

# SOCIALIST PRESS



FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE  
WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

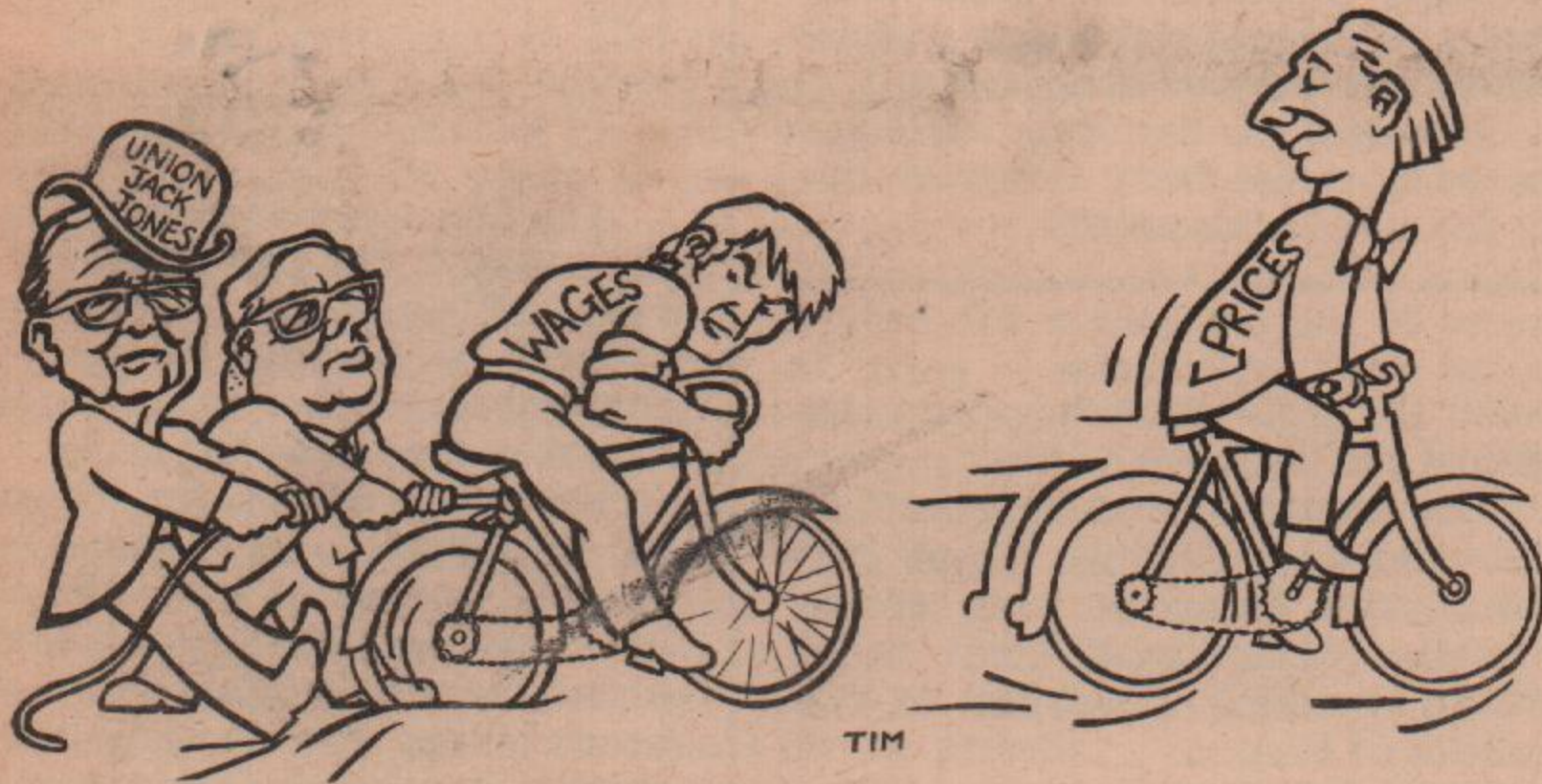
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PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report



The Labour NEC at the end of the Party Conference - no opposition to wage cutting.

# GOVERNMENT WAGE CUTTING MUST BE FOUGHT



The lying claims of Healey and Callaghan that the wage cuts embodied in the £6 and now the 4½% pay deals would cut inflation and unemployment have been further exposed by the latest economic figures. What is brutally clear is that the 4½% pay deal amounts to an attempt to force down the living standards of workers by well over 10 per cent in one year.

