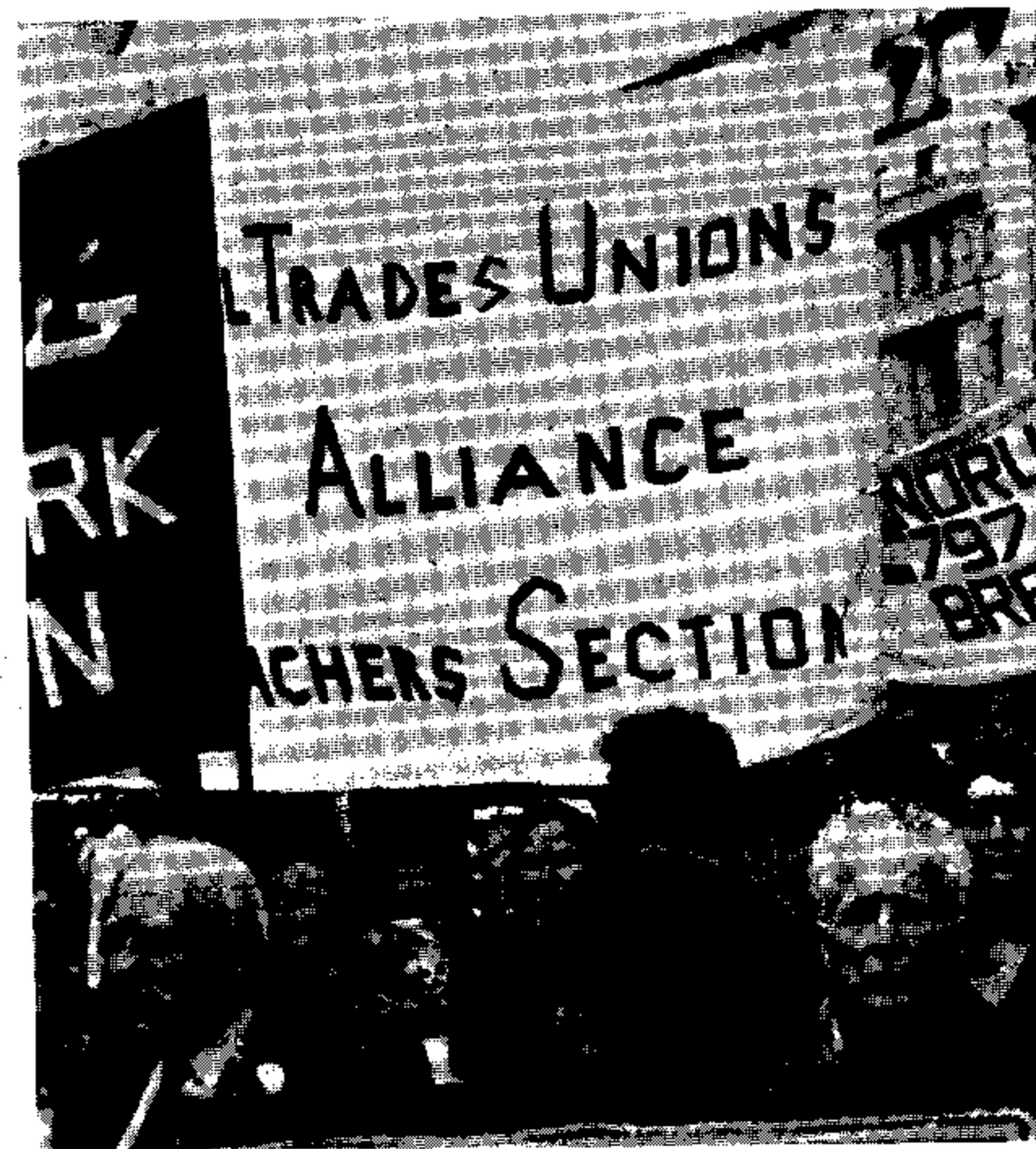
In January this year Gaddafi's

monopoly of all political rights to his hand-picked 'General National Congress'; trade unions were limited to 'purely professional activities' and banned from recruiting except with the approval of the regime.

A demonstration by left wing students in Benghazi against these dictatorial 'reforms' was crushed by troops - about a dozen students were reportedly killed.

Even while the WRP cuddles up to Gaddafi, he is making calls for French military intervention in Lebanon - an open invitation to world imperialism to crush the Palestinians. Even the *News Line* report itself is unable entirely to disguise the reactionary nature of the regime. It says:

"Very few women attend these meetings yet [Gaddafi's public rallies], but no-one can doubt where their allegiance lies."



Lost in the crowd, the two-man WRP contingent on May 26th

The real reason why women are seldom seen in public in Libya is that the Gaddafi regime has done nothing to loosen the feudal-religious oppression of women, legally tying them to their husband and home, depriving them even of the most elementary civil rights.

When the toiling women of Libya really 'awaken' it is absolutely certain that they will share none of the *News Line*'s sudden and anonymous enthusiasm for Gaddafi.

NO MENTION

Similarly there is not a mention in the reports that the Gaddafi regime is one of extreme anti-communism, that communist and socialist political activity is suppressed, and that the reason the demonstration the *News Line* so enthusiastically reports is called the 'Spring Festival' is that the Gaddafi regime will not allow the political overtones of May Day.

If this might seem to be a freak omission by *News Line*, the accommodation to Palestinian nationalism is confirmed by the description of the PLO as "the spearhead of the Arab revolution as a whole" (June 14th) - with no word of criticism or call for a Trotskyist party to lead the struggles in the Middle East.

From Libya to London the *News Line* shows exactly the same lack of principle.

The early issues carried a daily column by Kenneth Tynan, the bourgeois journalist and theatre critic. He was offered space to spill out whatever reactionary idea might be in his head at the time.

On only one issue - the nature of the police in the capitalist state - did the paper's editorial offer a

what he was saying.

The *News Line* editor, Alex Mitchell (formerly of the *Sunday Times*) even gave an interview to the mystical-vegetarian-radical magazine *Time Out* in which he defended the employment of Tynan:

"There's a waspish, idiosyncratic view of the world which we feel we should reflect. Tynan's a doyen of art critics, so let him have a say."

Since theatre criticism is Tynan's speciality, this suggests that even though his opinions on the police are dangerous rubbish, his view of the theatre is worth listening to.

In *News Line* of May 10th Tynan took space to celebrate the opening of the new National Theatre on the South Bank (seats over £4 a head, in case you're wondering about going to confirm his opinions).

After a few banal inches on the



Ex WRP General Secretary Gerry Healy

history of the new building and the need for a 'crusading' Minister of Arts, Tynan goes on to plead for plays which will leave him "emotionally exhilarated, intellectually stirred to the depths of my being. That sort of thing (sic!) ... I mean a spokesman, someone who allows the theatre to become a cockpit of a society's anxieties, problems and hopes."

