

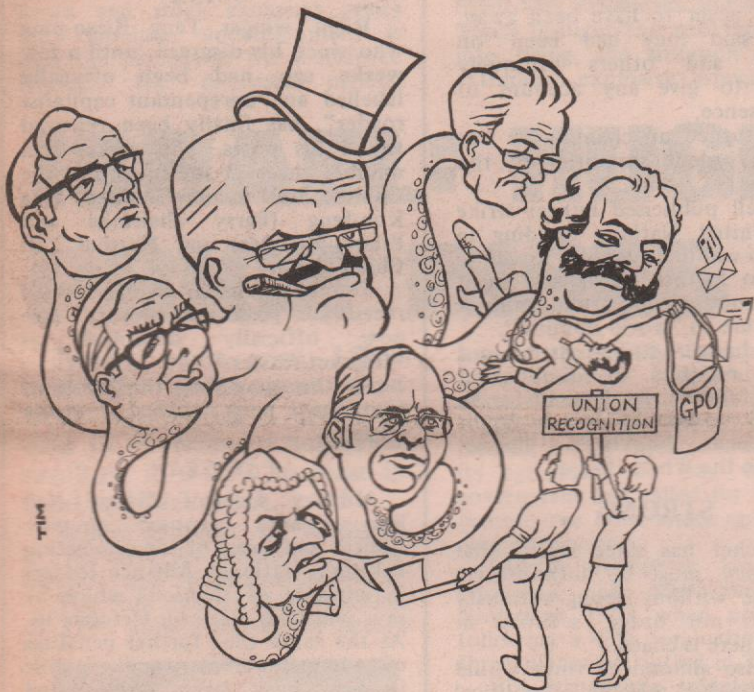
SOCIALIST PRESS



FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE
WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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GRUNWICK DESPERATE OFFICIALS INTIMIDATE STRIKERS



FIGHT 10% LIMIT

August 1—the official end of Phase 2 of wage control—is now behind us. But it is becoming increasingly obvious that if workers are to win the large wage increases necessary to regain and defend living standards there is a hard fight ahead.

The TUC leaders may have been forced by obvious working class hostility to back off their original plans to impose a third year of wage cuts on their members.

But they remain determined to ensure that workers suffer another drastic drop in living standards, and will go to any lengths to sabotage independent wage struggles that seek to break Chancellor Healey's unilaterally declared 10% overall limit.

HEATH

Workers will remember that in exactly this way the TUC managed to uphold two and a half years of state control of wages under the hated Heath government.

For AUEW General Secretary John Boyd therefore to join the chorus of right wingers opposing big wage claims, using the argument that such claims could lead to the early resignation and defeat of "the best Labour

PHOTO: Chris Davies (Report)



Government this century" is the most cynical attempt at deception.

Boyd and the right wing would oppose wage claims now, whatever government was in office. And in any event workers at local elections and by-elections have shown by their mass abstentions what they think of the wage cutting policies of the wretched Lib-Lab government.

But more important, Boyd is completely flouting his own union's policy, decided only two months ago, which instructed the Executive to "call for an immediate return to free collective bargaining at the end of the

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As one TGWU Grunwick driver said, "It wasn't a pull back by the strike committee; it was intimidation." He was referring to the narrow vote last Friday by the Grunwick strike committee to call off the mass picket planned for August 8.

That vote means that with its first anniversary only a few weeks away the Grunwick strike for union recognition has suffered a setback at the hands of the trade union bureaucracy.

Since the blacking of the company's mail by the Cricklewood sorting office workers, the dispute has become a battle ground of major political importance.

DEFYING

Defying the strongest opposition from their own leaders in the Union of Post Office Workers and threats of legal action against them by the National Association for Freedom and despite their subsequent lock-out by the Post Office the Cricklewood postal workers' resolute stand had been the basis for a huge movement of support throughout the working class, culminating in the mass picket of the factories on July 11.

It was the strength of this response and the successful challenge to the courts of the blacking action which forced the Tory leadership to pull back from their drive to challenge and overturn the Labour-Liberal coalition government.

DANGERS

At the same time, the union leaders themselves were drawing their own conclusions. They, too, had recognised the dangers in such

mass action for their plans to continue their class collaboration policies with Callaghan and Healey.

Any struggle behind which the working class could be successfully mobilised presented a major problem following the throwing out of the Social Contract, with pressure on wages building up.



Scargill—must proceed on Aug. 8.

The failure of the Tories strategy for all-out confrontation meant the initiative returned firmly to the UPW and APEX bureaucracies.

They took their chance—not to win the dispute but to attempt to knife it.

PLAN

In a carefully prepared plan, worked out almost certainly with government ministers, they centred their attention on ending the postal blacking and sabotaging the planned mass picket called by the strike committee for August 8.

At a 4 hour meeting early in the week between UPW full-time officials and the Cricklewood postmen's leadership, Norman

Stagg, acting UPW General Secretary, tried unavailingly to break their action.

He argued that they were putting the union in danger and anyway the blacking was not important in winning the Grunwick strike as it would be settled by the Court of Enquiry.

Meeting strong resistance, Stagg called a further meeting of the whole branch membership for the end of the week.

The union's executive was due to meet in the meantime to consider the next move.

Almost identical tactics were being pursued by APEX. The full Grunwick strike committee, which includes two TGWU members representing the drivers, were summoned to a meeting of the Executive.

'COOL IT'

Grantham, the general secretary, launched a bitter attack on the strike leaders' plans for the August 8 mass picket, and insisted they should heed the call of Lord Justice Scarman, chairman of the Court of Enquiry, to 'cool it', until its findings are published towards the end of August.

After this line was unanimously rejected by the strikers, who pointed out that it was only the impact of supporting action which had forced the enquiry in the first place, Grantham turned from argument to outright intimidation saying that their £30 a week strike pay would be cut to £12 unless they toed the line.

This sort of bullying is not new to Grantham. He had, on July 11, threatened to suspend strike committee secretary Mahmood Ahmed from union membership unless he ordered the mass pickets to leave the factory and join the

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS



BLACK ALL CHILEAN TRADE

The brutal regime of Chile maintains its place in world markets largely unhindered by reformists and Stalinists of the trade union leadership in other capitalist countries.

Sufficient paper resolutions polemicising against the dictatorship have been passed to stretch from Congress House to Santiago but the goods on which Pinochet relies are ferried freely around the world and into the High Streets of British towns.

It should therefore have brought blushes to the cheeks of the recent National Union of Mineworkers secret delegation to Chile when they were thanked by the contacts they made for 'solidarity action' by workers in Britain—given that every shop floor demand for blacking has been suppressed by trade union officials.

REPORT

Nevertheless the miners' delegation was the first visit paid by a foreign trade union since the coup in 1973 and its report demonstrates the method used by the Junta to demolish the best organised working class in South America.

The most obvious method has

been through the murder of trade union militants and officials.

But it was still not possible for the Junta merely to wind up all the trade union organisations.

Although many were banned and had their funds confiscated others were "reconstructed".



Jones—words but no action.

The Miners' Federation for example has its officials selected by the Junta, who choose five from a list of the 15 oldest workers in each plant.

Written permission is needed for meetings and a policeman or soldier

sits in on those that are allowed.

Needless to say strikes and collective bargaining are banned and no union dues can be collected. Appeals against 'unfair dismissal' are heard by a committee of military officers.

The working class has not however been totally crushed. Illegal trade unions continue to operate and the NUM delegation found that strikes had been successfully called over fringe issues in some factories.

The international nature of trade union collaboration is also demonstrated by the fact that some union officials from the Allende days have continued to serve under Pinochet.

The delegation returned with recommendations for blacking—couched in timid terms asking the NUM to 'consider' a motion to the TUC that trade be 'discouraged' and that British trade unions should 'co-operate in a boycott—presumably one called by someone else.

The meaning of such resolutions is clear from the TGWU conference.

Jack Jones made a long speech, only to collapse into red faced prevarication when asked by a docker if the union would actually back action against Chilean ships and goods.

Meanwhile, a report published by the Chile-Committee for Human

Rights shows how brainwashing techniques have been added to the Junta's programme of repression.

It is the latest move by the Junta to make its bloody rule less embarrassing to US capital.

Reductions in political arrests in recent months and the release of some political prisoners have been matched by an unpublished increase in 'disappearances'—that is murders—and criminal charges against political prisoners.

The brainwashing evidence comes in the wake of 30 arrests of trade unionists who had published a May Day letter against the Junta.

Of those arrested 11 disappeared in the classic fashion, with the Junta claiming they were not under arrest.

MYSTERY

Most of them have reappeared in mysterious circumstances, some claimed never to have been away, others said they had been 'on holiday' and others brusquely refused to give any account of their absence.

One turned up claiming he was now an ardent supporter of the Junta.

A well publicised hunger strike in a United Nations building in Santiago will undoubtedly force the Junta to further twists and turns to accommodate its brutal murder and torture to "world opinion".

The hunger strike—carried out by 26 relatives of disappeared persons failed in its demand for an international inquiry, but no doubt embarrassed Pinochet's 'liberal' friends in the White House.

STRONG

Pinochet has since stated that democracy must be authoritarian "because without strong authority there is not order, security or peace: there is chaos."

He also announced there would be no further releases of political prisoners. In fact arrests have now been stepped up.

The vital need for worldwide blacking to support the Chilean working class is highlighted by these events and by the NUM report.

Dockers and transport workers in particular must demand that such blacking is immediately put into effect.

IN BRIEF

PERU

The social crisis provoked by the new austerity plans of the regime has intensified.

A one day general strike call by the trade union federation dominated by the Communist Party (which has recently switched from support to qualified opposition to the military government) was widely followed. The security forces killed at least 10 people on the day and have now moved in on the Centromin copper mines where the Maoist-dominated unions have called an indefinite strike. The regime has encouraged firms to dismiss all strike leaders.

CHINA

Right winger Teng Hsiao-ping who since his disgrace until a few weeks ago had been officially labelled an "unrepentant capitalist roader", has finally been restored to all his posts. This makes him number three in the line-up of the Chinese bureaucracy behind Hua Kuo-feng (Party chairman and Prime Minister) and Marshal Yeh Chien-ying.

Teng's written works until recently "poisonous weeds" are now officially described as "fragrant flowers".

At the same time the "gang of four" have been expelled from the party.

PAKISTAN

Military dictator Zia ul Haq has released deposed premier Bhutto and some of the opposition Pakistan National Alliance leaders in advance of elections which he says will take place on October 18. At the same time further penalties of imprisonment and public flogging have been promulgated against any form of political activity.

ETHIOPIA

The wars between the Soviet and Cuban-supported Ethiopian military dictatorship, the Derg, and national liberation movements in Eritrea (in the north) and Ougaden, claimed by Somalia (in the east) is rapidly intensifying. The Somalian government has stepped up its help to the Ougaden guerrillas and a state of general war virtually exists between the two countries. Both have made numerous claims of massive casualties inflicted on the enemy. Somalia, long time ally of the Soviet Union, has now asked for and been offered major military support from the main imperialist powers.



Indians in Bihar celebrate the defeat of Gandhi.

ASIA: 'PROGRESSIVES' HIT THE DUST

Yet another of South Asia's self-styled "progressive" leaders has fallen with a resounding thud into the political dust.

Mrs. Bandaranaike lost Sri Lanka's general election on July 21 even more decisively than Indira Gandhi on whom she had increasingly modelled her semi-dictatorship.

Bandaranaike's Freedom Party lost all except 8 of its seats in parliament.

Jayewardene's right wing United National Party won what he calls the "embarrassingly large" majority of 138-121 of a total of 168 seats.

Bandaranaike, like Gandhi and Bhutto in Pakistan, for all their "socialist" pretensions, have lost mass support because of the dictatorial methods and the corruption of their "progressive" regimes and because of the anti-working class policies of the United National Party.

worst in the world—1.3 million unemployed out of a total workforce of under 6 million.

In Sri Lanka as in India and Pakistan, popular discontent with fraudulent "progressive" leaders has been reflected in a very contradictory way through support for explicitly right wing parties—the National Alliance in Pakistan, the Janata Party in India and now the United National Party in Sri Lanka.

There is no doubt that these parties cannot solve any of the pressing problems of the workers and peasants and that their plans will involve massive repression.

POWERS

Already Jayewardene has taken semi-dictatorial powers to "deal with" the wave of violence unleashed by his own party following the election results.

The reason for the success of the right wing United National Party is that it has been able to exploit the anti-working class policies of the Bandaranaike government.

to prop up the Gandhi dictatorship while the Socialist Party sunk itself in the mire of the Janata Party and the non-aligned Communist Party (Marxist) did a more informal deal with the Janata.

OPPORTUNISM

In Sri Lanka the same opportunism kept the pro-Moscow CP and the LSSP (the "Trotskyist" party which before its expulsion was the Sri Lanka section of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International) in close political alliance with the Bandaranaike government until the last possible moment before the elections.

Both the CP and the LSSP picked up their just rewards for this treachery—they were annihilated in the elections and are left without a single parliamentary seat.

