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## IN CPSA & NALGO PUBLIC SERVICE SELL OUT!

In a week of far-reaching betrayal by union leaders the green light has been given for yet another round of attacks on the jobs, wages and conditions of public sector workers.

ON TUESDAY, leaders of the Civil and Public Services Association collapsed ignominiously in front of a threatened government lock-out and called off the union's ban on compiling statistics for the Department of Employment — a move originally taken as part of the union's feeble programme against the cuts.

ON WEDNESDAY night the miners' National Executive voted by 14-11 to accept a complete sell-out of their demand for early retirement for all miners. The demand, though justified, had been dragged out to divert from a struggle on wages. But now even the diversion itself has been sold short.

ON FRIDAY, leaders of Britain's biggest white collar union, NALGO, successfully held off demands that the NEC withhold support from "any agreement for the further extension of the Social Contract".

And on SATURDAY, Postal Workers leader Tom Jackson grovelled before a Court of Appeal injunction and called off the union's token one week blacking of mail and telecommuni-

cations to South Africa — abandoning the basic right of his members to strike.

### MOVING RIGHT

All these betrayals are indicators of the rapid pace at which every union leadership is now moving to the right in order to avoid any confrontation with the Callaghan government's programme of Tory policies.

But it was in NALGO that the struggle to impose such a sell-out was waged most openly, at the union's Special Conference.

The NALGO NEC tabled a motion for discussion which not only accepted the continuance of the Social Contract but which was worded to ensure that no national action was initiated to halt the cuts which threaten the jobs of thousands of NALGO members.

The three amendments which called for a break with the Social Contract *before* it expires were all abandoned before the Conference

even began. But even the flabby composite which was substituted for them, which simply claimed that the Social Contract had been broken by government policies and opposed a renewal of it after July was viciously attacked by the NEC — who are clearly already calculating the terms for Phase Three of wage control.

The NEC line was only narrowly carried by a 3-2 majority on a card vote, however, — an indication of the unrest among delegates who went on to overturn a series of NEC recommendations. As a result they adopted measures including a ban on overtime which, although inadequate to stop the cuts, are a sign of a membership moving in the opposite direction to their leaders.

### ATTENTION

This was also shown by the attention given by delegates to the speech by Dennis Reed of Middlesex Polytechnic branch who

moved an amendment putting a correct perspective for action instructing the NEC:

"to call a national strike of all NALGO members as from 1st March 1977, to continue until such time as the government agrees to reverse its policy of cuts in public expenditure and to restore public expenditure to the levels prevailing in 1972, adjusted for inflation. The NEC should seek the support of other public sector unions for this action."

Reed outlined the experience of his branch in struggling for a one day strike the previous day against the management policy of 'natural wastage' to create redundancies.

Attacking those who claim that "the members won't support such policies", Reed turned the

question round.

"Does any of these people ever go to the members and tell them this is the only way to stop the cuts? It is high time the NEC went into some branches and dragged their members, kicking and screaming, into the fight."

"On our picket line in the snow yesterday you could have seen a number of the part-time 50 year-old married ladies who are supposed to be the reactionary backbone of the union."

"Localised actions cannot stop the cuts — they will only be picked off by the employers.

"Concerted, national strike action is the only way to change the national policy of the government."

Though Reed's amendment

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NALGO NEC spokesman Glyn Phillips: against even one-day strike action.

## JACKSON CAVES IN AS LAW BACKS APARTHEID

The ultra right-wing National Association for Freedom and the judges of the High Court have struck a blow against trade union rights in Britain and in favour of racist dictatorship and terror in South Africa.

But the leaders of the British trade union movement have offered no effective resistance to this attack. Post Office workers' leader Tom Jackson has "sadly" cringed before the law and accepted the High Court injunction granted to the NAF.

This not only puts a stop to the UPW's token plan to black all mail and telecommunications with South Africa for a week, but more important, throws into question whether the UPW can legally take any industrial action whatever.

Most of the other union leaders had already ensured in advance

that the week of trade union action proposed against the South African racist regime would be a failure.

Some unions such as the NUR, whose members in Southampton handle most of the goods traded between Britain and South Africa, have remained completely silent on the boycott.

T&GWU secretary Jack Jones has warned *against* imposing a boycott and asked his members only "to impede and harass" but *not* to stop South African trade.

No other union has called for more than token support for the week of action.

The call for action is an international one, coming from the anti-communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels.

It makes no demand for serious action which would threaten apartheid.

It applies only for one week

and, partly because of energetic attempts by Len Murray and Jack Jones in Brussels to water it down still further, it makes *no* demand for a complete embargo on economic relations with South Africa.

### SABOTAGE

In other countries, as in Britain, the trade union bureaucracies continue to sabotage any real action against apartheid.

The Communist Party led CGT in France has ignored the week of action altogether, as has the other main union federation the CFDT.

In Belgium the unions will stick to propaganda. In Italy, the unions, including the CP-led GGC, plan only some token actions.

Only in the Netherlands, where the dockers in Rotterdam plan a total boycott of South African goods for a week, has proposed action gone further than tokenism



and propaganda.

Throughout Western Europe, even the trade union leaders who support the 'week of action' want it to be the *end* of action against apartheid.

The Workers Socialist League says that the call to action should be supported, but only as a *beginning* to an all-out campaign of concrete solidarity with the black workers and peasants of South Africa.

The demands of such a campaign should be for a complete boycott of all economic and financial relations with South

Africa — to be maintained not for a week, but until the racist dictatorship is overthrown.

We call upon the leaders of the labour movement to implement such a boycott immediately.

But it is clear from the events of last week that the boycott will have to be fought for not only against racist organisations like the NAF and against the British laws which uphold racism, but also against the Labour and TUC bureaucrats who are not prepared to translate their empty anti-racist words into any form of real action against South Africa.

# ONLY STRIKE ACTION CAN STOP THE CUTS!



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## WAGES STRUGGLE SPANS EUROPE



Almost every day some new event confirms that the control of wages is a central plank in the anti-working class policies of virtually all the governments of Western Europe.

In ITALY, the minority Christian Democratic government of Andreotti is battling to force the unions to accept a curtailment of the so-called 'sliding scale' included in current wage contracts.

At present inadequate compensation for price rises is added to wage packets every three months.

Andreotti wants to extend this period to six months and to exclude from the price index used for compensation a whole range of products whose prices have been rising fastest.

The bureaucrats of the three trade union federations have no wish to overthrow the Andreotti government which is kept alive in parliament by the abstention of the Communist and Socialist Parties.

But they dare not agree to Andreotti's wage plan as it stands since it would threaten their rapidly declining ability to control the anger of the working class at its falling living standards.

Last week, negotiations between Andreotti and the union leaders broke down, with the latter threat-

ening strike action if Andreotti introduced his plan unilaterally.

But far from demanding a real sliding scale of wages which would protect pay against inflation the bureaucrats treacherously offered Andreotti other methods of cutting labour costs including speed-up, suspending some national holidays, the abandoning of movement of labour agreements, the reduction of redundancy pay and a campaign against absenteeism.

In FRANCE, too, it is the trade union leaders, most importantly those of the Communist Party trade union federation the CGT, who are refusing to lead any struggle against Prime Minister Barre's economic programme of spending cuts and savage wage cuts.

Just as in Italy, the objective of the bureaucrats is to maintain the tottering right wing government in power.

They have been forced by growing working class militancy to call a number of strikes but have succeeded so far in keeping these within the bounds of tokenism.

CGT leader Georges Seguy, sharing his troubles in a speech last week, said that 'rarely has the trade union movement faced so many obstacles'.

He never spoke a truer word; and the chief of the obstacles is himself. His abject collaboration with the government, however, can-

not stop the growing move among French workers to answer the cuts in their real wages with strike action.

In WEST GERMANY as well, events of the last week have brought major wage strikes closer. Negotiations over new wage contracts in the metal and engineering industries, covering four million workers, ground to a halt as employers and the major union involved, IG Metall, failed to reach a compromise.

The unions have been demanding an increase of 9.5% against the employers' final offer of 5.5%. The engineering deal is normally a pace-setting deal for other industries.

The deadlock, therefore, paves the way for growing confrontation over wages throughout West German industry. Predictably the bureaucracy now talks of calling 'token' strike action.

Almost simultaneously in neighbouring NETHERLANDS deadlock was reached in wage talks in the metal and construction industries.

As in Italy, a central feature of these talks has been the question of automatic compensation for inflation which in limited form has existed in the Netherlands for some time.

The unions claim this as an 'acquired right' while the employers want to abolish it.

These instances — together with

the still unresolved conflict over wages policy which nearly destroyed the DANISH government six weeks ago, and the growing threats to the fragile Stage II of the British Labour government's wage cuts policy — all point to the decisive importance of wages in the capitalist offensive against the working class.

The problem of automatically preserving living standards against inflation features in all these confrontations.

Despite the limited compensation achieved in some European countries like Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands, the trade union leaders everywhere oppose the demand which really answers this problem — a sliding scale of wages, based on price indexes drawn up by elected committees of trade unionists and housewives.

And they all shrink from the only weapon which can win this demand, unlimited strike action.

## SPAIN new CP betrayal

While fascist police have been shooting at and beating up workers in the streets around Bilbao, the leaders of the Spanish 'opposition' have been having what they call 'satisfactory' talks with the government which orders the police brutality.

On four successive days last week demonstrations of up to 10,000 workers and students assembled in one of the industrial suburbs of Bilbao to demand an amnesty for all political prisoners. After the fraudulent 'amnesties' granted by King Juan Carlos last year, 200 political prisoners remain from Franco's rule in addition to all those who have been jailed by the two post-Franco governments.

In one demonstration, a youth of 15 was killed by the police. This murder has greatly reinforced the fury of the masses of Euskadi against the fascist government.

This renewed proof of the nature of the rulers of Spain had no effect on the 'opposition'. In November the Platform of the Democratic Opposition (which includes the Socialist and Communist Parties, various groups of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats and the three 'Maoist' parties to the left of the CP) appointed a nine-man team to negotiate a pact with the Suarez government.

One of these was Simon Sanchez Montero of the Communist Party who has now been replaced by the party's General Secretary Santiago Carrillo, fresh from a spell in jail — which he refers to as if he was an honoured guest of his respected friends in the 'realistic' government.

When Prime Minister Suarez refused to negotiate with the CP the committee of nine formed a sub-committee of four to conduct the talks, composed of two Christian Democrats, and two 'socialists' including Socialist Party Secretary Felipe Gonzalez.

The CP (let alone the parties to its left) was happy to be represented by the bourgeoisie. The government isn't talking to the CP; the CP is talking to the government. Two enemies of socialism are happy.

order to prove it, he has lifted all restrictions on the sacking of workers and wage cutting and virtually abolished the right to strike.

### 'READJUSTMENTS'

True to its treacherous form, the People's Party (the name used by the Panamanian Communist Party) accepts the measures, describing them as 'tactical readjustments in the revolutionary process'.

Thousands of workers, however, have already come out on indefinite strike until the measures are reversed.

These workers are endangered by the position of the leadership of the main trade union federation which restricts itself to protest and implicitly exonerates Torrijos by calling for the resignation of "the minister responsible" for the new measures.

### PERU

In PERU, the military dictatorship has also been helped to stay in power for eight years through the support of trade union leaders, the Cuban and Soviet governments and the local Communist Party.

The regime is now changing its tone from its earlier "anti-imperialism" towards an explicitly extreme right wing line.

It is restoring good relations with the United States; and some of the more 'left'-talking military officers have now been forced to follow workers' and peasants' leaders into exile.

### 'CONSTRUCTIVE'

The regime has "relaxed" some of its recent repressive measures by allowing seven banned magazines to re-appear, providing they restrict themselves to 'constructive' journalism.

Six of the magazines are explicitly right wing. The seventh is *Unidad* (Unity), the weekly of the Communist Party, which thus gets its reward for collaborating with the forces of repression.

Throughout Latin America, a continent dominated by military dictatorships, Stalinism is nothing but an open apologist for the most glaring forms of reaction.



Argentinian car workers demonstrate against Videla.

## CP BACKS DICTATORS

General Videla's murderous right-wing dictatorship in Argentina continues to be helped by local and international Stalinism.

The small Argentine Communist Party, despite the murder of some of its own militants by the police, continues to give tacit support to the regime.

The same applies to the official press agencies of Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Both countries give material support to the Videla regime by being two of its most important trading partners.

They support a regime which, through terror and repression, has cut working class living standards in half in the last year.

According to the government's own figures, the cost of living in 1976 rose 350% while wages only went up 150%.

Despite Videla's efforts to crush the trade unions, workers have continually fought back.

The recent strike at Chrysler, during which three executives of the company were shot dead, produced a 100% wage increase.

### PANAMA

The 'left' talking dictator of PANAMA, General Torrijos, another of Fidel Castro's friends is learning fast from Videla and has unleashed a new wave of anti-working class measures.

It is, his Labour Minister said, 'the hour of free enterprise'. In

## IN BRIEF

### CHILE

THE CHILEAN ECONOMY has been hit by a major financial crisis. Thousands of small savers have been demonstrating in the streets of Santiago outside the doors of small banks which have gone bust.

The bankruptcies have been engineered by the economic policies of the military dictatorship following the advice of Nobel prize winning economist Milton Friedman to cut the money supply, already leading to the sacking of thousands of workers.

In his first statements since his release from jail (in Brezhnev's sordid deal with Pinochet) Chilean CP General Secretary Corvalan has shown that his commitment to class collaboration, which paved the way for the military coup in 1973 is completely unshakeable.

Most of the Chilean military, he asserted, want to put an end to the present 'eminently transitory' dictatorship. It can be overthrown if the Popular Unity parties form a sufficiently strong alliance with the Christian Democratic Party (which supported the coup).

He has welcomed the election of Carter and called the Catholic Church (which also supported the coup) 'a source of inspiration to the Chilean people'.

### INDIA

THE PRO-MOSCOW Communist Party is reaping the fruits of class collaboration. It performed its role in giving full support to the development of the dictatorship, and it has now been discarded by Indira Gandhi who launched a scathing public attack on the party and arrested some of its members.