Last week's price figures showed that the decline in the rate of inflation over the past year has now quite definitely been reversed.

## PRICES UP

Instead, the government now expects prices to rise by 15% over the next year. Even this figure must be a minimum, since it depends on the Common Market continuing to pay an effective £1 million-a-day subsidy on the price of British food imports - a payment which is likely soon to be dropped with the devaluation of the Green Pound.

So even before tax is deducted from it, the 4½% increase in wages allowable between now and next

August must mean, on these figures, a cut in real wages of over 10%!

But this news on prices is just one indication that the arguments peddled by Labour and trade union leaders over the last two years are completely false.

Last week it became clear that the whole economic "strategy" attempted by Healey is unworkable. To prevent a collapse of the pound, a historically unprecedented 15% interest rate has been imposed.

## LOANS

But this interest rate - payable on loans to private industry - completely undermines Healey's

aim of stimulating more capitalist investment. It makes nonsense of the line that spending cuts and redundancies in the public sector would be compensated by more investment and jobs in private industry.

But not only this. Figures issued last week showed also that the cuts already imposed on public spending still have not been enough to meet Healey's target.

## SOCIAL SERVICES

And combined with the rise in the interest rate and inflation, this will mean that even less public spending will be available for the social services.

This means that even before the conditions which will be imposed by the International Monetary Fund (in exchange for the latest loans to back sterling) make themselves felt, there will need to be an almost immediate further round of spending cuts.

More cuts will of course cause redundancies and increase unemployment. And another lie is nailed by the revelation that, although Labour Ministers claim each month that unemployment has "reached its peak", the *Financial Times* now quotes Treasury sources as forecasting unemployment next year rising to 1,800,000.

## INTERNATIONAL

Of course a key reason why the Labour government's packages of pro-capitalist policies have failed to work is because none of them are capable of resolving the ever-deepening crisis of the system itself both in Britain and internationally.

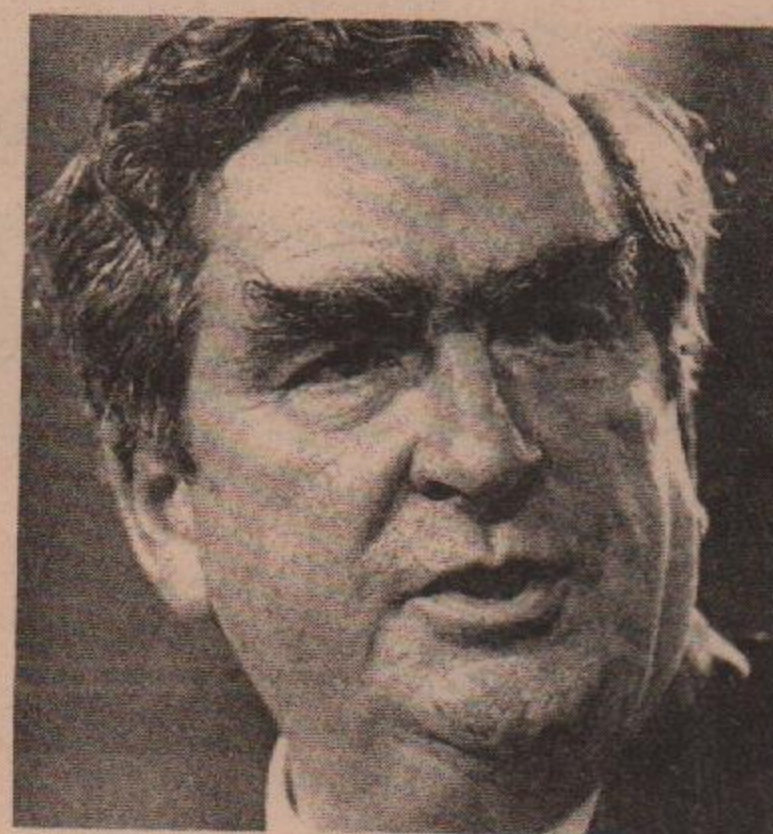


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Healey

Healey's "strategy" has depended all along on a sustained boom in the world economy, leading to 'export-led growth'.

That boom is already evaporating before even being noticed. The latest economic figures show that already expansion is faltering in the United States, West Germany and Japan.

## MEASURES

In Western Europe, four governments within the space of last week (Italy, France, Spain and Britain) took measures which not only attack wages but are intended to drive up unemployment.

In making the working class carry the full burden of the crisis, capitalist economies are moving not towards boom, but towards intensified slump and trade war.