There are, goes on Tynan, two such playwrights - Trevor Griffiths and David Hare - who "would be willing to dedicate themselves to any enterprise that was going to show the people to the people, interpret people's lives."

Now who are these playwrights? David Hare is very expert at constructing the involved dialogues between backside and deckchair which the middle-class theatre-going public find recognisably absorbing. His plays are consequently successful in the West End.

POLITICAL

Griffiths, on the other hand, is an explicitly political playwright, and his standpoint is, unmistakably, that of a sophisticated, pseudo-'sympathetic' anti-communist.

He has written one play ('The Party') which is a slanderous political portrait of the Workers Revolutionary Party, and was first presented at the Old Vic with Lord Olivier playing the part of former WRP General Secretary Gerry Healy.

The predecessor of the *News Line*, *Workers Press*, took care to review his work with a view to bringing out the political significance of his plays. This what it said - quite accurately - of

- Down with corporatism!
- Defend your basic democratic rights!
- No return to the 1930s!
- Force the Labour government to resign!
- For a General Election now!
- Build the alternative leadership to reformism and Stalinism!
- Join the Workers Revolutionary Party and the All Trades Unions Alliance!

Slogans from *The News Line*

"When the commercial television chiefs spend tens of thousands of pounds on the lavish production of a play about Antonio Gramsci, founder of the Italian Communist Party, and leader of the Turin workers during the great strikes of 1920, they know what they do ... they procure and transmit a polished and obscene slander against Gramsci and against Lenin's Third International."

Workers Press explained how Griffiths identified Leninism with Stalinism and added:

"Round this central lie various subsidiary falsehoods rotate. Griffiths distorts the entire political situation in Italy in 1920."

The review concluded: "The Italian working class (and Gramsci) have contributed more than their share of hard-earned experience of defeat and fascism, Mr. Griffiths has chosen to falsify

their history. It is a dirty occupation." (*Workers Press*, September 7th, 1974)

All this the *News Line* throws overboard (along with giving space to Tynan in the very next issue for his reactionary comments on the actors union, Equity).

From having independent, politically-serious reviewers of books, plays, and films drawn from the ranks of the party itself, and training themselves as journalists, the WRP's press has degenerated to the hiring of 'idiosyncratic wasps' such as Tynan. (Wasps who, it should be added, clearly treat their contributions so lightly that they dictate them off the top of their heads, with the result that they are almost unreadable.)

Many other examples could be cited. But what is important is to grasp that the degeneration of the party press is part and parcel of the political degeneration of the party itself.

It is the process which Trotsky described in which bourgeois writers brought on to the Communist press:

"live double lives, and bring duplicity and outright moral corruption into the ranks of the proletarian party. From this there follows an imperative necessity to protect the party from contamination by the hired journalists of the bourgeoisie - people who by virtue of their adaptability and agility easily take over responsible positions in the proletarian party, crowding out the workers." (*Communists and the Bourgeois Press*, 1929)

James Cannon once said that it is a great deal easier to train a Bolshevik as a journalist than it is to turn a journalist into a Bolshevik. The *News Line* shows

A review of "STOP THE CUTS"
a 'Rank and File' pamphlet by Paul Foot.

PAUL FOOT'S OPEN HOUSE

by John Lister

This book is a 'must' for all those who like the moralising, phrase mongering, anti-political brand of "socialism" put forward by the many-faced International Socialists group.

Whether they appear thinly disguised as their "Rank and File" Organisation, or doubly masked as its "Right to Work" offshoot, or simply posing as *Socialist Worker* supporters, the IS can be recognised by a common political tendency. This booklet is no exception.

Written by Paul Foot, editor of *Socialist Worker*, it bears all the hallmarks of complete political confusion and misdirection which have turned IS into a virtual appendage of the Stalinists in the Communist Party in union branches and trades councils throughout the country.

DENUNCIATION

It begins with denunciations of the scandalous record of the Labour government - at no point going beyond the kind of material that 'left' MPs and Stalinist union bureaucrats trot out endlessly when called to speak at anti-cuts demonstrations and rallies.

And it goes on to draw exactly the same conclusions as do the 'lefts' and CP. Foot tells us it is not the job of the leaders to lead the fight against the cuts - but the job of the rank and file!

Of course every militant has heard this story time and time again. The bureaucrats translate it into "You take action, we're right behind you!"

The IS give it more of a 'left' turn of phrase:

"MPs won't go on [!] voting against the cuts - trade union leaders won't use the industrial strength of their unions UNLESS THEY ARE SHOVED INTO ACTION BY THEIR RANK AND FILE". (p16).

By this formula the IS divert completely away from the daily betrayals by the reformist and

Stalinist union bureaucracy which are enabling the employers to implement the cuts.

Because if no action is taken, then, according to both the bureaucrats and IS, it is the fault of the rank and file, not the bureaucracy!

This latest booklet is a sharp indication of the way the IS analysis consistently backs up 'left' reformism.

Certainly it emerges clearly in their conception of the economic crisis. On the one hand, Foot tells us the wicked capitalists chose to have a recession:

"It's caused, deliberately and directly, by a class of people who control production for profit". (p10).

This not only suggests that capitalism is planned and consciously directed by the capitalists, but even worse leaves the door open to those who want to believe that perhaps more "reasonable" employers would solve the crisis.

On the other hand, and in harmony with such a view, Foot hints that, if only the unemployed could all be given jobs, capitalism could continue to function as it did during the boom!

THIRTY YEARS

"We could afford all the spending programmes which Healey is slashing just by going back to unemployment rates which we know are possible - because we had them for nearly thirty years!". (p9)

This speaks volumes on Foot's longing to get back to the 'good old days' of the capitalist boom, and can only strengthen the illusions within the working class that the cuts can be stopped through simple reforms of capitalism. This again is what the 'lefts' would love workers to believe.

Indeed for the IS the fight against capitalism takes the form of verbal propaganda simply telling workers in a variety of ways that capitalism is nasty, evil, wasteful and undesirable - while socialism



Some of the many faces of IS

would be pleasant, wholesome, planned, productive and much better. This theme is plugged again and again in all IS literature.

What they leave out of account is of course how workers are to bring about the change from capitalism to socialism.

Only Trotskyists focus their activity within the working class on the necessary political preparation for this change - for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism which can only be brought about by the mobilisation of the mass of the working class around a programme of struggle leading to the fight for socialism.

This is the importance in the fight against the cuts of putting forward transitional demands.

These demands start from the crisis and problems faced by workers under capitalism, but as they are taken up in struggles they show in practice the necessity for workers to overthrow capitalism if they are to defend living standards.

CONTROL

One such demand is for workers' control of the social services.