The Moscow government still supports the "progressive policies" of Mrs Gandhi.

### POLAND

MEMBERS OF THE Workers Defence Committee, set up to aid workers on trial for their part in last year's general strike against the economic policies of Gierk's government, have suffered further repression.

Members were beaten when trying to attend workers' trials. And two leading members received letters threatening that they will be 'sorted out' and hinting at deportation.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

THE STALINIST bureaucracy has launched a major attack on the 300 intellectuals and others who signed a manifesto called 'Charter 77' demanding "human rights" in Czechoslovakia. Several have been arrested; others have had their phones cut off and all have been daily vilified.

### SOUTH AFRICA

TWO POLITICAL prisoners were found hanged in their cells last week, bringing to 17 the number of political prisoners who have died in this way since the uprising against apartheid began last June.

The authorities made the unbelievable claim that all of them committed suicide.

# CHINA: TENG FOR FRESH COMEBACK?

Leaks from sources high in the Peking regime at the end of last week indicated that Teng Hsiao-ping, the 'capitalist roader' ousted in April last year following the death of Prime Minister Chou-En-lai, is to be officially rehabilitated and restored to high office.

His restoration has been predictable since the arrest last year, following the death of Mao, of the 'Shanghai Four', including Mao's widow Ching Chiang.

## DANGERS

Teng is an obvious candidate to succeed Hua Kuo-feng, Mao's anointed successor, in Chou En-lai's post as Premier, leaving Hua as Party Chairman.

It has become clear, however, that the manipulated 'grass-roots' campaign to restore Teng carries considerable dangers for the bloc within the bureaucracy that presently rules China.

The alliance between Hua and

the military chiefs which was formed to oust the 'Shanghai left' now wishes to consolidate itself by incorporating the leaders of the 'right-wing' layer within the state and Party apparatus - personified by Teng - which came under vitriolic attack during the Cultural Revolution.

## POSTERS

Yet they still face massive resistance - which broke into civil war in certain areas - in the majority of provinces of China. And in Peking itself, posters have appeared calling for the rehabilitation of Teng, which go well beyond what is politically safe for the bureaucracy as a whole.

Some have included general demands for 'socialist democracy' and for 'the people to be allowed to choose their own leaders'. Others have demanded a 'proper inquiry' into the clashes in Peking's Tien An Mien Square in April last year, when tens of thousands came out in unauthorised demonstrations following the death of Chou En-lai.

It was these demonstrations which brought the removal of Teng - with the full agreement, as everybody knows, of the present leaders. And the connected calls - reported also on some provincial radio stations - for the immediate trial of the 'Shanghai four' carried similar dangers for the ruling clique within the bureaucracy.

To make the four the scapegoats of all past crimes requires an edifice of falsification and 'confessions' on the scale of Stalin's Moscow Trials - and the slightest crack in it would immediately open up to examination the recent record of every one of the present ruling group.

One of the posters in Peking last week raised precisely this question. In the form of an attack on Wu Teh, Mayor of Peking, it attacked the theory that it was impossible to move against the 'gang of four' earlier for fear of causing a split in the Central Committee, and quoted Mao on the need to fight 'revisionism' in the leading bodies of the Party.

This was why troops were sent into Tien An Mien Square last week to cover up this type of offending poster, and to prevent new ones being put up. Teng, Hua and their opponents within the bureaucracy may be split on many matters but they are united in their determination to prevent the growth of independent political criticism and movements among the masses.



Teng Hsiao-ping

## SWP EXPOSE FILES

At a London press conference last week the American Socialist Workers Party gave details of the large numbers of documents which their lawyers have recently prised from the files of the CIA.

Their lawsuits are directed against the illegal harassment and surveillance of the SWP, their youth movement, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the organisations of the so-called 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' (with which the SWP is in political sympathy) in other countries by agencies of the US government.

The documents from the CIA files - in most cases heavily expurgated - like those earlier released from the files of the FBI, reveal years of illegal activity against the SWP as an organisation and its individual members and leaders.

## BURGLARIES

The CIA carried out burglaries of SWP members while they were abroad (the FBI evidently being in charge of those on US soil), infiltrated it with informers, collaborated widely with the intelligence services of other 'democratic' capitalist states in receiving and supplying information about the SWP and other left wing political organisations, opened the mail of SWP members, bugged their telephones and premises.

Moreover it is clear that these illegal activities continued after - in early 1974 - the CIA gave a public undertaking these activities would not continue.

There can be no shadow of a doubt that they continue to this day - but under conditions made more difficult by every political and legal blow struck by those in the labour movement against the CIA and their ilk.

## THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class in opposition to the betrayals of both "left" and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party.

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 4¼% pay cutting deal with Healey 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 and NUPE leadership who substitute the words for the action.

In London this policy has already won a big response with the one-day action against the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital - when 2,000 hospital workers in the area struck and 400 marched to lobby MPs against the cuts.

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 and against all forms of "workers' participation" have won mass responses.

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.

But our struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the international struggles of the working class and moves to rebuild the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So while many interventions in Britain 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 Trotskyist Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

We urge all readers who agree on the need for revolutionary leadership and the demands we put forward to find out more about the WSL and join our fight in the labour movement.



TIM

In addition to the pamphlets *CIA Briefing* (20p) and *Jamaica Destabilised* (25p), the Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee has now published two further pamphlets.

*Covert Action: What Next?* (25p) is a review of exposures so far made of the CIA and *What Your Uncle Sam Wants to Know About You* (20p) reprints excerpts from Kissinger's guide for intelligence work by American missions.

All Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee publications are available from NCCL, c/o 186, Kings Cross Road, WC1.

*Socialist Press* readers will also be interested in the reprinting of Richard Fletcher's *The CIA and the Labour Party: Who Are They Traveling With?* This is now available in book form at 95p from Spokesman Books together with an essay by Fred Kirsch on the CIA and the labour movement in Latin America.



## UNION OFFICIALS BETRAY LONDON HOSPITAL STRIKE

Ancillary staff at St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the City of London voted to return to work on Friday afternoon, following the decision of the Hospital management to reinstate three porters suspended earlier in the week.

The three porters, including NUPE Branch Secretary Maurice Kolander, were suspended at 12.30 on Wednesday morning after refusing to collect patients notes from medical records.

This had never officially been part of their job, and with current cut backs the porters claim they are insufficiently staffed to continue doing this favour for the hospital management.

As soon as the three were sent home, porters stopped work and were soon joined by theatre staff and kitchen staff.

### INCENSED

The kitchen staff were incensed by a management decision to implement a new rota from January 17th, which because it cuts established overtime, would mean a reduction in wages of between £6 and £12 a week.

Management initially refused to talk to representatives of the strikers, now supported by sympathy action in other local hospitals.

One picket, Lee Brooks, a COHSE member, told *Socialist Press* that the management had made the insulting remark that "when the little boys and girls go back to work then we'll talk".

Meanwhile the mass media immediately went to town with baseless accusations that patients' lives were being put at risk. Another porter, Ray White, complained bitterly about the coverage the strike had been given, particularly in the *Sun*.

By Friday afternoon, however, union officials were able to announce to a mass meeting of strikers that the hospital management had agreed to reinstate the

## NHS HOSPITALS CRUMBLE

Hackney hospital was described as a "slum hospital" by a new report which is to be submitted to the City and East London Area Health Authority.

The report on emergency and long term treatment at Hackney Hospital mentions inadequate equipment, poor standards of maintenance and old ward buildings.

The report pointed out that many important amenities were either missing, improperly serviced and maintained or of the wrong size and capacity.

It said that there were no proper day rooms where patients who were not bed bound could eat, watch television or generally relax away from the bed area.

Most wards were without proper blinds so that patients became extremely uncomfortable in strong sunlight.

Hackney Hospital also had insufficient trolleys, wheelchairs, and cot-sides.

Some ward kitchens still had old and unhygienic wooden draining boards and most wards had inadequate night lighting.

The report added "even where equipment and facilities were available, we received many criticisms of the standard of maintenance and cleanliness".

Even without these complaints, sometimes bitter, the evidence was everywhere clearly visible - dripping taps, broken bulbs, cracked sinks and work tops, dirty walls and windows - especially fanlights - door springs broken and clocks

three porters unconditionally and withdraw the new rota "until discussions had taken place with the unions".

Arguing for an immediate return to work, COHSE full time official William McColl agreed that the problem of the cuts had not been solved, but that nothing further could be done until "negotiations" were got under way. Even then, McColl stated:

"I accept that there will be some very disagreeable decisions affecting all staff".

### CONTINUE THE FIGHT

John Clarke, NUPE convenor at Queen Elizabeth's Hospital argued strongly for continuation of the strike action on the grounds that the main question - the attack on overtime as a result of the cuts - had not been solved.

Rather than return to the struggle in a week or so, he felt it would be better to continue the fight now.

His contribution was so well received that McColl and the other union officials were forced to make lengthy speeches before the motion for a return to work could be put to the vote. In the event, the motion to return was carried.

Ancillary workers must be on their guard as the negotiations get under way. The suspension of the three porters looks suspiciously as if it was planned in order to gain a bargaining counter when the opposition to the cuts flowed over into strike action.

### NOTHING CONCEDED

The management, despite appearances, have not in fact really conceded anything permanent on the main issue, that there must either be ten redundancies or a drastic 400-hour reduction in overtime.

And the strenuous efforts made by union officials to persuade their members to return to work contrast sharply with their lack of leadership in the fight against the attacks on the health service in the area.

# PROGRAMME FOR ACTION AGAINST WAGE CONTROL

We reprint below the statement of the Organising Committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement recalling the Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy to be held at the Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham from 10am to 4.30pm on Sunday March 27th. We urge all readers and supporters to attend and fight for delegations to this important conference.

In October all the major issues confronting the working class - wage control, the cuts, unemployment, the struggle for women's rights and equal pay, and the use of racialism to divide the working class - were discussed at the first Conference called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

We said then that none of these attacks on the working class can be separated from the increasing trend towards bureaucratic dictatorship by full-time officials within the unions as the TUC leaders move in with no real base of support to repress the slight opposition to the policies of the Labour government.

The Conference stressed how central is the role of wage control - in the form of the Social Contract - to every one of the steps taken by the Labour leaders to cut workers' living standards, slash the social services, and speed up production in their bid to preserve crisis-ridden British capitalism.

Since the October Conference, wages struggles have broken out, particularly in the car component industry and in Fleet Street. Although these strikes have begun with small sections of workers, they reflect the feelings of the working class as a whole - who were not consulted by the leadership before they agreed to the 5% wage limit, and who clearly do not accept it.

The outbreak of wage struggles has been held back because most workers feel that the actions of their official 'leaders', and their own isolation in individual plants and industries makes it hard to challenge the Social Contract which involves fighting not only the employer and their own union bureaucracy but the whole TUC and the Labour government.

### CONFLICT

Where struggles have broken out, workers have immediately found themselves in the sharpest conflict with the trade union leaders. At Rubery Owen, workers refused to allow officials to attend their meetings, knowing the officials would only order them back to work. Eventually their shop stewards were threatened with disciplinary action at the hands of the AUEW.

Despite these attacks, the pressure for wages is growing in the working class. The mini-budget and the massive price increases have created the conditions for confrontation on wages.

The key demand therefore, in addition to substantial catching up claims, must be for cost of living clauses to provide increases to match the full amount of price inflation. Such clauses should not be based on government figures but on figures compiled by elected committees within the unions.

There is no doubt that the majority of workers would support such a policy.

### PHASE THREE

But far from responding to these pressures, the TUC have now made it plain that they are preparing for yet another stage - Phase Three - of wage controls when the present 5% limit expires in the summer.

Jones' response to the job-slashing, wage-cutting mini-budget was simply to call on workers to "unite around the Labour government". And Murray has made it clear that the TUC will even do a deal with a Tory government.

These moves show the urgency of preparing an all-out resistance to wage control in the coming round

eroded and all negotiations placed in the hands of full time officials. Where militants win a mass base of support, the full weight of bureaucratic oppression is used in an attempt to crush them.

Only in one arena has official opposition to government policy been voiced by the union bureaucracy - on the issue of public spending cuts. But their 'opposition' has everywhere been consciously restricted to the level of protest demonstrations and one-day protest strikes.

### SUSPENDED

Indeed, in the NUT, teachers who went beyond this verbal level have even been bureaucratically suspended from the union by irate officials. These leaders have consistently refused to reject all cuts on principle and fight on the maintenance of the full service through the demand for a sliding scale of public spending - rising to keep pace with inflation.

And they have avoided like the plague the only action which would actually stop the cuts - prolonged strike action. The public sector unions have not even been mobilised in strike action in support of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital - where the first-ever hospital work-in in Britain is in progress.

It is for this reason that moves to bring together the public sector unions in joint action against the cuts can only be of value if it is centred on joint strike action, going beyond mere protest.

The position of public sector union leaders like Fisher - who make it quite plain that they are not opposed to the wage control element of the Social Contract - means that workers wanting to fight cuts and wage control now confront a united block of Labour and trade union leaders.

The 'left wing' Labour MPs have likewise failed at every point to seriously oppose the cuts, and least of all wage control, whether in the arena of the Party Conference, the Cabinet, or the Parliamentary Labour Party. Instead all they can offer is the old sterile talk of the National Enterprise Board and their reactionary, nationalist call for import controls.

### HUGE RESPONSE

Yet despite all these obstacles, the working class is clearly going to fight. Every time workers have been given the opportunity to express their hostility to the policies of the



Healey

NUM leaders have prepared the elaborate diversion of the legitimate demand for early retirement to smother any discussion on wages at their next conference.

### STEAMROLLER

And the T&GWU Biennial Delegate Conference - (the last one was the launching pad for Healey's £6 state pay laws) - is scheduled for July.

The intention in the T&GWU and in every other union leadership is clear. They want to steamroller through another round of wage control (decorated by talk of 'flexibility', 'fringe benefits' and 'differentials') and then to step up still further the attacks on democracy within the unions - with threats to withdraw stewards' cards or expel from the union any workers who fight in opposition to these betrayals.

