



# WAGES CONFERENCE AGREES A PROGRAMME TO BREAK PHASE 2

At a time when even government figures now show that TUC-enforced wage controls have slashed workers' living standards by 3% in only 3 months—an annual rate of over 12%—a policy to destroy the wage-cutting Social Contract is crucial.

But if control is to be ended there must be an all-out battle to support in action those sections of workers who now move into pay struggles.

This was the line that rang out loud and clear from the programme endorsed by the 340-strong recall Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy in Birmingham on Sunday.

## CONTRAST

And it stands in stark contrast to the treacherous diversions of 'left' wing bureaucrats and the Communist Party, who call for "free collective bargaining after July" while sabotaging struggles

against the current stage of wage restraint.

The Conference, to which 300 delegates were elected from labour movement bodies, was called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

## POLICIES

It brought together policies for substantial wage rises linked to automatic increases to match inflation, for the defence of jobs against rationalisation and government spending cuts, for action to combat racialism and for a struggle against the low pay and oppression faced by women.

And linked to all these questions, as the Conference showed clearly, is the question of the struggle within the labour movement for democratic control over officials and for the construction of a principled leadership.

In taking up these questions the Birmingham Conference stood as a direct political alternative to "protest" conferences such as that on April 3rd and the one day strikes called under the influence

of the Communist Party and its "Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions".

## AGAINST COALITION

And in spelling out policies through which workers in struggle can assert their political independence, the conference stood in complete opposition to the scramble of TUC and Labour bureaucrats to accept and cover up for the Liberal-Labour coalition deal which subordinates the Labour government to the whims of Britain's second capitalist party.

An emergency amendment was passed spelling out the implications of the coalition:

"... the Liberal Party will be consulted before policy decisions are made, a right that has always been refused to the Labour Party Conference or membership. This increases the urgency of the removal of the Callaghan and Healey leadership.

The 'left' MPs should have voted against confidence in this coalition and thus forced a general election fought on alternative policies in the interests of the working class. They should vote against the Social Contract, the Budget and all the reactionary legislation and put an immediate resolution in the PLP for the removal of Callaghan, Healey and the other 18 Cabinet ministers who voted in favour of the coalition and declare themselves in favour of alternative socialist policies".

The amendment went on to Cont'd Back Page, Col. 1.



Shawn Morrisroe - GMWU delegate attacked officials

# INDIA VOTES DOWN GANDHI



Gandhi

India's defeated dictator Indira Gandhi last week claimed to be the humble follower of the people's will.

Her successor, Morarji Desai, said he came to power as the humble servant of God.

But, despite such words, it is arrogance and opportunism, not humility, which are the real guiding principles of India's political leaders.

The votes which have, almost uniquely, unseated a ruthless dictatorship have, as a by-product, installed in its place an unprincipled combination of right wing religious obscurantism and crassly opportunist reformism.

This of course in no way reflects support for the right wing policies of the Opposition—but overwhelming hostility to Gandhi.

## DRAMATIC

With the dramatic election results Gandhi's dictatorship was defeated as decisively as possible.

Indira Gandhi lost her own seat by a mammoth margin of 55,000 votes—crushed by the man whose lawsuit against her corrupt practices in the last election precipitated the emergency.

Her son and chosen successor Sanjay was as decisively beaten and has nothing left politically to inherit.

Down with them in their headlong fall from power they dragged the official Congress Party (156 seats in this parliament compared with 250 in the last one) and also the abject time-servers of the Communist Party of India (from 23 seats to 7).

In Moscow all *Isvestia* could

think of to say was that Indira Gandhi fell because she didn't follow the policies of the CPI closely enough!

Many have also said that the elections "transformed" the political face of India by ending 30 years of Congress rule.

## MINISTER

This is less certain. It was striking that of the two contenders for the Prime Ministership, one (Morarji Desai, who leads the so-called Organisation Congress) was for years a Congress minister and, before he broke with her in 1969, was Gandhi's own deputy.

The other, Jagjivan Ram (leader of the Congress for Democracy) was one of Gandhi's most important ministers all through the emergency and only defected six weeks ago.

The elections have not brought new faces to the top; they have brought the old (very old) ones back.

## AGREED

After days of manoeuvring, Ram has now agreed to serve in a Cabinet under Desai. Ram thus adds the 28 seats of his Congress for Democracy to the 271 (a bare majority by itself) held by the Janata (Freedom) Party.

The overall political colouring

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Part of Sunday's conference.

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## IN BRIEF

### POLAND

The Workers Defence Committee reports that 32 of those convicted after last June's demonstrations against Gierek's government have now been freed.

But 23 more remain in jail and there have been no releases for several weeks. Persecution of members of the Workers Defence Committee seems to have declined but police have been harassing workers in Radom who have made complaints against them.

### USA

The alleged "pro-labour" bias of the majority Democratic Party was exposed as a fraud last week when the House of Representatives rejected the Construction Workers' Picketing Bill. This bill would have extended the right to picket on construction sites. Last year a similar measure was vetoed by Republican President Ford. This year not even the Democratic Congress will pass it.

### ZAIRE

Major fighting has broken out in the Shaba province (formerly Katanga) of Zaire. The National Liberation Front claims to have begun the liberation of the country from the rule of President Mobutu.

Mobutu has appealed, so far without very much success, to the US for more military aid. Latest reports suggest that the Liberation Front has captured four important towns and is being welcomed by the local people.

## FRANCE

### 'MAJORITY' NOW MINORITY

Fifty five large municipalities gained by the Union of the Left led by the Communist and Socialist Parties.

Fifty-five rusting nails in the coffin of the reactionary government of President Giscard d'Estaing and Premier Raymond Barre.

The results of France's local elections have made a complete mockery of the crumbling political alliance between Giscard's Republicans and Jacques Chirac's Gaullists which calls itself the "governmental majority".

On the first and second rounds of voting the "majority" got a clear minority of the votes.

The "majority" is now a minority in the councils of all but a few of the most important towns and cities (though the exceptions include Paris, where Chirac is now Mayor).

The popular-frontist Union of the Left got almost 52 per cent of the votes, confirming the growing unpopularity of the anti-working class policies of the Giscard-Barre government.

### NO THREAT

But the reformist and Stalinist leaders of the Union of the Left have made it clear that they want to do nothing to threaten that government.

Wait, they tell the workers who have voted for them, until the parliamentary elections of next year after which we will form a governmental alliance with President Giscard until his term of office expires in 1981.

What they should be doing is to campaign through independent working class action for the immediate dissolution of the National Assembly, calling for the resignation of the President and the convening of new elections.

This policy, however, would collide with their overall strategy of tying the workers to the coat-tails of the bourgeoisie.

Already their alliance includes the "left" radicals and disaffected Gaullists (the David Steels and Enoch Powells of France).

### COLLABORATION

In the local elections, however, working class voters began to show what they thought of such class collaboration.

In two places, Brive and Toulon, the major Gaullist participants of the Union of the Left (ex-minister Charbonnel and Sanguinetti) were to have led the electoral slates.

But, against the wishes of the CP and Socialist Party leaders, the members of the workers' parties forced local leaders to put up separate slates of the workers' parties excluding the capitalist parties.

Pressure to repeat this is now growing within the rank and file of

## Government crises sweep Europe



Protest general strike in Milan



CP Gen. Sec. Marchais

the CP and Socialist Parties.

This is why the surge of support for the Union of the Left is an embarrassment to the Stalinist and reformist leaders.

It puts pressure on them to make more energetic moves against the present government and it goes a long way to disprove their pathetic excuse for their collaborationism — that they could not win elections without the link with capitalist "opposition" parties.

The "Trotskyist" candidates of the LCR (Revolutionary Communist League — French section of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International) and Workers' Fight (Lutte Ouvriere) got about 4 per cent of the vote in the limited number of towns where they stood (a good deal less than the petty bourgeois "environmentalists").

### LESS SUPPORT

And their 2.9 per cent of the vote in Paris was less than in the

## ITALY cracks in coalition

After a week of 'political clarification' the fate of the minority Andreotti government remained as obscure as it has been during its last months of tenuous existence.

Lacking a majority of votes in the Lower House (the Chamber of Deputies) Andreotti's Christian Democratic ministry remains in

office only by courtesy of the abstentions of the Communist Party.

It is, in effect, a coalition — with the only difference being that the Stalinist leaders are giving their support free, rather than in return for ministerial posts.

But the political 'understanding' — which has kept Andreotti in power since the Christian Democrats' huge losses in the general election of June last year — has taken severe knocks.

Mass demonstrations and occupations by students and unemployed youth over the last six weeks have been directed as much against the CP's collaborations with the government as against the Christian Democrats themselves.

### ATTACKS

And, in return for a \$ 500 million foreign currency loan to prop up the ailing lira, the International Monetary Fund are demanding redoubled attacks on the living standards of the working class — including public spending cuts; tax increases totalling \$ 2,000 million; and a combination of speed up with limits on pay and fringe benefits sufficient to 'freeze' the increase in labour costs to 16 per cent a year (it is currently running around 27 per cent, as workers seek pay rises to catch up with price inflation).

Working class hostility to the savage demands of the IMF, and

those responsible for carrying them through, lies behind Italy's political crisis.

For their part, the leadership of the Communist Party are divided on the next step.

### COLLAPSE

In recent weeks differences on the Central Committee have been publicly aired — and have been sharp enough to drive General Secretary Enrico Berlinguer close to 'nervous collapse'!

The majority want — like the Socialist Party — early entry into the government, on virtually any terms whatsoever.

There is, however, an important 'left' minority in the CP leadership which fears the outcome of a CP-Christian Democratic bloc taking on the working class in too direct a fashion.

These differences, however, are entirely tactical. The Stalinist and reformist leaders are united in their enmity to the 'ultra-left' demonstrations which began in the universities, and which saw the Stalinists number one trade union chief, Luciano Lama, humiliated at the hands of students and young workers.

### PLOT

The bureaucrats spread the lie that all left opposition to them is a right-wing plot.

The CP mayor of Bologna (a city controlled by the Stalinists since the war) commented on the demonstrations which followed the police murder of a left-wing student: "Fascism, in the 1920's, began with an attack on Bologna's Town Hall. And it also wore a left disguise".

### COALITION POLICIES

By 'pincer' tactics — the most vicious and slanderous attacks on the left, combined with protest strikes and 'general strikes' of a few hours or even minutes to wear down the energies of the mass movement — the bureaucracy hope to impose their coalition policies on Italy.

But at the same time there exists a huge potential to build a revolutionary political leadership which will reject both the policies and the creatures of popular frontism.

## HOLLAND

Hard on the heels of the collapse of the right-wing Belgian government, comes the disintegration of the reformist led coalition with the Christian Democrats in Holland.

Social Democratic Premier den Uyl was forced to resign when the Christian Democrats left the coalition in protest over a proposal to limit compensation to the owners of land compulsorily purchased by the government.

But the more basic reason for the Christian Democrats' action is the pressure created by the economic crisis and the resistance of the working class to its results.

It is the sight of the recent militant wage strikes in Holland which more than anything else have convinced the Christian Democrats (like the British Tories) that they need to make a bid to exercise power independently of the reformists, who are showing themselves less and less capable of controlling the mass movement.

The date of the general election, which was fixed in any case for May 25, will not be brought forward.

In the meantime the reformist and capitalist politicians have to try to patch up some interim regime.

The last coalition took 60 days (and nights) to put together.



In Greece the wages strikes that have covered Europe have brought militant action by school teachers, by miners, and by leather workers. Here, workers and peasants of Alexandropolis, on a one day general strike, march demanding an increase in government spending.

# VIETNAM

## CARTER'S EYES ON OIL

The accelerating moves towards closer economic and political relations between Vietnam and the Carter administration in the US were underlined by the recent visit to Vietnam of an 'unofficial' delegation headed by auto union chief Leonard Woodcock on behalf of Carter and his State Department.

Behind the courteous exchanges and the symbolic return of the remains of American servicemen killed in the Vietnamese war stand the massive shortages and the social obstacles which shackle the Vietnamese economy.

With only limited technical and economic aid from the Soviet bloc countries, and negligible support from China, the Vietnamese regime has now moved to a new 'investment code' whose purpose is to attract large amounts of capital from western Europe, Japan and—in due course—the United States. In return the companies are to

be given the right to export most of their profits, to benefit from a 15 year guarantee against nationalisation, and—in the case of plants producing for export—are allowed to be wholly owned by foreign capital.

Plans are already well under way for cement factories (financed from France and Denmark respectively) and a Swedish pulp and paper plant.

And—perhaps the biggest carrot of all—negotiations have started with Norwegian and Japanese consortia for the exploitation of Vietnam's offshore oil reserves.

American diplomatic moves towards 'raprochement' with Vietnam must be understood against the background of US capital's desire to take a major share in exploiting the resources and labour force of a 'reunified' Vietnam.