This is crucial not only to defend jobs and working conditions but also to defend the services themselves. A first step towards such control is the fight in every area for the books of the social service authorities to be opened to elected trade union committees for

them to assess future plans, waiting lists, manning levels, and the major firms profiting from the social services.

Only on the basis of such knowledge can the fight to control these employers and for the nationalisation of social service suppliers (nowhere mentioned by IS!) or for a sliding scale of spending to protect the social services against inflation (a demand opposed by IS) be firmly taken up.

OPPOSED

The IS, along with the Stalinists and the 'lefts' have been a major pillar of opposition to such demands.

Instead Foot advocates a series of purely trade union demands, simply adding on "No redundancies No cuts!", with no clue as to how this is to be fought for.

This complete lack of political direction is coupled with blatant opportunism. In his "come one and all" final paragraphs, Foot shows the reactionary role of substituting a "rank and file" body for a fight for new leadership.

"In the fight against the cuts, there will be International Socialists, Labour Party members, Communists, Welsh and Scottish Nationalists, Liberals, and people who have no political affiliation at all.

The Rank and File FIGHT THE CUTS campaign requires only [our

emphasis] a willingness to fight to restore the cuts by mobilising the interest and strength of the people most affected by them - the working people". (p21).

So, after a whole chapter on "Why Can't Labour Help Us?" Foot extends a completely uncritical hand of welcome to Nationalist and Liberal supporters, not uttering a word on the fact that these are reactionary capitalist parties!

Presumably only diplomatic tact prevents Foot widening the guest list to embrace 'progressive' Tories!

The answer is not as Foot and the IS would have us believe simply to get everyone together and get more militant and hope to pressure the Labour and trade union bureaucracy.

EDUCATE

The answer is to educate the broadest possible layer of workers to recognise the daily treachery of the bureaucracy through the fight for a programme of transitional demands leading from today's conditions and today's consciousness to the struggle for the socialist revolution.

This booklet by Foot should therefore be studied as a prime example of how the IS help to strengthen the bureaucracy.

The bombastic title "Stop the Cuts" should be sub-titled "Start the Talk".

READER'S LETTER

Dear Comrades,

I would like to raise some points from the review of "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest" in *Socialist Press* 34.

The argument is that the film tries to "direct the audience's feelings away from reality" and towards "the whole bag of campaigns in America which substitute for revolutionary politics".

However the reviewer incorrectly lumps together in this bag campaigns which have nothing or next to nothing to do with the struggle for socialism, such as "back to nature" and "ecology" along with campaigns which do actually represent the struggles of oppressed groups against their oppression.

It is an insult to the struggles for "black and yellow and women's liberation" to bundle them with these other non-revolutionary

In another article in the same issue concerning abortion, Margaret Sherrin correctly points out that the WSL does not regard

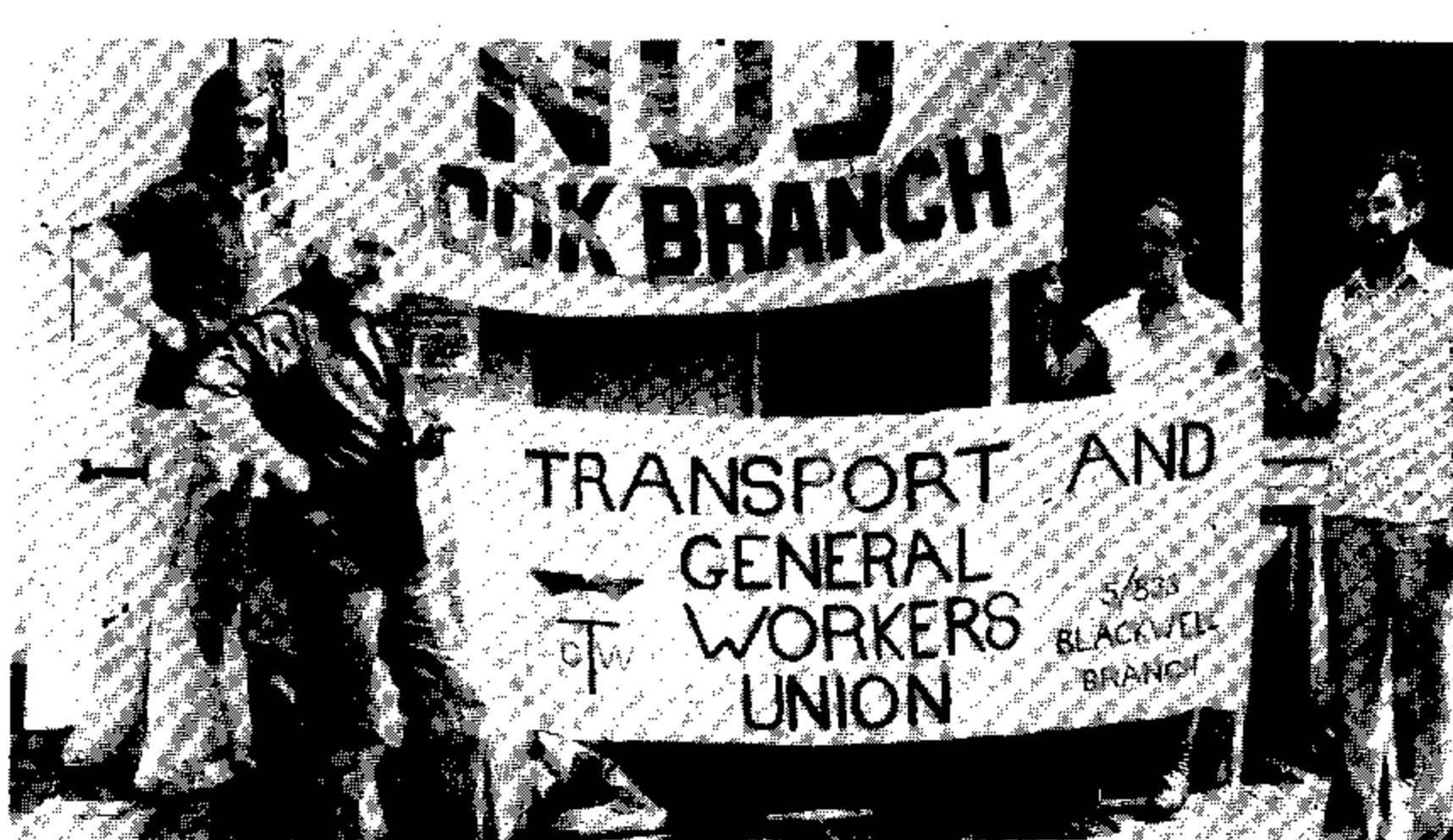
The struggles of women, blacks etc., are precisely such protests. The problem with them is their limited form and the illusions that they frequently sow in the possibility of avoiding and evading the central issues.

