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## HOTEL STRIKE SOLD OUT

The 23 week strike over trade union recognition at the Randolph Hotel in Oxford is over. The picketing, maintained continuously during that period, is over. The 17 strikers are now having to look for other jobs.

This is the result of one of the most treacherous sell outs by the leaders of the Transport and General Workers Union in recent years.

Beginning last December, the Randolph strike became the first of a wave of strikes against the Trust Houses Forte chain of hotels. Soon afterwards, strikes broke out in Birmingham, Sheffield and London.

These strikes became part of a major move toward unionisation of low paid workers, such as Grunwicks in West London and the Club One Bingo Hall in Coventry.

In line with national policy of the TGWU to organise in hotels, TGWU members at the Randolph were called out on strike by the local District Organiser of the TGWU by the local District Organiser of the TGWU in defiance of a chambermaid victimised for trade union activity.

### OFFICIAL

The strike was made official after two days and the strikers received £6 a week in hardship money from the TGWU Region 5 committee. This was the only support they were to receive from the union in the first three months.

From early on the strikers were demanding a national blacking of THF establishments by the TGWU whose lorry driver members deliver to their hotels all over the country.

Initiated from the Oxford District Committee of the TGWU and supported by two demonstrations organised by the local trades council, this demand was adopted as policy by the TGWU national trade group committee covering hotels after a lobby of that committee by the strikers.

Then quoting the High Court decision against the UPW on the blacking of South African mail, Jack Jones stepped in to overrule the committee's decision and declare the blacking "illegal".

He later changed this to say that other members would not support.

The reality was that workers in THF canteens were volunteering strike support and TGWU officials were fighting to keep them at work.

The picket was maintained for nearly six months with the support of local trade unionists and students mainly organised through the Oxford Student Trade Union Liaison Committee.

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## ELECT WORKERS' COMMITTEES

# END



# BUSINESS

# SECRETS!

The claim by the Daily Mail that a massive "slush fund" is being operated by British Leyland management has rocked the company and the government to the foundations.

Quoting from Leyland internal documents and reports, the Mail claims that £11,372,700 was paid out in bribes during 1975-76 and that £25 million is earmarked for bribes in the current year.

Much of the money, they claim, was paid through Swiss bank accounts connected to a "money lake".

### SUITCASES

Still more was collected in notes from BL officials by the recipients in suitcases.

Capitalism has always drawn a thin line between what is "legal" or "illegal" in relation to such things as bribery, corruption and extortion.

The Mail tackles this by detailing standard Leyland methods of evading tax and currency laws in various countries through "offshore" accounts and "over

the top" payments.

The letter implicating Ryder and Varley was a forgery. But that does not discredit the rest of the case - most of which is not denied by Leyland.

They say only that they 'broke no British laws'. The police seem to hold the same view. Their first action was not to inquire into the charges, but to arrest the Leyland executive who forged the one letter.

The Mail of course has raised the matter in order to press forward the Tory attack on the Lib-Lab coalition government, and the present structure of Leyland, which it presents as a 'nationalised' industry.

But the majority of the capitalist press follows the same line as the Daily Telegraph which has argued in favour of the slush money being used.

The standard argument used is that "everybody is doing it".

£130,000

In this they are obviously right. Sir Eric Miller, for instance, sacked from the board of the Peachey Property Corporation

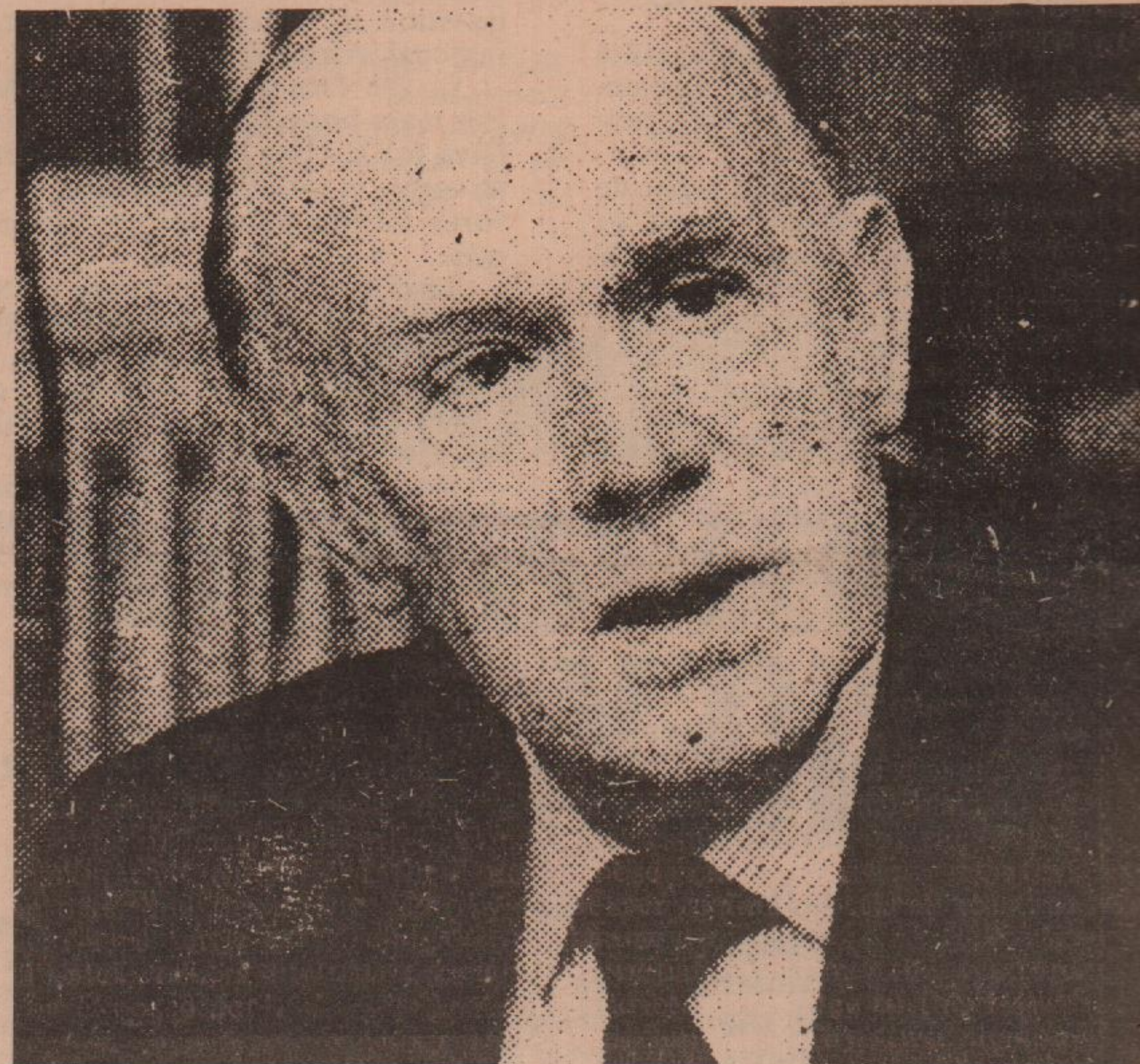


Workers at Leyland's assembly plant at Cowley

"The actual relationship existing between the exploiters and the democratic "controllers" is best characterized by the fact that the gentlemen "reformers" stop short in pious trepidation before the threshold of the trusts and their business "secrets". Here the principle of "noninterference" with business secrets dominates. The accounts kept between the individual capitalist and society remain the secret of the capitalist: they are not the concern of society. The motivation offered for the principle of business "secrets" is ostensibly, as in the epoch of liberal capitalism, that of free "competition." In reality, the trusts keep no secrets from one another. The business secrets of the present epoch are part of a persistent plot of monopoly capitalism against the interests of society. Projects for limiting the autocracy of "economic royalists" will continue to be pathetic farces as long as private owners of the social means of production can hide from producers and consumers the machinations of exploitation, robbery, and fraud. The abolition of "business secrets" is the first step toward actual control of industry.

Workers no less than capitalists have the right to know the "secrets" of the factory, of the trust, of the whole branch of industry, of the national economy as a whole. First and foremost, banks, heavy industry, and centralised transport should be placed under an observation glass."

Leon Trotsky, *The Transitional Programme*, the founding programme of the Fourth International, 1938.



Ryder

after the inexplicable disappearance of £282,000 admitted that £130,000 of this was given to one man to ease through a property deal in Europe.

Such revelations are mushrooming internationally. The Lockheed scandal in America has been followed by others such as Phillips and Du Pont. In Britain last year there was the BP political payments scandal.

The Bank of England clearance for the export of cash for the Leyland deals shows how much they are accepted as the normal state of affairs.

### KNOWN

And it is extremely hard to see how Ryder or Varley or any of those running the NEB would not have known about the expenditure of more than £11m a year - especially when the average Leyland profit over the seven

years analysed in the Ryder report was only £10½ million all told!

One Leyland spokesman remarked at the time the Lockheed scandal broke that the detailed financial procedure outlined in the company's operating manual "would ensure no illegal payments could be made".

This clearly suggests that if they were made, somebody in authority must know.

The only people to whom these transactions are a revelation are the working class—who get offered no bribes, no suitcases of cash; who instead are "rewarded" by speed-up and wage cut enforced by these same Leyland managers and executives, jointly with union officials.

This brief insight by workers into the workings of capitalism

Cont'd Back Page, Col 1.



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS



Vorster

## FRANCE

BIGGEST STRIKE  
SINCE 1968

As we go to press it seems certain that the one day national strike, called by all the main unions against the government's economic policies for May 24, will be France's largest strike since 1968.

Following hard on the heels of the last national stoppage, it reflects the growing impatience of the French working class with the policies of the Giscard-Barre regime and the increasing difficulty which the Stalinist and reformist leaders are having in holding back their angry rank and file.

The militancy of the working class has been reflected in several recent strikes particularly in the crisis-torn steel industry.

In Dunkirk, dockers recently returned to work having successfully prevented the steel firm

Usinor from transferring their jobs to lower paid workers.

They were supported by a whole series of national supporting strikes in the ports.

And in Thionville a proposal by Usinor to make 3,000 workers redundant was met with a determined response by the workers including a plan for an all-out occupation of the factory.

The parties of the Union of the Left popular front alliance are reacting to these developments by mouthing more and more demagogic words about the "common programme" on which they intend to fight next year's parliamentary elections.

The programme is designed to offer only words in place of the necessary fight for a united, indefinite general strike to bring down the Giscard-Barre government now, and force a government of workers' parties into office.

## FINLAND

A deep fissure has developed in the Communist Party after the leadership's decision to return into the new government coalition pledged to policies of "economic stabilisation"—which means anti-working class policies. Many rank and file members of the party reject this collaborationist Popular Frontism.

## ITALY

Interior Minister Cossiga's policy of open war against student and unemployed demonstrators has claimed its first victim—a girl student in Rome. This murder has provoked many more violent demonstrations. The Communist Party, closer than ever to political accord with the right-wing Christian Democrats, and the CGIL (the Communist Party's union federation) continue to give uncritical support to Cossiga's violence. They attack the "provocateurs" of the far left but offer no perspective at all for any struggle for the rights and conditions of workers in Italy's rapidly deteriorating economic crisis.

## INDIA

Indira Gandhi and her closest supporters have regained control of the Congress Party at national level. But in the provinces the Party is experiencing a haemorrhage of opportunists, resigning to join the ruling Janata Party in order to get seats in the forthcoming regional elections.

The Desai government has dissolved these assemblies in many areas where they were still Congress dominated so that the Janata candidate can win the presidential elections due in June (The President is elected in a ballot of all members of regional and national parliaments).

## POLAND

Stanislaw Pyjas a student member of the Workers Defence Committee was found dead in unexplained circumstances on May 7. His funeral was the occasion for a huge silent demonstration which the Stalinist authorities called "political provocation". They have replied by stepping up the arrest of Workers Defence Committee members, two of whom have been reported killed in a "motor accident".

## SAN SALVADOR

The body of the Foreign Minister, Mauricio Bargonono Pohl, kidnapped and then killed by the Popular Liberation Forces, was found last week. Gangs of right wing thugs, with government backing, immediately began a campaign of reprisals against known left-wing sympathisers. Their first victim was a Jesuit priest.

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ENTERNASYONEL

İŞÇİ SOSYALİST BİRLİĞİ (WSL)  
YAYINIDIR 20p

The first issue of 'International', the first openly Trotskyist bulletin to be published in Turkish.  
Available from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

## AFRICA BID TO RESCUE SMITH

The imperialist powers have launched a new offensive to rescue the white racist regimes of Southern Africa from their approaching doom.

British Foreign Secretary David Owen has unveiled a new British-American plan to stop the Zimbabwean liberation movement from taking power and to cajole Ian Smith into a compromise power-sharing agreement with Bishop Muzorewa's African National Council.

At the same time, a delegation representing the US, Britain, France, Canada and West Germany visited Namibia.

Their task was to try to persuade South African Premier Vorster to make some "democratic" concessions in his constitutional plans for South Africa's occupied neighbour.

At present the constitution, agreed in negotiations at which the blacks were "represented" by their traditional chiefs and from which the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) was excluded, allows the territory's 100,000 white settlers a more or

less complete political veto in the future.

The whites last week overwhelmingly voted 'yes' in a referendum on this constitution, which may never be implemented if Vorster is forced to compromise.

In his meeting in Austria with US Vice President Mondale, however, Vorster was completely uncompromising, rejecting the cynical offers of the Carter administration for complete support in exchange for concessions on the question of black "human rights" in South Africa.

In the face of this intransigence the main hope the imperialists now have for holding back the liberation struggle in Southern Africa is to force its leadership into a compromise.

That is the main purpose of the presence of US delegate to the United Nations, Andrew Young, at last week's UN conference on Namibia and Zimbabwe held in the Mozambique capital, Maputo.

SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma had obviously done some behind the scenes deal with the US since he abandoned his original speech

attacking imperialist efforts to "rescue racist South Africa", to give a very watered-down version.