In fact the country has only been 'united' politically, not economically. The 17th parallel still marks the division between two currency zones, with a re-named

version of the old Saigon piastre still circulating in the South.

High unemployment in the capital goes hand in hand with vast areas of land taken out of cultivation by war damage and American defoliants. Those who farmed them were driven as refugees into the towns.

And standing as a vast buffer against organised attempts to reconstruct the economy is the still overwhelmingly capitalist character of production in the South.

Most large enterprises, and millions upon millions of small businesses, still remain in private hands.

To an important degree the turn of the Hanoi government to a 'new economic policy' reflects the refusal of the big workers' states to give sufficient economic aid.

But the official encouragement of capitalism in the South underlines the dangers of the 'socialism in a single country' policies by which each national Stalinist government seeks to gain for itself an independent position of 'balance' with the imperialist powers.

# SPAIN

Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, has reportedly backed fascist Prime Minister Suarez to stay in office after a General Election.

"Not only am I not anti-Suarez", said Carrillo, "I am pro-Suarez".

He added that he thought Suarez—who made his career as the

chief administrator of Franco's fascist 'National Movement'—has given proof of his 'democratic intentions'.

Presumably the main evidence for this is his expected decision (under enormous pressure from the mass movement) to legalise his admirers in the leadership of the Spanish CP.

Carrillo's rocket-like trajectory to the right has prompted some resistance from the pro-Moscow faction in his own ranks.

Two hundred 'militants' are circulating a letter demanding his expulsion from the Party on grounds of 'revisionism' and 'treason' towards Moscow and the Soviet Communist Party.

These 'left' critics of Carrillo (like the Soviet bureaucracy whom they represent) have no *principles* objections to close dealings with 'reformed' (or unreformed) fascist—as the history of Stalinism amply shows.

Moscow is, however, anxious lest Carrillo's policies consume too rapidly the political capital of Stalinist parties throughout Western Europe.



Carrillo

# DENMARK

THE TEAMS OF negotiators from the employers and unions have informed the government that they are unable to agree upon the new Collective Contracts for the next two years.

This is the second time talks have broken down.

The first time, the unions sent out their warning notices of strike action. This is a legal formality, and before strikes can take place the official Arbitrator steps in. official Arbitrator steps in.

The Arbitrator was unable to work out a compromise, so it looks as if an official strike is inevitable.

From what has been leaked it seems the Employers Association are trying to undermine the cost of living indexed agreement and include these payments in the 6% limit agreed by the government and its supporting bourgeois parties last August.

The unions have also accused the employers of a disregard for the lower paid.

Meanwhile the oil and petrol tanker drivers whose strike para-

lysed the country and almost brought down the government in November 1976 have won wage increases of 124 Crowns (£12) per week, whereas other workers in the same union only got between two and eight Crowns (20p-80p) per week more.

The conflict at the Berlingske newspaper concern continues.

The management is receiving help from the Employers Association and from the Labour Court which has fined the union twice and the strikers once because they refuse to start work with an agreement they haven't accepted.

Solidarity and financial support is pouring in, and the strikers are publishing their own alternative paper in an edition of 200,000 copies to inform workers about the struggle against "pirate-setting" by advertising agencies, and other attempts to undermine the typographic and lithographic trades.

An international boycott has so far stopped the Berlingske concern getting their magazines and papers printed in other countries.



Troops face anti-Bhutto rioters

# PAKISTAN

Immediately after the elections the Pakistan National Alliance launched a movement to unseat the "re-elected" President. Within a short time this movement had secured a gigantic amount of support from the masses of Pakistan.

Martial law has now followed the terrorism, arrests and killings. Despite all this masses are still struggling against the PPP under the banner of PNA.

The PNA constitutes a four-party alliance, in which the most reactionary parties like Jamiat-E-Islami and JUI (Jamiat-E-Islam) form the majority, along with sections of Muslim League.

These parties are the strongest right-wing parties in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh, and have always had a considerable following in sections of the rural and urban middle class.

Their manifestoes rest on the fanaticism of 'saving' Islam from 'socialism' and 'communism'.

## DISCREDITED

These same parties (with the exception of JUI in Baluchistan) on the same manifestoes, were defeated by PPP in 1970. Their leaders have been discredited and exposed since 1947 for their opportunistic and reactionary politics.

Asghar Khan was a new entry to the Alliance and had some opportunity of attracting forces from the petty-bourgeoisie, but could not succeed because of his failure to give any concrete programme for his newly formed party Istiqlal.

All the same, a certain respect still exists for him because of his 'achievements' in two wars with

India and his detachment from dirty politics.

That explains his leading position in PNA.

The fact that the PNA is being supported so actively by the peoples of Pakistan, should be analysed carefully.

This massive support does *not* indicate that the peoples of Pakistan are in agreement with its highly reactionary policies.

And while, of course, religion is an important factor, it is definitely not a basic factor, as was proved by the lack of support for the PNA in the 1970 election.

This time the masses hardly had any alternative. The only Left-wing party was the pro-Moscow NAP, which was banned by PPP. In all these years, people have been confronting a worsening dictatorship and have seen PPP exposed from top to bottom.

Now, if they get the opportunity, they will vote for anybody but PPP. In coming months, people will face terrorism, murder, arrests and victimisation, without prospect of any real success.

The PNA is simply too backward, unscientific and reactionary to launch a sustained struggle against the government.

In view of the situation, only a movement equipped with Marxist ideology and a trained cadre can develop the tactics and theory which is needed to bring a political and social change in Pakistan.

The labour movement in Pakistan has the task of creating such a basis. But once again Marxists in Pakistan are reduced to mere spectators, unable to contribute towards a potent leadership for the seizure of power.

While Marxists cannot support the PPP, to work under the banner

of the PNA is equally impossible, and the Marxist movement is too weak to provide an alternative form of struggle to the people.

As a result they are now politically isolated. This situation is that traditionally faced by the Marxist movement in Pakistan, but it cannot be justified any more.

## GAPS

This inability to act indicates many gaps in the movement. A people who are willing to go to any extent to change the desperate situation they face are again held back by the lack of leadership.

The scale of the anti-Bhutto movement followed by the general election could be anticipated from the 1975 by-election in Punjab.

There an ex-governor of Punjab, G.M.Khar, Bhutto's alleged heir, resigned from PPP because of power politics and stood for a seat in Provincial Assembly against PPP.

He had a similar, possibly even weaker election manifesto, but drew massive support in the whole province.

Here also the elections were rigged, and people were tear-gassed, killed, arrested and victimised.

The labour movement was fully aware of this. But, it seems, no preparations were made to combat the situation, no programme given for a meaningful struggle, no attempt made to pose a left opposition to PPP.

When the people of a country are repeatedly let down in the critical situations, responsibility lies with the conscious elements of the labour movement.

It is high time that a Marxist programme is developed and established as the theoretical basis of the struggle.

AYISHA HAIDER

# WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class to lead the mounting opposition to the betrayals of both 'left' and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party, as they attempt to enforce wage control, sackings, speed-up and public service cuts.

As workers take up the struggle against these policies they are forced by the sheer weight of forces opposing them to confront political questions. Only with an understanding of the role of the labour bureaucracy and a programme to unite the broadest sections of workers in struggle can a way forward be found.

The Workers Socialist League is the only movement that sets out to do this, fighting consistently in the working class for transitional demands, which go beyond simply trade union militancy to raise the political questions to workers and prepare the forms of organisation and the knowledge necessary for the struggle for socialism.

As a result we have been at the forefront of struggles against the cuts, against wage control, for unionisation, and against redundancy. We have done more than any other tendency to fight the introduction of 'workers' participation' in industry. And we have strongly supported the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, which has set out to show the link between the reactionary policies of the Social Contract and bureaucratic dictatorship in both the unions and the Labour Party.

But our practical struggle for the continuity of the principles and method of Trotsky's Transitional Programme is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the struggles of the working class internationally, and the fight to reconstruct the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So there has been a consistent drive within the WSL to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International as an essential part of our initiative towards its reconstruction.

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



Joseph Tosti

Joseph Tosti, a member of the strike committee at the Linton Lodge hotel, Oxford, now out for over four months, said Jack Jones had stabbed every initiative they had taken in the back.

The TGWU 5/670 branch had passed a resolution calling for national blacking of Trust House Forte "an obvious step because we can only do a limited amount on the picket."

The vote went through District Committees of the TGWU to the national trade group and from there to the national executive. "Jack Jones spoke against national blacking on the grounds that it would be illegal."

Ron Thompson, AUEW shop steward, Sheffield, argued for support for the grouping calling itself *Engineering Voice*, because it provided "a link into the Broad Left."

"It's clear that in spite of the complete bankruptcy of the Broad Left, the mass of militants within the engineering union still support the broad left leadership."

"Many of the members though they have been disgusted in the last year will still be attracted to the Broad Left."

"It would be absolutely politically futile for the editorial board to counterpose themselves as an alternative leadership to the Broad Left."

He said that an abstract programme was not wanted. *Engineering Voice* only proclaimed three policies; complete opposition to wage controls under capitalism; end phase two; and support for equal pay.



Eddie Oldnall

Eddie Oldnall, AUEW Sheffield, said support for the conference had been defeated on the Divisional Council by one vote and had been opposed in the Trades Council by both the Communist Party and the Workers Revolutionary Party. The CP had initially opposed the struggle by 3,000 Balfour

# Which way to fight wage control?

Not just a question of demands but a method of implementing them and assessing the changing balances of class forces.

That was how Alan Thornett presented the fight against wage controls at the Recall Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy at Birmingham on Sunday.

And the reality of his message in the main conference report was drummed home by the clear division that took place at the conference.

On the one hand—in the main report adopted by the conference—an assessment of the changing class forces, the key role of the bureaucracy and the need for a programme and method to fight them.

On the other, and in the main from IMG supporters, an agreement on the programme but a constant call to move to where the action is—however diversionary the action.

That the IMG comrades were unhappy with the results of the conference was clear. That they had anything to offer but an endless round of visits to other conferences to support "initiatives" that they knew in advance to be hopeless was less so.

"Never mind the quality, feel the width" was their watchword. Speaker after speaker from their ranks proclaimed on *Engineering Voice*, the Socialist Teachers Alliance, the LCDTU. All were

support after workers themselves walked out.

"They've been going around saying Scanlon's a brave man to stand up to these workers."

Stewart McClellan of the Scottish Socialist League said: "I agree absolutely with Comrade Thornett about how the Communist Party have manoeuvred and betrayed members."

He quoted the abandonment of the jailed Shrewsbury workers as evidence that no faith must be put in any layers of the bureaucracy.

But he said the organising committee had not paid enough attention as to how to gain results and get to workers, such as the 8,500 who marched through Glasgow.

Dick Bradley, from Longbridge, said that ultimately it was Fraser who had sold out the strike, not Scanlon for all his efforts. He told the conference this proved that: "A lot of reformist ideas do exist in the working class not just in the bureaucracy."

Stalinist convener Derek Robinson in October was arguing that no actions should take place—to

slammed by IMG comrades as having weak or no programme—but they were to be the areas of "main intervention".

Thornett, on behalf of the Organising Committee, stressed the major political change that the toolroom workers had created.

He stressed that in that strike as in so many others the question of leadership had proved crucial.

"If we are going to take the question of leadership—and we are not posing ourselves as the alternative leadership—we are saying that we can by the intervention of programme become an increasingly important force".

The point, as Thornett pointed out, was not to pretend that forces were bigger than they were, but to realise that through fighting for a principled intervention on a programme that did not make compromises we could have a major effect on workers who came into struggle.

Those struggles could arise firstly on secondary issues as in the case of the fringe benefit document at Leyland.

To follow the "initiatives" put forward by the Communist Party as if they were struggles leading somewhere was a recipe for disaster.

The day before the Recall Conference CP Executive member Derek Robinson had told the British Leyland combine:

"Times have changed. It's not like it was under the private

employer when we used to get out our kicking boots and kick until we got what we wanted. The whole thing has changed. We've got to preserve British Leyland and make it viable".

Thornett said he would fight to get full support for the one day strike on April 19—but it could not be represented as anything but a diversion.

But the toolmakers' struggle had brought to the forefront the independence of the working class and the essential weakness of the bureaucracy once separated from their power base—the employers.

"The rest of the working class must conclude that if 3,000 toolmakers can brush aside Scanlon, a main pillar of the Social Contract, and a few hundred dockers can brush aside the other pillar of the Social Contract, Jack Jones, then it is open season for attacks on the bureaucracy."

Inside the AUEW the response to the toolmakers had been immediate. "There was coming up within a few hours what could have become a general strike. It was then that we would have had to move forward with the policy of councils of action".

Instead the backing down of the leadership and the coalition sought by the Labour government had brought about a situation where the Liberals had more influence on government policy than any body within the labour movement.