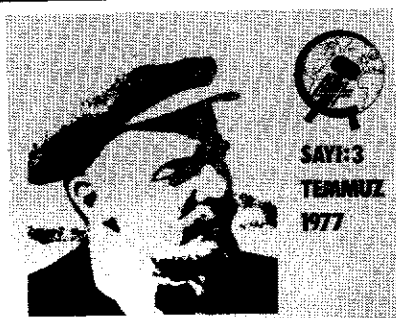
The main opposition in parliament is now the Tamil United Liberation Front, which has been able to exploit the anti-Tamil policies of the Bandaranaike government.

Jayawardene is attempting to head off by appointing as cabinet ministers some of the UNP's seven Tamil members.

Jayawardene plans to tackle his other immediate political problem, that of unemployment, by opening the gates to what he hopes will be a flood of foreign investment from the imperialist countries.

The centrepiece of this plan is the establishment in Trincomalee of a tax-free and customs-free area for processing factories, casinos, hotels and shipping facilities through which the UNP hopes to convert Sri Lanka into a kind of amalgam of Hong Kong, Singapore, Bermuda and Monaco.

There can be little doubt that the Sri Lankan working class, which only a few months ago launched a huge strike wave against Bandaranaike's anti-working class policies, will rapidly mobilise against the UNP's insidious fantasy of converting them into a semi-colony.



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ENTERNASYONEL

'ENTERNASYONEL' Turkish language theoretical magazine of the Workers Socialist League

Number 3 of the magazine is available for £1.00 from the Workers Socialist League, 31, Darnley Park Road, London W10 6UN.

SPAIN: FRANCOISTS CALL FOR 'DEMOCRACY'

"Now this democracy must be consolidated". These were the words of Franco's chosen successor King Juan Carlos when opening Spain's newly elected parliament.

They might equally have come from the mouth of Felipe Gonzalez or Santiago Carrillo.

To all of them the consolidation of "democracy" means a determination to prevent any mobilisation of the working class which will threaten the limited legitimisation of the Suarez government produced by the June elections (the final results of which have still not been announced).

The key feature of this counter-revolutionary plan is the "social pact" through which Suarez aims to draw the reformist and Stalinist leaders in parliament and the trade unions into full collaboration with the massive economic attack on the working class which Spanish capitalism urgently needs.

CRISIS

The symptoms of the economic crisis get more glaring every day. Inflation is the highest in Europe; many businesses are near to closing down and stock exchange prices are tumbling; unemployment is over ten percent of the workforce (though the doctored official

figures still show it as 5%) and emigrant workers are returning in thousands from the rest of Europe.

In the last two weeks Suarez has begun to unveil his plans to deal with this rapidly worsening crisis.

He has devalued the peseta by 20% giving an enormous push to the cost of living.

He has proposed cuts in public spending, greater freedom for firms to sack workers through the abandonment of the Francoist employment protection laws and new wage controls.

TARGET

The wage control target has not been finally announced but the figures being put around are a flat rate increase which would be under 5% of the average wage (with inflation already at over 30% and still rising). Suarez wants, he says, to agree a figure with the unions.

So Suarez agrees he will have to grant some limited legal right to strike and allow the conditions in which the trade union bureaucrats can build up their still very restricted organisational strength in the mass movement.

In spite of the temporary gains made by the alliance of the Francoists, reformists and Stalinists which brought the new parliament into being, the situation remains extremely explosive especially on

the question of the struggle for national rights in Euskadi and struggle against the social pact.

In relation to these struggles the Socialist and Communist Party leaders are hostile to all the demands which would meet the needs of the working class.

GROTESQUE

A particularly grotesque instance of this is the recent adoption by the CP-dominated "trade union", the Workers Commissions, of what they call "the sliding scale of wages".

By this they Workers' Commissions bureaucracy means the increase of wages in line not with prices but with productivity!

The obvious unacceptability of the new economic measures to the working class has forced the leaders of all the main unions to reject them in public.

But behind the backs of the workers they are manoeuvring towards a treacherous deal with Suarez.

Suarez knows, however, that the chances of controlling the working class through such a deal remain very small.

FRANCOIST

He still holds in his hands many of the repressive powers he has inherited from the Francoist state. And he is still prepared to use them



Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzalez

against the organised working class as he has used them to repress the recent mass prison revolt in Madrid's Carabanchel jail.

His "victory" there, however, came only after hundreds of common and political prisoners had totally destroyed the interior of Carabanchel, that hated symbol of Francoist repression.

There is no doubt about the willingness of the union leaders, and Socialist and Communist Parties, to collaborate with all this.

But this is not so easy in a situation where still less than 10% of Spanish workers belong to any

of the union federations and where most of them have frequently shown their rejection of the leaders' collaboration with capitalism and the government.

Suarez acknowledges that the social pact accepted he will have to make "concessions" which the reformist and Stalinist leadership—who bureaucratically dominate the unions and who between them picked up nearly a million more votes than Suarez in June's fraudulent elections—can sell to workers who have so far given their qualified political support.

ISRAEL: HUGE PRICE RISES

Israel's right wing Likud coalition government last week announced a series of cuts in government subsidies, resulting in a 25% increase in food and fuel prices.

Similar increases are to follow in the cost of transport, postal services and telecommunications.

The cuts amount to a reduction of £145 million sterling in Israel's

Israel's hopelessly compromised trade union federation—the Histadrut—was predictably gutless.

The Secretary-General, Yeruham Meshel, merely threatened to cancel its agreement on pay with the government and called for a purely protest one hour strike against the announcements.

Clearly Histadrut wants no repetition of the events of November 1974 when price rises following a 43% devaluation led to three nights of rioting in Tel Aviv.

But Histadrut's spinelessness is no doubt also motivated by a desire to protect its political wing, the Labour Alignment. For recent revelations—the details of which are as yet unclear—indicate that when Labour was in office, it too planned increases of such magnitude.

Histadrut's bluster is thus a cover both for its own inactivity, and for the anti-working class policies of its political confederates.

The timing of the announcement during Prime Minister Begin's talks with Carter was also meant as a clear signal to Israel's chief backers, the USA, that Israel needs more financial help.

With inflation running at 38% and small (2%) devaluations of the Israeli pound occurring at almost monthly intervals, it is clear that the Israeli economy is in a perilous state.

Without US aid—military and financial—the internal and external contradictions besetting Israel would surely combine to rip the state apart.

The cuts in no way mitigate those pressures, but instead intensify them.

DICTATORS AT WAR

The utter inability of the quarrelling wings of Arab nationalism to serve the interests of the Arab masses is shown clearly by the recent fighting between the reactionary regimes of Sadat in Egypt and Gaddafi of Libya.

Since the death of Nasser in 1972 and the collapse in the following year of efforts to unify the two countries, Gaddafi and Sadat have been competing for the mantle of the leadership of Arab nationalism.

By April 1975 Sadat was describing his rival as a 'mental defective' and providing help for

every shade of political opposition to the Gaddafi regime.

There also seems little doubt that the Libyans have also been involved in some of the various opposition movements within Egypt, perhaps including the extreme right wing group of Ahmed Mustapha who let off bombs during July at Mansour in the Nile delta.

The period of active warfare from 21 to 24 July followed a series of border incidents, with police border guards kidnapped and exchanged, and with 10 Egyptian soldiers killed on 17 July.



WRP leader Gerry Healy—cheer-leader for Gaddafi.

Similarly, Menachem Begin's provocative decision to recognise three Jewish settlements on the occupied West Bank of Jordan exacerbates external tensions.

It shows once again the utter hypocrisy of all talk of 'peace' from the Zionists, and coming straight after Begin's US visit must have been discussed with Carter.

So much for 'human rights' a la Carter.

No doubt there was some discussion of the need for some more appropriation of territory in order to offset the unpopularity of the price increases.

US envoy Cyrus Vance's "disappointment" will not alter US support for Israel, however—and it will certainly do nothing to further the Palestinian people's right to self-determination.

Trotskyists but because the self-proclaimed Trotskyists of the Workers Revolutionary Party decided to take a quite different attitude, perhaps from some feelings of freemasonry amongst the dictators.

The whole spectacle of the WRP activity on this question borders on the farcical.

REDGRAVE

WRP central committee member Corin Redgrave standing outside the Egyptian embassy with banner saying "Hands off Libyan Revolution" is scandalous in view of the well-known barbarous penal policies of Gaddafi regime.

Even more alarming has been the general position on Libya taken by the *Newline* for some time previously referred to in *Socialist Press*.

This reached a peak with recent border incidents.

The WRP's July 27 meeting the events featured well-known starlet and WRP leader Vane Redgrave asserting that "we must defend the vanguard revolutionary leadership in Libya."

Such a statement is disgraceful from a self-proclaimed Trotskyist.

There can be no doubt that Gaddafi at this point represents the most militant wing of Arab nationalism, the most hostile to settlement with Israel and that rivalry with Sadat is related to this.

OSCILLATE

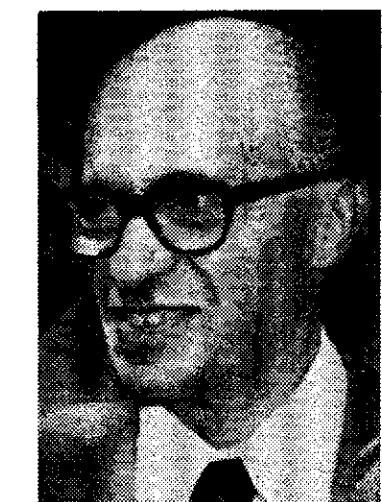
But what cannot be ignored and doubted is that nationalist regimes of the Gaddafi type can just as easily oscillate in the opposite direction.

Already the Libyan regime has supplied Soviet-built tanks to a reactionary military dictatorship in Ethiopia, presumably for use against the national liberation forces in Eritrea and elsewhere.

Libya's domestic policies have been based on the precepts of the Koran, including the subordination of women and the cutting off of limbs as a penalty for crime.

The anti-Trotskyist line of the WRP represents a further degeneration for them.

For the Arab masses the struggle to break from their current



Prime Minister Begin

current national budget of £7,500 million, and include a reduction of £87 million in the £2,500 million defence budget.

Significantly, however, the defence cuts are not to affect front line fighting strengths—they fall instead on accommodation and transport.

The reaction of the leaders of

MORE DETAILS

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'PROGRESSIVE'

The so-called 'progressive' wing of the divided Arab nationalist movement is not capable of fighting Sadat's betrayal of the national and democratic demands of the Palestinians.

These demands, as well as the economic demands of the Egyptian and Libyan workers and peasants can only be won under a leadership prepared to mobilise the working

BREAK THIS LIB-LAB COALITION!

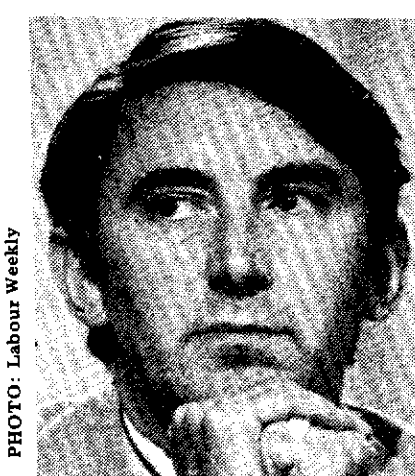


PHOTO: Labour Weekly

Steel



PHOTO: Andrew Ward (Report)

Callaghan

Students Sacked

Authorities at Essex University have announced the expulsion of five students who took part in occupations earlier this year in protest at Shirley Williams' proposals to drastically raise tuition fees.

10 other students have been suspended for periods of one to two years, and fines totalling £2,000 were imposed on others.

Altogether 73 students were "tried" by the University Disciplinary Committee, and 67 of those were found "guilty".

When the fee increases were announced last November, Essex's Vice-Chancellor Albert Sloman was one of the first to register his "horror" at the proposals and proclaimed from the rooftops his claim to be concerned with the students' plight.

The true nature of such sympathy was revealed, however, as soon as students began taking direct action to ensure non-implementation of the increases.

High court injunctions were sought to end occupations; university lecturers physically attacked students; and a whole array of disciplinary measures were enacted against the militants within the student union.

Clearly, the authorities have chosen the holiday period as the optimum time to boot out the students.

The Students' Union has thus been sorely hampered in effectively challenging the victimisations.

Nonetheless it is crucial that the university's attempts to crush the union as a fighting force be overturned.

For that a clear strategy for taking up this struggle next term is required. But the events of the past six months have shown that the students alone lack sufficient social power to protect them from attacks—be they in the form of fee increases or expulsions.

Colchester Trades Council has passed a motion in support of the students; they must now be forced to act on that motion—only in this way will the reinstatement of all students be achieved.

DEMAND PUBLIC WORKS

Amid predictable crocodile tears and monotonous hollow cries of "intolerable!" from TUC bureaucrats, unemployment has soared to a new peak of 1.6 million, while unfilled vacancies fell by over 5,000 during last month.

While of course every 'left wing' waffler latches on to the emotive issue of youth unemployment, the overall figure includes a staggering 1.39 million unemployed adult workers, for whom none of the gimmicky government "job creation" and "work experience" frauds represent any consolation whatever.