He converted SWAPO's long held unconditional demand for "South African troops out of Namibia" into a call for South Africa to "commit itself to their future withdrawal."

There was also a significant gain for the imperialists and the racists when the "Marxist" President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, gave guarded support for the imperialist moves on Namibia which would contribute to the acceleration of the resolution of the conflict."

Machel said that Britain's initiative "can constitute a positive factor in the liquidation of the colonial racist system... so long as these initiatives have as a sincere objective the complete independence of Zimbabwe."

If that had been the sincere objective of British Labour governments since 1964 then Zimbabwe would have got rid of racist rule years ago.

Machel can only be guilty of conscious opportunism by this

gesture which, if carried on, spells betrayal of the black liberation struggle.

There are signs that the war in Zimbabwe has intensified in the last few weeks.

Smith has launched a series of pre-emptive raids into Zambia and Botswana which are both areas of Zimbabwean guerrilla camps.

President Kaunda even went so far as to declare war on Ian Smith but was firmly warned against taking any action by Britain's David Owen.

## FIGHTING

None of these diplomatic efforts to soften the blow to racist rule, however, have yet stopped the Zimbabwean guerrillas from fighting.

And there is also news in the last month of new outbursts of resistance from the workers and students of Soweto outside Johannesburg against massive rent increases imposed as a punishment for damage done in last year's uprising.

## TURKEY DEMAND WORKERS ENQUIRY INTO KILLINGS

Since the May Day shootings the right wing parties have exploited the violence in efforts to discredit the "left" parties—even including the bourgeois Republican Peoples Party led by Mr. Ecevit.

Meanwhile the Stalinist-dominated left wing trade union confederation DISK has declared they are not even going to mobilise a protest demonstration against the killings, even though a Maoist group has now published a picture of plain clothes policemen firing from rooftops into the crowd.

The Interior Ministry has accepted that these men are policemen. But they claimed that the police were there "to arrest a suspected anarchist".

By ignoring this class evidence that the violence was police-provoked, and by centring their attack instead on the Maoists, blaming them for the killings, the Stalinists are playing the game exactly the way the ruling National Front coalition would like.

There is a need for an immediate workers' inquiry into the May Day killings to put an end to rumours

Since May Day fascist attacks have continued—killing at least ten, with dozens wounded. Every political party is now discussing how to protect the polling stations. DISK has announced it will mobilise workers for this purpose; but the fascists have also stated that they will "guard the polling stations".

Of course the question confronting DISK and all workers' organisations is not defence of the polling booths, but a continuing defence of all workers against attack.

As a group of 15 WSL supporters shouted on the May Day rally, there must be an immediate turn to build workers defence squads drawn from all tendencies within the workers movement to combat fascist terror.

Meanwhile more evidence is emerging of the scale of the economic crisis which is now forcing the employers onto the offensive in Turkey.

Japanese banks, and banks in several European countries are now refusing to cash cheques drawn on the Bank of Turkey because of its lack of assets. Turkish embassy



Police fire on the crowd in Istanbul even been getting their wages.

The Bank of Turkey retains gold reserves of only \$600 million—as against a trade deficit now totalling \$2 billion. There are insufficient reserves even to cover the \$1 billion required for immediate imports—and the IMF is refusing any credit unless there is a 70% devaluation of the Turkish lira!

In such dire straits there are obviously no solutions to the problems facing Turkish workers other than the all-out struggle to

workers' control over the economy.

For this reason the elections must be used as a platform for independent working class policies.

25 candidates of the Socialist Revolutionary Party (which is banned from participation in the elections) are standing as independent candidates. These must join in a united front with Turkish Labour Party candidates on a socialist programme.

There must be no vote for Ecevit's party from workers or peasants—but a campaign to support

# ISRAEL

## LABOUR GOVERNMENT TOPPLED

The results of the Israeli general election have swept the Labour Alignment from the predominant position it has held since 1949 and have paved the way for a governmental takeover by the right wing Likud Party.

This party is led by former terrorist Menahem Begin, better known as the leader of the Irgun Zvei Leumi gang.

This gang carried out the Deir Yasin massacre of 1948 which sparked off the Palestine Arab exodus of that year.

The available election results show Likud holding 41 seats in the 120 seat Knesset (parliament) compared with Labour Alignment's 33 seats and the Democratic Movement for Change's 14 seats.

Right wing religious parties including the National Religious Party, whose withdrawal from government last December precipitated the elections picked up 22% of the vote to give them 21 seats.

Left wing groups, including the pro-Moscow Rakah group of Arab Communists managed to win 9 seats.

Likud's triumph is attributable not to any major increase in its representation (it only gained an extra 2 seats) but to the spectacular drop in the Labour strength from 51 to 33 seats.

This drop is almost entirely of Labour's own making. Economic-

ally it proved incapable of bringing down the inflation rate from its current 40%—an inflation which spurred on a long series of strikes.

Politically it had reached stalemate in its belaboured attempts to negotiate a peace settlement with the Arab states—at a time when Carter's presidential victory meant Israel's chief backer was stepping up the pressure on them to reach some agreement.

Then, towards the end of former Prime Minister Rabin's rule, a series of scandals occurred which were to sink Labour.

The Housing Minister committed suicide, accused of misappropriating money from real estate deals; the Labour nominee as Governor of the Central Bank was jailed on corruption charges; and Rabin himself resigned after his wife had been convicted of holding an illegal bank account in the United States.

Sickened by these scandals many Labour supporters switched allegiance and voted for Yigael Yadin's 5-month-old Democratic Movement for Change (DMC).

In all probability Likud will now form a government with the National Religious Party and will try to secure the support of the DMC.

But this in itself is fraught with contradictions since the DMC is demanding as its price the sort of electoral reform which the NRP has always opposed.

But it is certain that Israel's domestic and foreign policy will

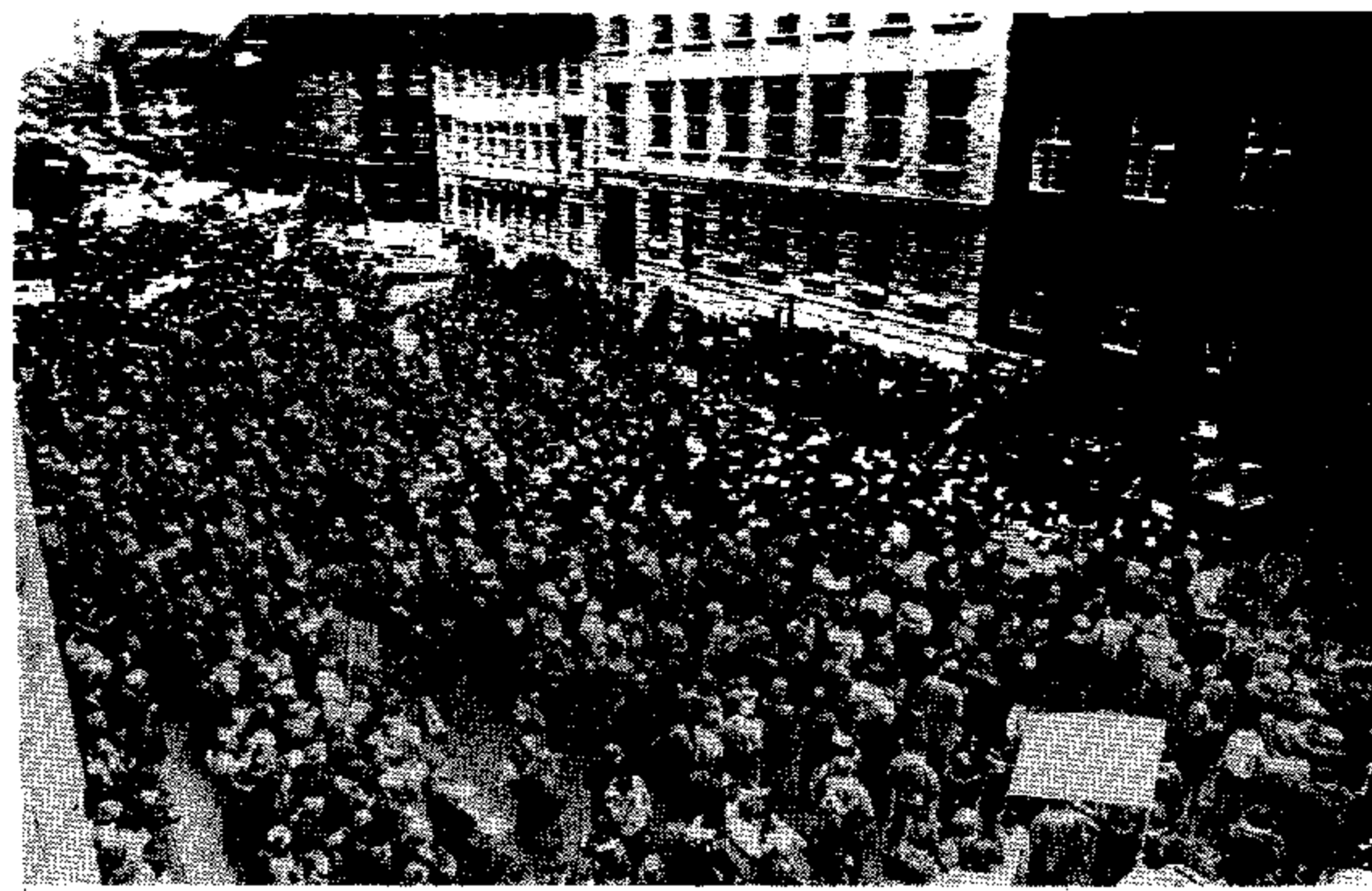
now swing further to the right than ever.

Already Begin has declared the occupied territories to be an integral part of Israel and has refused to consider any territorial concessions outside of Sinai.

These hawkish positions have again brought to the fore the prospect of a new war.

Reaction from front line Arab states and the PLO have suggested that the emphasis will now be on military preparedness rather than negotiation.

The new situation now cuts the ground from under the feet of all those in the Palestinian leadership who have been willing to compromise the demands of the Palestinian national struggle.



9,000 workers demonstrate outside the Danish employers' federation building in Copenhagen.

# DENMARK

## MASS STRUGGLES ERUPT

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT IN DENMARK.

Despite a full scale onslaught by the employers, by the bosses' courts and a complete lack of positive leadership from union bureaucrats the struggle against mass sackings at the Danish Berlingske Tidende newspaper firm, now a lock-out, has reached its 15th week.

Meanwhile the print unions have additionally been fined a massive

£1 million by a Danish labour court in retaliation for the three-week national stoppage over wages which virtually paralysed the press last month.

And just before the national strike ended, with a sell-out deal agreed by union officials, four provincial newspapers sacked their entire print workforce and announced only half would be re-employed.

In other words the print employers have taken the decision to force through a massive rationalisation and attack on jobs and conditions. To do this they must crack the workforce at Berlingske.

This led to attempts at the end of April to produce a strike-breaking paper, using foremen to do the work of printers. But the response from the working class was overwhelming.

Each night from the first appearance of the scab paper a mass picket of from one to two thousand battled with the police throughout the night to stop lorries entering the building or leaving with papers.

On April 26, 9-10,000 workers marched through Copenhagen in a solidarity demonstration with the locked-out print workers.

On Thursday 28 April, Berlingske Tidende's management announced the temporary stopping of the scab paper because of so-called threats to the safety of the foremen

The Stalinist leaders of Berlingske print-workers have been willing from the start to accept 150 redundancies (out of 1,000 spread over a period of 18 to 20 months, but the management will cut the figures every time negotiations begin again.

At first they talked of 300, now they are up in the 400 scale. It appears that the idea is to cut printworkers by half, as in the case of those fired by the provincial papers.

At the same time as these events most of the faculties at all Danish universities are occupied by students in protest against "entrance restrictions" and closure of the Social Science BA Education at the new Roskilde University Centre.

Roskilde was started as an experiment in new methods of education a few years ago and rapidly became a centre for Marxist counter education to bourgeois ideology.

Just as rapidly it became a symbol of revolt to the bourgeois parties, and under pressure from social democrats have slowly tried to undo everything and introduce normal bourgeois university courses.

The occupations lasted 3 weeks. Although they did not achieve their full demands, the students won assurances that concessions would be made, and announced their readiness to resume the struggle in order to ensure education is open up to broader layers of society.

# PAKISTAN:

## behind Bhutto's rise

PART TWO OF OUR SPECIAL ARTICLE BY FAROOQ NAWAZ (SAMAJ).

The protest movement against Bhutto, which in the beginning was a movement restricted to loyal supporters of the right wing Islamic bigots of the PNA, grew wider and wider in scope as repression was stepped up. Specific grievances about the latest elections combined with the increasing general hostility to Bhutto and his policies.

As the working class came on the scene a call for strike action resulted in a complete national stoppage.

Thousands more were drawn into struggle. Demonstrations began, not now from the mosques, but from the factories.

It was this that forced Bhutto to seek the aid of the Army. Martial Law was declared in the major cities.

The right wing opposition, which had earlier called on the Army to form an interim administration to supervise fresh elections had once again created the illusion of a 'neutral' armed forces.

But the army has clearly intervened on the side of Bhutto. It is unlikely that, in the near future, it will attempt to take over from Bhutto.

Firstly because this is 1977, not 1958: having suffered the experience of army rule the masses have only bitter memories.

Secondly, the total defeat in Bangla Desh in 1971 not only discredited the army but gave Bhutto the opportunity to purge from its ranks all except those totally loyal to him.

Finally, there is the strong traditional link between the army and the rural landlords and peasants, and so far, Bhutto can count on the big landlords.

The tragedy is that the left has not been able to give a political lead to the explosion of the masses.

The right wing parties have seized the leadership so far, and army intervention has ensured that the movement did not get out of



The long term aim of socialists must be to build an independent working class party capable of uniting workers and poor peasants round a socialist programme.

The immediate task is to intervene in the mass movement to expose the Right 'alternative', to counterpose socialist demands and slogans.

For example, the right has consistently invited the armed forces to intervene. While the 'neutrality' of the armed forces has been considerably exposed, the right wing will probably mount an agitation and remove a particular general or a particular office.