"Deals have been concluded without our knowledge which ultimately mean complete redundancy for our workforce".

Stewards at Rover, Solihul, had said they would support. But a deal was done through the participation committee to send the work elsewhere.

"Obviously sooner or later we've got to use the right every worker has got—to withdraw their labour and picket."

Shawn Morrisroe, a GMWU shop steward from a London hotel group described how catering workers in London had come together after the sell-out of a strike in Basildon.

"They left them on strike without any contact with their officials. You can't find these people. They are at meetings in the House of Commons or with employers up and down the country".

Colin Kenny, Secretary of the Conference of London Area Shop Stewards in the NHS said that struggles on cuts had been diverted but as soon as wages had been attacked an explosion had resulted. Kenny said the struggle to



Stewart McClellan

struggle in the next few months. But when the toolmakers' strike started he didn't turn up to any meetings except to urge specifically a return to work on the employers' terms.

Bob Barnes, a shop steward at Export Packing at Banbury said all their efforts to fight to save their jobs were being sabotaged by union officials and right wing Leyland

Anderson hospital had been achieved by fighting for an understanding of the need for a struggle.

This did not come from the bureaucracy. "It has set an example which other hospitals are bound to support".

He said the forming of joint shop stewards committees was a major factor in being able to organise interventions.



Bob Barnes

Trevor Holdsworth, an AUEW deputy convener from Bradford, said the toolmakers' dispute had caught the imagination of the whole working class.

"Every trade unionist in the country was glued to what they were doing. You came home and the TV's on and there is Scanlon and Lowry on the same box, both condemning this strike. That was really recognised and it must have revolted every trade unionist in the country."

"If they had decided to stay out without question every section would be out. Posed at that point in my view was a general strike".

\*The main resolution was adopted in its entirety.

\*In addition the conference supported amendments calling for an intervention in the BLMC combine committee conference on April 3, and full support for any workers taking action against Phase Two.

\*It condemned the Labour-Liberal coalition and called for a recall Labour Party conference to remove Callaghan and Healey and to fight for the implementation of socialist policies.

It adopted a policy of calling for an end to bans and proscriptions in the labour movement, including the Labour Party and an end to Rule 15 in the trades councils.

\*The conference condemned Scanlon and the AUEW executive for their role in the toolroom workers strike.

\*It agreed to fight to extend the actions around the one day strikes called for April 19 and May 11, and for a campaign in labour movement bodies for a sliding scale of wages, including the production of a bulletin to put forward the policy.

\*It agreed to build the lobby for the AUEW national conference on May 2-6.

\*The conference also supported an extension to the programme against racism, including no immigration controls, removal of racists from labour movement positions and expulsion of known fascists. The conference agreed to support all measures for the defence of

# New lease of life for 'Terror' Act

With fifteen notable exceptions, members of Parliament voted on March 9th to give the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act another year of life.

For the Irish community in Britain, this vote heralds another year of fear.

The Act has shown itself to have little to do with combatting terrorism, and far more to do with satisfying the anti-Irish sentiments rife within the British establishment, and throughout the country.

## OUTCRY

As Ron Thomas MP said in Wednesday's debate, there has been a huge outcry at the threatened deportation of the journalists Agee and Hosenball, especially at the fact that neither had knowledge of specific charges against them.

Mr Thomas noted that there has been no such outcry at the deportation of nearly 100 Irish people under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, also with no charges being brought.

Agee and Hosenball have been

given time to select their place of banishment, freedom to campaign against exclusion, and plentiful publicity.

An Irish person once made the subject of an exclusion order is taken directly into custody, denied access to either solicitors or family and friends, and shipped to Ireland under a cloak of secrecy.

During nearly three years of operation, the Act has resulted in almost 2,500 arrests leading to a mere eleven charges under the Act.

All the remaining 90 or so charges brought against people detained under the PTA—defrauding the Inland Revenue, possessing drugs, wasting police time and so on—apart from their irrelevance to the supposed aims of the Act, could have been brought without the existence of the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

## DESPICABLE

What is new and despicable about the Prevention of Terrorism Act is that—with its powers of

arrest and detention—it sanctions the mass harassment and intimidation of the Irish community in this country.

It terrifies people out of expressing, however peacefully, the slightest criticism of Britain's role in Ireland.

Those detained have included a pregnant girl, a fifteen year old child, committed pacifists, and many others quite beyond suspicion as far as violence is concerned.

## OPPOSITION

For the above reasons, a group has been formed to fight the legislation, People Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act, which declares its total opposition to the Act as yet another attempt by a British government to solve the "Irish Problem" by repressive means. In Ireland—the Army bullet; in Britain—a police cell.

PAPTA correctly insists that Irish people must be free to campaign openly for the right to

determine their country's future without the constant threat of intimidation, or peace can never be achieved.

It further declares its intention to campaign alongside "all those who want to see the Prevention of Terrorism Act repealed" "whatever their political outlook".

## LABOUR MOVEMENT

The WSL declares its full support to those campaigning to end the Prevention of Terrorism Act, but we insist that the only way such a campaign can be correctly waged is through the labour movement—demanding that those who undertake to defend the interests of the working class fight in defence of the Irish working class or stand exposed.

In this fight the link between problems facing the Irish liberation struggle and the struggle to end coalition politics within the British labour movement will come to the forefront.



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# 'THEY HIT ME' CLAIMS 'POPE'S MP'

Right wing Labour MP Michael O'Halloran has complained to the Labour Party NEC that he was "beaten up" by demonstrators, including his opponents in Islington North Labour Party.

The fracas took place when O'Halloran refused to meet 70-80 demonstrators, largely SWP supporters, lobbying the MP's "surgery" against the anti-abortion Benyon Bill.

"They have their views, and as a representative of the Catholic church, I have mine" said O'Halloran, putting forward a novel view of the duties of Labour MPs.

Nevertheless two Labour Party councillors—also present at the Labour Party HQ—intervened to persuade him to meet the lobbyists, who then entered the "surgery".

What happened next is disputed, but it is certain that punches were thrown by one side or the other as O'Halloran attempted to leave the room.

O'Halloran, in his letter to the NEC, alleges that he was punched and kicked by Councillor Mark van der Weyer and by Keith Veness, the militant expelled from the Labour Party by O'Halloran's supporters (see SP55).

It is clear that O'Halloran intended that his complaint should be considered at the same NEC meeting as a report of an NEC sub-committee which has recommended the reinstatement of Veness to Party membership.

Islington North secretary, Dave Davies, has also written to the NEC claiming that other Labour Party militants were present at the punch-up. Among those he names is one who was certainly elsewhere at the time.

This 'evidence', and that of O'Halloran, will also be considered by a sub-committee of Islington North GMC.

The political make-up of the GMC rules out the possibility of an objective enquiry, and when O'Halloran's version has been rubber-stamped, it can be assumed that a further witch-hunt of the left

# Stechford: an alternative to Labour?

Just after we go to press this week polling will take place in the Stechford by-election—to fill the seat vacated by Labour's Common Market careerist Roy Jenkins.

The local Labour leadership have succeeded in dredging up a worthy successor to the extreme right winger Jenkins. This time a British Leyland manager, Terry Davis, is purporting to represent the interests of Stechford's working class population.

## NO CONFIDENCE

It is obvious that no confidence can be placed by workers in Davis to wage any kind of struggle for socialist policies or oppose the coalition with the Liberals, any more than workers can rely on any Labour right winger.

The only way with such elements is to lever them out of the Labour Party through a mobilisation of working class opposition to their betrayals—as has occurred with the crypto-Tory former Minister, Reg Prentice, in Newham North East.

## HOSTILITY

But we can well understand the frustration and class hostility to "Labour" candidates such as Davis which will motivate those workers who turn out on Thursday to vote for IMG candidate Brian Heron, or for SWP candidate Paul Foot. Those workers will be register-

ing their call for a clear alternative to Labour's coalition policies of wage controls, mass unemployment, cuts and racist immigration laws.

## ALTERNATIVE

The IMG and the SWP are both claiming to put forward such an alternative. But while the SWP simply calls for more militancy and its well-worn string of trade union and anti-racist demands, it avoids any attempt to develop political consciousness among its supporters.

And the IMG, though putting forward a much more developed programme, is unable to show how their candidacy in this election can take forward the struggle that must be waged within the Labour Party and the unions to mobilise for the removal of the right wing.

## 'DOWNTURN'

Rather, their decision to intervene in this by-election and in the Greater London Council elections in May reflect the IMG's analysis that the class struggle is in a period of "downturn" which rules out a principled fight for new leadership within the labour movement around the demands of Trotsky's Transitional Programme.

They see the propaganda work of these election campaigns as a substitute for such a fight.

We disagree with this analysis, and we therefore disagree with the standing of alternative candidates to Labour at this stage of the fight within the workers' movement.

We call on our readers and supporters to vote Labour in these elections, and to take up the fight within their union branches and Labour Parties for a breaking of the coalition with the Liberals, for the expulsion of the crypto-Tory right wing, and for a programme of alternative policies in opposition to those of the Callaghan-Steel government.



**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE**  
Public Meeting  
**SHEFFIELD**  
Down with the Coalition!  
Sunday 3 April at 7.30 pm  
Prince of Wales, Division St.

# FRENCH REVOLUTION

## 1848: FIRST GREAT BATTLE

The first two articles in our series on the revolutionary history of France have dealt with the 1789 Revolution and the period after the reaction of Thermidor (1794), as well as the international wars which followed the French Revolution.

This third article, in two parts, deals with the class forces which worked together to bring about the upheavals of the 1848 revolution. The final article will deal with the 1871 Paris Commune.

To understand properly the French revolution of 1848, it is first necessary to cast an eye over the forces which had dominated France since the earlier revolution of July 1830.

The regime brought into office by that revolution was a constitutional monarchy with the "bourgeois king", Louis Philippe at its head.

His ascension to power was part of a general European upheaval which lasted from 1829-34, and which had been directed mainly against the aristocratic, landowning classes who had ruled Europe from 1815 onwards.

In 1829, for example, the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed in Ireland; in 1830, Belgium won its independence from Holland; from 1830-31 an unsuccessful uprising took place in Poland; and in 1832, the first Reform Act, which allowed the industrial bourgeoisie a greater share of political power, was passed in Britain.

### BOURGEOIS POWER

The 1830 revolution in France overthrew the Bourbon monarchy, and like Britain was an effort by the bourgeoisie to secure political power for itself.

Yet the government which emerged in France did not represent the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. On the contrary, it represented only the interests of one section of that bourgeoisie—the financiers and bankers, as opposed to the industrialists.

The new regime was based on an oligarchic parliamentary system with very restricted franchise.

Throughout all France there were only 166,000 votes—a smaller electorate than in 1791, during the moderate phase of that revolution.

Those allowed to vote had to possess substantial wealth, and this regulation excluded not only the artisans, peasants and workers, but the great majority of industrialists as well.

### NO REFORM

By 1846, the electorate had grown to 241,000, but this increase wasn't the result of electoral reform; it merely meant that a few more people met the property qualification. As we shall see, this political rigidity was to prove an important cause of the 1848 upheaval.

1830 in France thus meant the triumph of one section of the bourgeoisie over the landowning aristocracy. But it also marked the emergence of the French working class as an independent, self-conscious political force.

Needless to say, the working class were as yet incapable of exercising their own class rule, but they were clearly beginning to act in their own self-interest.

In June 1832, there was an attempted republican insurrection in Paris; in April 1834, the Lyons workers, under the leadership of the Society of the Rights of Man, rose up against Louis Philippe's rule; and in May 1839, Blanqui and Barbes attempted a revolutionary putsch in Paris.

### TOLPUDDLE MARTYRS

Parallel developments were taking place in England. In 1834, six Wesleyan labourers (remembered in working class history as the Tolpuddle Martyrs) were

transported for trying to form an agricultural workers' union.

By April 1839 the Chartist paper the *Northern Star*, had a circulation of 60,000 and that same year saw a Chartist insurrection in Newport.

Jacobinism, which for so long had been merely a spectre of the past, was now taking visible bodily form before the bourgeoisie's very eyes. And it was this, more than anything else, which prevented Louis Philippe from introducing the electoral reforms demanded by the industrial bourgeoisie.

France on the eve of 1848 was thus riven apart by this contradiction between a rigid and inflexible political structure on the one hand, and a fast growing industrial bourgeoisie and a proletariat clamouring for change on the other.

### ECONOMIC CRISIS

This contradiction was exacerbated by the world economic crisis of 1846-7. This crisis began first in agriculture, with the potato blights of the mid-forties, which sent the price of basic foodstuffs soaring in the years 1846-7.

This inflation hit hardest at rural artisans and day-labourers in the country, and at workers in the towns. The latter were hit doubly hard since the crisis in agriculture gave rise to a crisis in industry, which at this stage was dominated by textile manufacturing.