Alongside these moves the Trade Union leaders are collaborating in 'participation' schemes aimed at transforming the shop stewards movement into an extension of management.

Plant level bargaining is being



Mass demonstration in support of the Socialist TUC in July



Part of the 80,000-strong anti-cuts demonstration on November 17th 1976

Labour government and their effects there has been a huge response.

When the national demonstration was called in November against the cuts, 80,000 workers poured into London from all over the country. And only four days later 20,000 demonstrated against one of the side-effects of Labour's reactionary policies when they responded to the Labour Party-TUC call to demonstrate against racialism, which feeds off the frustration and falling living standards created by the Healey-Callaghan government.

The wages policy itself has received some heavy blows. The seamen's vote for strike action against the social contract, together with the tenacity of the Trico women's 19-week strike for equal pay — toppling the verdict of the "Equal Pay" Tribunal, have shown the feeling on wages within the working class.

capitalism. The tensions in the British working class today make it possible to foresee such a development here in the coming period.

### PRINCIPLED LEAD

Preparation for such a development means to prepare a principled leadership and a clear programme for the action of a mass movement. This means being ready to take on both the union leaders and the government in head-on confrontation whenever such struggles break out.

For this reason wherever mass action of this sort erupts we must call for the establishment of *councils of action* to be set up as delegate bodies through the local trade union and labour movement to lead the fight against the betrayals of the bureaucracy.

This call would go alongside the demand that the trade union leaders abandon the Social Contract and support and spread the action.

ment intends to press forward with Phase Three after July, the Communist Party is attempting to divert workers away from the issue of wage controls — into debates on "differentials" or protests against the cuts.

Our Recall Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy therefore takes on a particular importance as the only serious initiative on the wages front. It will discuss the perspectives put forward in this document and a programme of action on these key questions, to be taken up within the labour movement.

**\*REJECT WAGE CONTROLS NOW!** For substantial catching up increases linked to the rising cost of living through a *sliding scale of wages* on a price index worked out by elected trade union committees.

**\*NO PUBLIC SPENDING CUTS!** Wherever the cuts are imposed there must be sustained strike action with demands that the local labour movement rally round

bluff, and spur on the fight for jobs and wages, or show that the employer genuinely is bankrupt — in which case the firm must be



Murray

nationalised, under the management of the elected committee, with no compensation to the old owners.

**\*FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS!** The problem of equal pay is above all a problem of low pay and not to be solved by legislation but in the context of the fight against wage controls.

This fight is inseparable from the fight against bureaucracy. The fight must be taken up on the questions of the unionisation of women; the right to jobs for women and on the working conditions for women. From this flows the struggle for nurseries and abortion rights. We call for the setting up of sub-committees from trade union bodies to fight on this perspective.

**\*STOP RACIALISM!** Defend the black communities by the establishment of workers defence squads. Destroy the basis of racialism by attacking unemployment and inadequate social services — for a programme of public works under trade union management to provide jobs for the unemployed and much-needed houses and other amenities.

**\*NO TO BUREAUCRATIC DICTATORSHIP!** For restoration of democratic procedures in every union. All full-time officials to be subject to recall, and regularly elected by the membership. No union official to be paid more than the average wage of the members he represents.

### CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Recall Conference  
**WAGE CONTROL AND UNION DEMOCRACY**  
 Sunday March 27th, at 10am  
 Digbeth Civic Hall  
 Birmingham  
 Credentials (50p) and copies of this statement from:  
 Kevin Lee,  
 44, Devonshire Road,  
 Handsworth Wood,  
 Birmingham 20.



Police arrest pickets early on in the Trico strike. After 22 weeks the claim for equal pay was won.

But what is clear now is that any serious struggle for wages is a threat not only to the Social Contract but to the Labour government itself — even if such struggles begin with relatively few workers.

It is not necessarily the case that small scale struggles can easily be defeated. Precisely because such battles reflect the mood of the working class as a whole, the danger for the Labour leaders is that they could spread.

This was why the Rubery Owen and Salisbury Transmissions strikes were consciously blacked out for weeks on the mass media and why information on pay demands in Fleet Street is so hard to come by.

### MASS ACTION

If this fact is lost on some within the labour movement it is not lost on the employers, who know that in today's conditions a clear lead from even a small section could explode into mass action against wage control.

No major working class party was calling for the downfall of De Gaulle before May-June 1968, but a General Strike erupted which shook the whole foundation of French

At the same time, within the Labour Party, the fight would need to be waged to force the 'left' MPs both to support the action and to fight for the defeat of the Social Contract and the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

### SELL OUT

Such a perspective will clearly be opposed by the Communist Party — whose line "no wage control after July" has been eagerly taken up by the right wing to obtain acceptance of the 5% deal now, and whose leading position in Leyland's Longbridge plant is used to force through a "no strike" agreement and advance acceptance of Company-dictated manning levels on the new Mini.

Meanwhile, on the question of redundancies, the Communist Party in UCS, far from giving a lead by fighting for occupation of the yard, argue for indefinite suspensions for 1,000 shipyard workers rather than mount any struggle for jobs.

### ONLY INITIATIVE

In the same way, while speeches from Healey and Callaghan and announcements in the mini-budget make it plain the Labour govern-

with full support. The demand must be for the full service to be retained through a sliding scale of spending linked to increased costs as assessed by trade union committees, and the nationalisation of public sector suppliers.

**\*NO REDUNDANCIES!** Where the employers threaten redundancies the demand must be for work sharing on full pay — the total hours of work available divided between the whole workforce with no loss of earnings.

**\*JOBS FOR YOUTH!** For the recruitment of all unemployed, including the youth, into the trade unions in order that they can be organised in the fight for jobs alongside employed workers. For further education and training facilities to be available to all youth. For public works schemes under the control of the trade unions to be established. For full adult wages and conditions for youth.

**\*OPEN THE BOOKS!** When the employer argues he cannot afford a wage increase or to sustain the full workforce, the demand must be to force the firm to open its accounts and plans to an elected committee of trade unionists. This will either prove that the case is a

# 1,000 BACK AGEE MARCH

On Sunday January 9th, about 1,000 demonstrators marched past the Home Office and the US Embassy to Hyde Park in protest over the threatened deportations of American journalists Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball.

The somewhat disappointing turnout, mainly consisting of journalists and left groups (including a six-member contingent [!] from the Workers Revolutionary Party) reflects the narrow base of trade union support so far won to this vital campaign as a result of half hearted action by NUJ officials.

### "BRITISH SECURITY"

Home Secretary Merlyn Rees claims that Agee has acted against the interests of "British security", but he has consistently refused to give any particulars of the charges.

Agee spent last week before a hand-picked "independent" tribunal, reading a lengthy statement in which he tried to account for the whole range of his activities since beginning work on the CIA book.

Even under these circumstances the tribunal, resisted all his attempts to discover the charges. Only by observing at what points the panel took notes could Agee and his lawyers infer that they were "getting warm".

The hearings have now been suspended for three weeks in order to allow Agee to bring witnesses from the United States.

Meanwhile, the case of Mark Hosenball, a reporter for the *Evening Standard*, who has also written articles on the CIA, will be heard on January 19th under similar circumstances.

Neither the Home Office nor the CIA seem too interested in Hosenball (both must have known at the time he was charged that his father is General Counsel for NASA).

He seems to be a "sprat to catch a mackerel", and is very likely to be let off to show how "judicious" and "impartial" Rees and company are.

Hosenball has listened to bad counsel and refused to have anything to do with the campaign for his and Agee's defence, preferring work through the corridors of power.

The issues involved in the deportation are far wider than the cases themselves. There is, first of all, the matter of democratic rights: if Agee is expelled, the status of every politically active foreigner in Britain will be in question.

### FULL SUPPORT

And secondly the right of journalists not under the thumb of the capitalist press to report on the disruptive and reactionary activities of the CIA and other covert organisations of imperialism must be defended.

The CIA devote large amounts of time and money to intervening in the labour movement, supporting right wing trade union officials and MPs and are behind the Union bashing National Association for Freedom whose latest escapade was to obtain an injunction against the UPW's week of blacking of communications with South Africa.

Every trade unionist should give full support to the movement to save Agee and Hosenball, to kick out the CIA and to repeal the Immigration Act, only part of which is being used in this case, but which provides a battery of attacks on non-British workers.

Information and literature are available from the Agee Hosenball Defence Committee, c/o NCCL, 186, Kings Cross Road, WC1, to which donations and resolutions of support should also be sent.

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report



# Despite IMG's 'Highland Fling'

# NO "SCOTTISH" ROAD TO SOCIALISM



Stalinist stewards with Wedgewood Benn protest against Tory closure of UCS

## "THE OCCUPATION OF CLYDESIDESIDE: FIRST STEP TOWARDS THE SCOTTISH WORKERS' REPUBLIC!"

In these ringing nationalist tones the International Marxist Group paper 'Red Mole' (forerunner of today's 'Red Weekly') greeted the start of the UCS work-in in July 1971.

The article itself went on to kowtow completely to the most reactionary illusion of Scottish nationalism:

"Thus the implication of the present situation is that only by pursuing the question of power in Scotland can the Scottish working class avoid catastrophic defeat. It is make or break. At the same time this battle over the future of the lynchpin in the economy of Scotland raises the national question.

The British bourgeoisie have no future in Scotland [...]. At the same time they can't tolerate the loss of it. Its future must lie in the hands of the working class."

Readers will notice that the English working class rates not a mention in this summary of prospects. Their task is at best to cheer on the Scottish militants engaged in the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism north of Berwick on Tweed - while they themselves languish under a Tory government!

## IMAGINATION

Of course such a picture bore no resemblance to reality. The conception of proletarian revolution in Scotland completely detached from major struggles throughout the entire British working class was only the product of a fevered middle class imagination.

But the IMG to this day remain determined to separate the political struggles in Scotland from those of the British working class as a whole.

Harsh experience has told them to moderate their demands a little, though. Instead of the call for a "Scottish Workers Republic" we now find strident demands for the setting up by the Labour government of a devolved bourgeois Assembly in Scotland.

## "REAL" POWER

Not a glimmer of socialist perspective breaks through the nationalism of *Red Weekly's* main Scottish correspondent Neil Williamson, who laments only that the fake Assembly will not have any "real" power.

"... the White Paper means that no attempt can be made in Scotland to get hold of the real wealth in the hands of the oil companies or banks for use in the interests of working people."

(*Red Weekly*, 26/8/76)

Of course even a "real" Assembly would ensure that workers' hands were kept off the bankers' cash. That is what capitalism and the parliamentary system it has established is all about!

But this simple truth is a closed book to Williamson, who assures us that Scottish workers have a "democratic right" to choose

only apply in any country after a social revolution has swept away the power of the bourgeoisie, who, backed by the machinery of the state and its armed forces, dictate the form of government imposed on the working class.

## IGNORANT

The IMG seem completely ignorant of all this. They seem to believe that workers in England want to be governed the way they are, and that the only resistance to the present set-up is in Scotland.

This resulted in November in *Red Weekly* making the ludicrous statement that:

"... parliamentarism leads the Labour lefts to a totally manipulative attitude to democracy, in favour of government imposed from above on the Scottish people."

(*In Focus*, 25/11/76)

Perhaps the IMG could tell us where on this planet bourgeois governments are not "imposed from above", or where "left" reformists do not in practice support the entire bourgeois democratic system?

Williamson tells us

"Quite emphatically Scottish workers do not accept the claims of George Smith (or Michael Foot for that matter) to speak for them. They have a right, which the British labour movement has to wholeheartedly support, to speak for themselves."

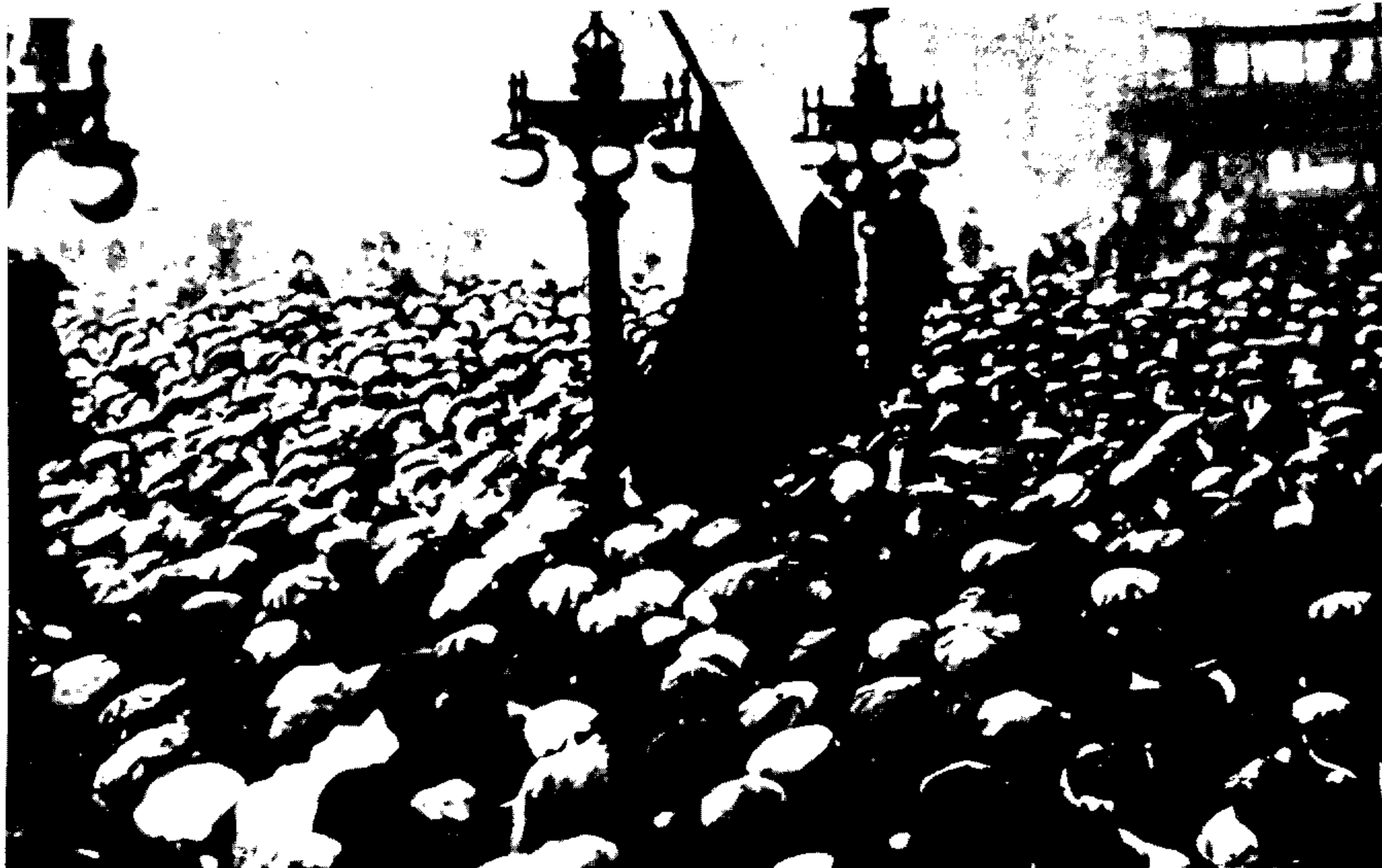
Obviously Williamson's Scottish viewpoint has blinded him to the fact that it is not only Scottish workers who reject treacherous union leaders like Smith. Indeed in the ballot called by Smith to back his support for the TUC's 4½% wage limit nearly half the votes went against him - despite his abuse of the UCATT journal and a fraudulently worded ballot paper.