As confirmation of this trend, world prices of industrial raw materials (especially metals) have begun to fall rapidly, indicating

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## Stalinist Purges in Peking

No commentator - no matter how "well-informed" about palace intrigues and Party cliques - can accurately assess the events now unfolding in Peking if he starts out from the surface appearance of a 'left' versus 'right' wing struggle. Only an analysis of the politics of Chinese Stalinism can furnish any real key to understanding.

Stalinism, from its origins until today, has been marked by the most extreme and opportunist zigzags, by political intrigues and manoeuvres. Its policies and leading figures are set up and overthrown in sealed corridors, cut off from the masses of the worker state.

## PATTERN

Last week's "overturn" in China - like the thunderbolt disgracing of Liu Shao-chi at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, the death of Lin Biao in 1971 and the orchestrated removal of Teng Hsiao-ping earlier this year - conform exactly to this pattern.

Like Stalin's and his successors own purges and "reshuffles" even the minor incidents recur - last week the Chinese official press agency had "run out" of photographs of the funeral ceremonies for Mao three weeks ago - photographs in which, of course, Mao's widow and her "accomplices



Teng Hsiao-ping

figure prominently.

The purge of the "left-wingers" which opened ten days ago immediately following the elevation of "stand-in" premier Hua Kuo-feng to the place vacated by Mao's death at the head of the

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# INTERNATIONAL NEWS



## PORTUGAL SOARES' RIGHT TURN

While the British Labour Government is daily attacking the gains made in generations of sacrifice by the working class, Portugal's 'socialist' administration, faced by the same world economic crisis, is also involved in systematically taking back all the gains made by Portuguese workers in the short intense phase of revolutionary struggle since the overthrow of fascism two and a half years ago.

### "SCROUNGERS"

In his TV address to the nation on 9th September, the Prime Minister, Socialist Party leader Soares, (echoing his British counterparts) attacked 'scroungers' and 'lawbreakers' and even the 'new forms of oppression' in the workers organised take-overs of Portuguese farms and empty houses.

Indeed on Friday 1st October, the government announced a whole series of measures against 'social security frauds', including special inspectors and prosecution of 'dishonest' doctors — policies guaranteed to gladden the heart of every banker and reactionary.

The speech of Soares and the actions that followed it have not just been devoted to the small beer of reactionary propaganda.

It has been followed by a campaign initiated on 27th September to *hand back* "illegally occupied" land, especially in the Alentejo region, to the former owners.

On 22nd September, Soares had announced that:

"We must obtain respect for the law, even if necessary by force."

### NO RESISTANCE

So far, the pushing back of these gains by the agricultural workers have not met with any serious resistance.

The bureaucrats of the Portuguese Communist Party, who lead most of the workers involved, have shown the same respect for



A captured member of the secret police is dragged off after the fall of fascism: now laws against these scabs declared "unconstitutional".

Below: Soares.



law as the social democrats and advised the workers to operate within the norms of 'legality' established by the government and the military.

In any case, many of the landowners will not want to farm the land any more now that wages have gone above subsistence level — they may well be content with renting land, even to 'collective farms'.

### REASON

What lies behind these government policies is the need for

Portuguese capitalism to bring into line all parts of the Portuguese working class, including the powerful industrial sector who have still not been confronted.

### POSTPONED

Soares long-awaited TV speech on 9th September was postponed — allegedly because he had a 'minor indisposition' — but almost certainly, it is said, because the military leaders, particularly President Eanes, did not think his attacks on the working class were severe enough.

Like Callaghan and Healey, Soares talks of 'a nation living beyond its means', and of the need for 'an export drive'.

He faces pressure not simply from international bankers, but also from the military who retain the effective power, who continue to release right wing political prisoners to organise the return of landowners and to create an atmosphere where neo-fascist political groups are allowed to grow.

### "UNCONSTITUTIONAL"

On October 2nd this was assisted by a court ruling that a law passed against former members of the fascist secret police was 'unconstitutional' — leaving them to go scot free to new right-wing activities.

But Soares also faces a strong and undefeated working class, and one that has tasted the fruits of recent revolutionary struggle.

On October 12th for example, several thousand workers in Lisbon took to the streets, protesting about reactionary education "reforms" introduced by Socialist Party Education Minister Cardia. This march — the biggest for several months, indicates the solid resistance to Soares' right-wing policies within the workers' movement.

This will no doubt be reflected in the Socialist Party Congress, due at the end of this month.

under the grotesquely inappropriate title of the 'Popular Alliance'.