But even for school-leaving youth, 253,379 of whom are now on the unemployed register, the prospects of finding regular employment at a living wage are worse than ever.

Every employer in both private and nationalised industry is looking to ways of trimming and speeding up his existing workforce—not for additional workers.

The public services are being ravaged by cuts in government spending.

DOWNTURN

And building trade employers forecast a continuing downturn in an industry in which over 300,000 workers are already unemployed. 55% of building firms expect to employ less over the coming year than they did last year.

In this situation the feeble or outright reactionary notes struck by the various union leaders voicing demands ranging from 'reflation' to calls for import controls offer no solution to youth or adult workers.

Unemployment must be fought on two fronts: the outright defence of all existing jobs, and the fight to create new ones.

Wherever employers threaten existing jobs the call must be for work sharing on full pay to apply to the whole workforce.

The employer's claim he cannot pay must be met by occupations and the demand that the full accounts of the firm be opened to elected trade union committees and their representatives.

If indeed the employer is unable to sustain the full workforce the

occupation must continue with the demand the firm be nationalised without compensation, under the management of the elected union committee, and sustained by government contracts.

The fight to create new jobs requires both a campaign to recruit the unemployed into the trade union movement, and a combined struggle of employed and unemployed workers in both the unions and the Labour Party.

At the centre of this struggle must be the call for a break in the Lib-Lab coalition.

This would open the way for the removal of Healey and Callaghan and a reversal of their policies, to provide a crash programme of useful public works under workers control, creating new jobs at trade union rates of pay.



Jenkins: "intolerable!"



Basnett: "priority".

With no discussion with the Labour Party Callaghan has again moved further into dependence upon the Liberals, that second-string party of big and smaller business headed by David Steel and a motley gang of would-be European parliamentary careerists.

The Lib-Lab "pact" has so far borne fruit in Healey's unilateral declaration of a 10% overall limit on wage increases over the next year, backed up by the TUC urging union negotiators not to try to catch up living standards eroded since 1974 in this year's wage claims.

In reality the "pact" amounts to an undeclared Parliamentary coalition in which the Labour leaders are quite consciously using the TUC bureaucrats in order to shackle the working class movement to Liberal policies.

The base of this coalition is widened by the increasingly open support being given to the Callaghan government both by the Tory press and by the Tory Party itself.

THATCHER

Tory leader Thatcher last week "gladly" accepted Callaghan's invitation that she join him in urging union negotiators to be "moderate" during the next pay round.

The Tories clearly recognise that, with growing militancy on wages building towards confrontation, the Labour and TUC leaders together may stand a better chance of heading off the working class than a Tory government.

So while they continue to sound

ONE PERSON NOT suffering as a result of Chancellor Healey's viciously anti-working class policies is Chancellor Healey himself, who is negotiating to purchase a £65,000 8-bedroom mansion in Sussex as soon as he has sold his existing £60,000 country home.

Healey has already reportedly sold his Highgate house for an undisclosed sum thought to be in the region of £100,000.

He will certainly fit easily into most of his new neighbourhood which is described as "75% Tory, 20% Liberal and about 5% Labour".

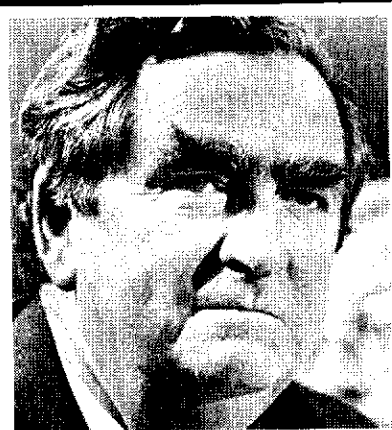


PHOTO: Chris Davies (Report)

off from time to time to pressure the Callaghan government further to the right, the Tories are far from attempting any repeat of the March motion of no confidence which brought down the Labour government and forced on the coalition deal.

Meanwhile, with the Labour Party's conference in Brighton approaching in October the Labour Party runs daily further from any serious struggle to break this reactionary coalition or challenge the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

Last week produced the disgusting spectacle of Eric Heffer jumping up in the Commons to reassure the Tories that there was still life in the hated Social Contract.

At the same time the 'left' on the Labour Party's National Executive was beating a humiliated retreat when Callaghan poured cold water on pious plans to slash defence spending by 25%.

The main effort of these left wingers appears to be to find issues on which they can appear to fight Callaghan without raising the spectre of a break with the Social Contract.

So they collapsed ignominiously as soon as the right wing challenged their attempt to get a tepid series of changes in the election of the Party leader passed at Conference.

But they clung tenaciously to a meaningless mish-mash of opposition to the Common Market and Tribune economic policies, which will be put to Conference with NEC backing, but will be in any event ignored by Callaghan and Healey.

The break from the coalition is the most decisive question to be fought for now within the Labour Party.

All CLPs and union branches that have declared against the coalition must prepare now to lobby the Brighton conference around this demand.

Discussion must centre on developing a programme of socialist policies on which the coalition deal must be broken.

And the Labour 'lefts' whose Parliamentary votes have propped up the coalition for three months must be called to heel by their local Parties and forced to fight for the

BOSSSES' BONANZA

While workers scrape in empty pockets and wallets for the cash to enjoy a much needed summer break, the silence has been broken by a clamorous din of profit figures from Britain's major corporations, all of whom have been minting money as a result of the Social Contract.

ICI staggered laughingly to the bank with an incredible £540 million. GEC smiled happily with a more modest £278 million. But the five big banks had the biggest laugh of all—with a cool £830 million profit for a year of holding on to other people's money.

Meanwhile the public sector industries have also made full use of the cheapening of labour power provided under the Social Contract.

The National Coal Board, groaning about lazy miners who should work harder, netted £27 million profit. British Gas snatched £31.5 million profit from consumers, while British Airways, even with eight work-starved Concorde to support, managed to make a respectable £35 million.

MILKED

But the really big money was in electricity. Hard-hit consumers with sky-high bills have been milked to the tune of £207 million profit to the Electricity Council and £130 million to the Central Electricity Generating Board—a total of £337 million. That is nearly £6 for every man woman and child in the country.

Top of the pile, cashing in on a particularly pliable trade union

leadership, which gladly agreed to both social contract wage cuts and massive staffing cuts, was the Post Office, which actually made £392 million—though £105 million "excess" is to be handed back in rebates to telephone subscribers.

Post Office boss William Ryland stressed how useful had been the 10,000 cut in telecommunications jobs and 3,000 postal jobs, and hoped new and similar productivity arrangements would be made again.

COMMITTEES

Trade unionists must take all these figures seriously. Only a short while ago every major state industry was proclaiming gloom and despondency and showing balance sheets deep in the red.

Elected trade union committees at local, regional and national level must take up the demand: Open the books of these firms and industries! Discover:

*How are these astronomic profits made?

*Who receives it? What work do they do?

*How were earlier figures manipulated?

*How do "loss making" nationalised industries assist these profit makers?

The information that comes from such investigations will prove beyond doubt the need to nationalise the whole of major industry without compensation under workers' management, as a step to a planned socialist economy.



POLICE WAR ON SOCIALISTS

Report of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis for the year 1976. HMSO Cmnd 6821. By a guest reviewer.

Every socialist and trade union militant should be aware of the contents of this fascinating new report.

Sir Robert Mark in his five years as Commissioner of the London Police has steered his organisation through some difficult and corrupt times towards becoming a more political, more anti-trade union, more anti-socialist force.

The report reeks of bitter hatred for socialists and strikers; almost all comment is devoted to these, while actual crime is reduced to piles of bare statistics.

This is not surprising in view of the levels of crime within the force over which Mark presided. Most obviously, the Chief of the "Porn Squad" has been convicted of helping resell pornography and the Chief of the Drug Squad of protecting the importation of drugs into Britain.

Mark is very clear on the direction his and future efforts have to take—combatting working class resistance to falling living standards.

"Unrest arising from economic problems at home and changes in the political scene abroad continued to create problems for the police..."

(Page 10)

The report devotes 14 pages to 'Public Order' compared to 15 pages on 'Crime' and 11 on 'Traffic'.

It is in the section on Public Order where Mark makes his stand most clear. He outlines the various marches against the brutal oppression by the British Army in Northern Ireland, and goes on to claim:

"... the continuing violence against British soldiers in the province increases the possibility of a backlash by anti-Irish elements in London."

The only such backlash he reports comes from a small National Front demonstration.

On the Southall demonstrations last year following the murder of

Gurdip Singh Chagger—which according to Mark was not a 'racist' killing—he has this to say:

"This racial unrest was stimulated and manipulated for their own ends by extremist elements including the International Socialists and the International Marxist Group."

VICTIM

Mark goes on to paint the picture of the National Front as the helpless victim of extreme forces:

"The activities of left wing extremists against the National Front racialism continued throughout the year."

Indeed the racialism of the National Front is minimised in Mark's account:

"On 26 September the NF mounted a picket outside a disused warehouse in Lea Bridge Road, Leyton, which was being used as a mosque by the local Moslem community. This action... provoked the usual reaction by the left wing extremists..."



PHOTO: Chris Davies (Report)

Police wade into Trico picket



Mark

Flying in the face of all the findings of the large scale enquiry carried out last year by Brent Trades Council, Mark claims that on the 'Right to Work' march run by the International Socialists—in which marchers were arbitrarily assaulted and some hospitalised by frenzied police:

"Police were subjected to a sudden and violent attack..."

Mark spends a lot of time analysing the Notting Hill Carnival, where, he claims, the riot was not due to the massive number of police.

Yet he alleges successive attempts by large gangs of black youth to rescue their friends from the grips of the almost exclusively white police.

On the Trico dispute, Mark claims:

"an aggressive note was introduced by members of student and socialist organisations with no connection whatsoever with the union concerned."

VENOM

On the Smiths Industries computer operator dispute Mark also reserves special venom for the pickets and for the fact the dispute was won:

"Picketing organised by political extremists resulted in their reinstatement on 16 September."

Other facts to be gleaned from the report show that:

*The hated Special Patrol Group—which even "ordinary" police regard as animals—stopped over 19,000 people and over 41,000 vehicles for arbitrary searches in 1976.

But they only managed to make about 4,000 arrests from this wholesale intimidation.

*591 further officers qualified in the use of revolvers. How long before these weapons appear openly on picket lines?

*Over 7,400 complaints were made against the police. However, the police ensure that they investigate all complaints themselves, and not, surprisingly, some of the

WORKERS ENQUIRY LAUNCHED

"Police powers are being dangerously widened. It might start in the black community but it will soon spill over into the whole community".

This was how Althea Lecointe introduced the workers' enquiry into police brutality and the case of the Islington 18 on Saturday 23 July.

After a day's hearings with direct questioning of those who had submitted statements and reports, recommendations for action were made by the 12-strong committee of labour movement delegates.

The 18 youths were not there. They had been ordered into custody for the judge's summing up of the 3-month trial.

Since then the jury has been retired for five days.

NOT GUILTY

It has still only returned verdicts—mainly 'not guilty' so far, on one third of the 89 charges and not on any of the 'conspiracy' charges.

The enquiry placed responsibility on the local labour movement to take up a fight on the problems confronting black youth and also to recruit youth, employed and unemployed, into its ranks.

The demands of the petition

that the local CID be suspended and investigated were endorsed and extended to include two stipendiary magistrates, Springer and Maclean, of the notorious Highbury Court.

HOME SECRETARY

Ernie Roberts, Parliamentary candidate for Hackney North, suggested that the local MPs who have agreed to meet the Defence Committee to receive the petition, should not only set a date for that meeting but accompany the delegation to the Home Secretary.

Also that these MPs should ask questions in Parliament about the cost of the trial—estimated at £400,000—at a time of economic crisis and cutbacks.

Workers in social services, housing, education, social security, employment and youth services were called on to form a joint union committee to campaign for improved services for youth.

And the local Trades Council

was called on to gain TUC support for an enquiry into the case and campaign for jobs for the unemployed, jobs at union rates and providing apprenticeship training.

At the enquiry itself the workers' committee accepted the list of recommendations and urged that report be published. So far a delegate has refused to sign as a leading local teachers' union Stalinist.

The fight must now be taken to ensure that the recommendations are carried out.

NEW CUTS LOBBY

The 'Steering Committee' which is supposed to represent nine public sector unions has called for yet another Lobby of Parliament and rally against the cuts.

In accordance with the unwritten six month rule for defusing working class hostility to the cuts this has been scheduled for the Autumn.

According to the recent announcement of the committee (which was originally set up to organise the 17 November day-of-action last year), the lobby will be held at the end of a 'week-of-action'.

It remains to be seen what form this action is to take.

Public sector workers should demand the opportunity to determine the policies of the Steering Committee rather than finding them imposed from above.

Most active union members in the nine unions know nothing at all about its composition, its terms of reference or its mode of operation.

Its policies to date suggest a determination to head-off any real fight against cuts and limit the struggle to Parliamentary protest.

Resolutions should be sent through all public sector unions to the Steering Committee demanding a policy of extended strike action to stop the cuts, hand in hand with a fight to link social service spend-



PHOTO: John Sturrock (Report)

NEW!