## ENGLISH

Out of this opposition, thousands upon thousands are English workers.

Likewise millions of English workers agree wholeheartedly with their Scottish brothers and sisters in rejecting Foot's right to speak for them in accepting wage cuts, spending cuts and mass sackings.

The struggle against these reac-



Red Flag in Glasgow - 1919: Lenin called on Scottish militants to join the British Communist Party.

Of course the IMG's whole notion of 'self-determination for Scotland' is utterly reactionary, effectively tying the independent interests of Scottish workers to the nationalist demands of the middle class and bourgeoisie.

This is obscured a little by their use of the abstract term "Scottish people" to lump together these very different class forces in a general category.

## REACTIONARY

But Williamson goes much further than this brazen theoretical blunder to make an even more dangerous and reactionary point. Attacking the right wing General Secretary of UCATT George

tionary leaders is a common one, North and South of the border, and not one that can be sidestepped by a declaration of Scottish independence or a simple call that only Scottish, as opposed to British workers be given the right to "speak for themselves".

Despite decorative statements denouncing nationalism, therefore, the IMG by conceiving of the class struggle in this segmented manner and talking abstractly of "Scottish people" as do the SWP demagogues give everything in advance to the nationalists.

The argument Williamson puts forward for support to the devolution measures is one of complete confusion mingled with the 'let's

IMG's orientation to 'left' petty bourgeois groupings.

"Any attempt to sabotage that democratic right by rejecting even the most modest and opportunist proposals made by the Government to set up an elected Assembly will be disastrous for the unity of the British [!] working class.

The present trickle of confidence away from the labour movement as a vehicle for solving the problems of Scottish people will be turned into a veritable flood, throwing workers in Scotland into the camp of the reactionary bourgeois SNP".

[26/8/76]

## BRITISH ISSUE

The "trickle of confidence" away from the labour movement is again not a Scottish phenomenon - but a British one, stemming from the historic betrayals by the TUC and the Labour government, as by-election results have shown.

While in Scotland the SNP has cashed in on this disillusion in Britain it has taken other forms including a Tory vote by former Labour voters in Workington.

The answer to this of course is not to seek to sidestep the Labour traitors through the setting up of a Scottish Parliament (in which the SNP will in any event, according to the latest figures, win control) but a common political struggle North and South for the removal of the right wing leaders and the building

'left' face in Parliamentary votes against spending cuts.

The SLP was created as an arena within which Sillars and Robertson could reign supreme and hope to attract Scottish militants disillusioned by the Labour government.

And just as the "English" lefts uphold the nationalist policy of import controls with a view to protection of British capitalism from "foreign" competition, their Scottish counterparts now take a similar line - demanding protection of "Scottish" industry - and oil - from marauding "British" and other "foreign" capital.

However the IMG went hook, line and sinker for the bait extended by Sillars and Robertson. A 'left' Labour Party, set up by bureaucrats with a "mass" following seemed too good a chance to miss.

So regardless of the puny scale of the forces that rallied behind the SLP, the IMG began to campaign actively in its support, contrasting it favourably with the "Labour Party bootboys in the Glasgow City Chambers" [18/11/76] and as if this was already the new mass party for the working class.

"... the IMG had consistently explained why Scottish workers should vote for and support the SLP against the Labour Party."

[11/11/76]

## FRUITLESS

Unfortunately the IMG's labours bore little fruit. Less than a thousand recruits were drawn into the SLP. And, predictably, that thousand contained two distinct elements - a middle class pro-SNP wing which now, according to *Red Weekly* holds a good proportion of the purged SLP; and a left socialist wing that genuinely believed the SLP could offer an alternative to the betrayals of Labour.

Among these elements the IMG seems to have made little headway, if their own account is to be believed. *Red Weekly* on November 11th pointed out that the IMG had not led the resistance to Sillars:

"Given that the main opposition came from the Cumberland branch where there is no IMG supporter (...) how a handful of IMG supporters can be held responsible [for the leftward move of SLP militants] escapes us" wrote an indignant Tariq Ali.

However despite (or perhaps because of) this failure by the IMG to win roots among the left SLP forces, the pressures from this socialist wing grew more intense, making Sillars' position as a professional 'left' more and more untenable.

In such a tiny party he had no reserve ranks to mobilise in his support. His choice was a blunt one - bend to the demands of the SLP left wing, or drive them out.

## EXPELLED

At the Party's Conference at the end of October he plumped not surprisingly for the latter choice, expelling an estimated half of the party's active membership, and has since charted a course towards accommodation with the SNP.

The IMG in Scotland are now in a complete jam. Having thrown everything into the campaign for the SLP, they now find themselves in a tiny group of 500 activists with no real message for the thousands of Scottish workers who, for their resistance to the policies of Callaghan remain in the Labour Party, and must be mobilised in a struggle alongside English workers if Callaghan is to be removed.

of new leadership.

The IMG however have rushed off in completely the other direction. Not only do they support a Scottish Parliament - they have also fully backed the break away of 'left' MPs Sillars and Robertson to form the Scottish Labour Party.

## WHOLE STRUGGLE

This split, too, must be understood as a part of the political struggle in Britain as a whole.

Just as Heffer and the Tribunes would sooner chop off their right arms than wage a serious fight for the removal of the Callaghan leadership, so Sillars and Robertson looked to the SLP split as a means

# SYNDICALISM AND THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS

Review of "British Syndicalism 1900-1914: Myths and Realities" by B. Holton, Published by Pluto Press at £2.95. By John Docherty

## PART TWO

Syndicalism was a movement born of the struggle against ruling class violence and bureaucratic betrayal in the years before the outbreak of the First Imperialist War in 1914.

In the last issue of *Socialist Press* we gave some details of these great battles in Britain, and in this we will say more on the guiding ideas of those who played a prominent part in them.

Syndicalism is defined by Holton as a movement that:

"projected a definite and more or less sustained conception of revolutionary class struggle by industrial means."

This movement reflected and developed a particular phase in the history of the class struggle in Britain and most of the other main industrialised countries.

Its great achievement from the point of view of the British working class was that it represented the first serious attempt to build a revolutionary leadership through workers struggle and in opposition to the betrayals of the bureaucrats.

## MILITANT

There had been militant class fighters in Britain before, and there had been people calling themselves 'social democrats', since 1881.

In the 1880's, Engels had tried to turn the small group of his supporters in Britain to programmatic questions like the legal Eight Hour Day and the building of a Labour Party.

But although they participated in the building of the workers' movement, the revolutionaries were not yet in a position to assume the leadership.

By the early years of the twentieth century, the main Marxist group, the Social Democratic Federation, characterised as a 'sect' by Engels, was unable to put forward policies for the workers other than fighting elections and exercising pressure for reforms.

Because of these policies there were a number of splits from the SDF, one of which resulted in the setting up of a Socialist Labour Party.

Inspired by the American Daniel De Leon, this aimed to defeat the bureaucracy by building incorruptible 'red' unions called the Industrial Workers of the World.

## SECTARIAN

Though this was the first organisation in Britain to take the development of militant workers' struggle with the battle for state power, it was sectarian, outside the existing mass organisations, and very small.

It was at the end of 1910 that the Industrial Syndicalist Education League was set up to make propaganda about the need to link industrial struggles with the replacement of capitalism.

This first brought these ideas beyond the fringes of the working class movement, and its leaders included Tom Mann, well known as a militant leader since the days of the 1889 London dock strike, and Guy Bowman, an imaginative propagandist well acquainted with the French syndicalists.

## MEDIUM

The ISEL went well beyond the old 'dual unionist' notions of the SLP. Howarth, who had formerly supported them now considered that the existing workers' organisations:

"must be the medium through which we work to recruit our future members of the revolutionary force we wish to create."

leaders of the movement, argued for propaganda in favour of a general strike with the aim of the workers:

"evolving that unity of action and sameness of inspiration which will make them think and act as a class for the direct and forcible expropriation of the capitalists."

## ARISTOCRATIC

The ISEL won support from those who were opposed to the methods of the 'aristocratic' union leaders and wanted to see the divided organisations of building workers, engineers and railwaymen united in powerful joint bodies.

Their efforts to break down sectionalism won the support of many sections of workers, and they took up with success campaigns to set up industrial unions, to co-

He is less than adequate in setting out the weaknesses and failings of syndicalism, even in its own time.

In trying to dispose of alleged 'myths' perpetrated by previous writers on the subject, Holton goes a long way to constructing myths of his own.

He rejects the characterisation of syndicalism as 'atheoretical', or 'neglectful of the politics of the state'.

On these points, however, Holton, is tilting at windmills. Of course the syndicalists had a theory, but it was a one-sided and inadequate view of the development of workers' struggles.

They preached the necessary militancy, but thought that by changing the form of the struggles of the organised workers, they

Labour Party and the SDF wanted politics to be separated from industrial struggle, the syndicalists argued the opposite and equally false idea that industrial struggle by itself could replace politics.

Their opposition to 'state socialism' was more of a reaction to the false notions of the reformists that the capitalist state could be taken over politely than a serious attempt to formulate any alternative.

As Trotsky put it in his 1925 article 'The Errors in Principle of Syndicalism', arguing against those who maintained such theories a generation later:

"The proletariat's historical task is to wrest this most powerful instrument of oppression from the hands of the bourgeoisie."

The syndicalists were wrong to think that industrial organisation alone was sufficient to capture power from those who currently held it in the capitalist state. Their reaction to the problems involved in the working class seizure of power.

## BOLSHEVIKS

Only the Bolsheviks were able to link the political and industrial aspects of this problem to bring about proletarian victory.

In 1923 Lenin set out his point in a way which embodied all the experience of the struggle for the practice of these ideas in the working class:

"Only the political party of the working class, ie, the Communist Party, is capable of uniting, training and organising a vanguard of the proletariat and of the whole mass of the working people that alone will be capable of withstanding the inevitable petty-bourgeois vacillations of this mass and the inevitable traditions and relapses of narrow craft unionism or craft prejudice among the proletariat, ie, of leading it politically, and through it the whole mass of the working people."

Without this the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible."

(Collected works Vol 32, p246) The strengths and achievements of the syndicalists were immense at a particular stage in the history of the class struggle.

They had a theory of the state but a false one; a practice of militant class struggle, but an inadequate one. But their courage puts them head and shoulders above a hundred petty-bourgeois theorists of today, even though they lacked all the instruments necessary for the victory of the working class.

The best of them, like Mann and Murphy joined the Communist Party, later to be distorted and disfigured by Stalinism. The others like Purcell and Hicks became uncomprehending cogs in a trade union bureaucracy their training gave them no capacity to understand.

## TESTED

When tried and tested in the struggles of a later period they were unable to separate themselves from a right wing leadership with whom they had always preached 'unity'.

These were fighters, but fighters who went into battle with their eyes closed, and left the outcome to other generals who had already arranged the terms of surrender with the enemy.

Read this book. Study the strengths and achievements of the syndicalists. But in rescuing them from unmerited obscurity and misrepresentation, do not forget how their inadequacies made them 'efficient reformists' as well as failed revolutionaries.

Those who uncritically take up their traditions will follow the same path.

devolution? Lenin tells us that: "To throw off the feudal yoke, all national oppression, and all privileges enjoyed by any particular nation or language, is the imperative duty of the proletariat as a democratic force, and is certainly in the interests of the proletarian class struggle, which is obscured and retarded by bickering on the national question. But to go beyond these strictly limited and definite historical limits is helping bourgeois nationalism means betraying the proletariat and siding with the bourgeoisie."

(Critical Remarks on the National Question). The "feudal yoke" is not a factor in Scotland - serfdom was abolished long ago. "National oppression" is only marginally greater in Scotland than in IMF-dependent England. The "privileges" enjoyed by British capital and the English language are the product of the historical development of both British and Scottish capitalism. And equality of language in Scotland is a simple reformist demand which, if it had any mass support at all could be conceded as easily as it has been in Wales.



Foot

In short there seems little or no reason to view the issues at stake for workers in Scotland as greatly different from those at stake in Newcastle, Liverpool, the West Country, or any of the areas of Britain in which capitalism has driven workers into mass unemployment and falling living standards.

On the other hand to call as do the IMG for separate workers organisations in Scotland such as the SLP based on this 'national question' flies in the face of Lenin's warning:

"Working class democracy counterposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language etc the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of all nationalities in all working class organisations - trade union, cooperative, consumers', educational and all others - in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism. Only this type of unity and amalgamation can uphold democracy and defend the interests of the workers against capital - which is already international and growing more so..."