### TROOPS OUT

The left has to mount a campaign for 'troops out of all cities' and go on to demand withdrawal of troops from the provinces of Baluchistan and NWFP.

This is the time to direct the attention of the masses (especially those of the Punjab) to the rights of regional minorities.

The demand for the release of political prisoners must include the working class leadership incarcerated by Bhutto in 1972-3, as well as the leaders of the banned National Awami Party.

The left must raise demands relating to the freedom of workers to organise. The concrete form these demands should take will depend on the specific situation faced by workers.

What is vital is that the left learns from this and past movements, that the revolutionary potential of the urban working class

Left wing movements have too often dismissed the important and painstaking task of building working class organisations, and have been particularly scornful of what they term 'economistic' demands.

### LIP SERVICE

And while paying lip service to the importance of organising the peasantry, left wing parties have done little in this sphere and failed totally to link the demands of the poor peasants and landless with those of the urban masses.

The result has been that the rural poor lie dormant as the urban movement is left leaderless and isolated.

### FOOTNOTE.

Bhutto has been forced to make concessions to the right wing demands of the PNA leadership.

He has introduced various sections of the traditional Islamic Law, outlawing alcohol and gambling. And he has started to hand nationalised property back to its old owners.

He has, of course, done nothing for the working class which is why he is losing more support every day.

He has now firmly rejected the PNA demand for his resignation followed by new elections; and they have rejected his offer of a referendum on whether or not he should resign.

The crisis shows no signs of abating. Huge anti-Bhutto demonstrations are continuing and on May 20 a further 6 demonstrators were shot dead by security forces.

# 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.



# CDLM FIGHTS HOTELS

## BETRAYAL

The Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement has come out in strong condemnation of the sell out of hotel workers in Birmingham and Oxford.

A statement carried by an emergency meeting of the CDLM in Oxford at the weekend called for national blacking to be imposed on the third Trust Houses Forte strike, at the Grosvenor House in Sheffield, from being given the same treatment.

It also condemned the attempt by the District Official in Oxford, Geoff Hulett, to call off the picket line on the night that the Self Help activists breached it with police support, resulting in 38 arrests, and called on the TGWU to make itself responsible for the payments of all legal costs and fines.

Pat Lally, a TGWU member, said the main characteristics of the strikes in Oxford and Sheffield had been the necessity to confront the union leadership under conditions where workers had just joined the TGWU.

"There is a tendency to say that the officials are corrupt and the union officials are going to sell us out and therefore let us get round them. The response of the workers in Oxford and Sheffield has been different—constantly to direct back to the union structures."

### ALL NIGHT VIGIL

Pursuing this policy had turned them into the best travelled hotel workers in the country as they organised every necessary committee and undertook an all night vigil at Jack Jones office in Transport House to fight for blacking.

In Birmingham the domination of the strikers by Alan Law had not allowed this to happen. Well into the strike it had come as a surprise to some of those involved that they were even in a union branch.

At the time of the sell out Alan Law had begun to organise limited regional blacking despite the national leadership saying this was illegal.

"There was a difference of opinion among union officials as to how these hotel strikes should be won, or should be lost. Trust Houses Forte were without a doubt extremely knocked that supporting action was being taken because they had been assured many weeks ago that there would be no blacking".

THF response was to turn to the media with a massive campaign to show that they were not anti-union but that there was no support for the strikes.

### APPARATUS

Jones also recognised what was at stake in the blacking. It was his response to that which led to the sell out.

"It is not simply one individual official we're talking about here—we are talking about an apparatus that functions within the unions, not confined to the TGWU."

Margaret Radbourne, shop steward of the Randolph chambermaids and a member of the District Committee of the TGWU recounted the way that the sell out was presented without a vote and without an alternative.

"If we'd had a little time to have a few meetings and talk to a few people we wouldn't have accepted it."

Martin Clayton one of the strikers at the Grosvenor House, Sheffield, said that their union district official had refused to meet them for two weeks. Each day his secretary made a fresh excuse. "Sometimes she says he'll be back at three so we go and wait for a couple of hours but we don't see him."

Now the strikers have been called together next Monday when they expect to hear a similar offer



Jones



Hulett



Jackson



Grantham

for a sell out accompanied by the same threats. A previous sum of £350 each was unanimously rejected.

Joseph Tosti, shop steward at the Linton Lodge Hotel in Oxford, where the strike ended in victory, reported that since going back they had recruited three workers into the union.

He said that all support should now be mobilised for Grunwick. "If there is anything we can do to help them in their struggle then I would be the first to support."

Johnny Patel, a member of the strike committee at Grunwick, outlined the 40 week strike, the constant police harassment, indiscriminate arrests and the refusal of Tom Jackson to allow the UPW to take supporting action.

After an inquiry into arbitrary

arrests by the police at Willesden Green the Chief Inspector was forced to retire four years early. The same Chief Inspector has now found himself a new job—personnel manager at Grunwick!

Len Murray had offered support—especially when there was a photographer around. Verbal messages poured into their strike headquarters but effective blacking of the electricity, water and post was still denied.

The APEX General Secretary Roy Grantham, sent to demand blacking from the General Council asked instead for support, and more verbal support was exactly what he got.

The only other action of the leadership was to impose a 24 hour picket which exhausted the strikers without increasing effectiveness.

## PORT TALBOT BLACK NEEDED

The first meeting in London to support the embattled Port Talbot electricians had a rather disappointing turn out of just over 50.

The Communist Party, who initiated the meeting, sent only electricians around their 'Flashlight' paper, presumably on the grounds that this dispute, of central importance in the fight against Phase 2 was only a sectional matter.

The left groups with the exception of Militant and one representative of the SWP, were conspicuous by their absence. The IMG failed to appear at all.

For the strikers, Wyn Bevan outlined the struggle for the £10 claim across the board and their recent unsatisfactory meetings with Chapple. The strikers had made clear their willingness for negotiations to take place but on the condition that the strikers were present at the negotiations with a watching brief.

### NO CONFIDENCE

This had proved unacceptable to British Steel, but with Chapple admitting in private to the men that he could not possibly support their claim because it would knock a hole in the social contract through which every other member of his union would walk, the strikers are clearly wise to place absolutely no confidence in their union officials.

Les Sexton spoke of the intensity of their struggle against the bureaucracy. He pointed out

that in their travels, they had discovered that the social contract had been broken at Shepcote Lane in Sheffield, but the EETPU bureaucracy are only concerned to defend the social contract and argue that now the Port Talbot strike is nationally known there is no way any under the table deal can be done. In fact Chapple told the strikers that he did not want to know about under the table deals, all he was interested in was maintaining the social contract.

WSL members in the meeting spoke of the importance of the struggle for the fight to defeat the economic strategy of the government and raised various points about the need for blacking and supporting action.

The WSL speakers proposed in particular that a lobby be arranged of the National Ports Shop Stewards Committee with a view to getting a complete black imposed on all steel in the ports.

Bevan said that they were interested in this suggestion and would take it back to the strike committee.

With BSC importing £40 million of steel a month to break the strike, the fight to win the support of the dockers for such blacking is clearly crucial to the victory of the strike.

\*Donations and messages of support should be sent to Mr. B. Curtis, 23, Hawthorn Avenue, Baglan, Port Talbot. A strike bulletin is available from the strike headquarters, Labour Club, Station Rd., Port Talbot.



Part of the March 27 CDLM Conference

# SCOTS CONFERENCE

Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement supporters in Scotland have proposed a Scottish regional conference of the CDLM on wage control and union democracy.

The purpose of the proposed conference, which is to be submitted for endorsement by the CDLM national organising committee next Saturday, will be to build the CDLM in Scotland to implement

the programme adopted by the CDLM national conference on March 27 this year.

This important conference comes at a time when the labour movement enters the crucial stage in the struggle against Stage 2 of the Social Contract and as union conferences meet to consider their attitude towards Phase 3 in August.

Jones and the TUC bureaucrats have tried to defuse this struggle by deliberately confusing state-

ments giving the false impression that a Stage 3 deal would not be as straight as Stage 2 and would allow flexibility to deal with specific problems workers have.

The conference can help to expose this fraud and to present a socialist alternative to the Social Contract.

The conference will be held on Sunday June 25 in Stirling. Further information and credentials can be obtained from Stewart MacLennan, 18, Carrington St., Glasgow, 64.

## MOTIONS FOR BRANCHES

The CDLM called for the following resolutions to be taken back into union branches and sent from there to district and regional committees:

1. The TGWU members on official strike for 23 weeks at the Randolph Hotel Oxford have been instructed by the union to accept a buy off which means they have all lost their jobs and the union is left without a single member in the hotel.

The members were called out by the local District Official against victimisation as part of the union's declared intention to unionise the hotel and catering industry.

The strikers were denied the right to decide on the continuation of the strike as the TGWU Regional Office had accepted terms from Trust Houses Forte previously rejected by the strikers, of cash payments instead of the union's demands for re-instatement and that the union was withdrawing official recognition from the strike, ending financial support and calling off the limited blacking action within the region.

The major factor in the strike being lost was the refusal of the TGWU General Executive Council to implement the policy adopted at Branch, District Committee and National Trade Group levels for national blacking, through TGWU regions, of Trust Houses Forte and calls for the immediate implementation of this policy to ensure the remaining strike at Grosvenor House, Sheffield, is won.

2. This meeting condemns the Oxford District Official's attempt to withdraw the official picket from the Randolph Hotel in the face of fascist provocation without reference to the strike committee and supports the policy of the TGWU 5/670 hotel workers branch calling for the union to accept full responsibility for the payments of fines for the 38 arrested pickets and donates £ to the Defence Fund.

3. The CDLM undertook to organise a campaign for blacking by the UPW, the GMWU and the EETPU of post, water and electricity to Grunwick.

4. CDLM supported a call to open all books and files of British Leyland in the light of the 'slush fund' revelations.

# PAISLEY GAINS FROM LOYALIST STRIKE



## Tories to slash housing

Immediately after the capture of the Greater London Council their new plans for housing (or rather, dehousing) have begun to emerge.

The plan for a 'sale of the century' of council properties already well-known.

Horace Cutler, the new GLC leader, has openly announced the Tories' intention to do away with council responsibility for providing and maintaining homes.

If this is allowed to happen the already chronic housing crisis in London will increase with thousands more people, especially the young, unable to find somewhere to live.

Already the Tories have begun the eviction of people who have been forced to squat in empty properties for lack of somewhere decent to live.

Some of these had agreements with the Labour GLC whereby they paid rent and were allowed to stay.

On the massive Ocean Estate Stepney, council homes will be taken over and transformed into offices—with over a million square feet of empty office space already existing in Central London.

A leaflet distributed by the Workers Socialist League on the Ocean estate warned workers and tenants that the Lib-Lab coalition would not stop the Tories' attack on the housing question as the first step towards mobilising mass resistance based on a socialist alternative.

The end of the 11-day Loyalist strike against British security policy in Northern Ireland has been acclaimed as a major victory for Roy Mason and the Northern Ireland office.

But even though Paisley and his cohorts failed to win their demands for tougher security measures and the restoration of Stormont, they were able to extract important concessions from Mason.

For even before the strike ended, a five-point package had been agreed by Mason and Ballylumford power workers.

This package included intensified military operations in Catholic areas, greater use of undercover anti-terrorist squads and an increase in RUC numbers to some 6,000.

Already Mason has fulfilled one of these points by announcing a doubling of SAS operations in the republican stronghold of South Armagh, and there can be no doubt that he will do his utmost to meet the other points agreed upon.

The strike fizzled out largely because of a lack of response from Protestant workers. The first major setback to the Ulster Unionist Action Council (UUAC) leading the strike came on April 29, when 8,000 workers at the Harland and Wolff shipyard in East Belfast voted to stay at work.

And though absenteeism was high at engineering works, over 70%

of the workforce were reporting for work by the third day of the strike.

Even more decisively, the UUAC failed to shut down the Ballylumford power station which generates two-thirds of Northern Ireland's electricity. On the fifth day of the strike, May 6, workers there voted 286 to 171 against striking.

Nevertheless, the UUAC did secure important local support, particularly in Paisley's parliamentary constituency of North Antrim.

The docks at Larne were shut from the very outset, and in Ballymena, farmers blocked the town centre in support of Paisley and the strike demands.

### CONTROL

This support has remained solid, even after the strike for in the local elections on 17 May, Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party took control of Ballymena town council by increasing the number of seats it held from 4 to 11.

Full results of the elections were not available as we went to press, but first indications are that Paisley and the extreme Loyalists have made some important gains despite predictions that the strike's demise would see their electoral rout.

Post-strike Northern Ireland is no more advanced politically than it was three weeks ago. Official rumours from the Northern Ireland Office suggest that a new round of

meaningless "talks" between the Catholic SDLP, the Official Unionist Party and the "moderate" Alliance Party is in the offing.

### NO POWER

But these talks can neither resurrect the pre-1972 pattern of majority rule, nor the power-sharing executive and Council of Ireland which was brought down by the UWC stoppage in 1974.

Instead, all that is being proposed is some form of "administrative devolution" ie. an enlarged local authority devoid of legislative power, and bearing no relation to the political situation in Northern Ireland.

Such an institution may find favour with local politicians, but it will undoubtedly be rejected as a charade by the people of Northern Ireland themselves.

No solution to the Northern Ireland conflict is to be found within the context of the Northern Ireland state.

The only way out of the present impasse is through the defeat of imperialism and the destruction of the Northern Ireland state it upholds.

But these tasks can only be achieved if fought for by a united Irish working class led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party. The failure of the UUAC to lead the

Protestant workers out on strike has revealed an important rift between the reactionary Loyalist leadership and the mass of Protestant workers.

Revolutionaries in Ireland must try to take advantage of this rift by pressing ahead with demands for the establishment of armed defence squads to protect both Catholics and Protestants from UDA, UVF, SAS and regular British Army attacks.