TROTSKYISM TODAY

Theoretical Journal of the Workers Socialist League

OUT NOW!
Price 50p

Features include:
The RCG and the Women's Question.

Faction and Party: A Reply to the IMG

Cuba

Order from

WSL

31, Dartmouth Park Hill



Barcelona demonstration in support of the Asturian miners.

The emergence of revolutionary struggles in Spain today gives a new sharpness and urgency to the lessons that must be drawn from the previous struggles of Spanish workers which ended in defeat and forty years of fascism.

The reformists and Stalinists whose role was so crucial in producing those defeats cannot make such an analysis.

The task of Marxists therefore is to expose their treacherous policies then and now, and to interpose a correct programme to the Spanish masses.

Franco's seizure of power was not only a conclusion to the Civil War; it signified the temporary culmination of a process which had developed in Spain from the beginning of the century, and which was noted in the specific character of the Spanish nation.

In the war of 1898 against the U.S.A. the entire Pacific Fleet of the

Spanish navy was destroyed in one hour. The one ship which survived the bombardment of the Atlantic Fleet was the only steamship of the navy. It was very soon captured—when it ran out of coal.

CRITICAL

For all its farcical qualities, this humiliating defeat symbolises the critical weakness of the Spanish ruling class in the age of imperialism.

Already the vast American territories from California to the southern tip of the continent had broken from Spanish rule in the early 19th century.

The remaining empire was an early casualty in the inter-imperialist rivalries which culminated in the First World War.

Spain itself had been characterised by Trotsky as a state of 'degenerated absolutism, limited by periodic military coups'. Capitalist development of the productive forces was extremely backward.

Modern industry barely existed outside Catalonia and the Basque provinces, and the economy was dominated by primitively inefficient agriculture.

The crisis caused by this economic backwardness was reproduced as instability in every other sphere.

Government was in a state of constant crisis as the church and the army stubbornly blocked all attempts to accelerate the modernisation of industry: 33 entirely different administrations attempted to rule Spain between 1902 and 1923.

PROFITS

The increasingly urgent demands of the capitalists were only temporarily satisfied by the immense profits they received when Spain remained neutral during World War One.

But the development of industry in those four years did more than simply enrich the bourgeoisie. It also strengthened the working class, which grew in size and in organised force, principally within two major unions, the UGT and the CNT.

The Union General de Trabajadores (General Workers' Union) had been created by the Socialist Party in 1888, as a trade union on the reformist model of those in other European countries, but in 1910 the Anarchists had set up the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour) which had quite different aims.

The CNT was far more militant, and its main orientation much more obviously political.

STRENGTH

Its main strength was drawn from the proletariat of Catalonia and the landless labourers of Andalusia; that of the UGT lay in the other industrial areas (Madrid, Asturias, Euskadi) and among the agricultural workers of Extremadura and La Mancha.

Organised in this form, the working class had begun to realise its own strength in the great waves of strikes which had swept Spain, and largely succeeded in achieving their limited aims.

For the Anarchists, the general strike itself became their primary strategy for revolution, and they argued that it would lead on directly to the abolition of the state.

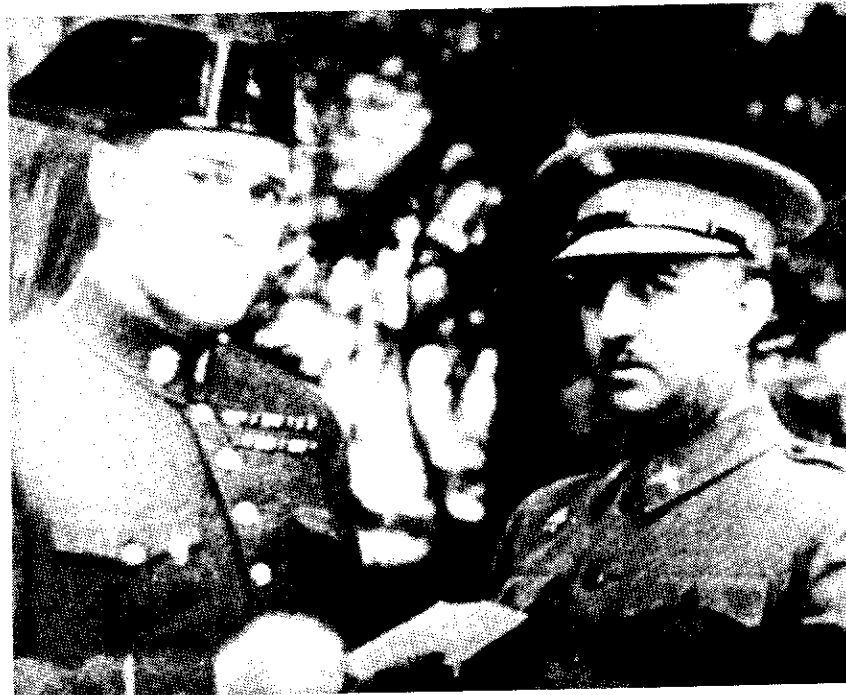
PRACTICE

In the early years of this century they made four major attempts to develop this strategy in practice, and with the last of these the possibility of the proletariat seizing state power was openly revealed for

HOW FASCISTS TOOK STATE POWER: THE CRISIS THAT SPAWNED FRANCO

1917 was originally called by the Socialists, with the support of the Anarchists.

the CNT was driven underground and even forced to disband at one stage.



Minister of War Franco with Major Doval, a prominent leader of the Asturian repression.

The demands were partly economic, partly political; specifically it called for democratic control of the army, and an end to the imperialist adventure in Morocco which had resulted in mass conscription.

Although the strike was smashed—by the army—within three days, it had revealed the potential of united action by the working class throughout Spain.

In its development, the political forces had taken up the general positions they were to hold again during the Civil War: in fact the officer responsible for crushing the strike of the Asturian miners was none other than one Major Franco.

With the ending of the war, Spanish industry was once more forced to compete for markets; it proved uncompetitive.

The continuing governmental crisis was abruptly interrupted by the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera, installed by the king.

Supported by an improvement in the condition of international capitalism, this grandee was able to prolong for seven years his attempt to restore the tarnished glory of Spain.

Such a project necessarily involved plans to restrict the independence of the working class, and for this Primo turned to the reformists of the UGT and the Socialist Party, who participated in his regime.

Compulsory arbitration boards were established along with other

But the dictatorship had no mass base, and as a Bonapartist regime could not survive when the recurrence of the acute economic crisis threw the working class once more onto the offensive.

Primo was forced to resign in 1930, but the process which achieved this gain did not stop at that point. General Berenguer, installed in his place, attempted to legitimise the regime by calling elections for a Cortes (parliament) which would have given the dictatorship a democratic cloak while maintaining its powers unshackled beneath.

BOYCOTT

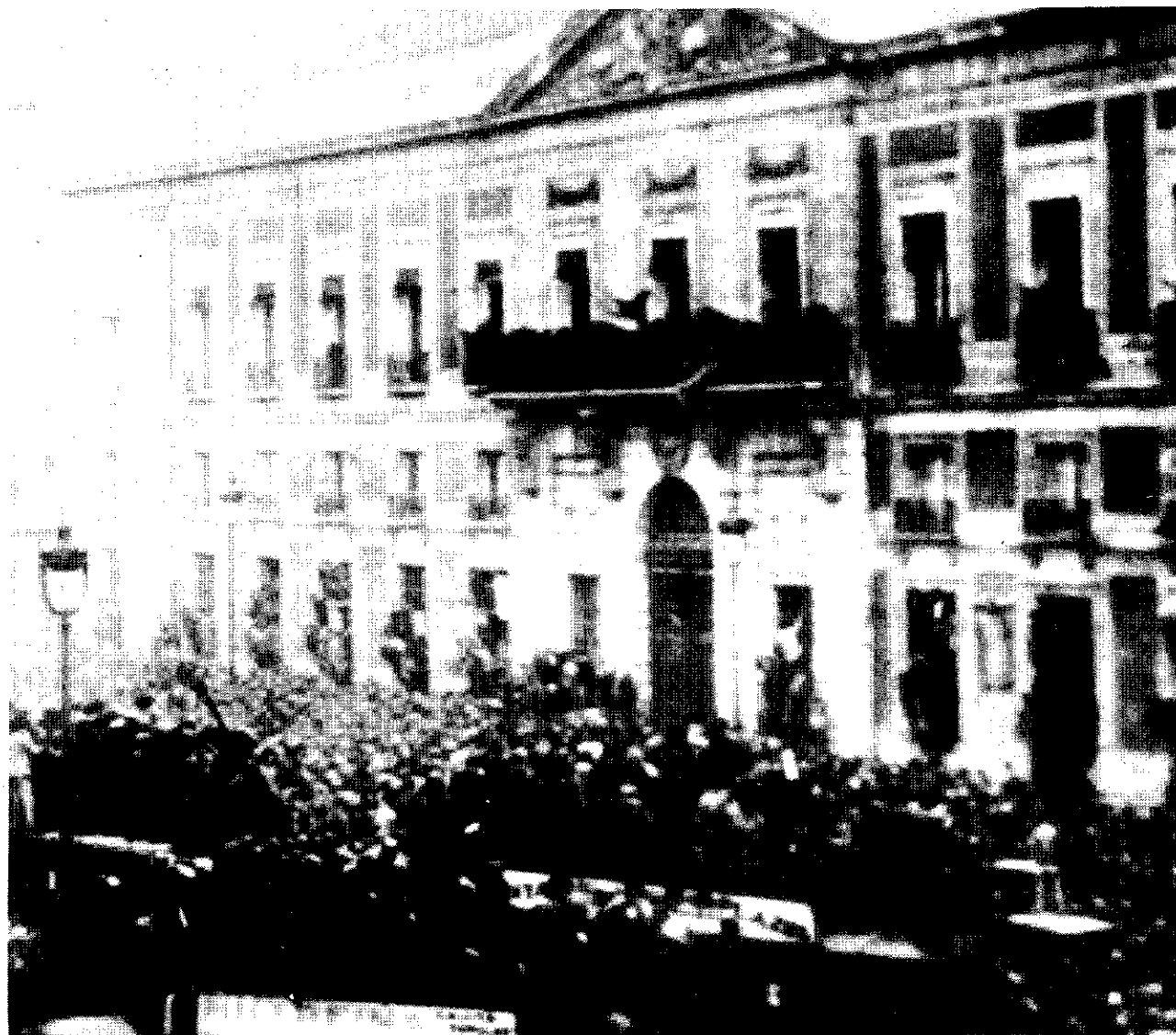
The workers' and petit bourgeois republican parties responded by calling for a boycott, and as this movement gathered momentum it became clear that the regime would be completely unable to gain a majority in such a Cortes.

Berenguer too resigned, the elections were cancelled, and the King opted instead for municipal elections in April 1931.

Here the established tradition of corruption and coercion virtually guaranteed a victory for the regime in power, but the results clearly demonstrated the overwhelming support for the Republicans and Socialists.

Faced with this combination of working class opposition to the dictatorship, and the bourgeoisie's

BOOK NO 4 IS FINED



Alcala-Zamora proclaims the Republic from the balcony of the Ministry of the Interior in Madrid, 14 April 1931.

In order to safeguard its own power, King Alfonso XIII slipped quietly out of Spain, and the Republic was declared.

Two months later, elections to the new Cortes gave a massive majority to the parties in support of the Republic.

The Socialist Party alone had twice as many seats as all the monarchist and clerical parties together, and was the largest group in the parliament.

Alcala Zamora, a right wing Catholic Republican, became Prime Minister of the coalition which was formed—a wide-ranging Popular Front.

FORESHADOW

With minor changes, this government lasted from June 1931 to November 1933; in many aspects it foreshadows the later Popular Front which was to betray the working class during the Civil War.

It was urgently necessary to resolve the bourgeois democratic tasks of the Republic. There was no great difficulty in recognising the main tasks that needed to be fulfilled: a solution to the agrarian problem; the development of the productive forces in industry; control over the church and the army.

But each of these tasks could be performed only by crushing the working class, or by the working class itself seizing power.

The 'failure' to institute these reforms was in no way accidental. The bourgeois and petty bourgeois Republicans could not manage a democratic revolution: they were forced to attack the workers and reject their democratic demands, just as they were forced to rely increasingly on the bulwarks of



reaction.

The loyal support given to the government by the Socialist Party did nothing to alter its bourgeois character.

HOLD

On the contrary, it merely allowed the capitalist parties to maintain a hold on the large sections of the working class which were organised in the UGT, while never conceding any of the reformist demands put forward by Largo Caballero and other Socialist leaders.

It was the mass actions of the working class which had largely created the 'republic of workers of all classes' (this description was drafted into the constitution at the prompting of the Socialists), but power had been transferred immediately to the bourgeoisie.

Only the Left Opposition had been able to analyse correctly the nature of the Spanish revolution and its members were isolated within the still insignificant Stalinist Communist Party.

The Stalinist line itself was the ultra-left Third Period policy imposed on the Comintern by Stalin.

UNABLE

Despite its militant left-wing, the Socialist Party had no strong Marxist tradition.