Wages were driven down and sackings imposed as the crisis deepened.

In the town of Roubaix, for example, 8,000 out of 13,000 workers were jobless. As in the country, food riots and attacks on speculators and merchants broke out.

The financial bourgeoisie were

also enmeshed in the crisis. From June 1846 to January 1847 reserves at the Bank of France fell from 201 million francs to 45 million francs.

This put the State, which already had a huge budgetary deficit, under immense pressure.

### RAILWAYS

One result of this was that railway construction, which had been part-financed by the State, and which had been exploited to the nth degree by rapacious French speculators, virtually ceased.

Large scale unemployment ensued, and many small manufacturers supplying parts to the railways went to the wall. In 1845 there were 691 bankruptcies in Paris; for the year ending July 31st 1847, there were 1139.

These few figures show how the 1846-7 crisis made itself felt in every nook and cranny of French society.

The effect of this was to bring together—momentarily—all those excluded from the franchise, and to direct their anger and frustration against Louis Philippe's monarchy. Events in other European countries boosted their confidence.

### 'LIBERAL' POPE

In 1846, a 'liberal' Pope, Pius IX, was elected; in 1847, the Liberals defeated the Catholics in the Belgian elections; in November of that year the Swiss Liberals triumphed in the Sonderbund (or separatist) war; and on January 12, 1848 an uprising took place in the Sicilian capital of Palermo.

Spurred by this upsurge in their European neighbours, the French industrial bourgeoisie, led by Thiers and Barrot, began an agitation for electoral reform in mid-1847. This campaign was known as the Banqueting Campaign because it used public dinners to rally support.

It took as its central demand a slight lowering of the property qualification in order to admit certain sections of the bourgeoisie into the electorate. Admission to these dinners cost 10 Francs—a price designed to keep away the working class and 'dangerous' artisans.

### 'NON DINERS'

Yet despite that, the banquets attracted large numbers of 'non-diners', who came to hear the speeches denouncing the government, and despite the paltriness of the political leadership, the working class rallied behind them.

On February 22, 1848 a monster banquet, with reduced rates to attract elements of the petty-bourgeoisie, was to be held in Paris.

At first the government prohibited it altogether, but then relented, allowing it to be held under strict police supervision in a well-to-do neighbourhood near the Champs Elysee.

A section of the opposition leadership wanted to call the whole

affair off, but a group around Ledru-Rollin, decided to press ahead.

As it was, the banquet was held relatively peacefully, although a few sporadic disturbances occurred that evening.

The next day, however, the Paris masses assembled on the streets in force, and called with one voice for the resignation of Louis Philippe's Prime Minister, Guizot.

Terrified by this mass action, Louis Philippe tried to appease the crowds by dismissing Guizot. This gesture was a sign of weakness, and the masses saw it as such for they were soon calling for the overthrow of Louis Philippe himself.

### TROOPS

That evening a surging mob collided with a detachment of troops on the Boulevard des Capucines. The soldiers panicked and opened fire, leaving forty to fifty people dead or wounded on the pavement.

Enraged by the killings, the Paris masses flooded onto the streets that night. Over 1 million paving



Ledru-Rollin addresses crowd

stones were ripped up, and over 4,000 trees were felled to form the more than 1,500 barricades which studded the city on the morning.

By 1.30pm on February 24th, the court at the Tuilleries Palace had been overthrown; Louis Philippe had been ejected and a republic proclaimed.

That same day a Provisional Government, with working class representatives such as Louis Blanc and Albert, was formed. The July monarchy had come to an end, and the 1848 revolutions had begun.

### COALITION

From the very outset the Provisional Government was nothing but a temporary coalition of conflicting class interests. The February revolution had been made by an alliance of industrialists, petty-bourgeois artisans and workers, and the political structure



Mob attacks National Assembly 15th May 1848



Barricade fighting 1848.

it gave birth to necessarily reflected this temporary alliance.

The Provisional Government thus saw workers sitting alongside bourgeois, and calls for the establishment of a proletarian Ministry of Labour alongside the bourgeois Ministries of Trade and Finance.

But as Marx points out, alongside such Ministries,

"a proletarian Ministry of Labour was bound to be a Ministry of impotence, a Ministry of pious wishes". (Class Struggle in France, Pelican Marx Library, vol. 2, p. 45).

And that was exactly what it proved to be, for instead of establishing a Ministry, the Provisional Government set up the Luxembourg Commission.

This Commission was designed, in Garnier-Pages's words, "to keep the people quiet", and instead of organising labour, it functioned as a giant arbitration board. For when it met on March 17 1848, there were 242 representatives from the working class and 231 from the employers!

The workers did achieve certain reforms, —a ten-hour day in Paris (12 hours in the provinces); and the abolition of the worst features of the "marchandage" system, whereby subcontractors organised labour for employers.

**NOT CAPABLE**

In a sense these gains were the most the French working class could achieve at this moment, for "it was still incapable of carrying out its own revolution". Many workers imagined that by overthrowing Louis Philippe and the finance bourgeoisie they had overthrown the bourgeoisie once and for all.

They saw the republic as their own creation and so swore undying allegiance to it. It was only through a series of defeats that they saw the true nature of that republic; that it signified, not their emancipation, but merely the ground on which the struggle for emancipation would take place.

On May 4, 1848, the Constituent National Assembly, which had been elected by universal manhood suffrage, met.

**MAJOR VOICE**

The extension of the franchise after France's peasantry were to have a deciding voice in the progress of the bourgeoisie. The result was an assembly dominated by bourgeois republicans.

The first act of the Assembly when it met was to reward the Paris workers for their previous exertions by excluding the proletarian representatives Louis Blanc and Albert from the Executive Commission which it appointed, and by rejecting out of hand the suggestion for a Ministry of Labour.

These decisions signify the end of the revolution's first period—the "February period"—and the advent

of a second phase.

The period from February 24th formed only the prologue to the real results of the revolution: the establishment of unchallenged bourgeois rule. May 4, 1848 marks the reduction of the February revolution to bourgeois scale: that date, and not February 24, marks the real foundation of the bourgeois republic.

The working class were quick to respond to these attempts to exclude them from political power.

**ASSAULT**

On May 15, Blanqui led a mass assault on the National Assembly, aiming to overthrow it and to set up a new Provisional Government in its stead. This attack was crushed by the National Guard and Blanqui, Barbes, Albert and Raspail were all arrested.

The bourgeoisie capitalised on their momentary success to launch a new attack on the proletariat, an attack which culminated in the "June days", 22-24 June, 1848.

In Marx's words, these events: "mark the first great battle. . .



Louis Blanc

between the two great classes which divide modern society".

(Class Struggles, p. 58). On one side stood the proletariat "without leaders, without a common plan, without supplies, and for the most part lacking weapons"; against them was ranged a "united front" of the finance aristocracy, industrial bourgeoisie, landowners, petty-bourgeoisie, lumpen-proletariat and peasantry, organised in the Mobile and National Guard.

**MASSACRE**

1,500 workers fell in the street fighting; and after securing their victory, the bourgeoisie massacred another 3,000 proletarians and deported 12,000 to Algerian labour camps. Any spark of revolutionary zeal shown by the bourgeoisie in February was now sharply extinguished.

The June days were to have

disastrous European consequences as well. Just as February had sounded the tocsin of a general European upheaval, now June sounded the knell of European reaction.

The Austrian revolution which had begun in March, was crushed with the seizure of Vienna by Windischgratz and Jellacic in November. 4,000 workers and students were killed in the fighting.

In Prussia, Frederick William IV carried out a coup d'etat with the "dictated constitution" of December 5. This step marks the end of the revolution there. And on December 10, 1848, Louis Bonaparte—alleged nephew of the Emperor Napoleon—was elected President of the French Republic, a victory which set him on the road to the liquidation of that republic and the installation of the Second Empire.

**DISSOLUTION**

The period from June 24 to December 10 is the period of exclusive bourgeois republican rule in France. But with the election of Bonaparte as President, the situation was changed and the first six months of 1849 mark the dissolution of the republican rule.

On December 20, 1848, General Cavaignac, who had supervised the crushing of the June insurgents, resigned his office. That same day, the Ministry of Ollivon Barrot, an opposition leader during the July monarchy, was established.

The republican bourgeoisie had accomplished its historical tasks. By crushing the proletariat and silencing the petty-bourgeoisie it had paved the way for the big bourgeoisie.

The republicans had played out their historic roles, and were now supplanted by the royalist wing of the bourgeoisie: the Orleanists, or financiers who had ruled from 1830 under Louis Philippe; and the Legitimists, or Bourbons—those landowners Louis Philippe had overthrown in 1830.

**PARTY OF ORDER**

Hitherto enemies, by virtue of the different property forms on which they were based, these two strands now came together in the infamous Party of Order.

And together with Louis Bonaparte, who relied on an amalgam of peasant and lumpenproletarian elements for support, they succeeded in forcing the dissolution of the Constituent National Assembly.

On January 29, 1849 deputies arriving at the Assembly were alarmed to see it surrounded by a massive military presence. The general in charge, Changarnier, said this was to protect the Assembly against radical or socialist attacks. The conservative forces within the Assembly acquiesced in this obvious lie, while the petty-bourgeois elements were too terrified to do anything about it. And since the

Assembly had performed its major work—the drafting of a constitution—it hurriedly agreed to dissolve itself.

**VICTORY**

The elections which followed on May 13, 1849 for the new Legislative National Assembly resulted in a victory for Bonaparte and the Party of Order. All told, they secured almost 500 seats to the combined figure of 200 secured by the radical and democratic elements.

These latter, organised as a democratic-socialist force called the "new Montagne", (ie the 'new Mountain', recalling the Jacobins of 1793-4), were elated at their electoral success.

But what they saw as the revival of strong anti-conservative feeling was in reality nothing but a last gasp effort from a proletariat and petty-bourgeoisie demoralised by defeat.

This fact revealed itself in the rout of the Montagne on June 13, 1849. At this time the question of French intervention on behalf of the Pope was being hotly debated in the Assembly. On June 11, Ledru-Rollin, on behalf of the Montagne, moved the impeachment of Bonaparte and his cabinet for violation of Article V of the Constitution, which forbade the use of French armed forces "against the liberty of any other people". And in moving the impeachment, Ledru-Rollin declared that he and his party would defend the Constitution to the last, "if necessary by arms".

**INSURRECTION**

On the defeat of his motion, he and the deputies of the Montagne left the Assembly and, on June 13, attempted to stage an insurrection. They seized the Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers in the crowded workers' section of Paris, and called on the people to throw up barricades.

The rising was a fiasco. Distrustful of these democrats who had fought against them the previous June, and demoralised by that and other defeats, the proletariat failed to respond.

The Montagne were isolated, and General Changarnier had no trouble dispersing the handful of demonstrators on the streets. Ledru-Rollin and the rest managed to escape from the Conservatoire through a



Barricades in the streets 1848.

back-door.

Just as the second phase of the revolution—the period of the Constituent National Assembly—had opened with an uprising in June, so now did the third phase—the period of the Legislative National Assembly—open with a June rebellion. June 1848 had marked the beginning of the bourgeois republic; June 1849 was to prove the beginning of its end.

For this third period of the revolution was to culminate in the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte—the coup d'etat of December 2, 1851.

The Legislative National Assembly existed for 2½ years, and this time is dominated by the incessant struggles between Bonaparte and the Party of Order, and within the Party of Order itself. On October 31, 1849 Bonaparte dismissed the Legitimist-Orleanist Ministry of

Barrot, and appointed the Hautpoul Ministry in its place. By this stage the Party of Order was beginning to dissolve into its component parts, those who swore by finance and those who swore by land.

At certain moments, in the face of a common enemy, their unity was restored, as, for example, when the new electoral law of 31 May 1850 was passed. (This law disenfranchised up to 29% of the countryside and almost 70% of Paris, and was the bourgeoisie's response to the by-elections of March 10, 1850 when radical democrats won roughly 30% of the vote).

But the relative economic prosperity and the gradual ebb of the revolution meant that each group in the Party of Order could now pursue its own sectional interests rather than the interests of their class as a whole.

**CONSPIRACIES**

The Legislative Assembly was in recess from August 11 to November 11, 1850 and this withdrawal from national politics saw each wing of the party conspire against the other, and agitate for the return of its own favourite as monarch of France.

Bonaparte, a dab-hand at conspiratorial politicking, took advantage of the parliamentary recess and the division within the bourgeois ranks to consolidate and extend his own rule.

By January 10, 1851 he felt sufficiently strong to secure the dismissal of General Changarnier. With his dismissal, Bonaparte finally achieved what he had been striving for during the previous year—the disarming of the Assembly and the severance of all links between it and the military.

The next three months saw the Party of Order desperately trying to regain control of the army and the administrative power. On January 18, 1851 the Assembly passed a vote of no-confidence in the Ministry which Bonaparte had established after his dismissal of Changarnier.