### TROOPS OUT

Here in Britain the fight for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of troops from Ireland must be stepped-up by linking it with the demand for an end to the Lib-Lab coalition, and for the expulsion of right-wingers like Mason, and his predecessor Merlyn Rees from the Labour Party.

The struggle against British imperialism in Ireland is central to the struggle for proletarian revolution in Britain, and only by linking the two can the age-old "Irish question" ever be successfully resolved.

# EQUAL RIGHTS MEETING

Union officials at Leyland's Cowley Plant are to be called on to explain what fight they will lead to open all jobs in the factory to women.

A public meeting, called by Oxford and District Trades Union Council, overwhelmingly supported a resolution to campaign for equal opportunity in the factory and to keep a permanent sub-committee on the trades council to fight for women's rights.

The question of the factory employment and a united fight inside the trade union movement emerged as the keynote of a meeting of 120 people, boycotted by every single trades council officer. The strength that emerged has built up an impetus that the officers will find impossible to sidestep.

A motion, calling on Trades Council to invite officials to explain publicly their position on women working in the factory comes in the wake of an exemption order which now allows women to work nights in the body plant.

This, together with a motion to make the women's rights sub-committee permanent and to allow it to call open meetings was overwhelmingly carried.

All four main speakers stressed the class nature of women's oppression.

Vicki Ryan from ASTMS sketched an outline of the struggle

by women, pointing out how that struggle only moved into the working class when it was taken up in mass action by women workers.

"Progress towards equal rights for women has been very slow and there have been times when the tide seemed to turn against us."

The two major wars brought more women into the factories as the war economies demanded more exploitation than men alone could give in the factories. At the end of the wars the women were driven back into the home.

The Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity Acts had merely taught employers to use simple rules to evade them.

Mary Roger, a member of the National Union of Teachers equality sub-committee, said that 16 years of equal pay for teachers had not altered the pattern of women in the lower paid jobs.

Young children learned at school from watching the teachers that the woman usually filled the subordinate positions.

She quoted from children's reading books which work to cement sex roles from the earliest age.

Cathy Sherlock, one of the Randolph strikers said: "Catering is the lowest paid, lousiest work there is. Everyone is paid so badly that you can't even point to specific cases of discrimination against women."

"The higher the class of hotel the greater the gap between what

they pay in wages and earn in profits.

"The only way that workers can fight against managements like this is through struggle."

At the time of the meeting TGWU officials Geoff Hulett, Oxford and Alan Law in Birmingham were being pressured into final pretence at a fight.

"The sordid truth is the only reason why this happened at all was the union wanted to sell us out because they wanted to make Hulett the scapegoat and Hulett didn't like this so he started fighting for us. The same is true with Alan Law."

"The real answer is for more and more women to join the union and then to take action."

"Although the union may have closed shop in the car factories at Cowley and Dagenham there are sweat shops exploiting women and immigrants just round the corner."

Pam Jones from the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson, took up the point about the bureaucracy. "We had to threaten to withdraw all our membership in the district before Alan Fisher would change his line from that of David Ennals."

She recounted the history of the occupation, the workers' hesitations, the betrayals and the eventual overwhelming decision.

The woman who started the hospital was the first woman doctor. "She was told she should always wear nurse's uniform and not appear too intelligent."



## March against Bill

ON MAY 14, TEN THOUSAND demonstrators marched through London to a rally in Hyde Park. The march, called by the National Abortion Campaign against the anti-abortion Benyon Bill, attracted large contingents of workers representing Trades Councils, union branches and left-wing groups. Although feelings about this Bill are very strong, the rally was left feeling it could do very little but pressure individual MPs

whether Liberal, Labour or Conservative, to vote against the Bill. Speakers included Oonagh McDonald and Germaine Greer. The slogans of the WSL, which sent a contingent on the march, raised the need to fight the issue on a class basis, by challenging the coalition government and linking the fight for free abortion to the struggle to defend the health service against the cuts.





Mussolini



Mussolini riding with the King of Italy



Workers occupy the Lancia factory

# HOW FASCISTS TOOK STATE POWER

The Italian communist leader Antonio Gramsci, who died forty years ago in a fascist prison, once remarked bitterly that "History teaches lessons; but it has no pupils." Gramsci was looking to be proved wrong.

The recent ugly rise in the popularity of extreme right wing and fascist organisations—from the National Front which got nearly a third of the vote in some GLC constituencies three weeks ago to the National Association of Freedom and the Self Help group which have given their support to the management in the hotels and restaurants—shows how important it is that the labour movement becomes a pupil and learns the history of fascism.

That is why *Socialist Press* is publishing a series of articles on fascism in the twenty years which led up to the Second World War. The first article on Italy will be followed by three others—on Germany, on Spain and Portugal, and finally on Britain.

Throughout the advanced capitalist countries the economic and political crises which followed the First World War spawned fascist movements.

The form and fate of these movements varied: in Italy and Germany fascist parties came to power; in other countries like Spain and Portugal other extreme right wing forces seized power and identified themselves with the fascists; elsewhere, in Britain and France, for instance, the fascists, though significant, never came close to power directly.

But in all cases the central features of fascism were similar: its base as a mass movement was the petty-bourgeoisie—state

bureaucrats, shopkeepers, "professionals" and some intellectuals; its tactics were violence against the workers' movement and often racialism; its words were spiced with anti-capitalism but when in power it acted ruthlessly in the interests of big business from which it received its material support; while it followed a partly parliamentary road to power, its decisive strength lay in physical control of the streets and its ability physically to destroy the organisations of the labour movement.

## NEW PHENOMENON

Fascism was a new phenomenon—a feature of the epoch of capitalist decline, a response to the increasing difficulty of exercising capitalist rule through the "democratic" parliamentary methods which capitalism had itself created.

Fascism in power did not change the ruling class. Fascism, like parliamentary democracy, was capitalist rule. But if the ruling class remained the same, the relation of all the classes under fascism was profoundly altered.

Fascism was a new type of authoritarianism which, as Trotsky put it in *What Next?*, "has for its basic and only task the razing to their foundations of all institutions of proletarian democracy"; that is the trade unions, political parties, clubs and co-operatives which the workers had built up in times of bourgeois democracy. And in order to destroy all workers organisations it was necessary for fascism also to destroy all the political organisations of bourgeois society including

those of the bourgeoisie itself.

The Social Democracy, Trotsky argued, though it bore the prime responsibility for the rise of fascism was nonetheless completely incompatible with fascism.

This analysis formed the foundation of the policy which Trotsky consistently urged the Communists to pursue to defeat fascism—the united front of workers' organisations.

Ultimately fascism could only be eradicated by proletarian revolution but immediately, fascism could be obstructed from coming to power by the united action of the whole working class.

Both the consistency and the profundity of Trotsky's analysis of fascism stands in the sharpest possible contrast to that of the Third International after its Stalinist degeneration.

Stalin took the connection between the rise of the proletarian revolutionary movement and the growth of fascism to mean that the second was simply a mechanical reflection of the first. Failing completely to foresee the ruthless counter-revolution which fascist power would unleash, the Third International almost welcomed fascism as a sign that the inevitable socialist revolution was round the corner.

To Stalin, the fact that the capitalist class rested in turn on the social democracy and on the fascists came to mean that the social democracy was no more than the 'moderate wing of fascism', the "social fascists". The Stalinists argued that it was necessary to destroy social democracy before destroying fascism.

Through such sectarian policies the Stalinists, refusing all united fronts with other workers' organisations, helped to bring fascism to power. When the enormity of the disaster made it impossible to maintain this catastrophic ultra-left position, then Stalin shifted in 1935 to a right-wing policy of 'anti-fascist' alliances in popular fronts with the parties of the capitalist class.

Having contributed to the annihilation of workers' democracy in Germany, the Stalinists became the defenders of bourgeois democracy in Spain. In both cases the Stalinists helped to sell the workers into the most appalling repression. The lessons of fascism, the lessons of social democracy and the lessons of Stalinism must be learned together.



# ITALY: THE CONCLUSION

FIRST OF TWO PARTS BY BOB SUTCLIFFE.

Fascism in Italy was founded as a political party in March 1919. Within little more than three years Benito Mussolini had become Prime Minister.

The speed with which the fascists gained power was all the more frightening given that those three years had seen the greatest mobilisations in the history of the Italian working class.

Fascism rode to power over this immensely strong and militant workers' movement, which by 1927 had been ruthlessly destroyed.

It was big business which financed and abetted the fascists; and the political representatives of small and medium capitalists who invited them to take power; but it

is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the ultimate political responsibility for Mussolini's success lies with the leaders of the parties and organisations of the labour movement.

## FATEFUL SPLIT

The origins of fascism go back to the beginning of the First World War. Both right and left were divided over whether Italy should intervene in the war.

And in 1914 a fateful split took place in the Socialist Party. Benito Mussolini was the editor of the Socialist Party's paper, *Avanti!*, (Forward!) and posed as a leader of the left of the party.

In 1914, however, he began a demagogic campaign for the entry of Italy into the war. He had just-





Turin

April 1945, Fascists pay the penalty at the hands of partisans



Partisans and captured fascists



wrecking of the offices of Avanti!

# MARCH ROME

defeatist position—but took no action at all against the bourgeois government.

At the end of the war Italy's government was in the hands of a series of weak coalitions led by the Liberal and Radical Parties.

The traditional bourgeois parties looked on in terror at the growth of workers organisations and the increasing militancy of the working class as well as of the poor peasantry which was conducting a massive campaign of land occupations.

The major landmarks in these years of struggle were the general strike in Milan on April 29, 1919 in protest against police violence against a socialist rally, the political near insurrectional, general strike of July 4, 1919, the national general strike of July 20-21 called in solidarity with the Soviet and Hungarian revolutions, the huge gains of the Socialists in the general elections of November 1919 and the historic wave of factory occupations in August and September 1920.

## WORKERS COUNCILS

In Turin, where Gramsci and the group of revolutionaries around the *L'Ordine Nuovo*, (The New Order) played a leading role, this movement led to the establishment of Soviet-type workers' councils.

For two years the bourgeoisie was for good reason seized with a terror of revolution.

But there were fatal deficiencies in the national leadership of the Socialists—including the large sections of the party which nominally supported a socialist programme (the 'Maximalists' led by Serrati).

By withdrawing at the crucial moment of every struggle, the Socialist leaders ensured that the revolutionary upsurges were quelled every time.

The government, however, did not feel confident that the Socialist leaders could maintain control of their followers and increasingly it looked elsewhere for political salvation—to the extreme right.

In 1919 the most organised section of the extreme right was a nationalist party led by Gabriele d'Annunzio, who with an illegal military legion occupied the Yugoslav town of Fiume from September 1919 until the end of 1920.

## FASCES

Many of d'Annunzio's followers were to join the new movement which Mussolini founded at a meeting in Milan on March 23, 1919.

The movement was called the *Fasci di Combattimento* (Fasci referred to the *fascis*—a bundle of sticks bound together which was the Roman Empire's symbol of authority).

The initial programme of the Fascists was a confused jumble of chauvinism and imperialism on the one hand and "syndicalism" and "workers control" on the other.

The confusion reflected the groups that initially came together around Mussolini: they included people who considered themselves anarchists, syndicalists and socialists, as well as a number of Army commandos.

Few of them were from the traditional bourgeois parties or from the traditional far right. Virtually all of them were from the urban petty-bourgeoisie.

The fascists grew rapidly: in December 1919 there were 870 members, a year later, 20,000 and by the end of 1921, 200,000. Less than one in six were workers.

Despite Mussolini's 'left' rhetoric the fascists soon showed their real nature through their actions. In April 1919 they had joined army officers and other right wing forces in violent attacks against the Milan general strike movement including the destruction of the headquarters of the Socialist Party paper *Avanti!* of which Mussolini had once been the editor.

## PHYSICAL ATTACKS

And in July Prime Minister F.S. Nitti set a pattern by accepting the support of the extreme-right thugs against the general strikes.

The fascist movement thrived on this ruling class support for its policy of physical attacks against the labour movement.

Big business and large landowners poured finance into the movement and came to rely on it for support against strikes and land seizures.

The government authorised thousands of army officers to join the fascists. And from February 1922 the fascists received the open support of the Vatican after the election of the new Pope, Pius XI.

The fascists appeared to the bourgeoisie and the Church as the best defence against "Bolshevism".

From late 1920 onwards the balance of power in the ultra-right began shifting decisively to the active para-military wing of the fascists.

These began in the countryside of Northern Italy under the leadership of Grandi and Italo Balbo, and later spread to the towns.

These *squadristi*, highly organised and well armed bands of thugs, attacked trade union and Socialist Party headquarters and murdered and tortured militants.

## SQUADRISTI

During the two years from October 1920 to the March on Rome, 3,000 anti-fascists were killed by the *squadristi*.

They also destroyed hundreds of working class homes, and political, union and community centres.

Mussolini's growing power came

from the *squadristi*; but in his public statements he also presented a more moderate 'constitutional' posture through which he eased his way into a 'national bloc' electoral alliance with the Liberals led by Giovanni Giolitti in the new general elections of May 1921. This gained the fascists 35 parliamentary seats.

Meanwhile important developments had taken place in the Socialist Party.

In January a revolutionary faction left the Party and established the Communist Party of Italy under the leadership of Amadeo Bordiga.

The Communists had concluded that the total degeneration of the Socialist leadership left the working class defenceless without its own independent party.

The Socialists lost 34 seats in the new parliament (reducing their numbers to 122) and the new Communist Party got 16 seats.

The Socialist leaders were shortly to give proof of the extent of their degeneration. In the face of continuing fascist attacks they agreed with Mussolini a truce known as the 'pact of conciliation'.

This pact was so hotly opposed by the para-military sections of the fascists that Mussolini had to step down as leader until December

1921 when at the Rome conference of the party he successfully reasserted his political authority.

Once that was done, Mussolini abandoned the pact, which was in any case designed as a manoeuvre to convince the bourgeoisie that he represented responsible 'political' fascism as against irresponsible 'military' fascism.

Mussolini now gave the green light to a new violent fascist offensive against the labour movement which plunged Italy into a series of virtual civil wars in the local areas.