Yet we do not reject and should not parody and deride them for their weaknesses and worse; but actively seek to channel their struggles into the building of a revolutionary party based in the working class but carrying forward the struggles of all oppressed groups.

Yours fraternally,
Di Parkin (Oxford)

LETTERS

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



St James Press: Recognition Strike

One of the industries in which unionisation has spread most rapidly over recent years is the book business.

A consequence of this has been struggles for recognition against employers unwilling to concede even basic trade union rights.

The month long strike by IAGWU members at B.H. Black-

The latest, is a strike by NUI Book Branch members of the St. James Press Chapel.

The company have agreed in principle to recognise the union but refuse to concede the union's claim that 16 "freelance" workers who work full time for the company should receive full national insurance contributions from the company.

be in the union's favour, the company closed down the project that the freelance workers were working on and sacked them - along with two permanent members of staff, the MOC and another NUJ member.

The sacked workers are now picketing the company's offices in Percy St., W1 and demanding reinstatement and six months security of tenure while the union is recognised and renegotiates wages and conditions.

The company's only answer so far is to offer two weeks security and this has been rejected.

St James Press is indirectly owned by Mac Millan, one of the biggest publishers in Britain.

The Book Branch is therefore urging the NUJ executive to call out their members in MacMillan. This is clearly an essential next step since the struggle cannot be won by the St. James Press Chapel alone.

Many messages of support have been received.

The Book Branch's own publicity states that defeat in this struggle would severely weaken the branch's ability to defend its members jobs in a period of very high unemployment.

Conversely a victory would give a boost to union recruitment in the book industry and prepare for much bigger struggles which will undoubtedly come.

Messages of support and donations should be sent to St. James Press Dispute Fund, c/o Gordon Price Book Branch.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

FIGHT FOR SUGAR JOBS



Marching under the banner of the Tate & Lyle Employees Action Committee seven busloads of workers from the dock-side refinery joined the Liverpool May 26th day of action demonstration against unemployment, protesting against the threatened closure of the Refinery which would mean the loss of 1,920 jobs.

Ever since Britain's entry into the Common Market a question mark has hung over the sugar refineries of both Tate & Lyle and of Manbre & Garton.

Both companies have refineries in the ports of Liverpool, Greenock and London and both have over the years made super-profits out of the starvation wages that were paid to workers in the sugar cane producing colonies of the British Empire.

COLLABORATION

The crumbs that the employers dropped from this imperial feast were the basis for a class-collaborationist union leadership.

Entry into Europe has undermined this relationship because the agricultural policy of

the EEC is to provide its sugar from beet grown by its own farmers at the same time as stockpiling beet in order to continually push down the quota (currently 1.4 million tons) of cane Britain is still permitted to import from her former colonies.

CREATED

By this means a market is created in Britain for the EEC's own beet produce.

With the restrictions that have been placed on the import of cane sugar the British Sugar Corporation see their chance of very profitable expansion.

The BSC is a capitalist enterprise with a 36% Government holding which was established in the inter-war period to develop a home produced sugar beet based industry in the event of war and blockades.

Now its director is asking for government approval for the investment of tens of millions in capital intensive equipment that by his own admission will not create a single new job.

The only programme that can defend the jobs of the Tate & Lyle workers is the demand for a single nationalised sugar industry that must be committed to the defence of the jobs of every sugar worker. Instead of this however the Tate

& Lyle Action Committee are taking their members on a suicidal course whose outcome can only benefit the bosses by creating unemployment and weakening trade union organisation in the sugar industry.

IMPORT BAN

On the 26 May demonstration, the Action Committee distributed a leaflet which called for a ban on the import of white sugar from the EEC and the stopping of any expansion of BSC beet production.

It is the paternal relationship that Tate & Lyle has cleverly cultivated from the days of Empire that now sets the refinery workers leaders in alliance with their bosses against the workers of Europe and the BSC. This suits the management of Tate and Lyle very well.

John McLean, secretary of the Action Committee, told *Socialist Press*

"From the beginning the committee was clear that the interests of workers and employers at Tate & Lyle's would eventually diverge but that there was a common interest at the moment."

No one but the bosses can benefit from the fostering of this illusion. It leads the trade union representatives of the Port Refinery to argue *against* nationalisation in a report to the Government.

"The Trades Unions believe that the industry should serve the needs of the community including its employees. The trade union programme could be achieved under private ownership, provided that the companies take a sufficiently broad view of their responsibilities."

KNOCK

This utopian hope took a rude knock when the two refining companies Tate & Lyle and Manbre & Garton considered various options in a report issued in February of this year.

They fell out predictably enough as each recommended options that meant the other implementing redundancies in its own refineries.

By refusing to put forward a plan that represents the interests of the working class the trade union representatives end up arguing that their plans for capitalism to make profits are more logical than those of the capitalists themselves.

Strike to save Hospital

The 'long-term' threat to axe the unique Elizabeth Garrett Anderson (EGA) women's hospital in London became a short-term reality last Wednesday when the hospital's Hampstead maternity annexe was closed.

Whilst the local NUPE branch was discussing in one part of the hospital how to fight the projected closure, the management were organising a fleet of ambulances to evacuate the eleven remaining patients out of the 38-bed annexe.

COHSE and NALGO stewards at the annexe were informed of the closure only after the transfer of patients was already under way.

Now, however, the anger resulting from the closure of the EGA maternity annexe has led to six unions represented on the district

joint stewards committee threatening strike action if the annexe is not reopened.

Plans to spread the strike throughout the Area Health Authority have been discussed.

At a meeting on Saturday of ASTMS delegates from 50 hospitals throughout London, a motion was carried calling on the national officials of ASTMS to approach the other NHS unions to jointly organise a London-wide strike to demand the re-opening of the EGA maternity annexe and the full restoration of facilities on the main EGA site, a developer's paradise, near Euston station.

Significantly, this motion which challenged the ASTMS leadership to call positive strike action to back their militant posturing against the cuts, was opposed by CP and IS members at the conference.

The same report in naked imperialist language says:

in the long term, affluent nations risk little by developing a trade in cane sugar. Their farmlands will grow many crops and the possibility of increasing beet production can always be used to neutralise excessive pressure from any cane cartel. A little short-term exploitation [!] and inconvenience is the most that the affluent countries would have to bear. The world development argument is strong and logical."

RIVALRY

Rival proposals for exploiting workers that are no less strong and logical are being presented to the Government by the BSC. This is based upon expanding beet production in England and refining it at the BSC's own refineries at York and Peterborough.

No attempt has been made to bring the BSC workers into a joint defence of all sugar workers jobs yet the danger to the jobs of the Port Refinery workers lies in the low level of trade union organisation at York and Peterborough.

Using a small force at their refineries BSC turn their workers into fitters, painters and general maintenance workers out of season and take on cheap imported labour at harvest time to prevent union organisation.