If we were at the point where workers were being allowed to choose their own form of government we would be asked to favour not of a bourgeois democratic "Assembly" for Scotland, but of a local, regional and national system of soviets of workers' delegates, within which each region would have equal voice, and through which an integrated plan for the British economy could be drawn up.

## SECEDE

If under such conditions a clear majority of workers in Scotland or Wales expressed a wish to secede, they would of course have the right to do so.

But until such time as the workers themselves are free to express their opinions on the matter without the dominant influence of the bourgeois media and capitalist exploitation, we can only call on Scottish and Welsh workers alike to reject the fraudulent moves of the Labour government towards "Devolution", and to join the common struggle for revolutionary leadership in the labour movement.

By John Docherty



Tom Mann in 1889

ordinate the trades councils, and in other ways to develop unity in action.

Syndicalists or those influenced by their ideas, played a leading role in many of the great struggles described in the first part of this article. Noah Ablett was with the South Wales miners, Tom Mann with the Merseyside transport workers, and Jim Larkin led the great struggles of Dublin workers in 1913.

Syndicalists were always in the fore in developing the resistance of the working class, in attacking the rapacity of the employers and opposing the treachery of the union leaders.

## STRENGTHS

Holton provides much information on these strengths and achievements of the syndicalist movement, and is well worth reading if only for its summary of the great class battles that brought the movement to birth.

However, the fact that the book is published by Pluto Press, associated with the International Socialist group, recently transmogrified into the 'Socialist Workers Party' should warn us about the political limitations of the approach of Holton.

He is quite effective in arguing about the strengths and enduring influence of syndicalism and in showing the positive qualities that went on into the shop stewards movement in the First World War and the Communist Party and

could also change their content.

They wrongly thought that more violent attacks on authority and greater organisational unity were in themselves sufficient for complete victory against capitalists and their state.

## INCONSISTENT

Like the syndicalists themselves, Holton is not altogether consistent in arguing this point. Thus he asserts:

"Industrial unionism was by no means equivalent to syndicalism, being quite compatible with more efficient reformism."

That is true, yet the call for industrial unions was in practice one of the main ways in which syndicalist influence was exercised.

Holton shows that when the ISEL was set up, its:

"immediate strategy centred ... on the need for industrial unionism."

He later points to the great success of the syndicalists in arguing for the setting up of the National Union of Railwaymen, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and so on. This was a step forward for the working class, but it did not in any way prepare it directly to achieve state power.

The syndicalists certainly did have a theory of the state, but it was a false one. They reacted to the treachery and ineffectiveness of the first Labour MPs by arguing that the way to success rested on industrial organisation alone.



# EDEN: AN OLD-STYLE IMPERIALIST



Eden

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the death on 14th January of Anthony Eden, former Tory Prime Minister and many times Foreign Secretary, was the reaction of the Tory press and media.

The man who was abandoned and reviled in 1957 after his disastrous Suez adventure, for his failure to serve the interests of British imperialism in the modern world, is at his death praised on a rather slender basis of his "charm", his "patriotism" and his dubious "record as an opponent of appeasement".

Lord Longford says that in the annual processions of the Knights of the Garter, it was Eden who got the most cheers.

The applause of a crowd turning out for such occasions was less for Eden's personal qualities than for his role as a geriatric symbol of past glories of British imperialism.

One Tory commentator considered that Eden had "no sense of history. Quite so!

## NAVY

His was the diplomacy and the politics of an era when British capitalism could impose the balance of power between European states and deal forcibly with any who crossed the British Navy or imperialist interests anywhere in the world.

Eden failed to impose a moribund British power in a new world of international balance between imperialism and Stalinism and the upsurge of the colonial revolution.

Anthony Eden was born in 1897 into an old land-owning family. He was educated in the most aristocratic way possible - at Eton and Christchurch, Oxford and ended the First Imperialist War in 1918 as the youngest Brigade Major in the British army.

Five years later he became a Tory MP and subsequently held various junior and senior offices on foreign affairs throughout the 20's and 30's.

Between the wars, the sapping strength of British imperialism was not as obvious as it later became. Eden's policies were not aimed in any way at preventing the growth of fascism or "dictatorship", but at avoiding any outcome in the conflict between European powers which failed to serve the interests

of British capitalism.

Despite retrospective attempts to prove the contrary, Eden was not in any way opposed to fascism as such.

When Hitler invaded the Rhineland in 1936, Eden said there was "no reason to suppose that the present German action implies a threat of hostilities".

## INVASION

When the infamous Hoare-Leval Pact acquiesced in the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, it was Eden who put up the statements in defence.

Together with Leon Blum the French Social Democrat, Eden constructed the so-called Non-Intervention Policy in Spain, through which the capitalist powers facilitated the victory of Franco.

Eden's famous resignation from the Foreign Office in 1938 allowed him subsequently to bask in what A.J.P. Taylor has called a "mythical reputation" as a supporter of strong action against Fascism.

His was less of a stand on any sort of principle than a protest against Premier Chamberlain making agreements above his head, and against British inability to have much effect in any case.

"The trouble with Hitler", he said afterwards, "is not that he is a Fascist at home - the trouble is that he will not stay at home".

As Foreign Secretary from 1940-1945 and 1951-1955, Eden acted as honest broker for imperialism by helping to impose the monarchy on Greece in 1944 and organising the Geneva Conference in 1954 which robbed the Indo-Chinese people of liberation for a generation.

## APPROVED

In between his periods of office the post of Foreign Secretary was held by Ernest Bevin, formerly of the T&GWU, of whom it was said "Eden thoroughly approved".

Eden is best remembered and hated today for his part in the joint Anglo-French-Zionist plot in 1956 against the Egyptian nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

His policy and its failure has been explained by Eden's gallbladder, his intellectual weakness or in his own account, from a "lack of fore-knowledge" of the Israeli invasion of Egypt.

There seems little doubt that

when the archives covering these events are opened the "debonair English gentleman" will be revealed as an unsuccessful liar.

However, the failures were less personal than the result of the fact that the reality of world politics was on a different scale from the days of the nineteenth century when Palmerston could "send a gunboat".

The British Army even with the connivance of the French and Israelis was not in a position to impose its will on the nationalist upsurge of the post-war years. That, said Dulles and Eisenhower, was the job of the USA.

They could deal with the nationalists as they showed by getting the CIA to kick out Musaddiq in Iraq. Israel was to be their pawn and not anybody else's.

It had been Eden's predecessor Balfour, who first gave credence to the scheme for a Zionist state, but it was only the Americans who could now patronise its aggressive expansion.

## HUNGARY

On 1st November 1956, when the Israelis reached the Suez Canal and the RAF had already bombed Port Said, the Russians decided on their invasion of Hungary.

For imperialism, it was no longer a question of maintaining a balance of power in Europe, as Eden's predecessors could, but now, of dealing with Stalinism on a world wide scale. On Sunday 4th November, Russian tanks entered Budapest and the next day British paratroopers landed in the Suez Canal Zone.

The US lost leverage in world affairs by the actions of its allies, and they soon put a stop to British and French action, though not to Israeli involvement. After this failure, the Tory Party spewed out Eden without mercy.

He got new titles and praise for his "charm" in later years and at his death. But the ruling class had no further use for him.

They needed politicians of the MacMillan type, able to come to terms with colonial revolution and those like Heath who could ally with the other capitalist powers.

Eden will be remembered for his failure at Suez. But this was defeat not for himself alone, but for an older imperialist system which died a good deal before he did.

# ABORTION FIGHT NO SINGLE ISSUE

As part of the campaign to defend and extend the right to abortion a National Tribunal on Abortion Rights is to be held in Central Hall, London on January 29th, organised by the National Abortion Campaign.

The reason for the Tribunal is to select the pro-abortion facts the

Parliamentary Select Committee is ignoring - and to campaign for opposition to the new William Benyon Abortion (Amendment) Bill.

The Select Committee is made up of anti-abortionists, as all the pro-abortionists (who were in the minority) resigned when the committee was reconvened.

The Tribunal is hoping to expose the Select Committee report by

collecting evidence on abortion from a public platform and to start to give wider publicity to the contents of Benyon's Bill.

## INADEQUATE

These are admirable aims but left at that level are, in the present situation, completely inadequate.

This is epitomised by NAC's parliamentary orientation and the isolation of the Campaign due to its concentration on abortion and only abortion.

The fight for abortion on demand on the NHS is automatically connected with the general and wider struggles for women's rights and the fight against the cuts in the NHS.

But NAC only mentions the cuts in their literature in relation to the way they restrict abortions and at the same time do not campaign around the closure of abortion facilities at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital for Women - which at one stroke has brought about a drastic reduction in the number of abortions carried out in the Camden area of London.

## DANGEROUS

It is, of course, necessary to publicise the role of the Parliamentary Select Committee and the dangerous, backward and reaction-

ary proposals of the "Benyon Bill" which will restrict the number of safe, legal abortions available to women.

The exact details of the Bill are not yet available, but it is believed that it will contain eight clauses.

The most restrictive proposal is to reduce the number of pregnancy weeks before which an abortion can be carried out from 28 to 20 weeks of pregnancy.

Because no date in pregnancy is entirely accurate, doctors tend to allow two weeks for safety, so the effective deadline would be only 18 weeks of pregnancy.

## NOT CONNECTED

One of the other clauses expected to be in the Bill restricts doctors' rights as well as women's by saying the two doctors who authorise an abortion must not be "connected with each other", and that one of them should have been registered for at least five years.

This will hit the charity clinics hardest as they are the places women often turn to if they can't get or won't go to their GP for support.

It would be more time consuming and difficult for a clinic doctor to find another doctor not connected with them - and who defines "connection"?

The Bill will also affect counselling agencies, police access to abortion records, and fines for illegal abortion.

But the most effective way of publicising these facts is by turning to the trade union and wider labour movement in a serious way.

## BREAK

NAC must therefore break from their parliamentary orientation and reactionary policy, of campaigning with anyone (even Tories) who are pro-abortion.

So while members of the WSL will attend the Tribunal they will do so to fight for the National Abortion Campaign to turn to the trade union and labour movement.

This means starting effective campaigns on issues like supporting the occupation of the EGA, fighting for the defence of the NHS as a whole and for women's rights through struggles on every day problems facing women - like pay, conditions and nursery facilities.

In this way, the issue of the rights to abortion can be brought into its proper context in today's class struggle and not remain isolated as a single issue.

By Sue Lister



The occupation of the EGA



# WORKERS FACE A BULLOCKING

The capitalist crisis has predictably given the labour bureaucracy an especially intense craving for schemes of "workers' participation" in the management of capitalist firms.

This is because the capitalist system, in front of which these bureaucrats bow and scrape no longer permits them to appear to win any real reforms for their members.

On the contrary, it requires them to turn into full-time wage cutters, strike breakers and agents of speed-up, redundancy and all the other anti-working class measures through which the capitalists hope to resolve their crisis.

Participation schemes help them play this role in a variety of ways. Workers' participation is a way of weakening the trade union organisation at the factory and company level where it is most difficult for the bureaucracy to maintain control.

## REPRESENTATION

"Participation" does this by setting up forms of "representation" which are designed to supercede the independent trade union institutions.

Workers' "representatives" become directly involved in taking decisions to sack workers, intensify work, and keep wages down.

These schemes have a particular appeal to the bureaucracy because, while their objective is to stifle the independence of the workers' movement, they can be presented as if they were some real reform, to distract attention from the bureaucrat's policeman's uniform.

The TUC General Council is committed to demanding that workers' "representatives" make up a half of the Boards of Directors of all large firms.

This is what they and 'lefts' like Benn call "industrial democracy" and "a step towards workers' control".

In fact, it is a more sophisticated cover for their daily collaboration with the capitalist class.

## CAPITALIST ADVOCATES

The capitalists of the CBI have also for some years been enthusiastic advocates of such forms of "workers' participation".

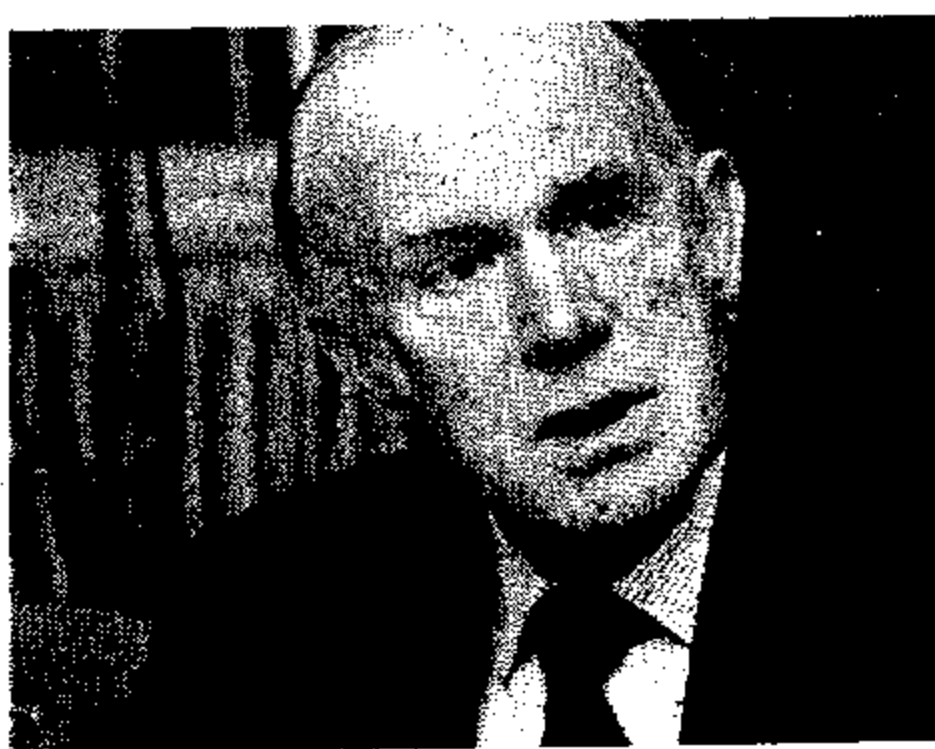
Three of their leaders (from ICI, GKN, and Williams nad Glyn's Bank) have spent the last few months with Jack Jones, Clive Jenkins and a few "neutral" academics on a committee chaired and dominated by Alan Bullock, ex-Vice Chancellor of that haven of workers' democracy, Oxford University.