**RESIGNED**

Two days later, the Ministry resigned. It, and not Bonaparte, had been offended by the vote of no-confidence. Bonaparte then seized on the pretext that no party had a parliamentary majority, and appointed a so-called transitional Ministry, which contained not a

single member of parliament, and which consisted entirely of unknown and insignificant individuals.

In this Bonaparte merely humiliated further the already debased Assembly. This transitional Ministry continued to vegetate until mid-April, by which time the extra-parliamentary bourgeoisie were howling for a "strong government" to pursue resolute measures which would rescue France from the economic crisis.

By James Short

Concluded in next issue.

# METHODS OF REPRESSION

TIM SHALLIS is co-author of a book to be published tomorrow. In this guest article he writes of some of the dangers to the working class described in *THE TECHNOLOGY OF POLITICAL CONTROL* by Tim Shallis, Carol Ackroyd, Karen Margolis and Jonathan Rosenhead, (Penguin, £1.25).

was made available. If the experiences of previous Labour governments are any guide, the present one, far from dismantling the Tory/Civil Service plans will even have improved them.

In 1974 mass picketing was not the strategy the miners used. There were no occupations, no major confrontations with the police or Army. So riot control did not become an issue.

The left has therefore tended to concentrate on the above organisational changes by the state, and not on its new technological repressive potential, another aspect of the Army's counter insurgency experiences.

Traditionally, the horse, the truncheon and the bullet have been the methods of physical repression available to the ruling class faced by militant working class action.

Today the alternatives are vastly

greater. Take 'riot control' the new euphemism for physical strike-breaking.

## SOPHISTICATED

The Irish war has left the British security forces highly sophisticated in the use of water cannon, CS gas, the Sound Curdler, and the Squawk: box available.

And for the future, as Congressman James Schuer (a Kennedy liberal Democrat) said approvingly of the USA today:

"As a result of spin-offs from medical, military, aerospace and industrial research . . . we can tranquillise, impede, immobilise, harass, shock, upset, stupefy, nauseate, chill, temporarily blind, deafen or just plain scare the wits out of anyone the police have a proper need to control and restrain".

And that of course, if the

capitalist class can get away with it, will include the working class.

But, you might say, the use of such techniques would be a crude tactical mistake on the part of the capitalist class; it would just generalise working class solidarity.

It indeed is likely to, but their technologies are designed to produce the maximum of repression with the minimum of backlash.

By 1979 seven years further into a long wave of economic crisis from the 1972 miners' strike, the British capitalist class will probably be forced to accept escalations of class conflict in the hope of inflicting bigger defeats on the working class.

Even over the last three months we have seen concerted drives by the ruling class, the union leadership and the media to break the seamen's strike and then the tool-makers'.

We have had increased creeping repression in the expulsion of Agee and Hosenball, the charging of left wing journalists under the Official Secrets Act, attempts to gag the already one-sided coverage of the press and TV's coverage of the Irish war.

All this has taken place under a Labour government containing figures as supposedly dedicated to civil liberties as Michael Foot. And a Thatcher Tory government would be much more likely to adopt a policy of confrontation with union militants.



Chilean army: more subtle methods of repression are now available

The political repercussions of the use of riot control technologies might well be less in 1979 than in 1972. We are continually seeing it on the TV from Italy, Spain, Germany and France.

The Irish war, indirectly through TV and directly through the Provisional's bombing campaign have all had a big effect.

In any case it would be simple for the Home Office to introduce riot-control technologies first, say, on a black crowd like the Notting Hill one last year.

This was the sort of logic used

in surrounding Heathrow by a joint Army/police 'ring of steel' just before the 1974 miners' strike to counter a mythical 'terrorist threat'.

Of all the forms of the technology of political control, I have selected riot control, seemingly the one of most direct relevance to militants.

But it is only one of the technological means that the capitalist states now have available to widen the range and flexibility of their repressive response.

Other available technologies include those for the surveillance of political and industrial militants and the monitoring of strikes and demonstrations—both at present very costly to the state in time and money—and in more extreme situations, of interrogation, and prisoner control.

In all cases, the new technologies are designed to appear as innocuous as possible to all, except to their immediate victims.

How much easier it is to see that electric shock to the genitals is torture than hooding someone, playing loud monotonous sounds into their ears, keeping them in a fixed position and depriving them of sleep—the British method.

In *The Technology of Political Control* we deal with all these technologies and how they would fit into future operations by the security forces.

More importantly, it attempts to

# MILLION YEAR POLLUTION

PART TWO OF OUR SCIENCE CORRESPONDENT'S LOOK AT HAZARDS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY

In our first article we focussed our attention on the more spectacular aspects of the hazards of the new generation of nuclear reactors.

But this is only part of the story. There are other safety questions which affect every worker in the new reactor plants and others who might well be at risk without knowing it.

The insidious long term effects of atomic radiation such as bone cancer, genetic damage, even when held within statutory limits, are far from clear.

## OMINOUS

The issue centres around what is a safe dose of radiation? Probably no dose of radiation is entirely without risk and evidence is accumulating to suggest that either present limits are too high or that many accidents involving exposure to radiation go unreported or both.

In this latter regard the secrecy surrounding recent leaks at Windscale is ominous.

A preliminary analysis of causes of death of past employees at a large American nuclear plant has revealed a disproportionately high incidence of cancer.

No adequate study of mortality amongst nuclear power workers has been conducted in Britain.

The recent report of the National Radiological Protection Board which purports to show that "the number of cancer deaths in the working population at Wind-

scale is not significantly different from that expected" is completely worthless.

The report covered only those who died whilst working at Windscale (amounting to a small fraction of those who ever worked there), omitting those who may have received a fatal dose of radiation but who died untraced in retirement or other jobs.

It is simply not possible to assess the long term hazards of exposure to radiation from short-term or incomplete studies such as this.

The situation can be likened to that which prevails with regard to the health hazards of asbestos fibres—once thought not to be associated with industrial diseases but now accepted as being one of the most dangerous substances in common use. The existing safety standard for asbestos fibres was devised in 1969, based on the mortality of 290 men in one Rochdale factory, and stated that "an acceptably low percentage of workers" were likely to develop asbestosis if the concentration of asbestos fibres was kept below 2 fibres/c.c.

## ASBESTOSIS

In 1968 about 3% of the Rochdale workers had asbestosis after exposure to concentrations of 3-6 fibres per cubic centimetre. By 1972 almost 10% of these workers had asbestosis and the number of cancers caused by asbestos fibres have still to be assessed. Yet the

government's special advisory committee on asbestos has just published an interim report to the effect that it is not necessary to revise the existing standard!

Because plutonium can be used to make an atomic bomb some publicity has been devoted to the likelihood that an increase in plutonium circulating around the world would pose a hazard in the form of "terrorists" who could steal sufficient to make a dangerous weapon.

## SURVEILLANCE

To combat this possibility, an increase in the surveillance of citizens has been proposed, including the introduction of identity cards and large numbers of secret police.

This is completely bogus and designed more to prevent justified unrest over the nature of capitalist society.

Far more is to be feared from the use by capitalist governments of plutonium bombs against workers' states and national liberation movements.

In view of the phenomenal safety hazards associated with nuclear power generation, especially by FBR's and fuel reprocessing why do companies like British Nuclear Fuels Ltd (BNFL) urge the development of these facilities with such obscene haste?

FBR's will substantially prolong the period over which uranium can provide an energy source. The energy yield of known and esti-

mated uranium ores would otherwise amount to no more than the yield from the present measured reserves of natural gas. This abundant source of energy is needed to fuel capitalist industry.

Reprocessing is needed to obtain the plutonium to fuel FBR's and for waste management. As a result of the proposed expansion of the Windscale reprocessing plant there will be up to 80% of its capacity spare after dealing with waste from the British reaction programme.

## PROFIT

Hundreds of millions of pounds are potentially available as profit from the re-processing of the spent nuclear fuels of other countries.

BNFL want to expand reprocessing in Britain as soon as possible because the United States, a major competitor in this field has a three year moratorium on foreign processing and they hope to corner the market. Further profits may be made from the export of FBR technology.

A guide to the profits that might be made is given by the fact that BNFL recently raised a £100 million loan from a consortium of British and foreign banks. The interest on this loan will be paid for in workers' lives.

bourgeois 'ecology' groups attempt to use fears of the hazards we have listed to oppose all nuclear technology, only a fool would turn his back on the problem. The fight must be taken up for control over this new source of energy and its use.

\*For elected trade union committees whose members are drawn from all industries to assess safety aspects of nuclear power generators.

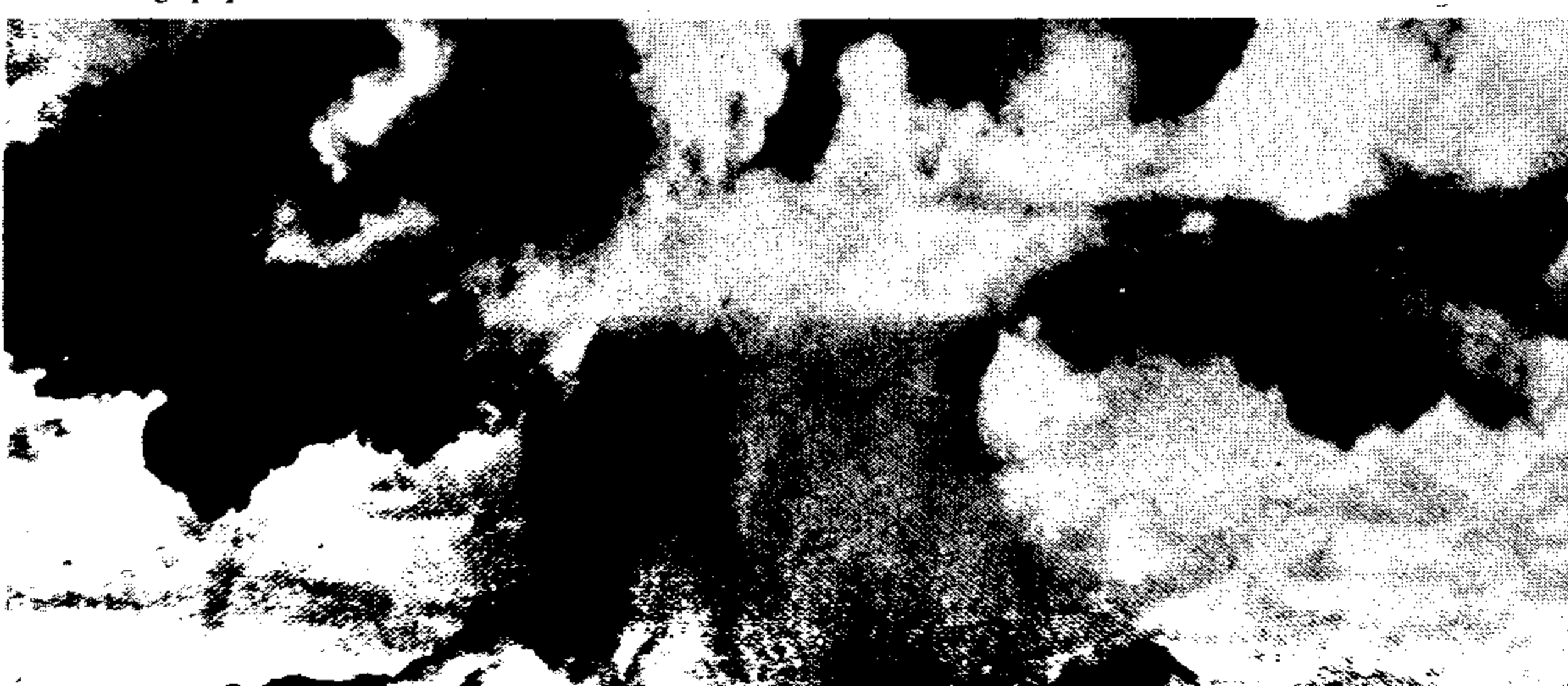
\*No further work on FBR's and other reactors and reprocessing until safety precautions are acceptable to these workers' committees.

\*No further work on nuclear reactors until a safe and efficient means of disposal of existing and potential wastes is worked out.

\*No redundancies in the nuclear industries—worksharing on full pay for those who cannot be transferred to research work pending these developments.

\*For an increase in state spending on all aspects of research into the exploitation of nuclear power, under the control of elected workers committees.

\*For full publication of details on known existing hazards and immediate compensation of victims of past unplanned 'experiments'.





# SOCIAL CONTRACT— AN EXERCISE IN COERCION



Miners' delegates at the TUC Special Conference last June.

FINAL PART OF IAN SWINDALE'S ARTICLE

Throughout Wilson's attack on the working class, the 80 claimed members of the 'left-wing' Tribune Group offered absolutely no alternative to the right wing.