In the face of these cheap labour costs Tate & Lyle would have no objection to the Government taking over its refinery section provided it was left with its other sugar activities from which last year it made profits of around £50 million.

Despite the alleged common interests that the Tate & Lyle management and union leaders proclaim, John McLean admitted that the company had denied them access to the company's accounts; "the union needs to train accountants and economists to read these books so that we know what they're up to."

But instead of seeing this as the first and immediately necessary move in a struggle for workers control John McLean relegated it to a distant and hazy future after the present business at hand was dealt with: "As secretary of the Action Committee my main interest is to work myself out of this job and get back to proper trade union work as secretary of the joint Shop Stewards Committee."

NOT SEPARATE

But unfortunately the two cannot be separated for the manner in which the Action Committee is wound up could well determine whether or not there will be a joint Shop Stewards Committee to go back to.

Indeed the fight to open the books, which the management will resist straight away, exposes the false unity with the workers which they propose.

The Action Committee must take up the fight to open the books of all the refinery companies and involve the BSC workers for a single nationalised sugar industry.

Open the books of the sugar refiners!

Work sharing on full pay! Occupy the plant to oppose all redundancies!

Fight for a single nationalised sugar industry!

G&MWU BUREAUCRATS CIRCULATE BOSSES' FORM

Officials of the General and Municipal Workers Union have worked out a new way of weakening and dividing their members in the Warwickshire County Council School Meals service.

Proposals, prepared jointly with management, for a reduction in the number of permanent school meals workers to the level needed to cater for the lowest possible number of meals at each site, and to supplement these numbers with temporary staff hired on a termly basis, are being circulated to all members.

Attached to these proposals is a slip which the officials have asked workers to complete, stating whether they agree or disagree with the proposals. But here is the real treachery. The forms are *not* part of a trade union test of opinion — they are to be sent direct to management!

This move has not gone unopposed. One G&MWU steward correctly argued that if there were new

were first outlined by the officials and submitted to the shop stewards committee, they were rejected.

Stewards recognised that if the plan went ahead it would enable management to ease in casual labour, impose speed-up, and that it carried in any case the threat of actual redundancy, though of course only talking about "natural wastage"!

They also pointed out that the slip to be sent to management would provide the employer with an instant blacklist of militants, and would pick off union members as individuals. Such matters must be decided at a branch meeting, the stewards agreed.

Eventually the branch meeting was convened — only to be interrupted by the G&MWU District Official who informed the meeting that a "new contract" had been negotiated which meant no redundancies, no cutbacks and no slip to fill in.

One G&MWU steward correctly argued that if there were new

circulated to the shop stewards and referred back to a branch meeting. This was rejected without reply.

Ten days later the virtually unchanged proposals were circulated to members individually together with their wages, and together with the form to complete for management.

The only real difference was a change in layout of the leaflet, designed now to suggest the official had won real concessions from the employers.

Clearly the proposals must be rejected by workers in the school meals service — but this must be linked to a fight for the independence of their union from the management and to assert the authority of union branches to take decisions on such questions and *not* individuals.

At the same time a committee must be elected from the next branch meeting to open the books of the Warwickshire CC, and paying particular attention to the finance and manning levels in the school

Committee Disbanded

At the meeting of the full Oxford District Committee of the T&GWU, held on Thursday 12th June, the right-wing successfully moved that the Automotive committee — set up by the District Committee and representing 14,000 car workers in the area — be disbanded.

The move, apparently organised by extreme right-wing District Secretary David Buckle, was proposed by equally right-wing Bill Roche — convener of the Body Plant and a senior representative on the top Cars Council of the Ryder 'participation' scheme.

The move to disband the Automotive Committee came after the right-wing had lost their majority on it, a process which had begun with the left-wing victories in the elections of the 5/293 branch last December.

It is the policy of the right wing in Oxford to close down any committee on which they don't have a majority. (And as shown by the

other union bureaucracies nationally).

In the past two years the right-wing have split the 5/55 T&GWU Branch; repeatedly and unsuccessfully tried to wind up the Cowley Assembly Plant Joint Shop Stewards Committee; and enlisted the TUC bureaucracy to try to close down the Oxford Trades Council when they lost their majority on that.

Each time their tactic has been the same — provoke a confrontation and then claim "disruption".

What they mean by "disruption" is dissension.

In other words if you keep your mouth shut and agree with them there is no problem.

The problem for the bureaucracy is that their actions don't go unnoticed by the working class.

A growing number of workers are learning very solid lessons as to exactly what the trade union bureaucracy represents.

This understanding ensures that any successes the bureaucracy may have can quickly be turned into

LEYLAND CONVENORS PREPARE CORPORATE BARGAINING

9,000 HUMBER FISHING JOBS TO GO

Led by Derrick Robinson, the Stalinist convener from Austins, a meeting of senior shop stewards from the Cars Division of British Leyland, last Wednesday, accepted Company proposals which are a major step towards corporation level bargaining.

The meeting, which was convened by management under the Ryder set-up, decided to set up an ad hoc committee to organise common review dates and negotiate on common fringe benefits for all 64 Leyland plants.

Although, by way of an amendment, the meeting did not take a decision to negotiate the wage rates centrally - there is no other reason for common review dates except as a step towards this.

What is emerging of course is the real fruits of the Ryder plan. Robinson is only carrying forward the logic of "participation" which is tackling the management's problems is that plant bargaining gives individual groups of workers the right to struggle for wages.

Last Wednesday's decision is an extremely important move. Some major principles are at stake.

ATTACK

Agreeing to give up the right to negotiate wages at plant level and hand over to the national officials (and that is what it would mean despite Robinson saying it must stay in the hands of the stewards) is the same as accepting handing over wage bargaining, on a national scale, to a deal between the TUC and the government.

It would be a further attack on the rights of Leyland workers and subject them to further centralised control giving a considerable advantage to management.

Instead of the strong sections leading on wages as in the past, the whole combine would be at the mercy of the first ones to accept.

STRUGGLE

It is time for the struggles against Ryder to be opened. Already the Oxford District Committee of the AUEW and the



British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant

shop stewards committee at the Service Division in Cowley have rejected the Wednesday proposals.

This gives a good lead. Resolutions should be passed by branches and shop stewards committees that the ad-hoc committee should be withdrawn

and a full discussion on the implication of corporate bargaining conditions in the plants.

At the end of the one year trial period (in November) 'participation' must be thrown out and the full rights of free collective bargaining in each individual plant protected.

STAGES

In fact this was confirmed by Robinson under questioning at last Saturday's BMC Joint Shop Stewards Committee in Birmingham.

Full corporation level bargaining would in any case "have to come in stages" he said.

He went on to say that plant level bargaining is "outdated" - which is exactly what the employer has been arguing since 1968.