It proved wholly unable to develop an understanding of the theory of permanent revolution, or to recognise that only by mobilising workers and peasants in the struggle to impose the dictatorship of the proletariat could democratic reforms be won in the process of building socialism.

Meanwhile the Anarchists, remaining blind to the true nature of the state, refused to see that their policies were based in idealism and would inevitably result in the defeat of the working class by the armed might of the bourgeois state.

DOWNFALL

The refusal of the Socialists to challenge the policies of the 'democratic' bourgeois government, and the abstentionist strategy of the Anarchists, brought about the downfall of the Republican coalition.

The continuing failure of the government to counter the effects of the intensifying world economic crisis led to a widespread loss of support.

The elections of November 1933 returned a substantial right-wing majority. The representation of the Socialist Party was drastically reduced.



Gil Robles, leader of CEDA

Government was now in the hands of Lerroux, leader of the 'Radicals' (a right-wing party), and the Spanish workers and peasants suffered more open repression and mounting attacks during the 'bienio negro', the 'black two years'.

The new cabinet moved swiftly to repeal the minor reforms that had been granted, and concentrated most of its attention on crushing any independent action of the working class.

FASCIST

The largest party in this parliament was the Confederacion Espanola de Derechas Autonomas (CEDA), a fascist organisation which had grown rapidly towards the end of Azana's government, drawing its support from the urban petty bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat, and from sections of the peasantry who had gained from the Socialists and Republicans only increased poverty.

1934 was the year of the first major confrontation between fascists and the workers. Gil Robles, CEDA leader, had called three mass rallies to display CEDA's strength, but in each area the fascists were met by general strikes, the complete disruption of transport, and blockades of workers who drove back the fascist supporters and completely reversed the fascist gains.

The backward nature of the Spanish economy and the plunge of international capitalism into ever deepening crisis made these problems more acute daily, and exposed the tensions and contradictions within Spanish society.

The survival of the Republic depended on its ability to overcome these obstacles, but, by its very nature, the government could not possess this ability.

Caught on the one hand within the limits imposed on the 'progressive' bourgeoisie by the international development of imperialism, and on the other hand by the balance of class forces within Spain itself, the Republicans were powerless to institute a democratic revolution.

Weak and uncompetitive, Spanish capitalism required protective tariffs in order to develop industrial production. But such a move would have provoked retaliation from other countries by the imposition of tariffs on Spanish agricultural produce.

Torn between its loyalties to the industrial capitalists and to the major landowners, the Republican coalition was powerless to act: both industry and agriculture continued to stagnate.

AGRARIAN

This negative policy intensified in its turn the agrarian problem. 70% of the population worked on the land, and three-quarters of these were landless labourers.

On the vast estates of the south, employment was at best only seasonal and increasingly unobtainable even at wages well below starvation level; in the north the smallholdings were too small to provide subsistence for those working them.

An immediate reform of the division of land was imperative: only nationalisation and redistribution among the peasants could in any way alleviate the constant poverty and starvation they endured, and at the same time begin to transform the primitive and inefficient agricultural methods which prevailed throughout Spain.

CHURCH & ARMY

At every turn the Republic was to encounter the powerful hostility of both Church and Army. At the same time, the dominant bourgeois elements within the government were not prepared to restrict forces which they rightly saw as their natural allies.

Although the Church had been stripped of its vast lands in the 19th century, the compensation had been in kind, and it was

now by far the largest holder of capital in Spain—the Jesuits alone owned one third of the country's wealth.

The movement leading to the establishment of the Republic had been strongly marked by the anti-clerical feeling of the working class, especially in Madrid and Catalonia where churches had been burned in the enormous demonstrations against the corrupt influence of the church.

But the Republicans were only too well aware of the value of Catholicism in restraining and diverting the revolutionary energies of the workers.

The reforms they introduced were trifling, but even these token gestures were sufficient to drive the right wing out of the coalition: Zamora resigned to become President, and a left Republican, Manuel Azana took over as prime minister.

Demands for the reform of the army had long been raised by the workers, and were central to the 1917 general strike.

COUP

Drawn mostly from the old aristocracy, the officer caste was strongly conscious of its many links with the major capitalists and landowners. It represented a continuous threat to democracy and in August 1932 a military coup was launched by General Sanjurjo, with the support of these and other reactionary forces.

The coup failed, but still the government made no move: the capitalist parties had already seen in practice the support they could receive from the army against the working class in the local general strikes organised by the CNT the previous summer.

Azana had then revealed the true character of the 'progressive bourgeoisie' by ordering the army to crush the strike in Seville.



Manuel Azana

These confrontations led the reactionary government to attempt to bring three fascists into the cabinet. The workers replied swiftly: the UGT called a general strike within three hours, and once again the army was brought in.

The solidarity of the strike reached its highest point in Asturias where the miners set up a Workers' and Peasants' Republic.

Land was given to the peasants, the factories were seized and, armed with dynamite, the workers resisted for fifteen days the troops sent against them under the command of General Franco.

STRUGGLE

3,000 workers were killed—mostly in reprisals after the surrender—but in the struggle of Asturias the Spanish workers had learned new methods of action and reached a new level of consciousness.

Workers' Alliances had been formed to unite the different organisations of the class in their resistance, and the experience of Asturias had been branded deep through the mind of every worker in Spain.

The smashing of the general strike was followed by nationwide struggles against the reactionary government with demands for the release of all strikers arrested.

Continued next edition

By Dave Whitfield



PHOTO: Andrew Ward (Report)

Aircraft grounded by the action of Heathrow engineers.

SWP LEAVE ENGINEERS GROUNDED

IAN SWINDALE looks at the record of the Socialist Workers Party in the Heathrow engineers shift pay dispute.

As the largest political organisation to the left of the Communist Party the Socialist Workers Party claims to be growing rapidly both in size and influence in the workers' movement.

But an examination of any of their interventions in the struggles of the working class clearly demonstrates the political basis for this recruitment-political adaptation to the militant struggles of workers. With the working class having decisively rejected the plans of the TUC bureaucracy to foist another round of wage controls on them under the guise of an "orderly return to free collective bargaining" opening up a new level of struggle against the betrayals of union officials, it is instructive to look at the record of the SWP in the fight against Phase 2 of the Social Contract.

STRIKE

One of the key struggles which broke out against Phase 2 was the strike of maintenance engineers at Heathrow Airport.

Following almost immediately on from the British Leyland toolmakers strike for pay parity—in defiance of the Social Contract—the shift pay dispute at Heathrow represented the developing hostility of the working class to wage controls reflected in traditionally more conservative skilled layers of workers.

Already the toolmakers, rejecting repeated calls from their union executive to return to work, had challenged Scanlon to state who he was representing—the union members, the management or the government—and had humiliated him at a mass meeting of strikers.

INCAPABLE

Having rejected their national leadership in favour of a more 'rank and file' leadership of shop stewards, the toolmen now found that these leaders were also politically incapable of winning their demands.

Refusing to face up to the implications of the toolmakers' challenge to the Social Contract, the strike committee backed down precisely at the point where national strike action was being prepared among AUEW members at their shops.

When the Heathrow dispute began there were many who could have seen the situation. And with their own members

for an understanding of the full implications of the dispute, within the leadership of the strike.

The stewards based their shift pay claim on the fact that British Airways paid the worst shift pay rates in the West London area.

The strike bulletin pointed out that for example, for the Monday to Friday double day shift, British Airways paid £4.15. The lowest figure for a similar shift outside the airport was found to be £9.20 and the highest, £17.00.

Since Schedule 11 of the Employment Protection Act allows for wages to be brought up to levels predominant in a surrounding area, the stewards argued that the Social Contract was not the issue and that the rise could be granted under existing legislation.

But this was, of course, nonsense.

The sums of money involved in erasing this 'anomaly' on an airport employing 60,000 workers was so large that it represented a direct challenge to the Social Contract. And all those forces who lined up against the strike were absolutely clear on this.

The AUEW executive committee refused throughout to make the strike official and sent Reg Birch, Executive member with special responsibility for civil aviation, to virtually daily meetings with the strikers to insist that they return to work.

In the event Birch received the same treatment as Scanlon had done at the hands of the toolmakers.

Birch, a Maoist, was himself quite clear what was at stake.

BLAME

In an interview with the press he blamed the working class for being foolish enough to accept the Social Contract and stated that there could be no money paid as long as the Social Contract forbade it.

The Stalinists of the British Communist Party were also quite clear about the implications of the strike.

However, as had been the case with the toolmakers, their influence among the strikers was so minimal that they were unable directly to influence the strike committee.

In British Leyland they had made up for this by condemning the toolmakers' action and calling on workers to scab on the strike.

This was because in reality the Stalinists supported wage controls.

But they covered this position by arguing that it was "too late" to fight Phase 2 and that strikers should concentrate on persuading the TUC to reject Phase 2.

The engineers were very wary of the Stalinists who dominated the wages sub-committee, the lowest level of the negotiating machinery, and who were blocking the shift pay claim from being advanced jointly by all unions in the maintenance section of British Airways.

Of the five negotiators for the strikers one, Frank Gates, stood out as a 'left'.

In private he also was prepared to admit that the Social Contract was at the centre of the dispute, but in public he was prepared to go along with the line that Schedule 11 of the Employment Protection Act covered the claim.

The job confronting revolutionaries in this situation was clear. The dispute could only be won if the maintenance workers were prepared to recognise that they were fighting the Social Contract.

SUPPORT

This would mean calling on other sections of workers for support. In particular, the toolmakers had threatened to resume their strike in support of the Heathrow men.

The opportunism of Gates and other 'lefts' on the shop stewards committee had to be opposed and the treacherous role of the Stalinists on the wages subcommittee had to be exposed and explained politically.

The record of the SWP on all of these was to say the least inadequate.

At every point they put the narrow aims of the dispute as understood by its reformist leadership before the broader struggle that was necessary in order to defeat the AUEW Executive, the Stalinists, British Airways management and the government's Social Contract.

RELUCTANCE

So, for example, the SWP stewards shared the reluctance of the stewards' committee to call out the day shift workers, who were not involved in the day shift claim.

Although it was clearly a problem to hold out on strike workers not directly involved, this was nevertheless a precondition for issuing a call to other workers to take supporting action, both on the airport and off.

Moreover, the day shift workers would have effectively been starting on the strike even if the management could not have used them to keep the aircraft flying.

of other workers on the airport in a struggle to destroy the Social Contract and the Lib-Lab coalition government and open the way up to pay claims to defend living standards for all workers.

DEVELOP

In strike situations workers given a lead are in a position to develop their political understanding more in a few weeks than might have been possible over a period of years previously.

Ideas are tested out in practice and so are leaders. In such a situation it is the task of revolutionaries not only to fight for the policies necessary to win the particular struggle but to raise in a conscious way the broader questions raised by the struggle.

Nowhere was this more important than in the strikes that broke out during Phase 2, all of which placed in jeopardy the future of the government.

But the SWP failed to raise these issues either amongst the stewards or the mass membership.

One brief leaflet advertising an SWP meeting referred to the conflict as being against the Social Contract, but what was necessary was to constantly raise these broader issues before the membership so that workers could be steered for the scale of the confrontation and political development could take place.

INTERVENTION

From such an intervention it would be possible for the best elements in the strike to be brought towards revolutionary Marxism.

For the SWP, however, "intervention" in the struggles of the working class is seen in terms of offering to print the strike bulletin, printing support stickers and collection sheets and other such "practical help".

But collection sheets are no substitute for the fight for political clarity amongst workers coming into conflict with forces which they only inadequately understand.

Why were the AUEW Executive Committee refusing to make the strike official? Why was the wages subcommittee, dominated by Communist Party members, blocking the claim? Why was the self-styled 'revolutionary', Reg Birch, demanding they return to work and blaming the working class itself for the Social Contract?

mittee were behaving in this way solely because as individuals they were 'bureaucrats'.

Without a fight to focus it on the central issues involved the strike had eventually to collapse. As this became clear, the SWP, instead of offering any lead for those prepared to fight on, simply joined the rest of the stewards and voted for a return to work, although they knew at that point, that there was still no guarantee of the workers receiving a single penny.

The SWP rationalised their position by claiming that the money could not have been won anyway and that at least the union was now more firmly established in the airport than at any previous time.

AGREEMENT

The engineers returned to work on the basis of an agreement by British Airways to negotiate the shift pay claim within several weeks. Discussions on new shift patterns were not to be a precondition for a settlement.

Once the strikers went back, however, British Airways insisted that they would only negotiate the shift pay claim if the union would at the same time negotiate new shift patterns which would result in more work being done by the day shift at the expense of the other shifts.

Further industrial action was proposed by the AUEW alone if the joint claim was not agreed by British Airways.

The form of this action was proposed by one of the SWP stewards, and embodies a characteristic evasion of all-out struggle. There should, he suggested, be a strike by each shift once a week until the management came up with the money.

Although accepted by a mass meeting of engineers, this action collapsed after the second week.