The fascists were clearly preparing for some kind of *coup d'etat*.

## PARALYSIS

The traditional labour movement watched in virtual paralysis, hoping that the cowering parties of the bourgeoisie would control fascism by using the police and the army which were packed with fascist members and sympathisers.

The unions tried one last pathetic gesture. A broad "Labour Alliance" called a "legalitarian general strike" in August 1922.

The fascists announced that, if the government had not ended the strike within two days, they:

"would demand complete freedom of action and substitute themselves for the State which once again will have shown its impotence."

Meanwhile fascist scabs kept the public services running. The leaders of the Labour Alliance cringed before these threats and called off the strike.

The way was now wide open for the fascists to take power. The government invited Mussolini to join a coalition; but the fascists had bigger objectives.

They set in motion a plan for a March on Rome by 150,000 armed fascists from all corners of Italy.

And that was the final judge which the bourgeois parties needed to hand over power.

Mussolini became Prime Minister on October 28, 1922. The bourgeoisie heaved a sigh of relief and the Socialist Party leaders raised hardly a breath of protest, hoping that power would tame Mussolini.



Gramsci



The fascist high command that led the march on Rome.



# VULTURES HOVER IN N.E. AFRICA

Last week the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Djibouti, France's last colony in Africa, voted for independence, though a French military presence will remain.

Djibouti is a tiny enclave once known as French Somalia, and officially the Territory of the Afars and Issas.

It occupies a crucial strategic position between Eritrea (in the north of Ethiopia) and Somalia. It is also Ethiopia's main rail outlet to the sea.

On the eve of its independence Djibouti already faces the threat not only of internal clan rivalries but also of invasion from two places. This could come from Ethiopia, anxious to prevent the capture of Djibouti by its enemies, Somalia, or by one of the Eritrean liberation armies; or it could come from Somalia, whose government claims the territory as part of "Greater Somalia" (which also stretches across a large stretch of Ethiopia and Kenya).

## INSTABILITY

Both Ethiopia and Somalia say they will not intervene until the other does so.

Djibouti has thus become a new source of instability in this crisis-ridden region of Africa. The present centres of this crisis are in Ethiopia.

The left-talking Ethiopian military dictatorship, the Derg, is now fighting four open wars. Three are against the three Eritrean liberation armies—the Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea, (which defines itself as Marxist and has an army of 12,000 guerrillas), the Eritrean Liberation Front (with over 20,000 guerrillas) and a smaller right wing group.

Between them these movements (which have recently abandoned an attempt to establish a joint command) control at least half of Eritrea and have in the last few months made huge gains.

The Eritreans, especially the ELF, have received aid from President Numeiri of Sudan and from Syria, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

## EXPELLED

These regimes are not concerned with supporting Eritrean independence so much as ensuring Muslim rather than Soviet control of the entrance to the Red Sea.

The Soviet Union for its part has thrown its weight against the guerrillas, by giving increasing support to the Ethiopian leader Colonel Mengistu who seized power by eliminating his rivals in the Derg last February.

Although his main civilian political support comes from the Me'ison group, the Maoist Mengistu went to Moscow last week to appeal for additional military aid from the Soviet government.

He had only just expelled virtually all American representatives from the country after Carter had cut off aid.

Mengistu is in desperate need of aid not only against the Eritrean rebels and the threat of conflict with Somalia.

More and more he needs it against his own opposition against which he has launched a ruthless campaign of extermination.

## "MILITIA"

A government-organised "militia" has been set up and given a carte blanche to round up and slaughter "counter-revolutionaries". The technique was used against the Eritreans last year.

But within the last few weeks the bloody campaign of "national mobilisation" against the opposition (which includes the

Union and the left wing Popular Revolutionary Party) has led to reports of dozens or even hundreds of deaths each day.

Since the end of April over 1,000 people are reported to have been summarily murdered in the streets.

Most of these were believed to be from the left opposition; many of them were demonstrating students. Amnesty International estimates that there are 8,000 political prisoners.

Brezhnev's reluctance to give Mengistu all the military support he wants appears to be not because of any qualms about this blood letting but because of the complicated web of manoeuvres the Kremlin has carried out in that part of Africa.



Mengistu

The main opponent of further Soviet arms to Ethiopia is the Somali government, the first and most loyal ally of the Soviet Union in Africa.

It was this embarrassing conflict which Fidel Castro during his recent African tour tried unsuccessfully to solve in a secret meeting in South Yemen with Mengistu and the Somali President, Siad Barre.

But last week Barre publicly called into the question the alliance with the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile the imperialist vultures, along with their allies in Sudan and Saudi Arabia, wait to swoop on the first sign of any casualties of the Soviet diplomatic offensive in Africa.



Gathering snails—sign of primitive methods at work

# Letter: MAOISM AND MEDICINE

Dear Comrade Editor,

The article 'Medicine for the Masses' in SP 59 is a useful attempt to illustrate the possibility of a new development of science under socialism; but whilst the central theme, that science, and culture generally are held back under capitalism is undeniable, there are two weaknesses in the article which deserve comment.

The first is the argument that workers have as much knowledge as trained bourgeois scientists. Thus "the ward cleaner observes the patients with as much perception and for longer than doctors" (my italics).

This is clearly nonsense. One of the problems of capitalism is that

knowledge is denied to the masses and science and medicine are mystified so as to make them the preserve of the bourgeoisie.

Marxism is not the only form of science which is not thrown up spontaneously by the working class.

Secondly in using the example of the health service in China to illustrate one way in which a society based on the working class can incorporate the special experiences of workers into the body of scientific knowledge, and go on to use that knowledge in the interests of the masses, the article paints an uncritical picture of Chinese medicine.

The enormous progress made by the Chinese in the control of disease is undeniable. Much of this progress results from the teaching of the rudiments of medicine to selected peasants and since 1965 over a million "barefoot doctors" have been trained to use both traditional Chinese techniques, such as acupuncture, and Western drug therapies.

At the same time, mobile medical teams tour the countryside to treat those cases too difficult for the barefoot doctors.

One important aspect of the treatment is that there are no class barriers between the doctors and their patients and there is no mystification of medicine to frighten the patient and maintain the status of the doctor.

Simultaneously, an emphasis on preventative medicine has resulted in the control of diseases once common in the countryside. The use of political campaigns to fight disease carrying pests has been particularly successful.

For example, millions of disease carrying snails have been picked by hand and destroyed, and there have been similar campaigns against mosquitoes and flies.

But the use of such techniques as barefoot doctors and resorting to hand picking snails to eradicate them reveal as much a weakness in Chinese technology as they do a spirit of improvisation amongst the peasantry.

Leading the world in such prestige projects such as the synthesis of insulin, the Chinese economy is still not sufficiently advanced to provide insecticides on a large enough scale to control pests.

To state, as does the article in *Socialist Press* that the old ways are as good, if not better than the new alternative technological ways is to make a virtue out of necessity.

As such it closely parallels recent statements by our own medical specialists who, with the IMF at their backs, have discovered that high technology hospitals are not the best places to treat their patients after all.

They now tell us that ideally the sick should be cared for at home by their womenfolk. We may be forgiven for being cynical about such claims.

It is not surprising that as a result of this technological backwardness, the ideology of Chinese

science has also become distorted.

According to Mao's dictum "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend", different schools of science and medicine should be allowed to contend freely, and questions of right and wrong in science should be settled by discussion and through practical work.

This is a conscious rebuttal of Stalin's administrative solutions to scientific problems which became especially evident in his support for the peasant's son Lysenko, in his scientific arguments on genetics with the petty-bourgeois classical geneticists.

The deciding factor in this debate was that Lysenko's class background was impeccable, whilst his opponents had been opposed to the revolution!

The fact that Lysenko's theories were rubbish did not enter into it. It is a credit to Mao that on this issue at least, he disagreed with Stalin.

However, a glance through a copy of a Chinese scientific journal, such as the Chinese Medical Journal will reveal exactly the techniques used by Lysenko to discredit his opponents in use today.



And many of these dwell on the contrast between the instinctive science of the masses and those of bourgeois science.

An article on snail control in the June 1976 issue for example, contrasts a technique devised by the peasantry with "foreign" techniques using pesticides.

The attempt to use 'foreign' techniques came about, apparently, through "the interference and sabotage of the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and their like", and perhaps unsurprisingly in that light were unsuccessful.

The main fault of Liu Shao-chi in this case was in "denying the masses are the real heroes and putting their faith in foreign methods and specialists".

Trotskyists are all too familiar with Stalin's use of identical techniques in the thirties to cover up the deficiencies of Soviet technology as a result of his own policies.

Under such conditions, the idea of a healthy 'proletarian' science is inconceivable.

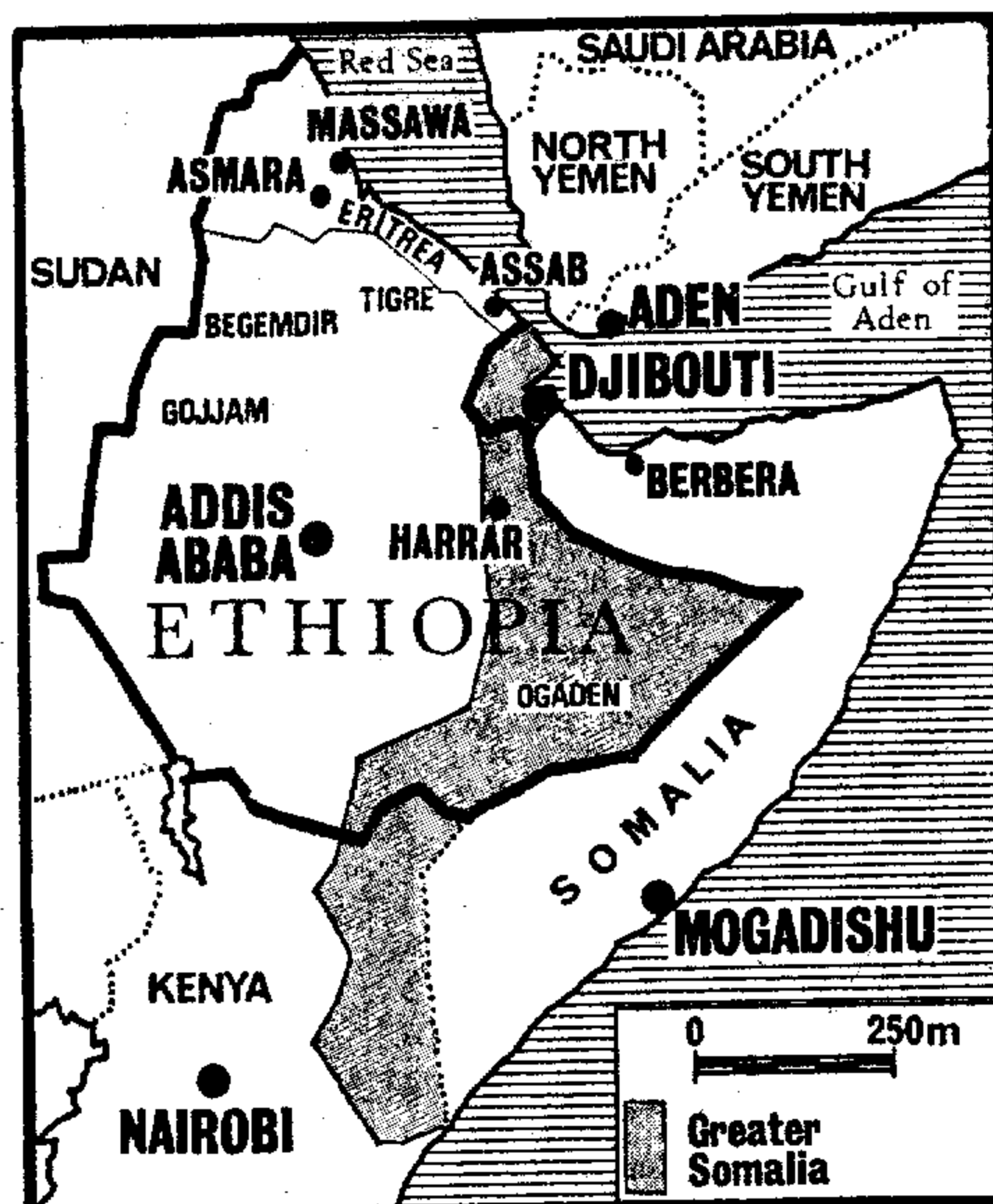
As the article in *Socialist Press* points out, "the method of Marxism and the fight for development of medicine and all fields of science are inseparably linked."

This is as true of the development of science in a deformed workers state as it is of science under capitalism.

Fraternally,  
Dai Stephens.



Synthesised insulin





# JUBILEE FEVER: TRY CROMWELL'S CURE

Readers of 'Socialist Press' may have been unpleasantly reminded of the existence of the monarchy in Britain by the continual references in the press and elsewhere to the fact that at the beginning of June we celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the demise of the previous incumbent.

All socialists will feel a combination of disgust and boredom with the froppery of the media-stimulated 'patriotic festival' recalling nothing more than the re-enactment of a best-forgotten imperialist past.

Socialists will of course recall that these twenty-five years have seen the beginnings of the greatest depression in the history of capitalism, with waste, unemployment and brutal exploitation on a scale never known in history.

They will remember that the British military, so closely associated with the monarchy has been actively involved in the slaughter of North Koreans, the torture of freedom fighters in Kenya, Cyprus, Aden and Northern Ireland.

## WHITEWASHING

As each successive imperialist outpost was surrendered, the press and media have been devoted to whitewashing everything from the comic opera invasion of the Suez Canal in 1956, to the murder of sixteen Mau Mau detainees in Hola Camp in 1959, and the numerous acts of brutality against the nationalist populations of Cyprus, South Yemen, and Ulster.

The monarchy has had to change as the British army has successively been driven from these centres of imperialist exploitation. Though the bourgeoisie in other capitalist states have managed without such an institution, in Britain the monarchy provides an important, though not indispensable role in the maintenance of post-imperialist links and capitalist rule.