This committee is about to produce two reports. The majority report (by the TUC representatives and the academics) recommends that there should be equal numbers of shareholders and "trade union representatives" on the Boards of Directors of all large firms plus a third group appointed by both sides (the so-called "2x plus y" formula).

The minority report, by the three explicit capitalist representatives, accepts the principle of



Clive Jenkins



Lord Ryder



Jack Jones



such participation but wants it to be more restricted in operation.

They want fewer workers' representatives who need not be trade union members; and they don't want it to apply to all firms, only to those where the trade unions are already strong.

This last fact alone must make clear to any class conscious worker what the scheme involves - it is a long term employers' strategy for the destruction of the independent strength of the unions.

Of course nothing could suit the TUC better than this much publicised dispute on the Bullock Committee.

## ILLUSION

They are trying to use it to give an even stronger illusion that participation is a reform in the interests of the working class for which they must fight against capitalist hostility.

The fact is, however, that the disagreements are merely of detail. On matters of principle there is no room for a razor blade between the positions of the CBI and the TUC General Council.

The real purpose of participation - to hold back and divert the independent struggles of the working class is shown very clearly by experience in British Leyland under the NEB-financed Ryder Plan.

And even during the first year of participation - nominally a 'trial' period - attacks upon the stewards' movement and the whole work-force have been mounting steadily.

Demanning and voluntary redundancies have reduced the work-force and added considerably to unemployment; contracts are being withdrawn from outside firms - like Export Packing Services near Banbury and stewards who oppose participation and fight in defence of their members have been blatantly victimised.

A key role in the introduction of this "experiment in industrial democracy" has been played by 'left' talkers like Communist Party member Derek Robinson, a member of the supreme "participation" body the Cars Council.

When a motion opposing the introduction of participation was brought to the BMC Combine Shop Stewards Committee - which until Ryder had for 30 years been the main arena for the discussion of issues confronting the workers in the combine - Robinson used his position as chairman to rule the motion 'out of order'.

## ALREADY DECIDED

The reason for this was that the matter had 'already been decided'. Indeed it had! Shortly before the Combine Committee meeting, the Company had convened a meeting

comprising convenors and also representatives of staff unions and industrial engineers!

Both foremen and work-study men spoke from the rostrum arguing in favour of the 'participation' plan. And in the end the Company took a 'vote' of those present - which, not surprisingly, was in favour of participation.

## 'COMMON INTEREST'

This was the 'decision' referred to and adhered to by Robinson. It is a clear example of the whole way in which 'participation' sets out to amalgamate the independence of the working class into some kind of illusory 'common interest' with the employers.

Now the pace at which the impact of 'participation' is being felt is hotting up. Leyland management have begun to turn the pressure on to their obliging assistants in the unions.

It was in response to this that a special joint meeting was called of all full-time local and national officials in both the T&GWU and the AUEW last August.

At that meeting, Harry Urwin, Assistant General Secretary of the T&GWU and member of the National Enterprise Board, made the point that the NEB would not give any further financial aid to Leyland unless this last 'problem' was solved, and industrial action

curbed. In this context the meeting went on to discuss the workings of 'participation'. Trade union representatives were congratulated for the enthusiasm they had shown - but it was said that the set-up was not working at shop floor level.

## NO SAY

The reason for this is clear. Shop floor workers have in very many cases been given no say over whether or not they accept participation - and it has never won their support.

The shop floor is the area of workers which has to work the speed-up and in the worsened conditions discussed by the collaborators on the participation committees.

A movement against participation has already begun to make itself felt. Jaguar workers in Coventry have withdrawn from the set-up, as have AUEW stewards at the Leyland Body Plant at Cowley.

It is clear that given a principled leadership it would be possible to build a campaign over the next few months to kick out participation and return to free plant bargaining by elected shop stewards.

The opposition to workers' participation both within the car industry and wherever it rears its head, must be based on the independence of the shop floor from management. But it can and must be extended beyond this to put forward the call for elected trade union committees to begin to assert control over management.

This question comes to the fore in a number of ways. Where speed-up is threatened by management, the demand must be for a proportional increase in manning to be agreed by the unions. Where layoffs or short-time are imposed by management, the demand must be for work-sharing on full pay.



Leyland cars

The continual arguments about the financial state of the company must be challenged by demanding the company account books be opened to elected trade union representatives, who can expose to the workers the behind the scenes wheeling and dealing, the link between the company, component firms and the banks, and the need for the nationalisation of the industry as a whole.

This fight for workers' control a step towards workers' management under socialism, is based on the independence of the working class. The plans for workers' "participation" are a bare-faced attack on that independence. The fight must be:

No participation in management but workers control over management by the workers!

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# LETTER:

## CHINA'S BUREAUCRACY

Leeds

Dear Comrades,

I have just read Paul Stein's review of Livio Maitan's *Party, Army and Masses in China* and welcome it as a model of comradely debate.

The review raises a valuable criticism of the book, which is that it gives insufficient emphasis to "the origins of the modern, bureaucratized Chinese state in the areas controlled by the Party and Army before 1949".

The points Comrade Stein makes about the "social bureaucracy" are to my mind essentially correct, and although they do not go entirely unmentioned in the later chapters of Livio's book, they are perhaps not given due weight.

An equally important factor in the bureaucratisation of the Chinese Communist Party was the Comintern link and the early struggle between Trotskyism and Stalinism in the Chinese Party and among the Chinese students in Moscow.

The story of this struggle is told in Wang Fan-hsi's brilliant and moving *Memoirs of a Chinese Revolutionary*, to be published in English translation by Oxford University Press.

Finally I disagree with Paul Stein that the far-left Sheng-wu-lien group "overstepped the mark only in its branding of Chou En-lai" as a red capitalist. Sheng-wu-lien's "eulogies" of Mao were a necessary strategem to avoid immediate suppression.

Although it is true that Sheng-wu-lien's programme echoed some of the "approved political esti-

mates" of the bureaucracy, statement that "political power still in the hands of the bureaucracy and the seizure of power is only superficial reform" ran explicitly counter to the official line, and accounts for the cruel suppression of the group.

Sheng-wu-lien in fact became a symbol of anti-bureaucratic revolt for youth in China, and its ideas appear to have retained influence in the opposition current that continue to exist in the underground there, and also among revolutionary youth in the colonies of Hong Kong.

From a Trotskyist point of view Sheng-wu-lien's main weakness was its acceptance of the Maoist idea of "red capitalism".

Yours fraternal  
Gregor Bente





# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## NUT MEMBERS HIT ... BY UNION LEADERS!

If national action against unemployment and the cuts was called by the NUT Executive it would "increase unemployment"!

This lunatic proposition was put forward by Dick Boland, secretary of the Action Committee at a special meeting in Enfield, to discuss the implementation of the decision not to teach classes of over 35 children.

Great amazement was expressed by many teachers present that Enfield is one of only three areas — the others being Sutton and Stockport — allowed by the Action Committee to express their hostility to the government attacks on jobs and services.

This deliberate isolation caused some people in the meeting to question the whole point of their action and their chances of success.

The Executive would no doubt be glad if action in these selected

threatened by the local authority.

And naturally, Boland didn't exclude the possibility of strike action in the (indefinite) future.

No-one can accuse the NUT Executive of inaction, however. On the contrary, it has been extremely busy, attacking the Little Ilford teachers for their stand against the cuts; and censuring Executive Committee members Stone and North for speaking to union members lobbying the Executive in protest against these disciplinary measures taken by the Executive Committee.

### LOBBY

North and Stone, Executive members from Inner London and Outer London apparently were condemned for not leaving the Council Chamber with the rest of the Executive on November 27, 1976 when the meeting was broken up after refusing to meet a lobby against the suspension of the Little

the employer and suspended members from the union for taking no-cover action "without Executive permission".

### "CHERISHED"

Dr. Walter Roy, newly dubbed CBE in the New Year Honours List and Executive member for Cambridge said while he had previously "cherished" the right of people to speak freely he now considered that the democratic process was being used to "destroy democracy itself" and called upon "reasonable people" to support the Executive's witch-hunt.

Wherever this letter is read out branches must be urged to repudiate it and put motions of support both for the Little Ilford teachers and the EC members who backed them.

Meanwhile the Executive continues with its connivance with the IEA against the William Tyndale

With local unemployment now running at 16,000, further massive redundancies are planned for workers in North Humberston.

At Hawker Siddley Brough layoffs of 450 were announced last month, followed rapidly by 350 at Needlers in Hull and an expected 700 sackings through Council cut-backs.

This comes on top of closures at Imperial Typewriters, Drypool shipyards and Thorn Electrics, plus massive layoffs at Ideal Standard, Rosedown and in the fishing industry, not to mention the major cut-backs in all the public services.

In the face of these closures, the local trade union leadership offer nothing.

### MOBILISATION

The only defence of these and other jobs lies in a rejection of the employers plan for rationalisation and the mobilisation of the working class in defence of jobs and wages.

The following resolution was passed at the Hull AUEW 13 Branch:

This Branch places on record its disgust at the impending redundancies forecast at the Hawker Siddley Aviation plant. Branch recalls the TUC guide lines upon which the 5% social contract was negotiated in order to redress the balance (ie, the fall in living standards of the Trade Union membership).

The points agreed upon were:

1. A gradual lowering of unemployment levels.
2. Holding down of prices.
3. Less cuts in Social Services.
4. Reduction of the present inflation rate and the increase of housing to solve the unemployment in the building trades.

In breaking those points, Branch records that this contract now exists as nothing less than an illegal document of betrayal in which the rank and file had very little to say.

With local unemployment figures at 16,000 and still rising, plus the fact of this Labour government's refusal to grant area development status, forecasts a bleak future for all unemployed and their families, and therefore Branch calls upon District Committee to implement a programme based on the following perspectives and to put an end to the complacency which has permeated this area for so long:

a. A fight to reject all redundancies (even voluntary if possible) at Hawker Siddley Aviation, and a demand for work sharing on full pay by division of total hours among the whole workforce.

b. Any rejection of this demand, then the Company should open the books to an elected Trade Union Committee involved, to prove the case for nationalisation of the aircraft industry, with no compensation for the old owners (Workers' Management Control).

c. Provision for Civilian aircraft contracts and a programme of useful public works in the form of hospital and medical needs (ie, cardiac, radiology and lung machines, and also the production of cars for disabled persons should not be ruled out, especially where the skills of the membership cannot and must not be allowed to stagnate in unemployed decay.

d. Failure to meet these demands must be met by the mobilisation of all local AUEW membership in order to protect the jobs of all concerned, including factory occupations led by the respective leadership of the unions involved, in support of *Unity of Purpose*.

Branch requests that copies of this resolution be forwarded to District Committee for Divisional attention and national support and also copies to Hull and District Trades Council and for Branch representatives to request Council support by contacting the Joint Shop Stewards Committee from Hawker Siddley to discuss all points concerning job protection.



NUT President Wiltshire

areas collapsed so that they could use the time-honoured excuse of bureaucrats that they wanted to fight but their members "let them down".

The chairman, against the wishes of the majority of the meeting even refused to accept a motion calling for national action.

### "SECRET"

Teachers in Oxfordshire can, however, take heart, as Boland assured the meeting that action will be taken in that area but as yet it has remained a "secret" for tactical reasons!

No doubt it will be designed to coincide nicely with the sacking of the 500th teacher who is



General Secretary Jarvis at the TUC

Ilford teachers.

Further the Executive majority condemned them for playing a leading part in the meeting held by the demonstrators.

The witch-hunt was led by NUT President, Alf Wiltshire, who was, he said, motivated by the need to "preserve the Union's democratic procedures".

The real wreckers of democratic procedures in the union of course are Wiltshire and his allies who forced through the disciplinary procedures at last year's Annual Conference.