The Labour government's typically imperialist attempt at gun boat diplomacy in confronting Iceland over her 200 mile limit instead of re-equipping and reorganising the trawler fleets on the basis of nationalisation has now added to the mass unemployment in the industry.

Against such attacks it is right that the fishing grounds on which the Icelandic people are completely dependent should be defended. It was therefore inevitable that an agreement would eventually be reached on the limitation of catches.

DIVERT

By the policy adopted the Labour government has attempted to avoid its responsibility for the jobs lost and diverted attention instead towards Iceland.

In fact, the Labour government has a lot to hide.

Even before the sackings begin one in every five trawlermen are unemployed with the figure in Hull reaching one in two.

James Johnson, Labour MP for Hull West and chairman of the Commons All Party Fisheries Committee, said of the settlement:

"The outcome of the settlement will be 30 vessels laid up throughout the industry with the loss of 600 seagoing jobs, 450 of these in Humberside. And this is an optimistic assessment".

REDUNDANCIES

With this scale of cut-back it is clear that deep sea trawlers will not continue to operate from the three Humberside ports of Hull, Grimsby and Fleetwood as at present.

It is likely that two ports will close and the industry concentrated into one.

The implications of the cut-backs are that 9,000 of the 25,000 workers employed in the fishing and processing industry in Humberside will be added to the area's already high unemployment rate (now standing at 7.6%).

This could put unemployment in Hull higher than Belfast.

There is no doubt that many of the employers are happy with the outcome.

They have been allowing the fishing fleet to deteriorate for the past five years.

They and the processing employers, Birds Eye, Findus and Ross have been awaiting the opportunity for extensive rationalisation involving the speed-up and reorganisation of the work force.

The trawler owners are demanding £30 million compensation for trawlers which should have been scrapped years ago and clearly hope to make a killing.

The T&GWU, who represent the trawlermen and fish dock workers are simply demanding decasualisation - which clearly is not enough.

NATIONALISATION

The central demands must be no compensation into private hands; the opening of the books of the whole industry - including the trawler companies, port and processing combines and the distribution chains - and the presentation for the nationalisation of the whole industry.

The government must provide the cash to re-equip the fleets to fish on new grounds as the middle grounds - for the existing boats are too large

OFFICIALS EXCLUDE HULL DOCKS STEWARDS

As previously reported in 'Socialist Press' the T&GWU No. 10 Regional Committee has removed the shop stewards credentials from all 16 T&GWU stewards in the port of Hull.

The stewards affected include the convener, Walter Cunningham, Tony Fee who is the chairman of the Regional Committee and Walt

Greendale who sits on the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the T&GWU General Executive Council.

The excuse for this bureaucratic action was given as the refusal of the dockers to lift their blacking of the BACAT system - a catamaran type ship which releases barges direct into the waterways, thus bypassing the docks.

Since removing the credentials

the Regional Committee has been attempting to reorganise the dock.

First they attempted to hold new elections for stewards, but were unable to obtain any nominations.

They then turned to the port employers - successfully persuading them to refuse to recognise or negotiate with the disciplined stewards - a step which the employers had previously avoided, fearing retaliation throughout the port.

Regional Secretary Cairns then circulated a letter to all T&GWU dockers explaining that it was necessary for the officials to meet the employers and inviting any members to attend as a representative - with the exception of the disciplined stewards.

Because this is such an open and blatant attack on democratic rights Cairns will not get any volunteers, but this will not concern him.

TACTIC

His tactic is that by making the offer he clears the way for the (non-elected) officials to represent the port themselves. (This means that the next thing the Hull dockers will have to face will be the deals the officials do with the port employers).

This is what the officials want. The BACAT system was not the issue. Traditionally the port has been controlled by the unofficial stewards committee - with a high degree of independence.

The Region 10 Committee, in line with the actions nationally of the T&GWU bureaucracy, want to stamp out that independence.

In addition to this they want to isolate the militant minority of stewards of the Blue union who have retained an influence in the port through the unofficial committee.

CONTRADICTION

In other words the issue for the T&GWU is bureaucratic control.

There is a contradiction in the situation. The unofficial committee

has virtually unanimous support in the port. Yet the bureaucracy has been allowed to get away with these attacks.

The problem is the unofficial leadership on the dock. Sections of the leadership refuse to move because they see it as a Hull issue and refuse to draw the connections with the actions of the bureaucracy of the T&GWU nationally.

CLIQUE

Other sections, such as Greendale (who voted in favour of the 4 1/2% TUC pay cut on the T&GWU Executive after he was disciplined) are closely tied in with the Jones clique.

The present inaction is dangerous. It is not enough to have the support of the men if that strength is not used.

If the Hull stewards are defeated it would be a defeat for the whole working class.

The demand must be placed on the Regional Committee to reverse its decision - and this must be backed up with action.

At the forthcoming Nation Dock Stewards meeting to be held in Hull the struggle must be extended to every port in Britain if the T&GWU bureaucracy refuse to restore the credentials.

FOOTNOTE.

Known as the "blue" union (because its union cards are blue as opposed to the white T&GWU cards) the National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers was formed in 1927 from the National Amalgamated Stevedores, Lightermen, Watermen and Dockers Union.

This itself came out of the Stevedores Protection Society, a long standing union which did not join the amalgamation which formed the T&GWU in 1922 along with other docks unions.

In the mid-50's after sell outs by the T&GWU bureaucracy, tens of thousands of dockers in the Northern Ports of Liverpool, Birkenhead, Manchester and Hull transferred to the "blue". The central issue was trade union democracy and the election of officials.

In the spring of 1955, 20,000 blue union members struck for six weeks demanding recognition and were defeated.

TRANSPORT AND GENERAL WORKERS' UNION

Regional Office:
 10, Abchurch Lane, London, E.C. 4
 General Secy: J.L. JONES
 Telephone: Victoria 7788

Regional Secretary:
 D. R. CAIRNS
 BEVIN HOUSE,
 GEORGE STREET,
 HULL HU1 3DB

REGION No. 10
 Telephone: Hull 24187
 Telex: 527087

2nd June, 1976

PLEASE QUOTE BB/KJT

To: All Dockworker Members Employed by Hull and Humber Cargo Handling Company Limited and Ellerman's Wilson Line Limited.

Dear Sirs and Brothers,

Future Operation of Hull and Humber Cargo Handling Company Limited

Arising out of Hull and Humber Cargo Handling Company Limited taking over Ellerman's Wilson Line Limited it will be necessary for meetings to be held with Management to discuss the future operation of the Company.

Volunteers are requested to attend these meetings and any members who are interested should contact the Docks Officer at Bevin House as soon as possible.

It must be clearly understood that the ex Shop Stewards and ex members of the Negotiating Committee are not eligible to attend these meetings.