This incorporates major parts of the right-wing Catholic 'Opus Dei' group, the Francoist wing of the Christian Democrats and other groups swearing allegiance to the politics of Franco.

Its leading figure is Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the verbally "reformist" and practically repressive Interior Minister of the last fascist government.

Fraga, the man with whom Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders have discussed a "national pact", has close links with Lopez Riga, formerly Social Security Minister to Isabel Peron's government in Argentina, and the original organiser there of the anti-working class death squads.

### REACTIONARY

All these events reveal as starkly as possible the unalterably reactionary intentions of the Spanish ruling class.

They expose more clearly than ever the criminal treachery of the Communist and Socialist Party leaders who continue to advocate a coalition government with the very people who are carrying out a systematic attack of workers' living standards and organising the merciless repression of the workers' movement.

## SPAIN: ULTRA RIGHT STIRS

The conditions are rapidly maturing in Spain for decisive clashes between the ruling fascists and the working class.

A series of events have shown that preparations are being made by the fascists for such a confrontation.

First, the assassination, by members of the Euskadi (Basque) nationalist organisation ETA, of a member of the powerful Council of the Realm brought the extreme right organisations onto the streets in San Sebastian and Madrid demanding savage vengeance against anti-fascist movements and calling for a new, even more, reactionary government.

The Suarez government had already been profoundly shaken by its failure in the face of ultra-right resistance to forcibly retire two army generals who stood in the way of even the fake "reforms" through which it hopes to dupe the working class.

The assassination is a further dire blow to Suarez's doomed attempt to introduce mock democracy, since it comes at the same moment as the mounting crisis of Spanish capitalism, reflected in the recent collapse of share prices, demanding new, more severe, anti-working class measures.

These were announced last week



and consist of a new attempt to enforce wage control, along with the abolition of virtually all the regulations controlling redundancies.

Firms may now dismiss workers without limit or control and the signs are that unemployment will rise very rapidly as a result.

Workers' Commissions and the other illegal trade union organisations have already called a one day general strike against these measures.

But there is no doubt that the mass of workers will not be

prepared to stop at such limited actions.

A new wave of strikes has already started to develop, beginning with the building workers in Biscay province.

It now looks very likely that the Suarez government will soon be squeezed out of office through the pressure of the workers' demands from one side and the mounting ruling class resistance to even fake "reforms" on the other.

It is that prospect which has prompted a major regroupment in the fascist camp. A new alliance of parties was launched last week

## THAILAND Coup to hold back revolution

The savage massacre of students and left-wingers in Bangkok on October 6th followed a few hours later by a CIA-backed military take-over, put an end to the three-year facade of 'democracy' in Thailand.

The pretext of the coup's leader — Admiral and Defence Minister Sangad Chaloryoo — that the students were guilty of 'anti-monarchist' agitation — can in no way disguise its real reasons.

### GUERRILLAS

Throughout South East Asia the puppet dictatorships of US imperialism have been shaken by the triple revolution in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos in the spring of 1975, and they are more and more threatened by guerilla and left-wing opposition, especially in the countryside.

In Thailand, the 'Parliamentary' regime of Pramoj, the latest of several unstable cabinets since the Thanom dictatorship was removed in 1973, was unable to impose the repression the officers and their US backers were demanding.

Nor could they resist the demands for the complete withdrawal of US troops from the country — scheduled for earlier this year.

### EXILE

The latest government crisis was precipitated by the return of the exiled Thanom — ostensibly to become a bonze (monk) — in September. But this provocation had been prepared long since.

Ever since March the leadership of the fascist Nawaphon movement — several of whose members have just gained senior positions under the new military junta — has been telling foreign reporters to expect 'important developments' in October.

Yet the coup in Bangkok by no means gives the military-fascists control of the whole country.

In large areas of the north, peasant and guerilla resistance is so strong that government forces cannot pass safely. Fighting was reported last week along the Laotian border.

### STRIKES

And the gathering opposition of the Bangkok workers movement to inflation and repression has been shown in a series of strikes and demonstrations in the last three years.

Revolutionary resistance to imperialism and its servants is widespread in South East Asia.

In Manila (capital of the Philippines), even while IMF and World Bank chiefs were winding up their conference, an illegal demonstration of several thousand came on the streets against the phoney 'referendum' organised by the Marcos dictatorship to give his rule a 'democratic' veneer.

# ZIMBABWE

The objective of Labour Foreign Secretary Anthony Crosland in calling the conference on Zimbabwe, scheduled to begin in Geneva on October 28th, is to put an end to the independent armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people against racist rule.