They have since used them to threaten any member making moves towards action against the cuts, and as with the Little Ilford teachers have actually lined up with

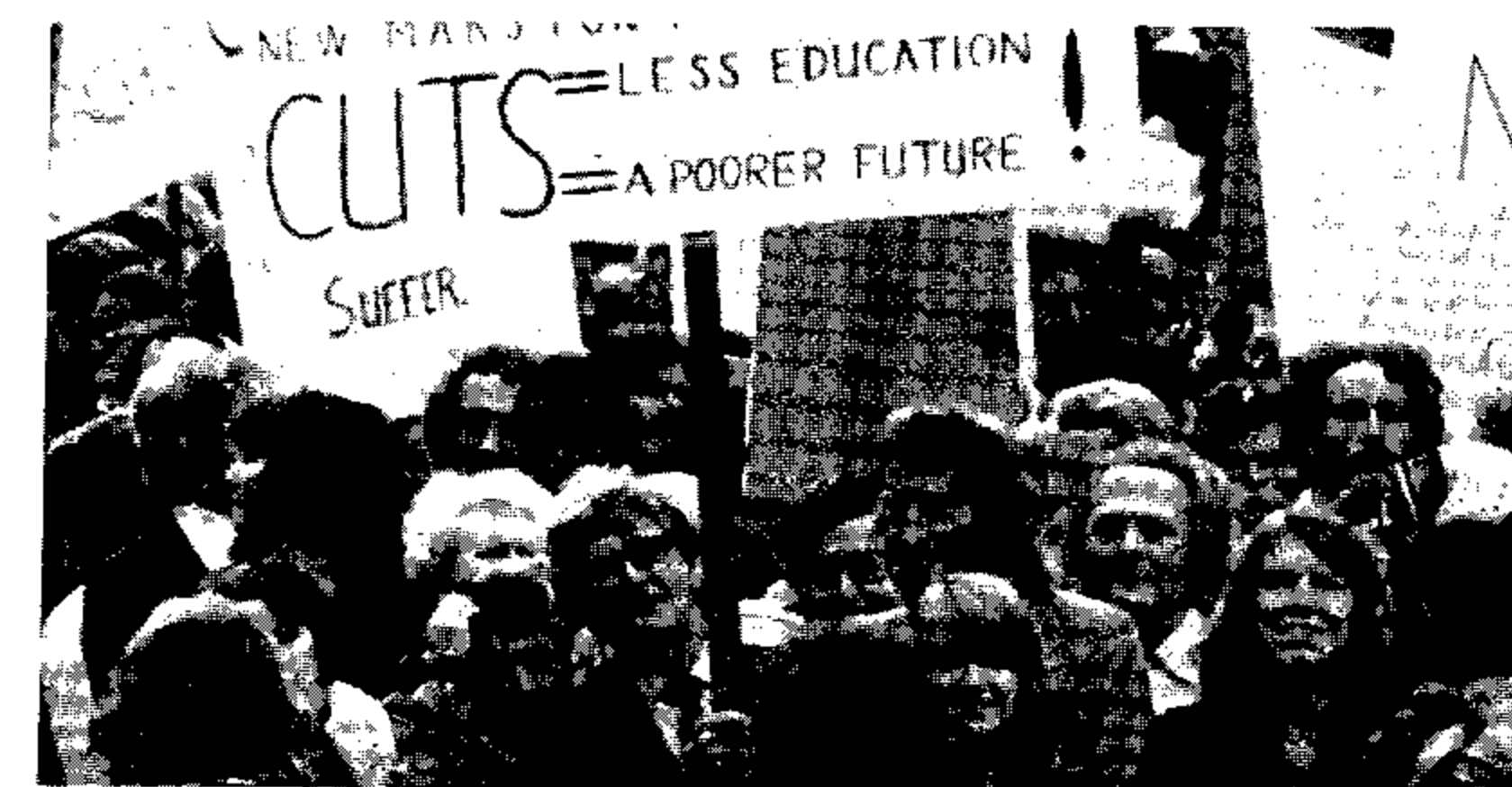
teachers, and has also prepared new attacks on the rights of members to be presented to the next conference;

### POSTAL BALLOT

Last year the Executive proposed to the local associations that they introduce postal ballots for elections and increase the quorum of meetings.

These recommendations were thrown out by so many associations that they are being re-introduced by the Executive as mandatory.

They can see that even more bureaucratic measures will be needed to stifle the membership's growing opposition to their reactionary policies.



Oxford teachers demonstrate against cuts

# TEACHERS FACE MASS SACKINGS

Teachers heading for the dole queues in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire can reflect bitterly on the misplaced faith their union leaders had that Labour would prevent their schools being butchered.

In Oxfordshire, NUT members are digesting the bitter orders that 464 jobs in the county are to be axed — 250 of them in compulsory redundancies. Their neighbours in Buckinghamshire face the closure of every single nursery school in the county and the loss of 350 jobs.

Class sizes in both counties are to be dramatically increased.

The time has not run out for a fight by the teachers but it is clear now that no struggle is to be put up by the leaders of any of the teaching unions.

In Oxfordshire the size of the cuts has been known for more than six months and 5,000 workers, mostly teachers, answered the call

for a half day strike in September on the day the county council met.

Workers, some of whom had never taken union membership seriously, found themselves on the street demonstrating their refusal to allow the cuts of £3.25 millions in the education budget to go ahead.

The thousands surprised the union officials as much as the council.

### POSTPONED

Faced with such large numbers on the streets outside their debating hall, the council postponed its final decision "until after the rate support grant is known". This manoeuvre meant that the government would have to increase the rate support grant instead of cutting it.

The only people to be taken in were the union officials. Secretary of Oxfordshire NUT, Mr Jack Stedman, had seen the half day strike as "primarily a protest".

The south England regional

official of the union, Mr Ray Fox, wrote to Shirley Williams, the Education Secretary, giving their official view:

"I feel you should know that the controlling group on the council lose no opportunity in their public statements of blaming the government for these cuts.

"They say that what they are doing is simply and solely a response to government circulars. The union believes this is untrue: that nothing in government circulars would indicate cuts of this order."

This month the full extent of the lunacy of this piece of wishful thinking became clear. The rate support grant has been cut. The education cuts are to go through in full. Teachers will lose 464 jobs, 250 of them in compulsory redundancies.

Each school has now been issued with a specific number of teachers to sack. The response in the schools from both parents and teachers is

shock and anger.

The cuts are so bad that some headmasters are refusing to carry out the sackings themselves. Yet what does Mr. Stedman say as his dream world collapses around him?

"It would appear the government would have been misleading us all by stating that staffing levels in schools had been provided for in the rate support grant. I feel teachers have been badly let down. We have had assurances over and over again which now prove to be worthless."

Meanwhile in neighbouring Buckinghamshire, the axe will fall just as sharply. The council there is considering closing every single one of the county's nursery schools, making 350 teachers redundant.

The Buckinghamshire Division of the NUT has called for a half day strike on the day the Policy and Resources Committee meets next month. They will get a massive response in Buckinghamshire just as they did in Oxfordshire.

But what will the teachers be told? That a Tory council is over-reacting to government circulars? Will a panel of national speakers from the public sector unions boast as they did in Oxfordshire of their close contact with government officials and how Shirley Williams will stamp on the Tory plans?

### "NO COVER"

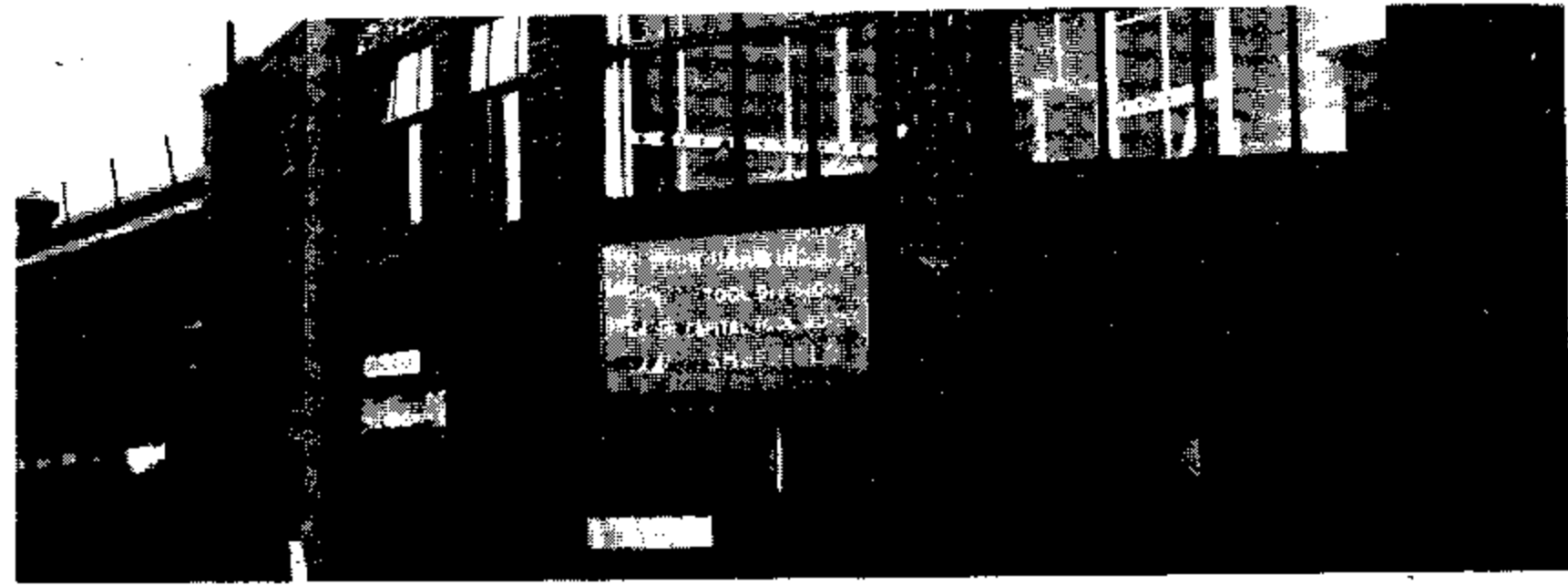
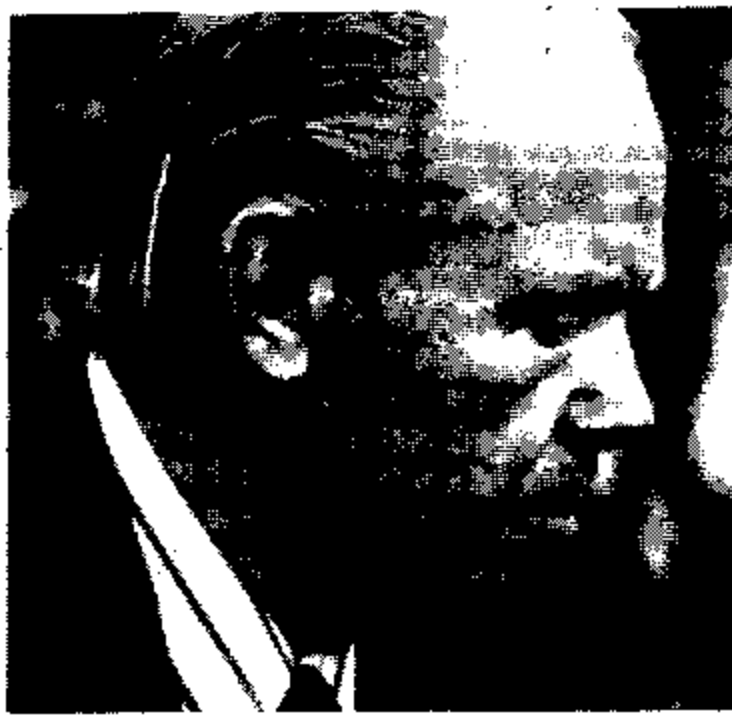
The betrayal by the union leaders goes as deep as that by the Labour government. Teachers adopting a "no cover" policy must of course be supported. But that will not prevent the cuts going through.

The evidence is that teachers and parents alike would support massive industrial action by the teachers to fight these cuts in the only possible way — by all out strike action.

Teachers in Buckinghamshire beware. Look across the border to your neighbouring county and see there what the policies of the NUT leaders really mean.



# SHEFFIELD CONFED PROTEST STRIKE



(left) George Caborn (above) the threatened factory.

The majority of Sheffield engineering factories were shut down for half a day last Wednesday by a Confed District-wide strike.

In the afternoon, 3,000 workers representing most major factories marched through the town in support of the fight to prevent the closure of the Balfour Darwin's Capital Tool Works.

This follows seven weeks in which 2,800 workers in 14 factories — all part of the Edgar Allan Balfour Group — have been on strike in defence of 400 jobs.

Yet this strike and demonstration, the largest in Sheffield for many years, gained precisely one column inch coverage in the inside pages of the local press!

So determined are the employers to force through these sackings that a virtual press blackout has been ordered to try to hide the strength of working class resistance.

The Engineering Employers Federation is known to be planning every move with the Balfour Darwin management. Forcing through these sackings is crucial to their plans for wholesale sackings throughout the Edgar Allan Balfour group and the rest of Sheffield engineering.

Their attempts to play down the effects of the strike go alongside the efforts of the local officials and Confed leadership to hold back a fight to defend jobs throughout the district.

At each stage they have tried to keep the strikers isolated. At first they called only for blacking of Balfour Darwins by other factories in the group.

Then they postponed district-wide strike action. And now when forced to call strike action, restric-

ting it to a four-hour protest.

Communist Party Stalinists and right-wingers were dragged in to pack the last Confed stewards meeting to insist that a proposal for 24 hour strike action be overturned in favour of a four-hour strike — a sure way of minimising its effect on the employer while putting up a show of fighting.

The true position of these people came out clearly at the rally after the demonstration.

"There is a much bigger issue involved than just 400 jobs at Capital Tool Works. This is an issue of principle. The employers must go through the procedure they have signed," (ie the status quo clause) explained George Caborn, District Secretary of the AUEW and leading Stalinist.

For them the issue is not defending jobs, but verbally defending the national procedure agreement. They make it perfectly plain they are willing to negotiate over redundancies; that they want to put "alternative proposals" to the company.

This can only mean they are perfectly willing to collaborate with the employer in imposing redundancies — provided they can have their say in how they are carried out.

They have no alternative to management's plans to protect its profits at the expense of jobs, because they accept that the viability and profitability of the firm be put first.

The tens of thousands of workers who downed tools on Wednesday to fight to defend jobs must therefore come into conflict with the employers and the union officials who defend them.

For the many workers in Sheffield being put on short-time and the thousands whose jobs are

threatened, the fight at Balfour Darwins is part of a fight to defend jobs and living standards irrespective of the employer's profits.

Their jobs must be defended by implementing a policy of work-sharing on full pay where production is cut.

The claims of Edgar Allan Balfour's that they cannot avoid closure must be answered by the election of trade union committees to inspect their books and show the need for nationalisation — not under state appointed managers, like at BSC, where jobs have been ruthlessly axed, but under workers' management.

The national leadership of the AUEW and T&GWU, like the local press, is trying to pretend this strike is not taking place.

Scanlon and Jones must be forced to call national action in support while a full scale district-wide strike is called, not 4-hour protests.

The employers are mobilising in full strength: the working class must do the same to win.

Together with this must go the immediate occupation of the Capital Tool Works to forestall any management attempt to move out machinery.

\*The importance of a determined fight against all redundancies in Sheffield was emphasised on Monday by the sudden announcement of the impending closure of Milspaugh Ltd.

The firm, part of the Sulzer Group, employs 570 people on heavy engineering work. The Confed is yet to take any position on these sackings but clearly these redundancies must be fought together with those at Balfour Darwins.

## CAMMEL LAIRD PAY

Cammell Laird shipyard in Birkenhead has been brought to a standstill by a pay dispute involving 450 platers and shipwrights.

The men are demanding payment of a £2 pay award which was at first agreed to by management and then withdrawn.