If no volunteers are forthcoming then the meetings will be attended by officials of the Union and full written reports will be given by way of newsletters.

It is hoped, however, that enough volunteers will be forthcoming from our members from those dockworkers who are interested in their future employment which is all tied up with the future operation of Hull and Humber Cargo Handling Company Limited.

Yours sincerely,

D. CAIRNS,

Regional Secretary and Waterways Officer.

The letter barring the elected stewards from representing their members

FOREMEN SWING MINERS BALLOT

With the aid of 12,950 votes from "officials and staff" added to those of deputies and other management grades and backed by an intensive propaganda campaign by the Tory press and union leaders, the NUM right wing last week won a slim majority for the TUC 4½% wage cutting plan.

Scottish NUM General Secretary Bill MacLean correctly pointed out that the result is a distortion of the views of miners themselves, stating that a majority of NUM members who actually dig coal clearly voted "No" to the pay plan.

REJECTED

In five areas where a principled call for rejection was issued by the area council, there was a clear majority against the 4½% deal - in Yorkshire a massive 62% voted for it to be thrown out, and in Scotland 63%, while in the smaller Kent coalfield only 700 out of 2,000 voted for acceptance.

What emerges is the decisive impact of leadership in the struggle against the barefaced betrayals now being carried through by the Labour government and TUC.

But at the same time the technique of ballot voting - which

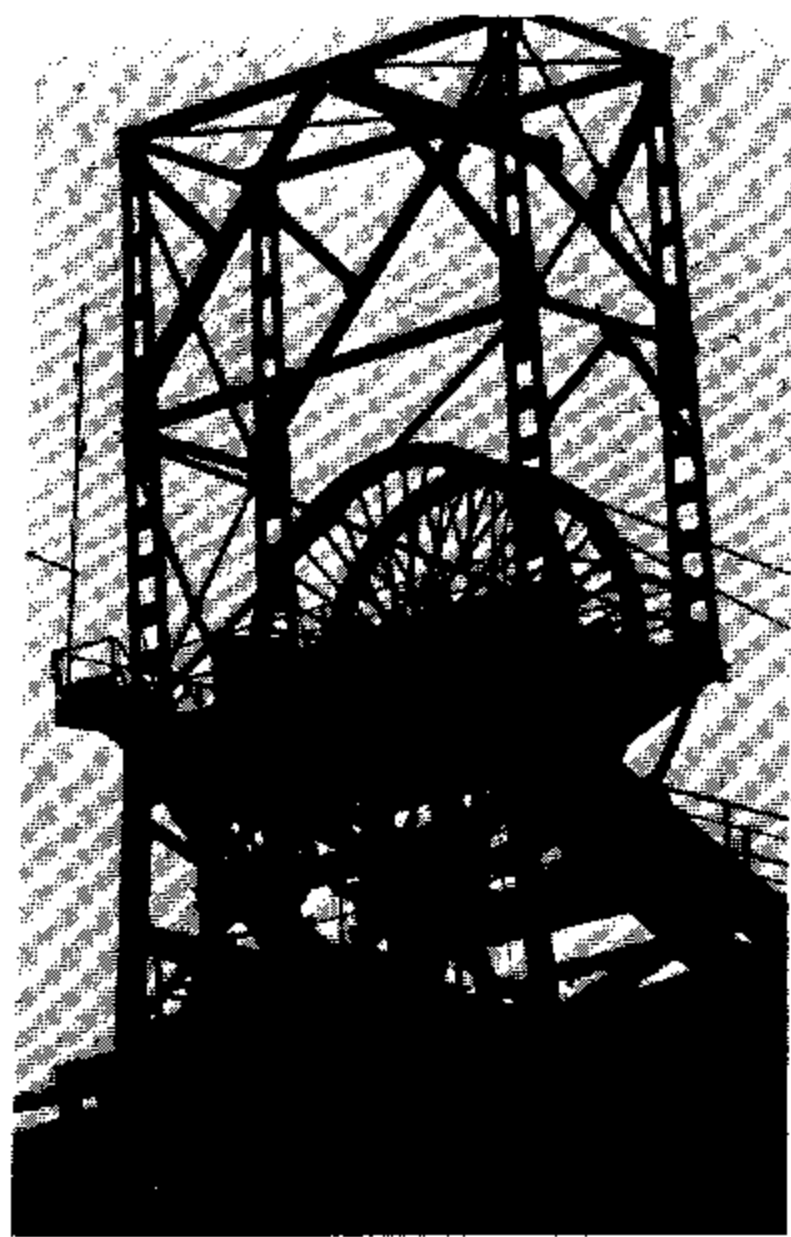


PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report.

divides the strength of the union, forcing workers to vote as individuals - works strongly in the interests of the employers and the right wing.

Decisions on such issues and union elections should be held as branch meetings or special mass meetings of members by show of hands.

PROPAGANDA

Only in this way can trade unionists counter the weight of



Scargill (left) and McGahey opposed the 4½% pay cut plan. Now they must maintain the fight for the £100 a week claim.

pressure applied to workers by propaganda in the press and mass media, and draw on the strength of the class.

In the case of the NUM ballot, the complete control was taken outside the trade union movement altogether.

Using the excuse that they wanted to ensure complete "confidentiality" the NUM executive withdrew from the count on Friday June 4th its two official observers Jack Collins and Peter Tait.

This means the NUM preferred



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report.

to accept the word and reliability of Major Frank Brittain and his staff on the bourgeois Electoral Reform Society to that of their own representatives. This is a disgraceful attack on union democracy.

The strong vote for rejection in five areas shows the need for them to press forward at the NUM conference with the £100 a week demand put forward before the 4½% deal.

To the £100 claim must be added the call for a sliding scale of wages to provide automatic increases to keep pace with rising prices - as assessed by trade union committees.

At every point the right wing must be fought and the real attack on living standards embodied in the 4½% deal exposed to those miners who were tricked into supporting the Executive recommendation.

shrieks of protest against 'outside interference' from the US and from the Soviet Union.

The Stalinists for their own reasons supported the Syrian interventions in Lebanon - to compensate for the recent defection of Egypt to the US by strengthening ties with Syria, and also more basically in the hope of avoiding another Middle East war which would expose the weakness of the Soviet bureaucracy.

SUPPORTED

Soviet policy is, of course, carried out by the Lebanese CP which has supported Syrian intervention. In this they have been joined by Arafat, the head of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

Arafat, according to press reports lost credibility in the midst of massive Palestinian resistance to Syrian forces to the extent that he found it necessary to leave the area hurriedly for Cairo disguised in a wig and a flower shirt.

Similarly, the leader of the left Muslim forces, Jumblatt, though opposing the candidacy of Sarkis for premier, by his support of Edde the 'left of centre' candidate and the National Bloc Party showed he was incapable of defending either the freedom of the Palestinian liberation movement or the democratic rights of the Lebanese Muslim masses against the manoeuvrings of the bourgeois parties.