PROPOSED

Subsequently the SWP stewards proposed immediate strike action if the claim was not paid by August 1. The Joint Stewards Committee agreed to this proposal and British Airways, faced with this threatened strike action, agreed to pay up without prior negotiations on new shift patterns. But they insisted that the claim would have to be cleared by the Department of Trade.

The failure of the SWP to raise



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, (Report)

The five man negotiating committee. Jack Gatsky (right) became the spokesman for the strikers, but the 'left' Frank Gates (second from left) opportunistically went along with the view that the claim was an anomaly. The SWP were unable to challenge him.

It was political clarity on these questions, all ignored by the SWP, that the Workers Socialist League tried to contribute to the dispute, together with a policy for broadening out support for the strikers.

Tony Cliff, however, in an SWP meeting after the strike was over explained that "as a matter of principle" it was not their policy to criticise other groups of the left in their paper for they were not interested in "useless polemics" with other groups but preferred instead to explain their policies to workers.

REFUSAL

One of the consequences of this 'principle' was the refusal of the SWP to politically challenge the Stalinists on the wages subcommittee, leaving many AUEW

the question of a fight against the Social Contract meant that the union officials were able to secure the acceptance of the BA proposal and take it to a mass meeting for endorsement.

The engineers have still not received a penny. The Department of Trade is expected to apply the 12 month rule which means that no extra shift money can be paid until January, when the government pay norm of 10% will apply.

Clearly if the engineers are to receive their shift money and a substantial annual increase they still have to take on the government, along with the rest of the working class.

The failure of the SWP to drive home this lesson throughout the dispute has been a major factor in allowing the right wing and the opportunists within the AUEW leadership to see the utmost

Alexandra Kollontai

FIGHTER

FOR

SOCIALISM

The second of our occasional series on leading women revolutionaries.

Much of Alexandra Kollontai's writing still remains to be translated from Russian but what we know of her work is relevant to revolutionaries today, centring as it does on women's vital role in the overthrow of capitalism and the building of world communism.

Kollontai, as had Engels, analysed the economic and social oppression of women under capitalism and took this work forward by seeking to construct an alternative future for women under socialism.

The recruitment of women workers to the revolutionary party required, in her opinion, an orientation by the party to both the economic exploitation they shared with male workers and the social oppression particular to them alone.

Therefore both the form and content of work amongst women workers was examined by Kollontai and brought within the scope of the revolutionary movement.

NOTHING FIXED

In her pamphlet "Communism and the Family" (1920) Kollontai points out how nothing in life is fixed forever.

Morals and concepts of marriage change not only with history but also geographically. She sets out to determine what forms of social relationships are in keeping with communism.

Looking at individual households under capitalism it becomes clear that such forms are historically outmoded: the family now consumes but does not produce.

In the 'old' peasant family as Kollontai calls it, although dominated by the husband and 'provider' the woman was a necessary producer of cloth, cheese, butter etc.—commodities which could be sold or exchanged.

Work a housewife does under capitalism does not generally produce commodities.

HOUSEWORK

Kollontai argues that as housework is economically unproductive it must be collectivised. This would free the woman herself to become a worker while the housework would come under the domain of other professionals running state services such as laundries and community restaurants.

Kollontai was aware that although women would welcome such developments, other aspects of communism provoked great anxiety.

Would their children be taken away from them? If divorces were made easier to obtain, who would fend for them if their husbands took off?

The pamphlet takes up these concrete objections by looking closer at the family.

STATE

The state, under capitalism, goes part of the way to liberate women from their traditional role; by manufacturing food, clothes, household goods; by educating children to a minimum level and in fact by taking women out of the home to work for low wages in poor conditions when needed and thus loosening the family ties.

bosses who control the right to work.

Therefore no provisions are made for the most demanding part of a woman's work in the home—child care.

The communist answer, Kollontai says, is free nurseries, and for the maintenance and care of children, freeing the mother to contribute to the prosperity of the workers' state.

REPLACED

In this way the family is not destroyed but dies out gradually, replaced by a society where personal responsibility for 'my' children gives way to collective responsibility for 'our' children.

Consequently personal relationships are freed from the economic factors of marriage and a union of affection and comradeship becomes possible between people.

The social turmoil accompanying the Russian Revolution resulted in a 'sexual crisis' affecting every layer of society.

Kollontai, who struggled throughout her life against subordinating tendencies affecting women in relationships, analyses this 'chaos' in "Sexual Relations in the Class Struggle" (1919).

She is seeking the "basic criteria for a morality that can reflect the specific interests of the working class . . . and serve as an important weapon in strengthening the working class's fighting position."



Trotsky in Red Square

Bourgeois 'love' distorts the personality of both partners. It is based on extreme egoism, stifling 'possessiveness' deriving from private property relations, and centuries-old assumptions of physical and emotional inequality in sexual experience.

Much of the social chaos of the early revolution results, Kollontai says, from the active, creative efforts of the proletariat to forge new relationships and ideals, to throw off submissiveness and possessiveness, and strengthen the social position of the working class as a whole by bringing women forward as equals.

"The idea that some members are unequal and must submit to other members of one and the same class is in contradiction with the basic proletarian principle of comradeship.

This principle of comradeship is basic to the ideology of the working class. It colours and determines the whole developing proletarian morality, a morality which helps to re-educate the personality

freedom instead of being bound by a sense of property, capable of comradeship rather than inequality and submission."

In "Women Workers Struggle for their Rights" Kollontai takes up the question of how to fight amongst women workers to draw them into revolutionary struggle.

Using the example of work led by Clara Zetkin in the Social Democratic Party in Germany, Kollontai advocates a 'division of labour' within the Party.

Under capitalism it had been necessary in many countries to organise women separately in clubs and societies to get round the restrictive legislation preventing women from affiliating to political movements and in many cases to trade unions.

SOCIAL

However, apart from this tactic Kollontai argued that women workers although part of the working class had a specific social position within the class and particular problems flowing from that position making it necessary to take up questions which faced them both as workers and as women.

At the time such issues were protection at work, insurance for child-birth and for children, education, women's political education and political equality which had hitherto been left to the feminists.

Of course today the emphasis has shifted somewhat but women

these theories into practice.

In December 1917 legislation providing sickness insurance for workers was passed. In January, 1918 a Department for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy was set up, and within six months of the revolution marriage had become a purely civil affair. Within one year women had gained political equality.

Under the immensely difficult conditions of early post-capitalist days the Bolsheviks were already making historic strides towards the liberation of women.

CONGRESS

On November 18 1918 the First Congress of Peasant and Working Women was convened by the Bolshevik women's paper.

A special education committee was launched to inform women of their new rights and how to use them.

Finally a Department for Working and Peasant Women was set up—Genotdel—with branches throughout the country.

Its first task was to mobilise for civil war.

At the same time, despite the lack of resources, all sorts of experiments were taking place: communal kitchens, laundries, and restaurants were launched.

It was not until 1929 with the rise of Stalinist bureaucracy that the tide began decisively to turn for women, with the closing down of Genotdel which was now proclaimed 'unnecessary'.

Kollontai's strong work in the struggle for the emancipation was combined however with a strong element of idealism which brought her into repeated conflict with the party leadership.



Lenin

In 1920 she joined with Shlyapnikov and a number of lesser figures in the organisation of a "workers' opposition" faction, centring on demands for proletarian democracy and for immediate trade union control of industry.

It made capital out of the disproportionate weight of intellectuals within the party and called for a purge of non-workers. Kollontai brought together the main positions of this faction in a booklet: 'The Workers Opposition' of March 1921.

The demands of the Workers' Opposition, which could have been discussed on their merits in an ideal situation, struck a sour and divisive note at a critical juncture of the civil war in Russia.

Lenin appealed for party unity against the formation of factions at this point, and under great strain the 10th party congress outlawed 'fractionalism'.

WORKERS OPPOSITION

In 1922 eleven former members of the Workers' Opposition including Kollontai joined others to make a similar appeal to the Communist International over the head of the Russian Party. Two of the five ringleaders were expelled from the party at the eleventh congress—Kollontai however was reprieved.

She later compromised with the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy, playing an active role in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs—as Soviet ambassador to Finland she was complicit in the preparations of the 1939-40 Russo-Finnish War. She died in 1952.

However, Kollontai's earlier work remains of use to us today as an indication of how we should intervene amongst women workers and link up their economic and social oppression with the

PRESS GANG

'Socialist Press' has stressed time and again that all and any interference by the courts in the labour movement must be rejected.

We therefore take no pleasure in the fact that the House of Lords in an overtly political decision has ruled that the Attorney General, Sam Silkin, had the right not to stop the threatened South African boycott last year by the UPW.

UPW leader Tom Jackson's role then in calling off the blacking—like his role now at Grunwick—was that of a destroyer of working class solidarity, irrespective of which way the courts may rule.

But the original decision by the Appeal Courts that "no man is above the law" and that therefore John Gouriet and the National Association for Freedom, should have been allowed to take out an injunction, was front page news in every capitalist paper.

The tones of ringing triumph in defence of the 'rule of law' were spread over acres of news print.

So what happens when that turns out to be overturned? The Daily Mail puts the story on Page 13, the Express gave it five inches single column on Page 2 and the Mirror hid it beneath a tiny headline inside.

Only the Telegraph out of the most extreme of the Tory Press splashed the story on the front.

Fleet Street's attitude to the rule of law—like its news value—took a sharp turn.

The Mail said:

"Do we then have to bow down for ever meekly before a Constitutional convention that permits the Attorney General, for reasons which no judge may any longer dare to question, to scuttle cautiously away when any union raises its fist and turn a blind eye when the law is broken? No we do not."

The Express under a headline 'Change This Bad Law' said:

"There are any number of jargon phrases—any lawyer can think them up—to conceal a decision not to enforce the law for reasons of political convenience."

So much for the rule of law. Not that it did not do its allotted job in this case. Tom Jackson didn't have to be found guilty. He only had to be threatened.

Now bad news for those of you in the £5,000 to £45,000 a year bracket. You are extremely hard up.

That is what the Sunday Telegraph found on a journey to 'Kenilworth Park'—a two page weepy entitled 'The Middle Class at Bay'.

The poverty took all sorts of forms too terrible to mention here but was summed up by one man on this estate of genteel poverty.

"Look", he said, "If you've had three continental holidays a year, who wants two? And if you've had champagne for breakfast, who wants white wine?"

The top bosses are feeling the pinch as well. Exposed in the Daily Mail was the terrible piece of news that the bosses of our top companies are getting only five and a half times as much as the average wage after tax.

Just think for every pound say, a car worker takes home, the boss takes home a measly £5.50

If an average worker takes home £45 a week then his boss has only a paltry £247.50 a week after tax to play with.

As the Mail put it:

"The 'rich' have been soaked. They are now bone dry, cleaned out."

It must be true. Well, it is.



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

EVANS STABS HOTEL STRIKERS

Moss Evans, General Secretary Elect of the TGWU intervened last week to prevent workers at a Birmingham hotel taking industrial action in support of recognition.

Workers at Birmingham's Imperial Hotel had already agreed to take strike action and a blacking order had been sent out to brewery workers when the order came from Transport House in London to "cool it".

Midlands TGWU official Terry Austin who had made it clear that the order came from Moss Evans immediately tried to contact the shop stewards asking them to suspend action.

Moss Evans' intervention has put a brake on struggle for union recognition at other Birmingham hotels. Moves to press for recognition of the TGWU at two other Birmingham hotels, the Centre Hotel and Penns Hall Hotel, Sutton Coldfield are also being delayed.

WRANGLE

While the hotel workers are expected to sit and wait the national officials of the TGWU and GMWU wrangle over which union has priority in the hotel industry.

The GMWU claims that the TGWU is in breach of a national agreement between the two unions by which the hotel industry is regarded as a GMWU "sphere of influence".

An indication of the readiness

of hotel workers to take action was given by Terry Austin.

He was reported by the Birmingham *Evening Mail* as saying that his members "will become increasingly frustrated the longer it takes to sort the problem out and I can see this frustration boiling over into industrial action."

Terry Austin is not noted for his militancy by Birmingham workers.

He was in charge of the strike at the Trust Houses Forte Night Out restaurant/theatre when it first began five months ago but the Night Out strikers voted no confidence in him and he was replaced by Alan Law.

LAW

Since he removed the limited blacking he was organising on THF establishments in the Birmingham area several months ago, Alan Law



Evans

himself has done little to inspire confidence.

Two weeks ago THF held a press conference announcing that ACAS had found that there was no evidence to suggest that shop steward Pat McGuire (whose sacking started the dispute) was dismissed for her union activities.

Law's ridiculous reply to this was that "we have never claimed that Mrs McGuire was sacked for her union activities."

Why then does Law think Pat McGuire was sacked?

Despite the fact that ACAS have proved to be a liability, only providing THF with propaganda to use against the strikers, Law is still working with them.

Last week ACAS had discussions with both the union and THF. But the Night Out strikers realise that the only way their strike can be won is by a black of THF throughout the Midlands region.

Alan Law has so far been evasive as to whether he intends even to reimplement the limited blacking of THF of a few months ago. In a recent press interview on the Night Out dispute, Brian Mathers, the Midlands Regional Secretary said of Law's leadership of the strike that, "Alan Law is particularly suited, because of his position in the transport industry, to black deliveries."