For this reason it is worth devoting some attention to the special position that it occupies in social and political life.

## EXTREMELY RICH

One most obvious point about Elizabeth Windsor is that she, together with all her relations, are extremely rich. On top of this

wealth, they all receive enormous grants from the taxpayer. How has this extraordinary position come about?

Before Victoria became monarch in 1837, her personal wealth was not large compared to a great many landowners and large capitalists. Victoria's husband Albert, however, built up their estates with miserly care, and Victoria herself continued this, especially after an enormous bequest of £250,000 from an eccentric millionaire.

## PAID NO TAX

The great advantage that Victoria had in her accumulation of wealth was that she paid no tax. As the modern fiscal system was built up, it began with income tax, and developed taxes on inheritance and on capital gains.

Many sections of the old landed aristocracy, as they lost political influence during the early 20th century suffered under these developments.

The current sale of the estates of Lord Rosebury, Liberal Prime Minister around the turn of the century shows this. Only the Royal Family escaped.

The Windsors must have saved many millions of pounds in recent decades simply from their failure to pay income tax, death duties and so on. This alone would make them one of the richest families in the land.

However, on top of this, they have numerous estates on which they draw tax-free incomes, such as the peculiar Duchy of Cornwall, on which Charles Windsor draws enormous rents.

## RICHEST PERSON

They own many houses, and live in some of them. There has never been a serious investigation by Parliament or anybody else of the extent of this wealth, which makes the Queen the richest person in the country, and certainly no study, by Parliament or anybody else, on whether this wealth performs any useful function at all.

Yet why is it that such an enormous mystique has been built around the monarch that allows it to get in this special position?

The modern cult of the monarchy was invented by Benjamin Disraeli, Joseph Chamberlain and the Tory imperialists of the late 19th century.

The picture of Victoria as ruler of large portions of the globe was presented to British people as something to be proud of in the golden and diamond jubilee celebrations of Victoria in 1887 and 1897.

It was in this period that for the first time, there was generally painted a picture of the royal family replete with all the petty bourgeois virtues of sobriety, marital faithfulness, and so on.

It took a while for this image to stick, since Victoria's eldest son was well-known for his whoring and gambling, and her eldest grandson was visitor at the male brothel in Cleveland Street, broken up by the police in 1889.

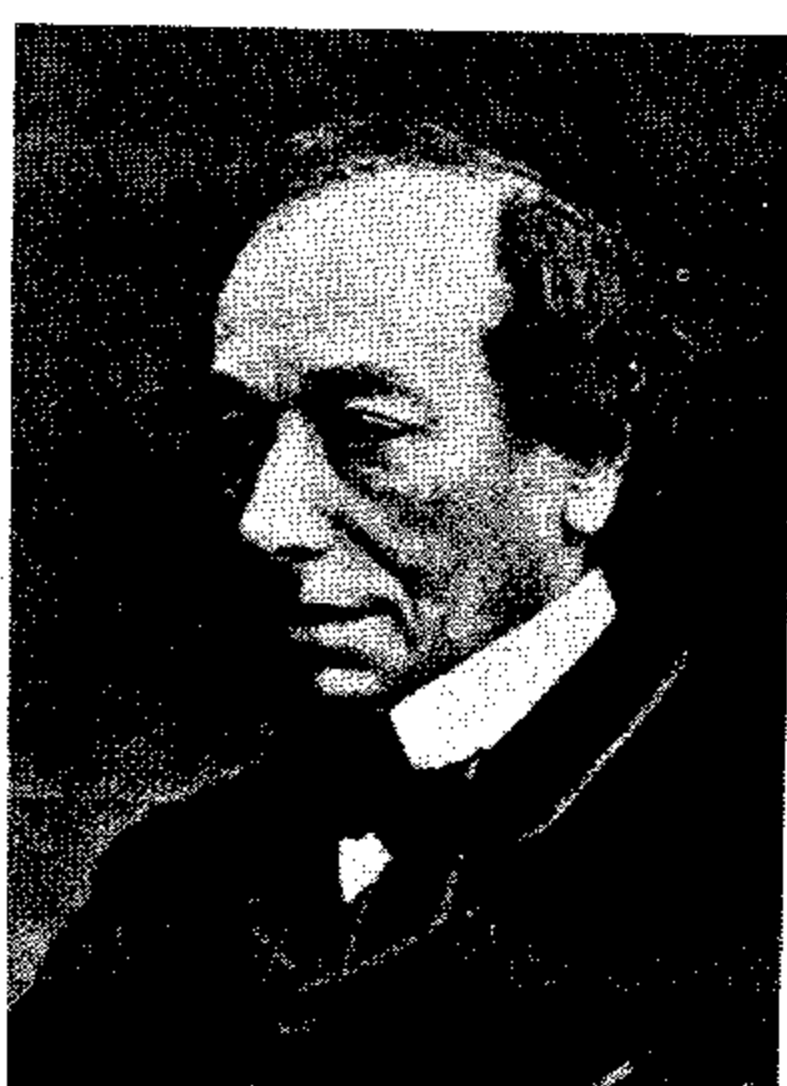
The press covered up the latter story, and Victoria's grandson Albert died before his father did.

Thus Edward was followed as monarch in 1910 by his younger son, the somewhat dull and stupid man known as George V. He played a role in reconciling some sections of the ruling class to the existence of Labour governments and smoothed the way to the treachery of Ramsey MacDonald in 1931.

## MYTH

By this time, the myth of petty bourgeois respectability had begun to stick, and the top echelons of the Tory Party forced the abdication of Edward Windsor in 1936 when he threatened to undermine it.

His well-known sympathy for



Disraeli

fascism was no bar to the kind of stability he was supposed to represent.

The most cringing and uncritical defenders of this view of the monarchy have always been the Labour leaders. Ever since Henry Broadhurst, General Secretary of the TUC, was 'received' at Windsor Castle in 1886, a succession of Labour leaders have donned the necessary fancy dress, and joined in all the cringing propaganda surrounding the institution.

It was the fact that the Labour Cabinet of 1924 was prepared to go through the necessary rituals in this respect that showed they were 'all right'.

NUR leader Jimmie Thomas tried to use the monarchy in his efforts to sell out the 1926 General Strike. This tradition has been followed right down to Harold Wilson and Callaghan, who show all the same fawning sycophancy, and have been known to wax lyrical about the virtues of the monarchy, and its cheapness.

The lack of a republican tradition in Britain is to be accounted for as much by this attitude of Labour leaders as by the oceans of doctored press coverage, and the hundreds of children ritually dragged out of school to wave imperialist flags.

## INSURANCE POLICY

The institution of monarchy has been built up in this way, and very serious efforts to cultivate universal confidence in it have been made, partly because the bourgeoisie needs an insurance policy, a last resort. Trotsky put this point clearly in *Where is Britain Going?*:

"Royalty is weak as long as the bourgeois parliament is the instrument of bourgeois rule and as long as the bourgeoisie has no need of extra-parliamentary methods. But the bourgeoisie can if necessary use royalty as the focus of all extra-parliamentary, ie real focus directed against the working class. The British bourgeoisie itself has

well understood the danger of even the most famous monarchy. Thus in 1837 the British government abolished the title of the Great Mogul of India and deported its incumbent from the holy city of Delhi, in spite of the fact that by this time this title had become only a nominal one: the British bourgeoisie understood that under certain conditions the Great Mogul could become the focal point of a struggle of Indian upper class circles against British rule".

## WRAPS

In recent years, the Tories have obviously thought seriously about forms of extra-parliamentary rule, and the recurrent talk of 'national government' during various short term crises shows that they still keep the monarchy under wraps for serious confrontations that may face them in the future, when the institutions through which they have so far ruled do not function so effectively.

But there are more short-term calculations as well. Since the 1920's, the political position of the monarchy has been used to maintain the continuity of capitalist rule.

In the Tory leadership crises of 1957 and 1963, it was the monarch who acted as messenger boy and umpire in the disputes that built up between different factions of the party.

If the Tories have now found other methods of dealing with these problems, there are even greater



Ramsay MacDonald

difficulties now faced by the political institutions of smooth bourgeois rule.

## WHEELING AND DEALING

With sharp changes in electoral loyalty in recent years, as millions of Labour supporters are fed up with the betrayals of their leaders, as increasing numbers of nationalists from Wales and Scotland are returned with many fragments of the ultra-right from Northern Ireland, General Elections in themselves may not necessarily decide who is to be in government.

There may be many more situations like the one that followed the first election of 1974, when the wheeling and dealing of the leaders made essential the existence of a fixed point in whom they all had confidence to 'call on X to form a government'.

The purpose of all the ludicrous jubilee nonsense is to try to make sure that the monarchy can fulfil such a position during political crisis in the future, when the whole system could be at stake as a result of the action of the working class.

Workers in this country know very well that they built their unions by defying the law, by facing the threat of transportation, imprisonment and many bitter struggles.

They must not also forget that the foundation of many of the democratic liberties which they now enjoy was won in 1649 by chopping off the head of one of Elizabeth Windsor's more tiresome predecessors, Charles Stuart.

The continued existence of the monarchy in 1977 is utterly incompatible with the further extension of democratic liberties. Who knows what further surgical operations might be necessary for the creation of a system of government that is truly democratic?

By John Docherty

# PRESS GANG

If you thought international capital had taken another slap in the face with the revelation of multi-million pound bribes from Leyland to oil the wheels of foreign trade then let Mr David English, editor of the 'Daily Mail' put you right.

On the day that the *Daily Mail* broke the bribes story and before he became preoccupied with grovelling hard enough and long enough to offset the libel claims coming his way, Mr English found time to place the blame where it belonged—on Socialism.

"The hypocritical face of Socialism has replaced the unacceptable face of Capitalism", he wrote.

"The root cause of this kind of bribery is state control. Wherever official whim and not the individual preference of the user dictates the choice of the product, there are bureaucrats who may be bought. That is how Poulson rose and fell. That is how Prince Bernhard was disgraced."

The news that socialism had come to British Leyland must have come as a big shock to the workers there as the news that Poulson and Prince Bernhard had been nationalised.

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Ferdinand Mount writing in the *Mail* on the same day quite liked Paul Johnson's book *Enemies of Society*. In fact he thought it was the greatest thing since the middle classes emerged.

In a long hymn of praise for the hard working, much abused middle classes Mount wrote: "Freedom, capitalism and democracy—the three inventions which have shaped our world—are middle class inventions."

"Even Marx and Lenin admitted that much..."

"Never before has the world so undeniably demonstrated the indispensability of the middle classes, for every nation which has a large and vigorous middle class is prosperous and free and every nation which hasn't isn't."

A quick flip through the decline of Rome, China and the Netherlands (all due to the demise of the middle class) and Mount found the source of that lack of self confidence from which the class is suffering.

"But the alert questioning bourgeoisie could see other things too. They saw little children down the mines and up the chimneys. They saw poverty and filth and disease. They saw for the first time the terrible age old gulf between the rich and the poor—and they began to think they were to blame for that gulf."

At the end of a lengthy article Mount concluded that Paul Johnson (ex editor of the *New Statesman* and according to Mount therefore a Socialist himself) was not a 'pseudo scientist' like Marx.

"Will he be allowed his say beside Karl Marx's tomb in Highgate Cemetery? Will *Enemies of Society* be prescribed as a set book along with the Marx Library by the Open University?"

"I doubt it. I doubt it very much."

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Postmen do in fact have the right to strike, whether the *Times* likes it or not.

United, they can take that action over any issue they choose and there is nothing that the *Times*, John Gouriet or the Attorney General can do about it.

Recognising this in its leader of May 17 the *Times* suggests a barely concealed trade off. Amend the law to make postal strikes legal for 'industrial' disputes, but write in a ban on 'political' stoppages.

This would ban the blacking of South Africa and sympathy strikes—Grunwick in particular.

The *Times* is wrong. Mass action by the working class makes any curbs on strikes unenforceable. The problem is that what the *Times* suggests looks to be precisely the sort of 'barrier' that the postal union leaders are looking for.



Trotsky





# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## After 23 weeks KETTERING TRUCE

Journalists at East Midland Allied Press returned to work on Monday after a 23 week struggle against the destruction of their union chapel at Kettering.

The strikers at Kettering have

fought a heroic struggle against the scab organisation—the Institute of Journalists, but a big question mark still hangs over the return to work.

The formula means that nine defectors agree to return as members of the National Union of

Journalists and remain in the union until disciplinary hearings are completed by the end of August.

At first the defectors rejected this TUC compromise. They changed their position after private discussion with the TUC committee chairman, Bill Keys, general secretary of SOGAT.

It is unlikely that they would have agreed to the settlement unless they had been given assurances that they would be free to resign at the end of August.

The blurred terms of the return to work must be blamed on the leadership of the NUJ, who at the very moment when supporting strikes of substantial duration were on the agenda, sought instead for a negotiated way out of their problem.

An alternative strategy, from the Kettering workers own Area Council, calling for immediate national blacking of Press Association copy and week long strikes area by area was allowed to lie on the table at the National Executive meeting to avoid "showing bad faith".

Kettering have certainly not been smashed and they return to work with 100% membership. Whether the agreement will open the way to their destruction at the end of August is an open question until the substance of Key's private deal becomes known.

The Court of Appeal ruled one day before the Cup Final that members of the Association of Broadcasting and Allied Staffs must cooperate in sending live transmission to South Africa whether they wanted to or not.

Arguments over the extent of the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act were all that General Secretary Tony Hearn was interested in.

So when three Law Lords headed by Lord Denning decided that to cut off this football match to South Africa was not part of a trade dispute, Hearn said: "We are a law abiding union" and withdrew the blacking threat.

## SCOTTISH EQUAL PAY STRIKE

450 workers, mostly women, are in their fifth week of strike action in East Kilbride. The workers, members of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, are claiming equal pay from their employer, Laird-Portch Knitwear.

Men and women still do completely different jobs in the factory so no direct comparison can be made under the Equal Pay Act.