They gave craven support to the Social Contract. Indeed the furthest they would go was to abstain in a Parliamentary vote on spending cuts, bringing a defeat for the government.

But when Wilson immediately called their bluff by putting down a motion of confidence in his economic policies (which include cuts) the 'lefts' simply collapsed and voted with the government.

And when Wilson resigned as Prime Minister the 'left' even refused to put up a candidate in the leadership election - leaving the field clear for the compromised Benn and Foot to pose as 'opponents' of the right wing.

## UNANIMOUS VOTE

March 1976 saw the first major strike against the Social Contract. Workers at SU carburettors had actually won their increase from the management. The only thing stopping them from getting it was the £6 limit. The AUEW Executive ('lefts' and all) voted unanimously to instruct the men back to work, an instruction at first rejected by the Coventry AUEW District Committee.

It was by now clear that strikes such as this and the one at Tractors and Transmissions, although small in scale, represented an increasing determination within the working class to fight wage controls and defend their living standards.

In these conditions, the vast majority of trade unionists could not be trusted to support a second year of wage controls so they were simply not consulted. There were only two major exceptions: the miners and the building workers.

## 'UNREPRESENTATIVE'

As a matter of fact the majority of miners voted against further wage controls, the votes of 11,000 foremen and powermen alone giving the NUM bureaucracy the result they wanted, a majority for Stage II.

The vote was so close that it was not repeated in any other union except UCATT, where a deceptive ballot was held to change a Conference decision to overwhelmingly reject further wage controls.

George Smith declared that he would not be bound by the Conference since the delegates were 'unrepresentative'!

By the time of the special one day TUC conference in June 1976 to decide on Phase II—a 4½% wage increase—most union executives had already taken a decision in favour without consulting their members at all. At the end of the day the TUC accepted Phase II by 17-1 with only ASTMS of the major unions voting against.

## MATERIAL CONDITIONS

However, the sudden reversal in the gradual downward trend in inflation, together with the impact of both the £6 limit and now the 4½% produced the material conditions under which the working class would be forced into action over wages.

Even the argument that the

government must not be challenged in case it fell and the Tories were returned began to lose its effect within the working class. This was demonstrated in the decision, only one month after Phase II came into effect of the seamen to press a claim outside of the Social Contract.

## STRIKEBREAKING ROLE

The strikebreaking role of the TUC in its desperate efforts to retain the Social Contract now came to the fore, with the General Council threatening to expel the NUS from the TUC and scab on their strike if they did not comply with the 5%.

In the end the seamen's leaders, under this enormous pressure, accepted "fringe benefits" which seriously dented the Social Contract and posed the trade union bureaucracy with the difficult task of preventing a rash of further "fringe" claims.

The threat to the Social Contract that had been posed, resulted in the most serious sterling crisis in living memory. Again the Labour government went to the IMF for yet another massive loan, the conditions for which were yet further drastic cuts in public spending—the very thing Healey said the Social Contract would avoid.

In line with our analysis that wage controls were central to government strategy for tackling the crisis of profits facing capitalism, the WSL gave its full support to the setting up of the Campaign



Healey

for Democracy in the Labour Movement, which called a conference of "Wage Control and Union Democracy" last October.

Bringing together 300 workers, the conference discussed a resolution detailing a programme for the crisis which would defend the living standards of workers and an analysis of the role of the trade union bureaucracy in suppressing democratic rights within the unions.

Further confirmation of our

analysis that the working class did not accept Phase II and would continue to struggle on wages came in early December with the strike of 120 engineers at Rubery Owen demanding pay increases of £10-£20 a week.

Aware of the pressure that the full time officials would place on them, the strikers excluded the union bureaucrats from their meetings and ignored all instructions to return to work from their union leaders.

## COMPROMISE

When the strike ended 62 electricians struck for lay-off pay and Murray, Scanlon and other top union officials went in person to Rubery Owen to get a compromise settlement. Clearly it was getting near to impossible to defeat wages struggles without the direct intervention of the top bureaucrats.

It is true that small numbers of workers were involved in these pay disputes, but equally true was the fact that they represented the feelings of millions of workers, held back by the forbidding prospect of taking on employers, government and union leaders.

This was quickly borne out by a spontaneous demonstration of thousands of Leyland Longbridge workers against the Social Contract which resulted in motions demanding a return to free collective

bargaining being put through union branches and shop stewards committees all over the country.

In the meantime the CDLM had already decided to recall its conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy.

## ONLY INITIATIVE

The conference emerges as the only initiative at the present time calling for support for all workers involved in struggle against the Social Contract and contrasts with the LCDTU conference where the Stalinists who dominated the proceedings, condemned sectional struggles (like the toolmakers) and refused to take a resolution supporting workers in struggle against the Social Contract.

The strike by Leyland toolmakers, and the sweeping aside of the bureaucracy, has thrown into question the ability of the trade union leaders and the government to maintain the Social Contract and has brought in its wake a governmental crisis which has only been resolved by an undeclared coalition with the Liberals.

The question now is how much longer will it be before the working class mounts fresh attacks on the Social Contract which will sweep the Labour-Liberal coalition out of office?

# JUMBLATT GUNNED DOWN



Arafat

The murder on 16th March of Kamal Jumblatt leader of the so-called Lebanese Progressive Socialist Party and of the 'Lebanese National Movement' marks an important turning point in the development of Arab politics.

Jumblatt was a feudal chieftain, leader of the Druze Moslems, whose doctrines are no less reactionary than those of the mainstream followers of the prophet Mohamed.

## VETERAN

He was also a veteran of the Byzantine intrigues of Lebanese politics; minister, politician, plotter, maker and breaker of Presidents and political alliances.

Yet Jumblatt stood at a particular strategic point in the development of the Arab Revolution, and in particular of the Palestinian liberation struggle.



Jumblatt

He was the leader of those popular forces in the Lebanon who moved into alliance with the Palestinians against the Arab reactionaries, against all the forces prepared to accommodate with Zionism and its imperialist allies.

## EXPLOSIVE FORCE

The popular forces at whose head Jumblatt stood are by far the most explosive force in Arab politics. The thousands who spilled into the streets of Cairo earlier this year, the hundreds who armed themselves to fight against the fascists and the Syrians in Lebanon in recent months, these were the forces that hold in their grasp the future of the Arab Revolution.

The Palestinian National Council, meeting at Cairo when the murder became known naturally denounced it.

PLO leader Yassar Arafat said Jumblatt 'was the equivalent of several armies fighting on our side'.

Again, the reference is to the forces that rallied behind the man. At the same meeting, Naif Hawatmeh of the Democratic Front declared that he saw 'the hand of American imperialism' behind the assassination.

There can be no doubt that it bears many of the classic hallmarks of a CIA operation, attempting by a short burst of gunfire to do down an entire popular movement that has not yet been destroyed by the Syrians and their fascist allies.

## SUSPICION

Raymond Edde, leader of the Christian National Bloc party and himself the target of a number of assassination attempts pointed out that there must be grave suspicion of the involvement of the Syrian army, who had a post only a few hundred yards from the spot where Jumblatt was killed.

The military sections of Jum-

blatt's political party were particularly successful against the invading Syrian forces during last year's civil war and destroyed a number of their tanks.

Since then, says Edde, they swore vengeance. Palestinian leaders also had little doubt about the involvement of the Syrians. The British capitalist press who insist on understanding nothing in Arab politics insisted that the death of Jumblatt is of limited significance.

The Times said that he had 'ceased to be a figure of importance'.

## GREATER DANGERS

However, the fact is that now greater dangers and opportunities are faced by the popular forces in Lebanon and throughout the Arab world.

For Jumblatt embodied not only the strength of the Arab masses but also the effort to tie them to the Arab bourgeoisie. Jumblatt's 'Lebanese National Movement', which included various brands of Stalinists, also encompassed 'patriotic' Christians, Baathists, Nasserites and others. It had all the elements of a classic popular front, armed to head off the development of mass struggle.

## COVERT SUPPORT

The Stalinists operated with their accustomed hypocrisy, not only through this, but also by their covert support for the Syrians.

The real challenge now both to the Palestinians and to genuine socialists in the Lebanon and elsewhere is to construct a movement to mobilise the masses independently of those forces who are tied by strings however varied to the imperialists and their Zionist allies.

When the mourning has finished and the bursts of retaliatory gunfire silenced, it is the construction of a revolutionary leadership capable of the independent mobilisation of the masses that is now posed before the Lebanese and Palestinian masses.

# AUT SCABS ON FEES FIGHT

Two occupations at Essex University within a fortnight have revealed once again the high level of student opposition to Shirley Williams' proposed tuition fee increases.

On Monday 7 March, a mass meeting of 800 students voted in favour of immediate indefinite occupation around the central demand that the University refuse to implement the increases.

Within 10 minutes of the vote being taken, the University's central administration area was occupied.

At first, the authorities responded in heavy-handed fashion by issuing exclusion-orders to a number of students engaged in the occupation, but within hours these were rescinded.

Negotiations between those in occupation and the Vice-Chancellor followed shortly, but these resulted in purely verbal "assurances" that no student would have to quit colleges on account of the increases.

## PALTRY

This paltry concession fell far short of the occupation's demands, and was rejected out of hand by students, who pointed out that the assurances made no provision for students yet to begin courses at Essex.

Seeing that conciliation was failing, the University resorted to the now popular measure of eviction, and on March 16, 12 students were hauled before a Judge in Chambers to try and delay the granting of a possession order.

Needless to say, they failed and at 7.35am on Friday 18 March, bailiffs, ably supported by the Proctor and fifty police, smashed down doors and drove out those in occupation.

Students refused to be cowed by such actions, however, and a lunch-time meeting the same day voted overwhelmingly to re-occupy immediately the Vice-Chancellor's suite.

## PHYSICAL RESISTANCE

This time however the students met with physical resistance from members of the Association of University Teachers (AUT), a professional body which has only recently been allowed to join the TUC.

20,000 students march against fee increases



Lecturers and professors threw off their academic gowns and pitched into students who were trying to secure the doors leading into the occupation.

This attack, spearheaded by a pro-Vice-Chancellor and the Dean of Students, both meant to look after "student welfare", had all the signs of being a pre-arranged plan to prevent the occupation from taking place.

Having masqueraded for so long as being sympathetic with student grievances, the administration now stands in its true colours, and puts an end to the Broad Left myth that students can effect an alliance with "progressive" Vice-Chancellors against the increases.

This second occupation was eventually secured against the AUT but students decided to end it at 10 am on Monday morning in order to plan new tactics to be adopted next term.

That evening, a Union General Meeting endorsed student tactics by passing an occupation amendment which proposed the election of a co-ordinating committee to plan direct action for next term.

There can be no doubting student willingness to fight the government's attack on education.

## NOT DETERED

Calls for disciplinary measures from the AUT and local newspapers have failed to deter students.

But Essex on its own, or even in alliance with a dozen other colleges, cannot secure national rejection of the fee increases.

The only path open to students is to fight within the NUS for a nationally co-ordinated strategy, including occupations, against the proposals.

This orientation, linked to a systematic campaign for organised working class support, will mean a sharp break with current NUS policies—but it is the only way in which the struggle against these cuts can be won.



# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## DOCKERS DEMAND FIGHT ON

# JOBS AND WAGES

When over 200 militant dockers stormed Transport House last week Jack Jones put out the lie that the whole thing was set up by outside agitators.

This is not surprising. He could not admit to his friends in big business and the Tory Press the real significance of this protest.

For it reflected the growing hatred of Jones, his bureaucrats and their attack on dockers' wages and jobs.

## DEMAND ACTION

The dockers, some of the 30,000 who defied Jones that day to stage a one-day strike, went to Transport House to demand union action in defence of Preston docks, which

are threatened with shut-down. A London and Southampton motion calling for an all-out national strike had received no reply from the leadership.

Feeling was extremely high—the ninth floor of Transport House was stormed and TGWU Docks Officer Cronin was forced to stay in the office until he agreed to get Jones to speak to the men.

When Jones eventually arrived it was clear that he intends to sell out the fight for jobs.

His first attempt to calm down the dockers was a farce.

He demanded an apology from those who had dressed up a bust of extreme right wing former Labour bureaucrat, Ernest Bevin in a cloth cap and muffler—in his words "an insult to Ernest Bevin".

A docker addressed an apology to the bust—"Sorry Ernest"—and then the demands for action started to fly.

## EVADED

Jones evaded every question. Asked by dockers from Preston whether he was aware that 200 miles of rail track had already been torn up in the docks, he pleaded ignorance.

Likewise he claimed no knowledge of the fact that one major shipping company has already ceased using Preston.

He assured the men that jobs would be defended—if it could be shown that Preston docks were a 'viable' concern.

The matter would be discussed on the Ports Council.