Exactly! So if Mathers and Law are serious about winning the strike - what are they waiting for?

Messages of support and donations to the strike fund should be sent to the Night Out Strike Committee, c/o Pat McGuire, Transport House, Broad Street, Birmingham.

CLOSED SHOP ROW GROWS

Print workers at Darlington were due to shut down the press at the 'Evening Dispatch' and 'Northern Echo', Darlington, this Wednesday in support of NUJ members.

The print unions' support for the closed shop dispute came at a meeting of the Printing Industries Committee twelve days before and members of NGA, Natsopa and SLADE have all been told not to cross the picket line.

SUPPORT

The support though nine weeks late, is welcome. It has been hailed by the capitalist press with a wave of hate editorials.

What is becoming clear is that the demand for a closed shop, coupled with the NUJ motion to the TUC that the scab group—the IOJ—should be boycotted by all trade unionists, is fast becoming a test for all the print union leaders far beyond what they are willing to meet.

Despite all protestations from union bureaucrats the employers see that the closed shop could threaten their ability to spread anti-working class propaganda at will.

The "freedom of the press" they defend so shrilly is their freedom to attack the working class.

Westminster Press—supported by a slush fund from other employers—seem determined to sit out the strike, while the PIC—under SOGAT General Secretary Bill Keyes are determined to limit support.

The London office journalists of Westminster Press have been locked out since the first week of the strike because they refused to allow their work to be used at Darlington.

Formal support for their position has been passed by Fleet Street chapels but the moguls of the national papers are conspicuous by their absence on the picket line, often down to three NUJ members.

Printers are *not* being told to black work from London office and throughout the group blacking is being hindered by the NGA head office.

The NGA in the *Kentish Times* part of the group have shown the way forward by blacking London office copy there.

All print workers must demand—full support for London office—blacking throughout Westminster Press.

SUNDAY TIMES 'FREE SPEECH' FRAUD

Print workers at the Sunday Times who demanded extra money for extra work have been treated to a nauseating display of solidarity between the employer and their own officials.

The print workers were told on Saturday that the size of the paper was being increased and refused to work until they were given assurances that extra money would be paid. The chapel has been demanding a week's notice of the size of the paper.

REFUSED

About one third of the paper's run was lost after the management refused to give a guarantee of 'big paper' money for a 68-page paper. The NGA members—who work a 13-hour day on the night of production refused to work over-

time to complete the run.

The response of the paper's editor, Harold Evans, was to issue a vicious statement accusing the NGA workers of "putting their own narrow interests above those of free speech, truth and the thalidomide families."

He protested that after five years campaigning for the article—which has become a symbol of the paper's 'free speech' virility—the print workers had sabotaged his efforts. Yet he did not even see fit to inform the NGA why the number of pages had been increased.

For five years the paper complied with bourgeois law in agreeing to conceal the role of Distillers and drug manufacturers.

When at two days notice print workers raise the question of payment, Evans says "five years of effort are lost in a single night."

Immediately the NGA General Secretary, Joe Wade, and the Natsopa General Secretary, Owen O'Brien went on TV to commiserate with Evans and that other freedom loving employer Larry Lamb of the *Sun* and *News of the World*.

Unblinking they listened to Lamb describe his print workers as 'sheep' led by 'wreckers'. Not the slightest protest was raised.

Both union officials complained instead that their authority was undermined because Fleet Street employers negotiated bigger pay increases with their members after the officials had settled for 5%!

Wade complained bitterly that management had been "doing deals behind the union leaders back." How could the union leaders stop actions if the management "undermines the authority of the union"?

Contrast this with the response of Victor Dunn, FoC of the machine managers who took the action:

"If my members had known what Harold Evans was going to say about them today I feel they would have gone home at 3 o'clock on

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.

£ BOOKS

All from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

LEON TROTSKY THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

Founding programme of the Fourth International, published with a glossary and introduction. 30p plus 10p p&p.

HOW WE FIGHT YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT First WSL Youth Pamphlet, showing link between unemployment

THE TOOLROOM STRIKE AND THE FIGHT TO END WAGE CONTROL

Brings together analysis of struggles against Phase 2 with a full account of the Toolroom strike - the mass action that brought down the Labour government and brought the Lib-Lab coalition to power.

Also includes the programme of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement

NUT'S PASSIVE ACTION MAN

In June the NUT in Oxford called a strike against education cuts.

On June 21, NUT Action Committee leader Max Morris announced to the strikers that he had sent a telegram to Shirley Williams calling on her to condemn the "irresponsibility" of Oxford's Tory Council for cutting £3½ million from its education budget.

Morris, in sending his telegram, offered Williams a fig-leaf to cover her own Tory policies, which the union bureaucracy finds so embarrassing.

Williams' own particular "responsibility" has been the imposition of the Lib-Lab coalition's policy of swingeing cuts in education spending—cuts which Morris, by confining union action to the Oxford area and emphasising the role of the Tory Council, were tacitly accepting.

But Williams has turned down Morris' offer.

Last week she announced that: "The Oxford authority is not in breach of any government policy on staffing standards."

She added piously that sacking: "Is the last means of reducing education expenditure."

LIMITED

Morris is calling a half day strike in Oxfordshire on September 5 and following it with some more limited action.

But he cannot now deny that the strikes are against the Lib-Lab government.

Oxford, of course, is not the only town hit by the cuts. But it is the only town where the NUT is

leading any action. The issue is a national, not a local issue.

The government will not be shaken by token, half hearted (let alone half-day) action.

Teachers nationally must demand all Oxfordshire teachers be called to indefinite strike action, with a national levy of NUT members in their support.

And if necessary the whole union must be forced into strike action demanding the government provide adequate finance for education nationally and guarantee it against inflation.

If the Oxford cuts are defeated, cuts can also be defeated elsewhere.

At the same time the Council cannot be bypassed.

FUND

The NUT based its initial campaign on a demand that the Council spend its £6 million contingency fund to save teachers' jobs.

The Council claimed to have spent the fund to cover inflation and the NUT obligingly destroyed all its leaflets which mentioned the fund!

All sections of the labour movement must take up the resolution, passed by the Oxford District NUT, for a committee of delegates from union branches, trades councils and PTA's to investigate the accounts of the Council and report on:

*The financial needs of Oxfordshire Social Services.

*The ability or inability of the Council to cover this need.

*The finance which central government will have to provide to cover any shortfall.

DESOUTTERS NATIONAL BLACKING NOW!

The slogans outside the gates of Desoutters engineering works on the Edgware Rd. Kingsbury in London have an ominous ring to them—"Desoutters—another Grunwick"—"Act now not 1978".

For the 100 or so workers now in the 13th week of their strike for union recognition the slogans are a recognition of the task they have to accomplish within the layers of their own union.

Despite official backing, despite a few reassuring words from Hugh Scanlon, and despite some undoubted successes by the strikers in imposing limited blacking, the AUEW has shown itself totally unwilling to produce the action needed to bring a quick end to the dispute.

LOBBY

The demand—as at Grunwick and as in the Birmingham Night Out strike against Trust Houses Forte, is simple and straightforward—national blacking now!

To this end strikers and supporters took a lobby to the AUEW executive on Tuesday to demand action.

The demand made by the strikers is for blacking of new equipment being sent from the factory to the car firms—including British Leyland—and through Heathrow Airport and the docks to abroad.

The tools made by Desoutter are also in use by aircraft engineers at Heathrow and in wide use in other factories.

All new equipment and replacement parts must be blacked.

VICIOUS

Instead of seeing these demands put into action the strikers have been forced to watch 100 members starved back to work and a vicious physical attack on their two convenors.

Despite this the determination of the strikers is undiminished and Tuesday's lobby demonstrates their readiness to take the fight back to the union bureaucrats.

It is clear to all the strikers that the union has the ability to win the dispute at will.

The AUEW convenor, the only striker so far sacked, told *Socialist Press*:

"We are calling for national blacking of Desoutters but the executive council has not endorsed the blacking."

We've written a letter to our district committee urging the executive council to put this into effect."

VICTIM

Heathrow engineers—themselves recently a victim of the AUEW bureaucracy—meet this week to discuss blacking Desoutters.

So far the AUEW have refused to lift a finger to help.

On the day that the district secretary, Bill McLoughlin, was supposed to give the strikers a letter which they could take round factories, asking for blacking in the name of the district committee, he told them he was "too busy" to write it!

There have been previous attempts to introduce a union to the firm, all unsuccessful. But the drive for the right to a union this time quickly attracted 235 workers, including many Asian workers in the firm.

VOTE

A unanimous vote to strike came after lengthy negotiations proved that Desoutter managements was refusing to reach a settlement.

The AUEW made the strike official but limited dispute pay to £9 a week.

Despite constant requests they refused to increase this to cover hardship cases.

Many of the workers crossing the picket line at the firm stop and explain in a shamefaced way that they could no longer afford to stay out.

FORCED

The union had in effect forced them back to work.

Shop steward, Sultan Khan Bangash, told *Socialist Press*:

"We told the District Committee you can't live on £9 a week

and they said they were doing everything they could do.

Last week we took out three more people from inside the factory. We know others are ready to come out, but they say you can't live on £9 a week."

The management have agreed to recognition but have refused to take back the convenor, Fred Hopper.

After four weeks of the strike the company sent him a letter saying he was sacked, alleging assault on a driver.

ALLEGATIONS

Pickets say that as Hopper placed his arm on the driver's shoulder the scab said, "Just what I wanted". A little later he appeared with sticking plaster and false allegations of an attack.

The management, fearful that they cannot do a George Ward and bar the union altogether are banking on allowing it in only if it is already broken through the sacking of the convenor.

In fact, the attacks have been on Hopper, not by him.

Ten days ago he went with the deputy convenor to collect some money for the union funds. While in the Surrey Arms, near the factory, scabs confronted them and began throwing punches.

On leaving the pub the two were again attacked. Hopper said:

"I was knocked to the ground and kicked repeatedly by three or four people. A bus stopped and a West Indian driver jumped out and drove them off."

Last week Hopper was again threatened in full view of police by one of the same four scabs while

WEIR SIT-IN ENDED

The work-in at the Weir Maternity hospital in South London has been called off.

The work-in, which followed in the footsteps of those at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson and Hounslow hospitals, had been kept firmly under the control of NUPE full-time officials—even to the extent of NUPE threatening to withdraw their support if the Weir stewards allowed supporters of either CLASH, the organisation of NHS stewards in London, or of the SWP paper *Hospital Worker* to become involved in the work-in.

Unlike the EGA, where the work in was built on demands for a workers' enquiry into the needs for the hospital, and into its true cost, the Weir work-in had the most minimal programme.

Consequently, when a consultant claimed that the hospital was "not worth saving" because of its high rate of perinatal mortality, the workers became demoralised.

Instead of demanding a trade union enquiry to investigate this claim, to find out why such deaths occurred, and to demand finance and equipment to overcome any problems, the leadership accepted the claim.

NUPE officials quickly made use of the demoralisation to step in and without consulting the staff, abandoned the work-in.

The only "gain" that was made was that the closed hospital will not be used as offices by the AHA!

Another work-in which has now started, at Plaistow, which is also controlled by NUPE officials, will certainly suffer a similar fate if a way is not found of placing the work-in in the hands of the workers in the hospital and linking it to a programme of demands which will build and broaden support and

NHS IN CRISIS



STOP CLOSURES!

Several more hospitals in South East London have been threatened by the Lib-Lab government's savage attack on the NHS.

At its meeting on Tuesday 12 July, the Greenwich and Bexley Area Health Authority decided to axe the Gables, Bexley and Welling and most of Eltham and Mottingham hospitals.

St. Nicholas hospital too is scheduled for closure, except for out-patients and 9 to 5 casualties.

Since the Greenwich Community Health Council has voiced opposition to the closures, the decision goes to Secretary of State for Health and Social Services David Ennals for appeal.

About 100 workers and supporters from the British Home for Mothers and Babies and the Memorial Hospital lobbied the AHA meeting to protest.

They were patronised and insulted by ex-'left' GLC councillor Fred Styles, the incoming chairman of the AHA.

And finally the AHA called in the police to "persuade" the workers to clear out.

But those two hospitals have, for

hospital workers and residents of Thamesmead estate flocked to a meeting at Waterfield Secondary School in defence of St. Nicholas' hospital.

The meeting decided to organise a rally at Lesness Abbey on Sunday 7 August, as a means of gaining public support.

That support is vital. But workers at St. Nicholas' hospital should have no faith in Ennals to relieve them, at a time when the government has launched a programme to destroy the Health Service by financial strangulation.

They, and workers at the other hospitals threatened with the axe, should begin at once to formulate plans for occupation to stay open and campaign for support in the local labour movement, particularly through the trades councils.

Union branches in all these hospitals should affiliate to CLASH the Committee of London Area Stewards in the Health Service, as an instrument capable of giving political direction to the fight against the cuts.

Any shop steward in the NHS who would like further information about CLASH should write to Colin Kenny, CLASH Secretary, Department of Virology, St. Mary's

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report.