### GAP

There is an enormous gap between the rate earned by women on skilled jobs and the lowest male unskilled job and the management refuse to implement a job evaluation scheme which would close this gap.

They falsely argue that government wage controls prevent them

from paying the women more.

The strike is unofficial since the officials of the NUTGW require a two-thirds majority to give official backing.

### ALLOWED

This policy is of course completely in line with their traditional role of allowing appalling sweat shop conditions in the textile industry, and standing back while mills and factories are closed, merely calling for the nationalist policy of "import controls".

The Laird-Portch factory is a subsidiary of Coutts-Paton in whose other subsidiaries—Jaeger and Ladybird—workers are now taking supporting action.

This support and blacking action must be spread throughout the textile industry and motions of support must be put down in all branches of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers.

Messages of support and donations etc to: Strike Committee, c/o E. Nicklin, 153, Leeward Cricle, East Kilbride.

## DOCK STRIKE

Members of ACTSS (T&G clerical section) in Merseyside Docks are still on strike after more than a week over a claim for an award to deal with salvage cargo in the port.

The men on strike (foremen, checkers and timekeepers) have been negotiating for some time for 100% of the award already paid to the dockers—which is assessed for each cargo on the basis of arbitration between dockers delegates and management.

The ACTSS members have recently been paid around 25% of such awards but the dispute arose when 12 men were offered a lower percentage for a salvage cargo.

As a result they blacked the ship concerned. Management reacted with a lock-out. The ACTSS branch came out in support of the twelve.

The offer by a negotiating committee led by their delegate Jimmy Symes, to forget the original claim did not satisfy management who seem to be on the offensive.

They refused to consider paying the twelve men and threatened disciplinary action against them. In addition they demanded that after a return to work the backlog must be covered with no extra pay.

In these conditions Symes and the stewards had no alternative but to put to a mass meeting of the branch on 18 May a motion that the strike should continue until a "satisfactory" offer was made. The vote was carried overwhelmingly with only three out of around 300 voting against.

A dockers' stewards' meeting the previous Friday had called for ACTSS to return to work at once. This lack of support for the dockers is a critical factor in determining the continuation of the strike.

In particular in docks outside the Merseyside Docks and Harbour Co. dockers have been continuing to work with scabs doing the work of ACTSS members.

The dispute itself is clearly a provocation by management. Stewards feel a possible motive may be an attempt by the Merseyside Docks and Harbour Co. to wear down militancy in advance of the pay claim which now comes up in August.

## TOYMAKERS RETURN

TOOLMAKERS at Lesney's toy and engineering group have now returned to work but a division-wide vote to decide further action is being counted.

Two strikes came to a head recently, clearly provoked by management. The toolmakers at the Hackney Wick factory were working to rule after management refused to reveal the working party report on pay rates under review since September.

Management are using Phase 3 as an excuse for not having discussions. They suspended first a progression toolmaker and then maintenance men—seven altogether. Hundreds of men walked out in support.



## JACKSON BLOW TO GRUNWICK STRIKE

The strike at Grunwick has reached a crucial stage. With summer nearly here and the firm's peak season just beginning, UPW General Secretary Tom Jackson has smashed any hope of ending the strike quickly through post office workers blacking Grunwick films.

When a delegate at UPW Conference proposed that the union black Grunwick irrespective of legal action resulting from the NAFF's injunction, Jackson—his hand on his heart, no doubt—opposed him.

Jackson argued that the UPW's legal advisers had warned that not only would UPW members carrying out blacking be taken to jail, but the union's assets would be sequestered as well.

So the resolution fell.

Jackson was determined to do two things at his Conference. The first was to force support for Phase 3 of the incomes policy, which he did by combining it with a call for large wage increases—sowing enough confusion to get his report accepted.

The second was to squash all opposition to the high court rulings against UPW members' right to take industrial action on South Africa or Grunwick.

Clearly this links up to the support for Phase 3: if UPW members take action in support of other workers they might get the idea of striking for their own higher wages!

The Grunwick strike committee were not taken by surprise by Jackson's betrayal. Michael Foot's "Sunday socialism" speech to launch the UPW Conference promised that the impotent Labour component of the Lib/Lab coalition would safeguard the rights of the working class to take industrial action.

From the mouth of a member of an anti-socialist coalition government this is simply rubbish. The gains of the working class have in any case come from its own strength and actions, not promises of legislation!

The Grunwick strike committee are planning just such action. After over 40 weeks out on strike they have learned some lessons.

They have decided that in future APEX officials will not be invited to all strike committee meetings. The role of union officials at Heathrow and in the hotel strikes has illustrated that workers must not place any confidence at all in union officials to guide their struggles to victory.

Further, the strike committee have decided that the 24-hour picket is not a principle and that it should be dropped if more effective action can replace it.

Building labour movement support for mass pickets is the next step, and the strike committee have chosen the week of June 13-19 as the first such initiative.

They plan to stop scabs and vans going through the gates, even in the face of police harassment.

## Warwickshire GMWU slams deal

School cleaners, supervisors and kitchen assistants employed by Warwickshire County Council have reaffirmed their determination to fight the council's spending cuts.

At a stormy meeting last Tuesday workers expressed contempt for the efforts of the full-time officials.

One was heard to say "It's about time they decided who they work for, the members or the County Council".

"They should do what we tell them not as they please" announced another.

The meeting, a Nuneaton GMWU branch attended by more than 60 workers, attacked the temporary worker agreement which was negotiated in September.

Under this agreement any new employees are set on on a temporary basis—with no job security and no fringe benefits.

At the time union officials sold the deal by pointing out that "these proposals will secure the position of permanent staff".

Recent events have shown the true nature of the agreement with temporaries being sacked without even a show of resistance from the union and the extra work being off-loaded onto the backs of the remaining workers.

At some schools permanent staff have been sacked and re-employed on a temporary basis.

The recent announcement by Warwickshire County Council that the 1100 school meals supervisors would not be sacked after all was greeted with derision by the meeting (as it was at the Nuneaton Trades Council sub-committee) when it was discovered that they too are to become "temporary" workers.

The official and the branch secretary who have been negotiating with Warwickshire County Council failed to turn up to the branch meeting to give a report back. It was felt by some members that they may have something to hide.

The meeting passed the following resolution unanimously.

"That this branch recognises that the result of the temporary employment agreement has been to enable the county council to reduce staffing with the minimum of union resistance.

We therefore call upon the GMWU to renegotiate the terms of employment of all county council staff. New terms of employment should exclude appointment of any worker on a temporary basis with present temporary posts being converted to permanent ones.

Furthermore, we call for the establishment of minimum hours for all staff regardless of workload".

A further step forward in the fight against the cuts was taken recently when a county council JSSC was set up—initially between NUPE and the GMWU.

## Lessons of Poly jailing

The jailing of North East London Polytechnic Students Union President, Andy Strouthous, has raised serious questions for the labour movement.

Imprisonment for contempt of court (Strouthous refused to obey an injunction preventing him from going to the Polytechnic and carrying out his duties as President) could be used in this way against militant trade unionists as well as students.

Students resisted this attack with occupations, not only at North East London Poly but at the London School of Economics and elsewhere.

But this was met with sabotage from the National Union of Students Executive, (dominated by Labour Party and Communist Party members) who refused to take any action at all.

The NUS leaders argued that Strouthous should accept an offer to simply have access to his office—but nowhere else on the Poly premises.

And they called on him to apologise to the High Court Judge who jailed him!

Strouthous has now been released. But the whole affair sharply underlines the role of the courts as a weapon against students and workers who move into struggle—and the treacherous role of the reformist and Stalinist union leaders when this happens.



# ASTMS REJECT BULLOCK

On the first day of the ASTMS conference in Eastbourne last weekend, the delegates voted 12,000 to 8,000 against supporting the basic principles of the Bullock Report.

This is the report proposed by the majority of the committee including Clive Jenkins.

Motions calling for "workers control of industry" and opposing "worker directors" were carried, against the EC recommendation.

The NEC also lost the vote on the composition of the ASTMS delegation to the TUC—the number of lay members on the delegation

is to be increased so that they are now in a majority.

The NEC recommendation on the motion on the rule book was also defeated. A working party is to be set up to consider changes in the rule book for the 1979 ADC. This will undermine the NEC who in the past have put all rule changes to the conference.

## ELECTION

But the conference voted in line with NEC recommendation against the motion calling for a working party to look into the feasibility of electing full time officials. The arguments for this were along the lines of job security for full time officials which, if taken to its logical conclusion, is an argument for appointing MPs for life.

In the economic policy debate there was no real alternative to the NEC line of "selective import controls" and "control of export capital" argued for along nationalist lines. Jenkins in fact said that the sale of the government's share in BP was an unpatriotic action.

Conference voted overwhelmingly for free collective bargaining but there was no call for action to implement it. The NEC is going to "campaign vigorously". It is obvious that the NEC will again follow the TUC line.

The principle of nationalisation was defeated by 13 votes because of the sectional interest of the insurance section and the general right wing attitude of the engineering foremen who make up the bulk of the conference.

The NEC of course has been challenged by most sections represented at the conference but no motion of reference back had been won.

The reference back on the NEC report on the Health service was defeated basically because the National Officer Reg Bird, made a personal and political attack on one

# HEATHROW CRUNCH DATE



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

The five AUEW negotiators at Heathrow

of the movers, Colin Kenny who is one of the National Health Advisory Committee delegates and the secretary of the Committee of London Area Stewards in the Health Service (CLASH).

Bird said that what we wanted to do was get "the British people well housed, well fed and back to work."

\* The venue of a CDLM public meeting during the ASTMS Conference had to be moved when the room (booked by telephone) turned out to be in a THF hotel!

## A Policeman's Lot...

A rare moment of truth in a union conference came at the AUEW conference in Eastbourne.

John Baldwin, the construction section's general secretary revealed the level of working class hostility to wage control, asking:

"Is Hugh Scanlon shouted out by Leyland workers because he is Hugh Scanlon? Do they abuse me because I am John Baldwin?"

"Of course not. It's because we are being seen as policemen defending a policy that the rank and file lads will not accept."

"It's not nice having your suit ripped and ruined, to face open hostility and hatred, because you are trying to defend the discredited policy. I have been kicked, punched and nearly knifed."

British Airways management have been given to Friday 27 May to come up with a "reasonable offer" or face a recommendation by shop stewards to a mass meeting on that day to resume industrial action.

The original deadline of May 13 was extended after British Airways agreed to consider the shift pay claim which had been drawn up by all the unions in the Engineering and Maintenance section.

The final claim was for shift pay increases ranging from 25% to 45%. Management in return offered a derisory 35p a day in order to keep the talks going.

But the talks only got off the ground after Reg Birch persuaded the engineers to end the blacking of aircraft which had been repaired by supervisory staff during the four week strike.

As we go to press there is no news of the offer British Airways are likely to make. What is certain is that they will refuse to offer anything like what the men are asking for because of the threat such an offer would pose to the Social Contract. With 55,000 workers employed at the airport, it is certain that if one section were to break through the Social Contract the rest would want to follow.

This leaves British Airways with the choice of calling the bluff of the AUEW negotiators or making an offer which would only be paid when the pay code allowed. This is certainly not going to please the engineers who lost over £200 each during the four week strike.

The shift pay claim can be won. But it requires a leadership which is prepared to take on the array of forces ranged against them, the government, the employers and the union leaders. It is also important that in taking action unilaterally, the AUEW fights for the support of the other unions who now clearly stand to gain from winning the dispute.

## Builders plan fight

UCATT has now made further plans for its fight to prevent the closure of Birmingham District Council's Direct Labour Construction Department.

In view of the Tories capturing control of the West Midlands County Council the struggle becomes more urgent.

If the Tories win the other district councils next May, several thousand jobs will be at stake.

The UCATT action committee have called a one day official strike on July 5 and are calling on other local authority workers to support it.

All branches and shop stewards committees supporting the campaign are asked to send delegates to the meeting called by the action committee on Wednesday June 1 at 7.45 in Digbeth Civil Hall.

## Secret files found

Reinforcement Steel Services (RSS), a British Steel Corporation subsidiary in Greenwich, has now been occupied by workers for over ten days.

The action is in defence of six workers sacked and seven suspended after the factory's workforce joined in the one-day NUPE protest against the cuts on May 11.

But in the course of the occupation a much more sinister level to the dispute has been revealed—as workers uncovered detailed political dossiers drawn up for management both on trade union activists in the plant and on job applicants.

Other documents showed that management had regular consultation with the virulent anti-communist private employers' grouping the Economic League which provides lists of "extremists".

The Economic League is of course rigidly opposed to nationalisation. Yet funds from the state owned steel industry have obviously been channelled in its direction.

The occupying workers, strengthened in their resolve by these revelations are now calling for a black on all BSC reinforced steel rods on London's building sites.

This must be linked to the call for support throughout BSC, and for the opening of the books and secret dossiers in every steel plant to elected workers committees.

## Midlands strike defeated

The dispute at Albion Bottles, Warley, which arose out of the April 20 strike appears to have ended in a serious defeat.

After the management sacked all 300 AUEW members and interviewed 400 unemployed workers to fill the vacancies, demoralisation began to spread.

This was fuelled by the decision of the Birmingham West District Committee to launch disciplinary proceedings against leading shop stewards.

Faced with the prospect of a long and probably violent dispute against a joint front of union and management, many workers signed a letter to say they would return without the shop stewards.

In this situation the shop stewards were forced to accept a settlement for a phased return to work based on seniority first. The leading shop stewards are to be left to last, so that victimisation is likely on top of disciplinary action by the union.

## PAY CLAIM MEN SACKED

Managements have drawn strength from the cringing collaboration of union officials, and every retreat by these "leaders" spurs on a new attack.

The latest management technique against strikers is modelled exactly on the British Leyland ultimatum to the striking 3,000 toolroom workers—start work or be sacked, with the full consent of union leaders.

This was taken a stage further at Heathrow Airport where 3,000 maintenance engineers were sacked in an effort to break their strike—though management later backed down on this.