As one docker told *Socialist Press*:

"If you're only going to defend jobs if it's profitable, we might as well close all the bleeding docks and say goodbye to our jobs now".

As for the promise that the matter will go to the Ports Council he held out few hopes:

"Strike action is needed. I'm an active trade unionist and I don't even know what the Ports Council is or who sits on it".

## 5% REJECTED

The Preston issue is only one aspect of the militancy building up.

An all-London meeting has already voted to reject the 5% wage increase offered under Phase II of the Social Contract.

The demand of the National Ports Shop Stewards Committee (an unofficial body on which the Communist Party has a strong vote) for a 20% claim under Phase III has been upstaged by a resolution from the 1/37 TGWU branch.

This has been put forward as an alternative and calls for a £100 a week basic wage (an increase of nearly 50% for some dockers).

## GROUNDSWELL

This demand, which has already received the support of Division 2 and now goes forward for all-London approval, calls for a claim to be lodged the day Phase II runs out, and to be settled by December 1, or a national docks strike called.

While not posing an immediate challenge to Phase II this resolution nevertheless indicates the groundswell of feeling against the Social Contract.

A £100 basic rate is unthinkable under any incomes policy. The campaign for this claim would be strengthened if it goes hand in hand with a fight for support for all workers putting wages claims and the development of a leadership ready to lead a struggle against the Social Contract.

This involves, of course, a bitter fight against the coalition government and the union bureaucracy that is determined to enforce wage



# TEACHERS JOBS STRIKE

Motions calling for strike action if the Tory-led Oxfordshire Council refuses to renew 'temporary' contracts (covering some 200 teachers) have been passed by two of the five NUT Associations in the Oxfordshire Division.

Teachers in the Witney and Burford Association went further and laid down a Whitsun deadline by which the Council must renew the contracts or face strike action.

Support for this hard line has obviously come from the clear evidence of the toothlessness of the sanctions proposed by the NUT Executive, which have had virtually no effect after six weeks in operation.

The temporary contracts have been devised by the Council as a means of achieving their planned 10% reduction of teachers in July.

Among those affected are many long-serving part-time teachers who had their permanent contracts withdrawn two years ago and replaced with annual contracts—being told it was a 'formality'.

## TEMPORARY

The other group affected are new teachers taken on since last June—all of whom received only temporary contracts.

Other moves against the cuts initiated in Witney have brought important clarification from the NUT's "Action Committee" on the use of the "refusal to cover for unfilled vacancies" sanctions.

Secondary school head teachers in the area are already drawing up

staffing figures and NUT members could see that the cuts were being hidden in larger sets, fewer options, a shorter working week and a welter of other confusion.

Dick Boland, secretary of the National Action Committee has now written to Oxfordshire teachers pledging union support to teachers refusing to accept any worsening of conditions, saying:

"Firstly, Headteachers may timetable for September to broadly retain the existing school structure range of subject options, etc., but make up the deficiency in staff by cutting down on the number of marking and preparation periods available to staff or the time allowed for pastoral or administrative responsibilities. In this event, we will fully support members in refusing to take on the extra teaching load which will thereby accrue.

Secondly, and as an alternative to the first point, Headteachers may broadly retain the teaching load in terms of class contact time but may cut out the number of sets or may, for example, seek to condense a 7 form entry into a 6 form entry. Clearly, the result here would be a marked increase in the size of classes taught. Again we would fully support our members in refusing to take on this extra burden arising directly from staffing cuts, although this may be more difficult to identify and monitor than would be the case with class contact time. In this respect the figure of 35 or any other standard figure is irrelevant in so far as an increase in class size arises directly from cuts in the

# MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

# National demo call on hotels

A new call for blacking of Trust House Forte Hotels has come from workers in The Talk of the Town, the London nightclub.

Workers there collected £60 for strike funds in Oxford, Birmingham and Sheffield and called for stronger blacking in those regions.

They are also calling on their local Trades Council to call a national demonstration in London on the disputes and on the TGWU to extend the blacking to London.

Meanwhile the 'left' MPs of the Tribune group were being asked to call for a government ban on using THF hotels.

This action, after the first of the strikes is now nearly 19 weeks old, was forced by a lobby of MPs and trade union officials in Smith Square last week by the Joint Shop Stewards Committee of hotel workers from both the TGWU and GMWU.

## RECOGNITION

Workers at the Linton Lodge and Randolph Hotels in Oxford, at the Grosvenor House in Sheffield and at the Night Out night club in Birmingham are all on strike for union recognition.

The move by the lefts has a particularly hollow ring. Last week one of the Tribune group, Bob

Cryer, crossed the picket line at the Randolph Hotel to attend a conference.

His excuse? He only knew about the dispute just before he left London!

Support for the disputes has come from Ipswich Trades Council which has called for a local boycott of THF in their area, and for other trades councils throughout Suffolk to follow suit.

## PRIVATE

Meanwhile a catering committee of the TUC has been meeting on the disputes—in private and without consulting any of the strikers.

The London lobby forced the national officer for the trade group Bert Ray, to call for the blacking to be put into effect in Yorkshire.

No action has so far been taken by the TGWU to get the GMWU to stop allowing scabbing in their name at the Linton Lodge in Oxford.

Scab labour, most of it recruited since the strike started, have been proudly displaying GMWU cards. Meanwhile the strikes and the pickets go on.

Messages of support and donations to:

Margaret Radbourne  
41, Bridge St.  
Oxford

# LETTER: TGWU OFFICIALS

Transport and General Workers  
Union  
Transport House,  
211, Broad Street,  
Birmingham

17.3.77

Dear Sir,  
Dispute—Trust Houses Forte Ltd.

Your style of reporting makes me sick. If you expect decent, clear-thinking workers to follow your confused type of constant back-biting, then you stand no chance, at least with any of the 11,000 members whom I personally supervise in Birmingham.

I am sending you a copy of my up-to-date report showing what the people here—and who are led by ME, an Official of the Transport and General Workers' Union for nearly twenty years—are doing.

Just because I do not seek any publicity does not mean to say that I, and many other Officers like me, are not using our Organisation on behalf of the workers.

You have my full permission to quote this letter and the report and perhaps, in the interests of getting your facts right, you will give my office a ring in the future.

Yours faithfully,  
A.D. Law  
Regional Trade Group Secretary.

We Reply:

Brother Law does not inform us which article spurred on the indignation we note in his letter, which attempts by reference to his own area to defend TGWU officials in general.

We would point out that until now our coverage of the 18 week dispute between TGWU members in Oxford and Trust Houses Forte Ltd which only later extended to a THF club in Birmingham had never referred to Brother Law, though we did, in issue 55, refer critically to a statement by a member of his TGWU branch.

## IRATE

Brother Law is clearly irate at our insistence that the TGWU impose national blacking action to ensure the victory of its members in dispute with THF in Oxford, Birmingham and Sheffield.

But both his letter and the attached list of "action" carried out

under his leadership (much of which takes the form of writing letters) show three things:

1. There is no national blacking in force.
2. There is not even proper regional blacking in force.
3. That such a state of affairs is highly embarrassing to TGWU officials.

Brother Law as a Regional Trade Group Secretary is of course well placed to implement regional blacking action on THF and to use the weight of the TGWU to mobilise the labour movement throughout the Midlands against this viciously anti-union employer.

## RESTRICTED

Instead, as a close look at his list of "actions" indicates, blacking has been restricted to four THF establishments other than the 'Night Out' Nightclub where the dispute is now in progress.

And we know from news of the toolmakers' dispute, which was sold out in THF's Albany Hotel, Birmingham, that at least one of these establishments is in full operation—though without doubt fuel supplies have been cut off from the Corley Motorway station.

If only half the story emerges on blacking in the Birmingham area, Brother Law shrewdly maintains diplomatic silence about the brazen refusal of TGWU officials in Oxford and Sheffield to impose local blacking action or to challenge Jones' veto on national action.

## PLAIN ANSWER

We offer Brother Law space in these columns to tell us plainly his position on these strikes. Does he favour national blacking? Why has he not organised and fought for regional blacking of THF? Where does he stand on the role of local TGWU officials in Oxford and Sheffield? And how long in his view can leaders of Britain's biggest union allow its members to be kicked around before socialists are allowed to expose this state of affairs and fight for a new leadership to defend them?

PHOTO: John Sturrock (Report)



Leading 'participation' advocate, CP member Derek Robinson.

# NO VOTE ON PARTICIPATION

The attempt by workers to have a say as to whether so-called "worker participation" in British Leyland continues for a further year has been scotched by the Trade Union officials.

At a meeting last week conveners from all the Leyland

plants voted to continue with "participation", which had previously only been accepted on the basis of a one year trial.

The decision was no surprise since it is they who sit on management on the joint committees planning speed-up and reorganisation at the expense of the workforce.

It was also no surprise that they refused to consult Leyland workers since 'participation' would have been massively rejected.

Hatred of 'participation' increased a few days before the vote when workers received a letter from the Cars Council, the high body in 'participation', supporting the management and government threat to sack the toolmakers and urging all Leyland workers to stay at work and maintain continuous production.

# OFFICIAL STRIKE AGAINST CUTS

The Surrey hospitals strike escalated early this week when TGWU members at a further four hospitals took strike action and set up pickets in support of four strike-bound hospitals in the Epsom area.

The strike, which has now won official recognition from the TGWU first began on Tuesday 22 March when 30 porters were sacked for alleged breach of contract. Reorganisation of the duty rota as part of the cuts in public expenditure lies at the root of the dispute which now involves more than sixty strikers.

The dispute took a bitter turn last week with a massive press witch-hunt around the by now common theme of hospital workers "endangering the lives of patients" by their picketing.

At the same time members of COHSE were lead into the shameful step of joining an anti-strike demonstration of management and consultants.

By last weekend the idle rich of this exclusive commuter area, were joining in attempts to break the picket, with five bourgeois girls riding horses through the picket line on Saturday.

The following day scabs on horse back were out in force at the Manor Hospital.

The health authorities were due to go to the High Court for an injunction against the pickets last Monday as calls went out for Jack Jones to intervene in the dispute. But with local NUPE branches offering to man the picket lines in the event of an injunction against



PHOTO: John Sturrock (Report)

Nurses march against the cuts

named individuals, the health authority seemed to be considering a TGWU request to refer the dispute to ACAS.

As hospital workers increasingly resort to strike action in defence of living standards and jobs, it is becoming clear that hospital management, consultants and the press will unite to peddle the line that patients' lives are being put at risk.

The livelihoods of the threatened workers and the effects of the cuts on the services provided to patients are, of course, totally ignored by these 'humanitarians'.

Strikers should insist that Jack Jones pulls out all TGWU hospital workers immediately and demands supporting action from other public sector unions unless the 30 porters are reinstated.

Hospital workers from the Epsom area must be encouraged to attend the next Conference of London Area Stewards in the NUPE (CLASH) on May 11 so that the fight against the cuts can be coordinated on a London-wide basis and individual disputes such as those given the full backing of London hospital workers.

# NUT ROCK BOTTOM DEAL

£2.54—a mere 4p over the minimum laid down by Phase 2 of the TUC's pay limits—is the "negotiated" figure NUT leaders will seek to ratify at the National Union of Teachers Conference over Easter.

This abysmal settlement, which would be dismissed out of hand

under conditions of free collective bargaining, is largely due to the fact that established annual increments are included in the global increase for all teachers.

The main task of the bureaucracy at the Conference will therefore be to spin out to the maximum the talk on their own memoranda and in this way prevent any discussion on branch resolutions.

The two main memoranda are

## MIDLANDS VICTORIES

**WORKERS AT F.H. BIDDLES** have won their regrading dispute. After mass meetings had continually shown the determination of the strikers to stay out until management signed a regrading agreement, the stewards were able to report last Monday 21 March that they had gained complete victory.

**WORKERS IN THE GEARBOX** assembly section at Massey Ferguson, Coventry were out for two days last week in protest at the lack of progress of talks over new piece-work rates.

Management attempts to lay off one third of the remaining assembly workers led to a walk-out of the whole assembly workforce.

The two day token action comes days after production resumed at Massey's after the victory of an 11-week strike against speed-up.

those on wages and the cuts. The position of the Executive is to keep in step with the TUC and its "orderly return to free collective bargaining".

Against the cuts the bureaucrats offer no policy except to claim weakly that their puny 'no-cover' sanctions have achieved some things in some places and to hint at "widening the disruption".

It is becoming increasingly clear that the onslaught on educational standards, working conditions, jobs and wages cannot be met in such a way, and that if the impact of the cuts on education is to be resisted the union must mobilise its membership in all-out strike action, calling on other public sector unions and the local labour movement in each area for backing.

The demand must be not simply for a reversal of the cuts policy but for measures to protect education spending against inflation through automatic increases to compensate for rising costs as assessed by trade union committees with access to the books and plans of local authorities.