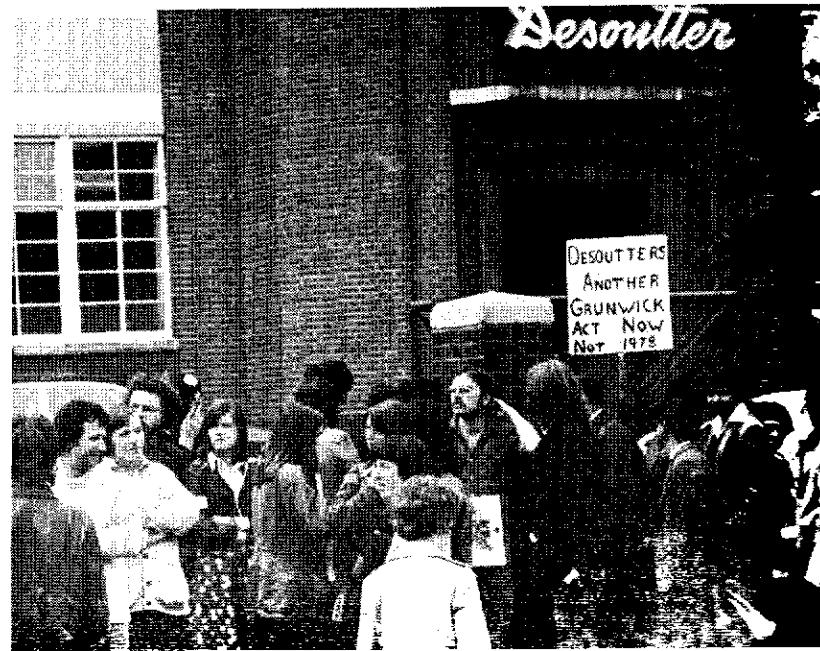
Scanlon.

he was crossing the picket.

The police—who had told Hopper he would have to take out a private summons for assault—looked the other way.

All supporters of the Desoutters strikers should ensure that a big enough picket is maintained to defend these workers.

The strikers and extremely short of money. Cash or cheques should be sent to the treasurer of the strike committee, Barry Marony, 27, Springfield Mount, Kingsbury, London NW9.



LABOUR MPs BACK DIRTY BUSINESS

The "Parliamentary privileges" of Reginald Maudling and Albert Roberts were preserved intact last week, not so much by the business lobby of the Tories as by the massed ranks of Labour MPs.

All but 11 MPs voted against expulsion, and only a total of 27 MPs were even prepared to countenance six months suspension—a motion proposed by George Strauss—the wealthiest MP the Labour Party has ever returned.

The majority of those reputedly 50 MPs who call themselves 'lefts' were quite happy that two men who had accepted money from a mass briber and spoken on behalf of interests close to his causes should continue in the House of Commons.

LEFT TALKER

Indeed it was appropriate that at the forefront of those urging MPs to "take note of" rather than to "agree with" the Select Committee report, and to avoid attempting to expel or suspend the guilty men was one-time 'left' talker Michael Foot, now Callaghan's right-hand man.

He argued that Maudling and Roberts had already "suffered sufficient penalty".

In this Foot was backed up strongly by former Tory Prime Minister Heath who sang the praises of Maudling, proclaiming him—in Tory terms—"an honourable man who should be supported."

The resignation of Tory MP Cordle—who had actually gone to the lengths of pointing out to Poulson the amount of Parliamentary speeches he had made on his behalf—was the ritual blood

letting that let Maudling and Roberts off the hook.

Reginald Maudling, at a time when he was Tory front bench spokesman, spoke in favour of more British aid for Malta nine times during one year in 1967 when Poulson was hoping for contracts from Malta to build a hospital and a harbour.

COLLOSAL

At the same time Maudling and his wife and son were entitled to receive from Poulson more than £25,000. Maudling himself described the cost of his family to Poulson as 'colossal'.

The Select Committee of MPs set up to inquire into the activities of MPs around the Poulson affair came up with the astonishing conclusion that this is not in itself corruption, merely "inconsistent with the standards which the House is entitled to expect from its members".

GRUNWICK—FROM FRONT PAGE

TUC demonstration.

This time, however, Grantham was unsuccessful. His response was to call a mass meeting of strikers for Friday afternoon.

With the UPW meeting fixed for the morning of the same day, the aim of the bureaucracy was clearly to break the postal workers at their morning meeting and thus weaken the resistance to Grantham later in the day.

Shortly before the UPW meeting began, it was announced that the Court of Appeal had overturned the High Court ruling which supported the ACAS report recommending union recognition, and had ruled in favour of Grunwick's management.

ATTACK

To break the Cricklewood workers' resistance, Stagg had no intention of relying on subtle arguments. On behalf of the UPW executive, he launched the most savage attack yet on their action.

Saying that he was not using threats, he nevertheless told them that unless they began normal working by Sunday night and individually signed a statement that the blacked mail would be handled, their lock out pay would be withdrawn, their pension rights and other benefits jeopardised and the Post Office management given a blank cheque for further action against them.

Even in the face of this the vote was 51-48 to call off the blacking.

Meanwhile Grantham had

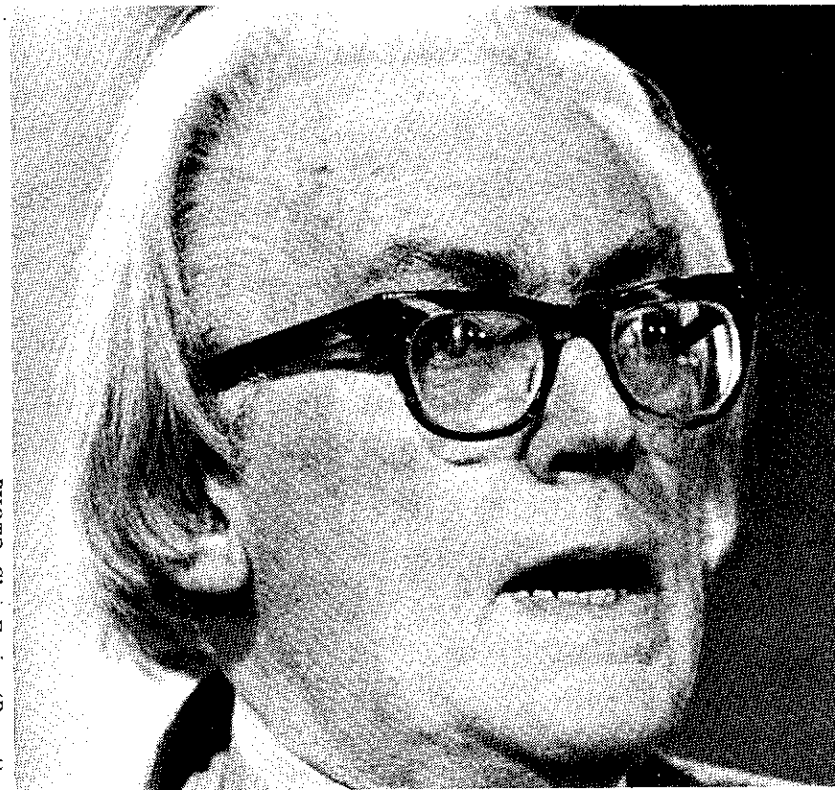


PHOTO: Chris Davies, (Report).

Foot

Labour MP Albert Roberts received £11,000 over four years from Poulson and £4,000 costs towards a new house. Naturally he did not find it necessary to mention this or his role as consultant to Poulson when he lobbied Ministers and officials on behalf of Poulson. This too—according to the committee—does not amount to corruption.

Maudling's case is the more spectacular but Roberts has demonstrated the way in which Labour MPs literally as well as figuratively support capitalism against the working class.

MPs were unable to act because the whole House of Commons is riddled with business connections and unspoken deals.

Labour Party members must demand that Roberts is expelled from the Labour Party and replaced and that all MPs rid themselves of business interests.

The Ryder £49,500 gift reported in *Socialist Press* No. 65 was even more sinister than reported. It was entered in the Reed International group's Canadian subsidiary as a "political contribution".

postponed the strikers' meeting for several hours to await the postmen's verdict and had taken the precaution of delaying payment of the strikers' money until their meeting had ended.

Although now faced with an even more difficult task in opposing the officials the vote for calling off the mass picket was only carried by 35-24.

And the ambiguous attitude of Jack Dromey, Brent Trades Council Secretary and an influential force in the dispute, who was congratulated by Grantham for saying that August 8 was not a principle and that unity was more important than dates, was certainly a factor in the vote being lost.

The sharp struggle for leadership over the last week means that the struggle has now been taken to a new level.

The official union leadership has proved itself incapable of successfully carrying through and defending even the most elementary struggle of all—the right to organise and take action in trade unions—even under the most favourable possible conditions.

Instead these bureaucrats have set themselves the task of derailing the dispute and inflicting a setback of national proportions on the working class as a whole.

Under these conditions it is crucial that all those union branches and organisations (reportedly over 70) that have declared support for the call for the August 8 mass picket press ahead with

their plans.

Already TGWU strikers at Grunwick have signed a statement to the union's Regional Committee which demands a TGWU call for a mass picket on August 8, condemns the action of the APEX officials, and calls on the TGWU to fight for full blacking of Grunwick.

Left talking miners' leader Arthur Scargill who mobilised thousands of miners for the July 11 mass picket, must now declare publicly his intention to proceed on August 8 and denounce the intimidation of the Grunwick strikers.

The demands on August 8 must be:

*No documents to be signed by UPW members.

*Reimpose full postal blacking.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward (Report)

WAGES—FROM PAGE 1.

second stage of the Social Contract." Boyd is in fact doing precisely the opposite.

Also in breach of conference policy is the TGWU leadership, which has circularised officials calling on them to honour the TUC's 12-month rule—designed to artificially prolong Phase 2 beyond its August 1 expiry date.

The TUC General Council meeting last week clarified exactly the wage cutting policy the bureaucrats have in mind when by 23 votes against 4 it endorsed a call on all negotiators not to try to make up ground lost since 1974 in forthcoming pay claims.

INFLATION

And Prime Minister Callaghan, knowing full well that regardless of coming wage claims, the flood gates of a new spate of inflation are already creaking open, announced with brusque arrogance this weekend:

"It is no use us trying to recover what we [!] lost—and the Government deliberately arranged this loss—in the last 12 months."

But while their political and trade union leaders sharpen their knives and prepare to hold them back, the working class is showing clearly it rejects this reactionary line.

A torrent of wage claims aimed at making up for two wasted years is now building up: Chrysler workers are seeking around £18; dockers are claiming 20% minimum, £100 per week in some areas; Jaguar and Triumph workers in Coventry are demanding £20 increase; Lucas Aerospace workers have claims for 30%; while at Yarrow's shipyards in Glasgow a mass meeting of 5,000 voted with only 3 against for a 50% rise across the board and a 35-hour week.

In many cases these demands are the bare minimum required to repair the damage done over the last two years. There is a real danger that "left" talking bureaucrats can attempt to defuse the feeling on wages by drawing up "responsible" claims far short of the figures required, and in the course of talks drop to fit inside Healey's 10% figure.

DEFEAT

To win any demand above the 10% union officials will have to be fought and defeated.

And in the course of these struggles workers must ensure that the rises they win are protected against inflation by a clause ensuring automatic rises to keep pace with the cost of living as assessed by elected trade union committees including housewives.

60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution
To commemorate the 60th Anniversary of the Russian Revolution the Workers Socialist League has produced in a limited edition of 500, a five colour silk screen print of a recruitment poster for the Red Cavalry.
This poster is available from local branches of the Workers Socialist League, price £1 or from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR price £1 plus 25p p & p.
All proceeds to the Socialist Press Special Fund for the weekly paper.

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SPECIAL FUND

At last we have passed the half way mark in the £3,000 Special Fund. With nine weeks to go we have now received a total of £1,560.08, of which £236.87 has arrived since the last issue of 'Socialist Press'.

Among the latest donations are ES £10; Oxford £21.81; Hull £2; Birmingham £19; Newcastle £20; South London £25; Winsford £10; Coventry £10; CC £2; SM £4; Liverpool £20.05; Leeds £33; VG, Hackney, £2; Summer School collection £58.08.

With the end of Phase 2 of the Social Contract and whole sections of workers preparing to fight for substantial pay increases there are clearly big class battles looming. In this situation, the fight against the union bureaucracy who intend to do all in their power to hold back, head off and defeat such struggles assumes crucial importance. If we are to be in a position to take up that struggle and pose before sections of workers in struggle a programme to defend living standards against the attacks of the Liberal-Labour coalition government a weekly paper is essential. It will mark a qualitative development for the Workers Socialist League and our ability to intervene in the class struggle.

Central to the fight for the weekly is the raising of the £3,000 fund. At the summer school a number of pledges were made which we hope to report on as they are paid. At the same time a number of fund raising activities have been organised, one of which is advertised elsewhere on this page. But readers are still urged to send in every penny they can afford to help us raise the necessary finance to successfully transform 'Socialist Press' into a weekly paper in October. There is no time to lose. Send a donation today to:

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