LESSONS

The bitter lessons of the Lebanese war for the Palestinians and the Arab masses is this - that Syrian tanks and nationalist demagogues like Jalloud act together to break their struggle.

The nationalist politics of the PLO leadership - groping for support among the capitalist governments of Arab states, unable to appeal over their heads to the class interests of the Arab masses - leave them trapped in a situation where Syria has become the effective guardian of Israel's northern borders.

SYRIAN TANKS DEFEND ISRAEL (cont'd).

the ascendancy then the threat of Israeli intervention in Lebanon would increase since Lebanon would become a secure base for PLO operations.

Any Israeli invasion of Lebanon would immediately expose the inability of the Syrian regime to carry through the struggle against imperialism and its Israeli agents and to support the struggle of the Palestinian masses which has wide support among the masses of the Arab world.

The Egyptian disengagement from Sinai and the private deal with Israel last year, coupled with President Sadat's headlong move into the Western camp graphically illustrates the nature of such regimes as currently claim 'leadership' of the Arab and Palestinian masses.

This then is the basis for the open collusion between Assad, Israel and the USA (with French assistance) to 'stabilise' the situation in Lebanon by forcing a political settlement favourable to the right wing Maronite forces.

PRESSURE

This collusion has taken the form of open Syrian pressure for the Lebanese premiership to pass to Elias Sarkis - ex secret policeman and welcomer of US Marines to the Lebanon in 1958.

The American Sixth Fleet has again been standing by together with French troops ready to step into the breach should the Syrian initiative fail.

However, by the end of last week Palestinian and Muslim left forces had succeeded in halting the Syrian advance, aided by desertions from Saiqua, the Palestinian commando unit under Syrian Army control, and the general reluctance of Syrian troops to fight the Palestinians.

ARAB LEAGUE

This set-back has resulted in the entry of troops from the Arab League countries to attempt to defuse the situation and especially to preempt US action. The presence of troops from Libya and Algeria gives a 'left' face to the action and it has evoked

NALGO-DRAIN HOWLED DOWN

Geoffrey Drain, NALGO General Secretary, was howled down by delegates to the union's Conference at Eastbourne last week.

This marks a further development in the consciousness of NALGO members - facing TUC wage cuts and mass redundancies through cuts in government spending.

MILITANT

The conference opened with many motions demanding a militant stance against public expenditure cuts, an end to support for the Social Contract, for public ownership and control of the profitable sections of the manufacturing industry and for an irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and power in favour of ordinary working people. All these motions were composited and weakened.

In the ensuing economic debate the General Secretary, Geoffrey Drain, attempted to head off rank and file action in favour of his continued talk of reforms with the TUC Economic Committee.

Such reforms are clearly no longer possible under capitalism in crisis, and Drain's age-worn and bankrupt platitudes drew such howls of anger from delegates that for several periods he could not be heard for the uproar.

However the lack of an alternative, partly due to the withdrawal of the motion demanding a

sliding scale of public expenditure and wages, allowed the National Executive Council to scrape home by the skin of its teeth on the old reformist ticket of "unity" and by the defeatism deliberately fostered by platform speakers.

The disillusionment and frustration of conference delegates was further compounded by the empty rhetoric of the guest speaker Michael Foot MP.

With all the skill befitting this great parliamentarian, he avoided any reference to the cruel realities facing NALGO members, and with casual cynicism delivered a mere party political broadcast.

CRUSHED

The Executive Council showed their great strength and resolution in crushing all initiatives and proposals for action from the branches.

Unfortunately these qualities have been totally absent in their negotiations with the government.

But while this conference has allowed them further breathing space, next year it will not be so easy.

The fight must begin at once in all NALGO branches for a programme of demands that can unite the whole labour movement against capitalism and capitulation and for a sliding scale of public expenditure to keep pace with the rate of inflation as determined by committees of trade unionists and housewives.

£600 FUND

The May Fund closed at £539.22. With the June Fund now well under way, we have to date received the following amounts.

Central London, £40; Winsford, £1; Oxford Assembly Plant, £6; NHS, £41; North London £35; Coventry, £12; Bolton, .50p; South London, £10; Oxford PSF, £3.25; Aylesbury, £5; Oxford General, £21; East London, £20; Leamington, .80p; Banbury, £1.97; London collection, £5.57. Total so far: £203.09.

With half the month now gone the fight is now on to go one better than last month and raise the full £600 fund target. All donations should be sent to: Socialist Press Monthly Development Fund, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

O'BRIEN NO APPEAL

A dismayed Joe Gormley last week had to rule out an appeal by leading Yorkshire NUM right-winger Bill O'Brien against the two year ban on holding office in the union imposed on him as a disciplinary measure.

The Yorkshire Area Council had correctly disciplined O'Brien for supplying union documents and information to lawyers representing the Sheffield Star newspaper.

The information was used in the paper's defence against a successful libel action by Yorkshire NUM president Arthur Scargill.

Gormley was forced to uphold the Yorkshire decision after lawyers pointed out that there is nothing in the union rule books to allow an appeal against such a decision by an area council.

Though this has clearly been the case for years, the right wing now seem likely to begin moves seeking to change the rules - in case another right-winger is caught the same way.

TUC (from front page)

would concentrate power democratically in the hands of the appointed national officials.

In addition to this the T&GWU bureaucracy has attacked the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at the Cowley Assembly Plant because it represents a threat to Ryder; has disbanded the Oxford Automotive Committee because the right-wing lost their majority on it and it could have been used to criticise their policies.

On top of this they have enlisted the TUC bureaucracy to disaffiliate the Oxford Trades Council because in fighting to stop the cuts it exposed the role of the local and national leaders in the Social Service unions.

RULE 14

In line with this, using in each case the same argument as Smith - "unrepresentative" - the TUC's new "gag" Rule 14 is initiated specifically to stop Trades Councils opposing TUC policy.

At the recent conference of Trades Councils held in Swansea, General Council member Terry Parry refused to allow a vote on the 4½% - because it looked like being defeated - saying that if a vote was taken he would close the conference.

The problem for the bureaucrats is that they are acting from weakness and not from strength. Their attack on union democracy is creating new conditions in the working class.

EXPOSED

The nature of the bureaucracy often obscured in the past by fakers with left reputations such as Scanlon, and Wright has been exposed to important sections of workers.

The working class will not accept the 4½% or the planned cuts in public spending. The coming year will see struggles emerging on these issues and central to every struggle will be the role of the trade union leaders.

Every one of their betrayals highlights the burning need for a leadership which will not start from the requirement of capitalism but from the requirements of the working class.

COVENTRY WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETING
Wednesday 7th July at 7.30
Hertford Tavern
Junction St.