The Company withdrew the £2 after having initially paid it in February 1976, arguing that it had been subject to the acceptance by the workforce of a productivity deal involving "more flexibility" amongst steelworkers and a re-deployment of labour in the yard.

### REJECTED

The workers rejected this deal. Now the Company claim that they cannot pay the money since it would contravene the Social Contract.

The local leadership of the union involved (the Amalgamated Society of Boilermakers) bases its case on the assertion that the deal does not break the Social Contract — and that this is beside the point in any event, since the money had been paid once already, before it was withdrawn.

After months of negotiations on the issue had produced nothing the strike began on January 4th, and by the following weekend the whole of the 4,000 workforce in the yard had been laid off.

## FIGHT

Meanwhile, Boilermakers General Secretary John Chalmers has intervened — not to back the strikers, but to urge them to return to work "to pave the way for peace talks".

Eric Ogden MP heading a lobby along with Confed leaders to seek Ministry of Defence contracts for the yard, has put in a similar reactionary call for a return "for the sake of the yard and their own future".

In the background to the whole dispute are two factors — continued state control of wages through the Social Contract which is now dramatically cutting workers living standards and increasing the pressure for wages — and the parlous state of British shipbuilding.

The industry has orders of only 250,000 tonnes, compared with 1,300,000 tonnes last year, in a situation of worldwide recession in shipbuilding.

The Cammell Laird workers, already among the lowest paid shipyard workers in the world, with basic rates for skilled workers of little over £50 a week, are faced with the brunt of management's drive for profitability through wage-cutting.

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## HOTEL UNIONISATION STRUGGLES

# END IN SIGHT?

The stage has been set for a quick end to long running strikes in hotels at Sheffield and Oxford — but the final decisions still rest dangerously in the hands of key union officials.

Pressure in both towns has forced the respective District Committees of the T&GWU to call for action against the multi-million pound Trust Houses Forte and their canteen subsidiary Gardner Merchant.

If the decisions are carried through hundreds of canteens throughout the Midlands owned by Trust Houses Forte could find themselves without food, drink and profits.

In Sheffield, the T&GWU District Committee has called for national blacking of Trust Houses Forte. In Oxford, an emergency meeting called for a blacking of Gardner Merchant and all subsidiaries.

So far the only action to have been taken in Oxford was a weak call for the canteens to be boycotted — a demand impossible to enforce.

The demands from Sheffield — put by the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the District Committee — and from Oxford were both sent to the national committee of the trade group for hotels — which includes representatives from workers in food, drink and tobacco.

The strikes at the Grosvenor House in Sheffield and the Randolph in Oxford have now been running for many weeks. In Oxford the dispute is running side by side with a strike at another hotel — the Linton Lodge.

Although not owned by Trust Houses Forte, this hotel is running its campaign against the union in close collaboration with the Randolph.

The Oxford hotels are being backed by the National Association for Freedom — fresh from their successful court action against South African workers.

The response of the union officials has been so inadequate so far that doubts must be expressed about whether they intend to carry out the action now being pressed on them.

The Regional Committee has already shown its ability to duck the issues. A call for strike action of Gardner Merchant workers in the Cowley Body Plant and Service canteens was postponed at last week's meeting while national officials of the T&GWU checked the "legal position".

Shop stewards from the canteen workers have already told the strikers that they will strike as soon as they get the call.

The question is whether the five star effort by the workers involved in the bitter dispute is going to get the service it demands, or whether the union officials in whose hands their future rests have already checked out of these hotels.

## TGWU Election names released

The full list of those accepting nomination in the election for General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union was announced by Jack Jones on 13th January.

As expected it contains Moss Evans, regarded as Jones personal choice and an enthusiastic supporter of the Social Contract and Alex Kitson, supported by the Broad Left, who has kept his mouth firmly shut since wage control was introduced by the TUC.

Both of these top bureaucrats, unheard of a month ago to the vast majority of T&G members, have been clearly boosted by the capitalist press and television as the two "main contenders" giving the impression that a vote for anyone else would be a wasted vote.

Next in line for treatment by the media has been John Cousins who resigned as a T&GWU national officer to become Director of Manpower Services.

He has injected a right-wing anti-political line into the campaign, arguing that the T&GWU through Jones, is interfering in government when in reality it is

the government through the TUC who are imposing their policy on the trade unions.

In addition to Cousins two full time national officers are standing: John Miller and Bill Walsh, although Miller is labelled as a left neither of them have been heard of in the struggles against the right wing policies of Jones.

There are nine rank and file candidates: Bennet, Dyos, Flaherty, Fulton, Lyon, Moorhouse, Riley, Thatcher and Thornett.

Tommy Riley from Metal Box in Bolton is supported by the Right to Work Campaign and Alan Thornett from British Leyland in Oxford is supported by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

Thornett has a long history of struggle against the policies of Jones, against the Social Contract and against bureaucratic abuse within the union.

He puts forward a programme which in our view is closest to the requirements of the working class in this period and carries the support of *Socialist Press*.

The election gives an important opportunity to fight for leadership and programme in the biggest and most influential union in Britain.

## Massey's

136 assemblers at Massey Ferguson, Coventry, are still 'off the clock' following accusations of inadequate effort.

Massey Ferguson management has been trying to force production up to 48 tractors a day on two new lines introduced last March.

The assemblers were taken off the clock following a time and motion study.

The 136 were immediately supported by a strike of all the 900 assembly workers in the plant, soon joined by 170 night shift assemblers and charge hands.

Management is insisting that the 136 can return to work if the 48 tractors a day production target is accepted.

Assembly workers argue that this cannot be achieved at present manning levels.

### CORRECTION

IN OUR LAST ISSUE WE stated that Tony Williamson, Chairman of the 5/60 T&GWU Branch in Oxford was in charge of bailiffs who evicted T&GWU strikers at the Linton Lodge hotel.

We now find that this was based on wrong information. We apologise for any misunderstanding this has created.

### WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Birmingham

PUBLIC MEETING

"Wage Control and Union Democracy"

Sunday 30th January at 7.30

Labour Club, Bristol Road.

### WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Oxford

PUBLIC MEETING

"Unionisation and Working Class Leadership"

Thursday 27th January at 8.00

East Oxford Community Centre

## FUND

WITH THE LATE ARRIVAL of some large donations, the December Fund finally edged its way over the £500 mark to close at a more encouraging £517.55.

Meanwhile, the January Fund now stands at £252 exactly. With twelve days to go to the end of the month, every effort must be made to raise the full £600 on time.

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



# THROW OUT LEYLAND PENALTY CLAUSES!



Leyland convenors

The scramble for 'fringe benefits' by those who want to avoid confronting the government and the TUC over basic pay has produced proposals from the management of British Leyland Cars Division which cut across every existing agreement and contains "no strike" penalty clauses unprecedented in the car industry in Britain.

A meeting of convenors representing the 100,000 manual workers in the Cars Division, chaired by Derek Robinson, Stalinist convenor of the Longbridge plant who has supported the proposals from the start, voted to recommend the proposals back to the individual plants.

Meetings are now taking place and votes taken.

If accepted, the agreement would represent the biggest achievement of Leyland management since the introduction of Measured Day Work, a payment system which has sent Leyland workers tumbling down the wages league.

## MINIMAL

These latest, slightly amended proposals offer minimal improvements in sickness and accident pay in return for a penalty clause which would disqualify from all entitlement under the existing lay off agreement any worker who was involved in "unconstitutional" industrial action of more than half a shift or an aggregate of more than eight hours in any three month period.

Even these proposals are subject to a number of strict conditions.

These 'improvements', say Leyland, can only be afforded under: "circumstances where work can continue without interruption" and when: "all trade union members will



co-operate in substantially reducing unauthorised absence and unconstitutional industrial action".

In addition, Leyland require prior guarantees that agreement will be reached on a common review date for all plants (which constitutes the de facto introduction of corporation-wide wage bargaining), plus a procedure to deal with manpower surpluses (which in essence accepts redundancy as and when management require it).

Prior to redundancy Leyland want the right to deploy workers between plants as required by the "reconstruction" of Leyland cars. One of the most sinister

aspects of the proposals is the role designated to the convenors, who since the beginning of 'participation' have been the most conservative force in the trade union movement within Leyland.

## OVERTHROWN

Existing discipline procedures would be overthrown and joint management/convenor committees established to deal with lateness and absenteeism. As the proposed agreement puts it:

"While Committees may vary in size and membership to suit different circumstances in plants, the ideal committee is considered to be one made up of six permanent members - three Senior Shop Stewards, and three management members."

"The Committees would not be empowered to vary the terms/rules of the main agreement, but would exist as a body with authority to uphold discipline within existing plant procedures, and ensure that the agreement was not being abused. This would be done by review of absence levels, individual records and where necessary ensuring that suitable counselling took place."

## DOMINANCE

The aim is to establish the complete dominance of the convenors; heavy penalties for unofficial strikes and disciplinary procedures in their hands.

If such an agreement were concluded it would be the signal for the biggest management offensive yet seen in Leyland on agreement conditions and manning levels.

It is essential therefore that the implications of the proposals are fully explained on the shop floor and the document decisively rejected.

Continued from Front Page

was substantially defeated, it won a respectable body of support from a Conference which was continuously urged against any action by the NEC.

And his points on the role of leadership were confirmed to the hilt when Glyn Phillips for the NEC got up to oppose a motion instructing the union's Scottish members (threatened with 11,000 sackings) to take part in a one day strike - on the basis that you couldn't instruct members to lose a day's pay!

## OVERWHELMING

This position was greeted with derision by militants in the Conference, and the strike motion was passed overwhelmingly - the NEC rallying only a few staunch right wingers to their position.

There is no doubt however, that the NALGO leadership feel they got away from the Conference lightly. They were clearly happy to exchange a paper commitment to an overtime ban (which will be completely ineffective in preventing the cuts) while appearing to be a militant form of action) for preservation of the Social Contract and an avoidance of sustained strike action against the government.

And with statistics now showing that the real wage of the average worker has fallen by £10 a week since the implementation of the Social Contract began, any means to save the Contract is welcome to NALGO leader Drain and his friends on the TUC General Council.

The NALGO Special Conference, coming on top of the week's betrayals indicates the vital importance of a prepared and organised struggle in every union conference this year for an immediate break with the Social Contract, a return to free collective bargaining and policies to defend jobs and living standards.

# NO LESSONS IN ANTI-SLANDER MEETING

While no political lessons could have been learned by the 800 people from numerous groups and tendencies who attended, a number of special awards should be made to the cast which appeared in the meeting For Workers Democracy. Against Frame Ups and Slanders" organised in London by the IMG last week.

Some form of peace prize

should be awarded to the representatives of the various diverse tendencies who sat on the same platform and diplomatically avoided any serious reference to their deep-going differences throughout the two-hour meeting.

## OSCAR

And an oscar for the portrayal of the role of the injured innocent should go to Gerry Healy of the Workers Revolutionary Party, whose floor performance completely dominated the proceedings - despite the fact that he spoke not a word.



Mandel in full flight.

The immediate pretext for the meeting was the slanderous campaign launched by the International Committee of the Fourth International (led by Healy) which alleges that Joseph Hansen and George Novack, veteran members of the US Socialist Workers Party, are "accomplices of the GPU", were "criminally negligent" at the time of the assassination of Trotsky in 1940 and have consciously covered up the role of the GPU in the Trotskyist movement.

The Workers Socialist League has of course consistently denounced these slanders, and has put them in the context of the sectarian degeneration of the WRP itself under Healy's leadership.

But the IMG decided to go much further and use the issue to bring together a showcase for the so-called "United Secretariat" to which they are affiliated and of which the SWP is the American sympathising section.

## SHIPPED IN

As a result, both Novack and the SWP's new NC member Tim Wohlforth were shipped in from the USA, Ernest Mandel, the USFI leader was brought over from Brussels, and his old enemy Pierre Lambert of the French OCI (which is at present outside the USFI but trying to get into the club) was persuaded to make the trip across the Channel; all came to smother their differences in an evening of Healy-baiting and self-exhoneration from the platform of the meeting.



Healy waves his notes asking to speak.

Unfortunately none of them seemed able to give an even remotely political account of Healy's degeneration to sectarianism.

## MENTAL STATE

Wohlforth pointed out that a madman is one who cannot face up to the world; Novack, too, questioned Healy's mental state; and Mandel only stopped briefly to denounce "this little fool", "this scoundrel" before moving on to his sales pitch for the USFI.

For each speaker to have to reduce such serious political questions to this frivolous superficial level indicates the deep-going divisions and problems which prevent any of them examining questions of political method, of the history of the movement and its unresolved problems, or their own dubious practice in the class struggle.

A welter of words and plenty of meaty attacks on Healy might seem to stave off these issues for one night - but resolve no problems whatever.

Anyone who had gone to hear an answer to any of the charges made by the IC would have come away distinctly dissatisfied.

## NOT NEW

While Novack devoted a certain amount of time to general aspects of the IC's allegations there was little that could not be found in the written material already circulated by the SWP and IMG.

But throughout the speeches

Healy's visual imitation of an honest quester for truth was immaculate. He laughed with Novack's jokes and Mandel's ridicule. He made no move to interrupt or disrupt.

Indeed as Mandel finally wound up, and Healy rose to his feet in silence and held up his hand to request the right to speak one might almost have forgotten that the WRP has the unenviable reputation of running the least democratic public meetings in the workers' movement - barring known opponents even from attendance, and not hesitating to use force and even the police where necessary to back this up.

## RIGHTS

But after he had sat silently through two hours of personalised apolitical abuse there was however considerable feeling in the hall that Healy, despite this record, should be allowed to say a few words - that the democratic rights the WRP deny every other tendency should be nevertheless extended to them.

Chairman Tariq Ali strongly opposed this and eventually carried a vote that Healy be not allowed to speak.

The meeting thus ended on a note of division - despite the craven efforts of the platform.

The WRP, crumbling in every area, succeeded in stealing the show from under the noses of the USFI.

Nobody learned any political lessons, but an entertaining evening was had by many.

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