But now in Scotland the Clyde Port Authority has sacked the entire 29-man maintenance squad at the Greenock container terminal—because they took strike action over a sick pay claim.

Management have announced the terminal will be closed for at least two weeks while scab labour is recruited and trained.

AUEW and EETPU members must call for immediate action in support of the sacked men, and against the local union officials concerned.



## Hounslow work-in

The campaign to save the 66-bed Hounslow hospital (due to close in September as a result of the government's spending cuts) is going from strength to strength.

All workers in the hospital have been staging a work-in since March 28, five days after the closure date was announced.

The campaign is organised by the joint shop stewards committee of six unions in the hospital and a broad based defence committee representing the local labour movement.

The workers plan to turn the hospital into a "community hospital".

Its closure, they point out, would remove virtually all NHS facilities from Hounslow.

There is now a token picket but, starting in July, a comprehensive 24-hour picket will be needed to stop the Area Health Authority from removing equipment.

Official support must also be demanded from the unions: so far only NALGO has made the occupation official.

of the joint shop stewards says:

"This is our health service and we are going to run it in the interests of the working class."

Offers of concrete support and donations for this important objective should be sent to Hounslow Hospital Defence Committee, Staines Rd., Hounslow, Middlesex. Tel. 01-570-4448.

## WEIR OCCUPIED

WORKERS AT A THIRD London hospital—the Weir Maternity in South London—have begun a work-in against the threatened closure of the hospital later this year.

The Area Health Authority have already closed down two wards and converted them into offices for the Authority itself.

At the same time all overtime working has been withdrawn by the AHA in a deliberate attempt to force the workers to leave. It is impossible to live on the basic pay of a hospital auxiliary worker.

The work-in, which is supported by NUPE to which most of the workers belong, was agreed at a meeting last Friday, May 20. The crunch came when the withdrawal of overtime working was extended to canteen staff. Realising that the hospital would have to close if the canteen staff left, the workers decided instead on a work-in.

The members of the Area Health Authority using the two converted wards have now been excluded from using the canteen and have to enter their offices through a side

## MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

Post to: Workers Socialist League, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



# BASQUE 'STATE OF WAR'

For two weeks an explosion of resentment against the fascist police has created a political situation in Euskadi (the Basque provinces) which Spanish newspapers have described as "insurreccional" and "a state of war".

The demonstrations began all over Euskadi early in May to demand amnesty for the remaining political prisoners in Spain who include at least 27 Basque nationalists.

The armed police and para-

military Civil Guard (under the command of "democratic" Premier Adolfo Suarez) dispersed the demonstrations with indiscriminate violence and in doing so killed six demonstrators in the space of a week, severely injuring dozens more.

Each of these murderous attacks provoked further demonstrations which increasingly took the form of real battles for the control of the streets.

Workers and students erected barricades and offered armed self-defence against the police attacks.

Then came a call for a general

strike on Monday May 16. Of all the general strikes in Euskadi in the last two years this was the most complete.

The three principal Basque provinces came to a complete halt for 24 hours and thousands of workers have remained on strike since then.

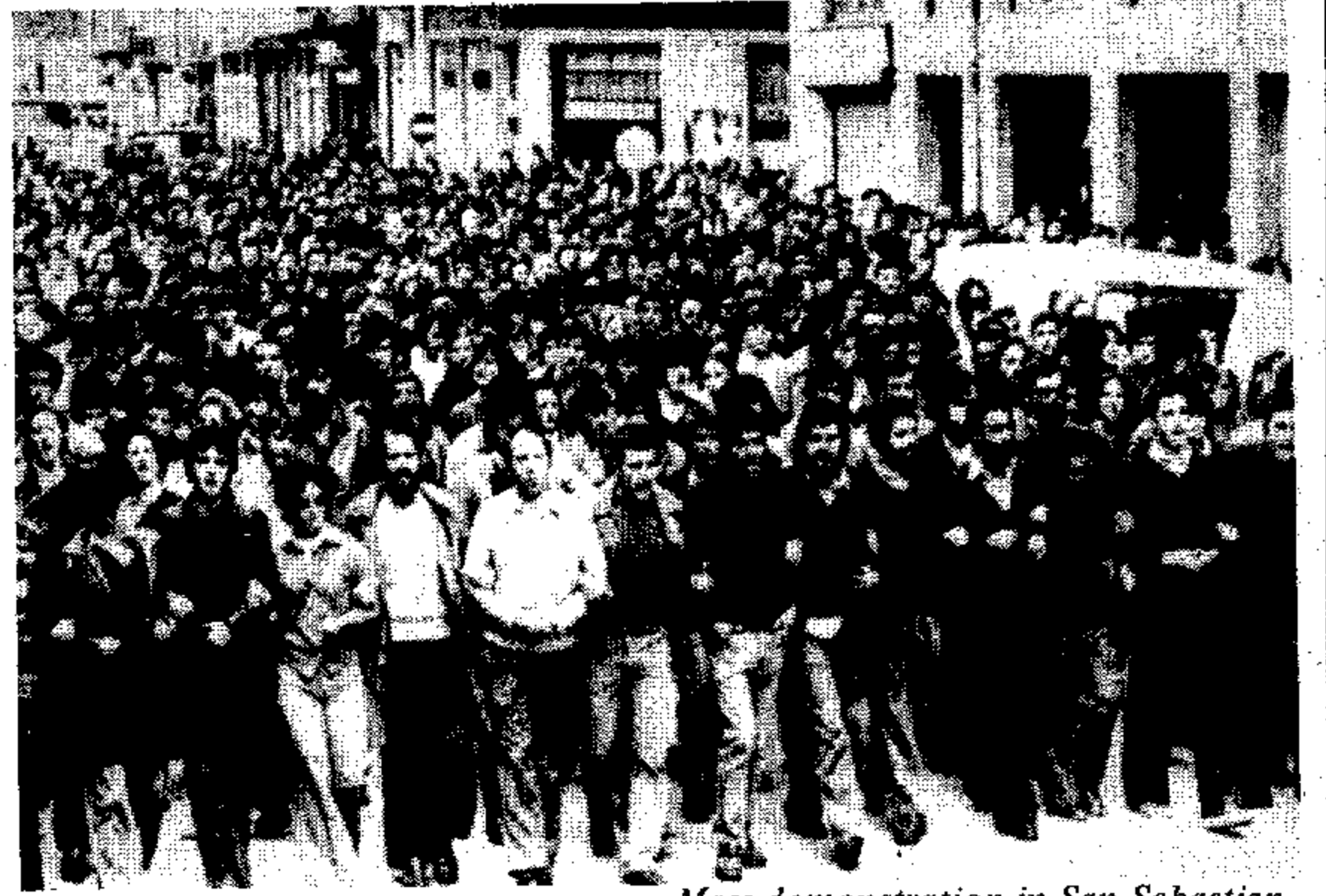
This vast movement has posed a huge threat to the Francoist government's plan to smear itself with a cosmetic veneer of democracy in the June 15 elections.

As usual the reformist and Stalinist leaders have rallied round the floundering Francoists. The Spanish Communist Party wholeheartedly opposed the general strike as did the CP-dominated Workers Commissions (whose leader Marcelino Camacho was seriously injured last week in a motor accident).

Since Monday 16 May the CP and the Socialist Party (PSOE) have made daily calls for a return to work.

The Communist Party of Euskadi issued the following treacherous statement:

"The Communist Party has never supported and will never support attitudes of systematic provocation towards the Public Authorities, coercive pickets and vandalism in the streets. We condemn this type of action and call on the workers and the people not to support them but to oppose them."



Mass demonstration in San Sebastian

The PSOE has followed the same line:

"The moment has arrived to call on the population not to fall into the provocation of those who want to create a climate of chaos and violence in Euskadi in a pre-meditated operation which could begin in the Basque country and then extend to destabilisation at the level of the whole country. Consequently we recommend a return to work and the maintenance of a peaceful struggle for amnesty..."

These are the insidious words of opportunist traitors whose only concern at present is to demonstrate their "worthiness" to participate in the Francoist's sham democracy.

In doing this they commit criminal sabotage against the workers of Euskadi who are prepared to risk death and injury in the fight against Francoism.

The events of the last three weeks have once again sharply raised the question of a boycott of the elections.

In Euskadi about half of those eligible to vote boycotted last December's referendum.

At that time the Stalinist and reformist parties half-heartedly supported the boycott and put forward certain conditions which would have to be met before they would participate in elections.

Somewhere in the unseemly scramble to leap onto the Francoist electoral bandwagon these conditions got dropped and trampled underfoot.

### NOT MET

None of the conditions (eg amnesty for political prisoners, legalisation of all parties) were met. But unlike the leaders of the main workers' parties, hundreds of thousands of workers in Euskadi took those conditions seriously, regarding them as part of an offensive against the Francoist state.

It is certain that many of those workers will be correctly demonstrating their willingness for a show down with Francoism by boycotting the polls in June.

### END BUSINESS SECRETS... Cont'd from Front Page

must spur on the demand to see the whole workings of the system. If "slush" funds and corruption really are normal business relations as employers claim, let the whole lot be revealed to the workers' movement.

The management "participation" committees that have drawn in convenors and sent them onto the shop floor to argue for speed-up and sackings have been exposed completely.

Either these bureaucrats, along with national union leaders like Jones and Scanlon, knew all along of these transactions, and agreed to them: or even they must admit the whole "participation" machinery is a hollow fraud.

### GIVEN AWAY

In any case, while workers have been instructed by Jones and Scanlon to "keep working" no matter what, the cars they produce have been given away in corrupt deals at home and abroad.

The burning need now is for the books of Leyland as a whole to be opened to elected committees of workers, as the start to a campaign to open the books throughout industry. There must be a complete end to business secrets.

Not one 'left' Labour MP has called for the facts to be revealed to the workers' movement. First they rushed to the defence of Leyland management; then, when evidence became overwhelming, they called for all kinds of enquiries—Parliamentary Select Committees or an enquiry headed by a High Court Judge. Callaghan went even further, calling for an enquiry to be run by those accused of corruption—the NEB and Ryder!

Leyland is not an "unacceptable face" of capitalism. It is simply a part of capitalism. Capitalism itself as a system is unacceptable. And every proposed enquiry would only have the objective of putting the lid back on the box of secrets before too many workers demand to know the truth.

The 5% shareholders of Leyland

will have their say at the company's AGM on Wednesday, but the workforce whose jobs are involved will have no say whatever, thus showing how much of a nationalised company it is.

Leon Trotsky, in the Transitional Programme written in 1938, summed up the position well, when in the section of the Programme arguing for an end to business secrets he said:

"In reality, the trusts keep no secrets from one another..."

"The immediate tasks of workers control should be to explain the debits and credits of society, beginning with individual business undertakings; to determine the actual share of the national income appropriated by individual capitalists and by the exploiters as a whole; to expose the behind the scenes deals and swindles; finally, to reveal to all members of society that unconscionable squandering of human labour which is the result of capitalist anarchy and the naked pursuit of profits".

"Only factory committees can bring about real control of production; calling in—as consultants but not as technocrats—specialists sincerely devoted to the people: accountants, statisticians, engineers, scientists etc."

### CAMPAIGN

The Workers Socialist League is for this reason campaigning for opening the books of Leyland to elected committees of trade unionists in order to prove the necessity for nationalisation of the company without compensation. We call for a similar policy to be pursued through the whole motor and components industry.

This will prepare the way to a full scale fight for a nationalised motor industry under the management of these elected committees which should be part of a planned socialist economy.

We call on the 'left' MPs to break with the Lib-Lab coalition government, vote against its cover up plans and fight for opening the books of Leyland and the NEB as part of the fight for the removal of the right wing in the Labour Party and the preparation of an alternative socialist policy.

### HOTEL SELL-OUT... Cont'd from Front Page



This reduced trade to a fraction of its previous level in the 113 bedroom hotel—the public bar was closed down completely by this action.

When the fascist supporters of the Self Help group tried to break the picket on May 5, 300 turned out to stop them.

It was only by deploying the overall financial strength of THF—the biggest hotel chain in the world—that the management were able to hold out.

Similar picketing on the Linton Lodge hotel in Oxford had three weeks earlier won a complete victory after a similar 23 weeks on strike for union recognition.

It is clear that with THF the crucial question was national blacking. This was demonstrated by the strength of the limited blacking imposed in the Midlands area by Alan Law, the Birmingham regional official, mostly involving motorway service areas.

It is significant that the

Randolph sellout came at the point where the Linton Lodge victory and the blacking on the motorways made victory possible.

THF had been panicked into spending tens of thousands of pounds on full page adverts in every national newspaper to try to maintain their trade.

It was at this point that the TGWU bureaucrats moved in for the kill.

The strikers were called to a meeting on Tuesday 17 May with Geoff Hulett, the district official in Oxford handling the dispute.

The offer it transpired was not so much from THF—who had merely upped their buy off money, as from the union. As steward Margaret Radbourne said:

"He said he would lay his cards on the table, and tell us as he was told. We'd get no more support and no more hardship pay."

"Hulett said he'd had it from Regional Office. We couldn't use the union's name. If we wanted to

carry on it would be on our backs. That was it. Take the money or carry on on your own."

So Hulett who had ordered them out on strike now ordered them to accept the offer of money to go away, losing their jobs and leaving the Randolph without a single union member.

The capitalist press is busy trying to cover up for the officials by giving the impression that the strikers accepted the offer and the union had no choice. This settlement is a blow to all hotel workers' struggles and must be exposed for the sellout it is.

The sell out of this strike has also left the other two THF strikes isolated with no blacking taking place.

At Birmingham the main demand of Law is that the victimised shop steward, Pat McGuire, is compensated to the extent of £4000.

If this took place it would be a sellout similar to the Randolph in that the strike, now in its ninth week has been for union recognition as well as reinstatement, not for compensation.

At Sheffield at the Grosvenor House, the issue is the same. Unless national and regional blacking is instituted then the strike will be isolated and THF will force the strikers to accept monetary compensation, with all union members having lost their jobs.

There is a meeting with management next Monday. Resolutions for national blacking should be passed through union branches immediately.

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