And to implement such a policy the NUT bureaucracy must be removed and a principled leadership built within the union prepared to encourage and strengthen the struggles of its members—and not attack them in the scandalous way the present leadership has done in the case of the Little Bford teachers.

# Pulling apart

NGA members at Alden Press in Oxford became the apple of their management's eye last year when they voted to take a cut in wages as their answer to threatened redundancies.

Management spoke warmly in the Press about how good relations were with their workers and how they would all pull together to save the company.

This week the management showed their gratitude. Two members were sacked for refusing to set copy from an unrecognised source, the rest are out on strike.

# BENN LIES LOW

Energy Secretary and much-vaunted 'left' winger Tony Benn was one of only four cabinet ministers to vote against Callaghan's coalition pact with the Liberals last week.

But anyone who saw this vote as a first step in a fight against the policy must already be disillusioned.

Indeed Benn has taken his "cabinet responsibility" to Callaghan so seriously that he is not only remaining at his post to implement the joint Liberal-Labour policies in the coming months, but has even refused to put his name to a petition by left wing Labour NEC members to call a special meeting to discuss the coalition deal.

Benn is not the only NEC member reluctant to reveal his position.

But the taint of coalition brands not only those who vote for it, but also those who serve in it.

The days in which Benn can credibly pose as a 'left' winger within the Cabinet must now be numbered.

In our call for removing the collaborators who are now working with the Liberals we must clearly include Benn.

And we must demand that the ten 'lefts' who *did* sign that petition for an NEC meeting immediately take up a national campaign in the Labour Party and throughout the trade union movement for the removal and expulsion of the coalitionists, and the adoption of a programme of socialist policies.

Many other speakers gave accounts of the constant harassment of black youths, and of the vicious charges and fines imposed on them particularly by means of 'conspiracy' and 'sus' charges both of which the police can use to pick up literally whom they like.

The political nature of the trial was constantly stressed and the dangers posed not only for black youth, but for the workers' movement as a whole.

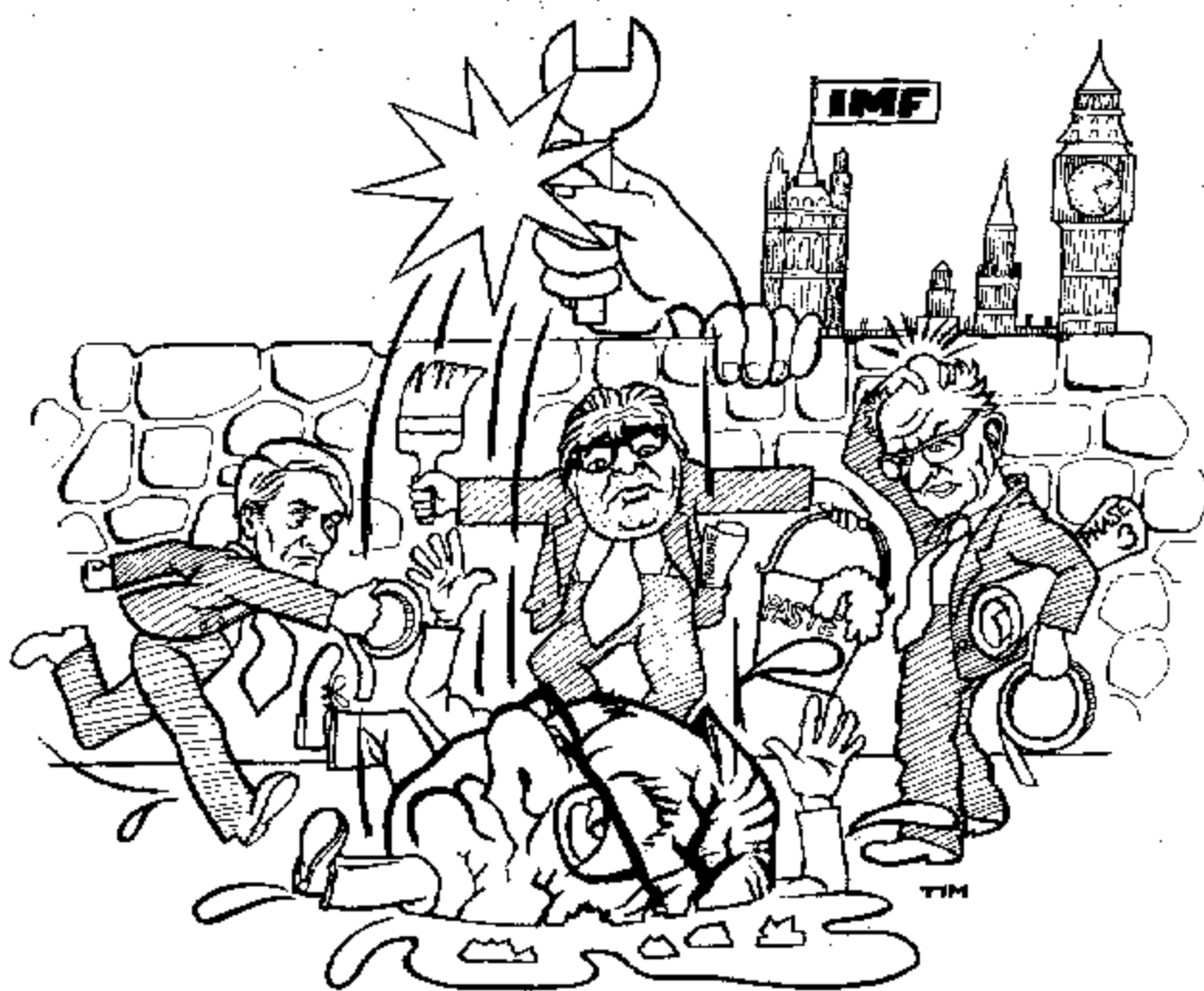
But proposals for action mainly failed to go beyond SWP-type proposals for demonstrations and street events.

It was a WSL speaker who, in addition to such actions, called for a fight against the so-called 'progressive' Islington Council, who despite their claim to being 'anti-racist' have taken no stand whatever against police brutality.

By their silence, these liberals collude with right wing racism, as they are bound to, in order to divert attention from their betrayals in implementing the cuts.

In places like Islington this has led to a desperate deterioration of physical and social conditions. The WSL speaker drew attention to the need for an all-out fight against class collaboration in North Islington Labour Party, which recently organised a meeting *with the police* on rising crime (allegedly by blacks) in the area!

It was also the WSL which called for carrying out the demand of the campaign for a workers' investigation into the whole case and for a fight for all labour movement organisations in the area to take part in such an enquiry. This can both broaden support and help expose the present reactionary leaderships in



ALL THE KING'S HORSES AND ALL THE KING'S MEN .....

## PROGRAMME TO BREAK PHASE 2 . . . from Front Page.

call on supporters of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement to fight within the Labour Party for a recall Labour Party conference to press home these demands.

The report to the Conference and an amendment to the main resolution by the organising committee went on to condemn Scanlon and the AUEW executive for their role in attacking the BLMC toolroom workers' strike.

It also condemned the sell-out of the unofficial leaders who recommended a return to work.

Unlike all the other 'protest' conferences, the lessons of this strike were brought out at this conference under conditions where every union official and Stalinist hanger-on is trying to brush it under the carpet.

### NO INCREASE

Above all, the Birmingham Conference drove home the central role of wage control in the coalition deal. This was also being spelled out on the same day but in very different surroundings by Liberal economic spokesman John Pardoe, who announced that he would be pressing for "a very tough line" on wages, which means "Now't in terms of a pay increase" after this July.

Under these conditions the fight to break the coalition means

strengthening every action against the Social Contract. As one BLMC shop steward from Cowley told the Conference: "We must be willing ourselves to lead struggles to break Stage Two".

### OBSTACLES

And in discussing the obstacles confronting such struggles, contributions returned time and again to the role of the trade union officials, whose line was aptly summed up by a delegate from the London Hotels GMWU as "Pay your dues and shut your mouth".

The fight for democracy in the labour movement is not for some abstract principle but to enable the membership to *remove* the existing right wing leadership and replace it with leaders prepared to struggle in defence of jobs and wages.

In driving home this point, in organising interventions into a number of this summer's union conferences, and in the spirited discussion that took place on the programme in the course of the Conference, many more political lessons were learned in Birmingham on Sunday than can be drawn from any number of Stalinist dominated protest activities along the lines of those to be staged over the next two months.

# 200 meet to back jailed youths

Over 200 people crowded into the meeting of the Islington 18 Defence Committee on March 15 and gave enthusiastic support to a call for a local demonstration on Saturday 23 April.

The march will start at the racist Highbury Magistrates Court and pass by the four local police stations in which the youths were brutalised into making 'confession statements'.

Another demonstration will be held outside the Old Bailey on

April 25 when the trial begins. The meeting also launched a petition calling on the three local MPs, together with councillors, to support a public investigation into police brutality and to have the local CID withdrawn in the meantime.

The mother of one of the 18 spoke of her experience of the police invading her home and of her fears concerning her son, who, at 18 has been refused bail, who faces the possibility of years inside and who now stammers severely as a result of his treatment.



Gandhi's prisoners - the vote for Janata was a vote against dictatorship.

## INDIA . . . Continued from Front Page.

of the new coalition is deeply reactionary.

Desai himself is pro-American. He split with Gandhi as a protest against the nationalisation of banks. That is typical of his consistently reactionary position.

The largest group among the Janata MPs, on whom he relies for support, belong to the Jana Sang party.

The Jana Sang is a Hindu revivalist party with a semi-fascist history, though recently it has tried to throw off this image and cultivate a more "respectable" face.

The Janata coalition also incorporates the reformist Socialist Party led by George Fernandez who was released from jail only last week.

Fernandez is a former trade

union leader, given in the past to leftist rhetoric, and a leader of the railway strike, brutally crushed in 1974.

Both Congress and the Janata Party during the election accused each other of being right wing. Both of them were right!

Nonetheless, it will be hard in the immediate future for the new government to avoid fulfilling at least some of its promises to restore democratic rights.

The problem will come, however, as the working masses of India begin to make use of these rights to fight for a better way of life.

It is then inevitable that they will come into unresolvable conflict with their new right-wing rulers.

That conflict will come soon.

# LIBYA: Where does Healy stand?

Twelve people face death sentences in Libya for belonging to illegal political parties, according to a report from Amnesty International in London last week.

The twelve were among 40 prisoners tried *in camera* earlier this year, accused of being members of "Marxist" and "Trotskyist" organisations and of the Islamic Liberation Party.

The "Peoples' Court" specially set up in January of this year passed sentences of up to 15 years on them. Libyan "left-wing" dictator Gaddafi has now overruled his own courts and increased 12 of the jail sentences to death penalties.

All the accused have been held in prison since April 1973 when Gaddafi launched his "popular revolution". Acquitted by the ordinary courts, they were released in December 1974, but immediately rearrested by Gaddafi's police.

Since 1970 all parties except Gaddafi's "Arab Socialist Union" have been banned.

In 1975, in response to growing opposition, membership of illegal political organisations was made punishable by death.

In January 1976 about a dozen students were killed by police during demonstrations at Benghazi University against government-rigged elections.

Hundreds of students were reported injured and arrested in similar clashes at Tripoli in April 1976.

At about the same time three Army officers were reported to have died under torture in prison.

In England the 'Trotskyist' Workers Revolutionary Party led by G. Healy, has carried repeated uncritical articles in its daily newspaper *Newsline* glorifying the Gaddafi regime.

We now challenge the WRP to state clearly their position on these barbaric attacks on the workers' movement by this anti-communist dictatorship.

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# MONTHLY FUND

With the recent upturn in militancy within the working class the pressure on space in our paper has been so great that we have had to omit any mention of the fund for several editions.

With the toolmakers' strike and the signing of the 'coalition' deal between Callaghan and Steel, we felt it necessary to produce a Special Edition last week and so this is our third edition in as many weeks.

We must therefore make a very special appeal to our readers and supporters to help us raise the largest possible amount for our fund this month.

The costs of producing and distributing a newspaper have risen considerably in the first few months of this year. Yet we feel that our decision to commit ourselves to the additional expense of a Special Edition was completely justified. The lessons of the toolmakers' strike needed to be brought out in some detail and with our Special Edition we were able to respond to the Labour-Liberal pact, by presenting within 48 hours our analysis and programme for this new development in the class struggle.

Now the bills have to be paid. We urge all comrades, readers and supporters to send in as much as they can afford. We have so far received this month £408.70 including Newcastle reader £1; Derbyshire reader £2; South London reader £20; Coventry £30; Islington £34.50; East London £30; Birmingham £16; Sheffield £10; Hull £19; Oxford £37; Bookshops Oxford £17; Cowley workers £21; South London £56.60; Liverpool £9.70; Leeds £10; Winsford £3; Portsmouth £8.

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