For Crosland, for his ally Kissinger whose diplomatic arm-twisting brought the conference about, for South African premier Vorster who assisted him, and for the capitalist class which they all represent, such a struggle by black Africans spells mortal danger.



Smith

For such a confrontation with imperialism will bring with it clear lessons to the mass of workers and peasants of Zimbabwe that the enemy of real independence is capitalism. Within such a struggle the need for permanent revolution — the flowing over of struggle into the battle for socialism — will become plain.

And such a struggle is bound to link up with the growing fight of black workers against repression in South Africa, capitalism's most treasured possession in the African continent.

For the Zimbabwean nationalist leaders to make a treacherous deal with Smith, as Crosland and Kissinger want them to, would not be fatal to the black liberation movements, but could be a major setback.

Smith comes to the conference having said that he will accept either the Kissinger proposal for a two-year interim government,

which has power to draw up "majority rule" constitution, and which the white racists would have veto power — or nothing.

But he might well settle for something less satisfactory to the white regime if he could be sure it would severely damage the arm liberation struggle.

None of the black leaders have fully accepted the Kissinger plan though ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo has implied his readiness to compromise with it.

Robert Mugabe of ZANU, the main political leader of the ZANU guerilla army, and hitherto the most outspoken critic of the deal has now met with Nkomo and issued a joint statement.

They have demanded the release of all political prisoners before the conference and spoken of the need for Smith to be counted, not as the leader of an independent delegation to the conference, but as part of the British delegation.

## SURRENDER

At the same time they call for the unconditional surrender of Smith and the racist regime.

But they do not make any condition of attending. They have both agreed (as has Bishop Muzorewa of the African National Council) to lead delegations to the conference and neither Nkomo nor Mugabe has unambiguously ruled out either negotiation with Smith or even participating in a coalition government with him.

Such a dangerously compromising position is to be expected on the basis of past experience of Nkomo and Muzorewa.

## STEP BACK

For Mugabe, however, it seems to represent a serious step back from the principled statements in opposition with which he initially reacted to the Kissinger proposals.

In the next issue of *Socialist Press* we will print an interview with leading members of ZANU with whom we shall take up their criticisms.

Meanwhile, we urge all socialists to maintain the maximum possible pressure through the labour movement to prevent the Labour government from acting as midwife to the birth of an unprincipled betrayal of the Zimbabwe people.

# CYPRUS FRUITS OF POPULAR FRONT

Supporters of Archbishop Makarios, Cyprus' devious, right-wing nationalist President, have been elected to all 35 seats in the Cyprus parliament in the recent elections.

Thirty-four of them were members of a Popular Front alliance led by Makarios' own Democratic Front Party.

The two junior partners in this unprincipled alliance are the Cypriot Communist Party, known as EDEC, and the 'left-wing' socialist party, EDEK.

Since the 1940s the Communist Party has been the strongest political party in Cyprus, with the support of 40% of the voters in elections, and in control of the main trade union federation, the PEO.

## STRENGTH

Yet its leaders have consistently used this unrivalled political strength not to fight for the needs of the working class but to serve the interests of some section of the ruling class.

During the independence struggle against British colonialism, they covered in the background while General Grivas' fascist EOKA movement and demagogic church leaders like Makarios led a movement in which the interests of the working class were submerged.

Grivas used his position to murder Communist Party members, just as he had done in the Greek Civil War in the 1940s.

Since the early 1960s the Communist Party has given more or less



Makarios

uncritical support to Makarios as an "anti-imperialist" in spite of his constant deals with British and US imperialists (in which he was supported by the Soviet bureaucracy).

In 1975, with inflation running at 15%, the CP-controlled unions agreed to a wage freeze in the "national interest".

This was just part of the CP leaders' consistent policy of making the struggle against capitalism a "secondary question".

## NOT OPPOSED

In spite of its strength the CP did nothing in 1974 to oppose Nicos Sampson's ultra-right coup on behalf of the Greek military dictatorship.

Even the smaller hardly less class-collaborationist, EDEK

Socialist Party organised armed resistance and many of its supporters were massacred.

When the Soviet bureaucracy supported the Turkish invasion of the island the Cypriot CP leaders first of all said it had been 'wrongly informed'.

## ACCEPTED

But later the party, which had once led a united trade union federation of Greek and Turkish workers, came meekly to accept the Soviet line of division of Cyprus on ethnic lines.

For a short time this new line brought the CP leaders into conflict with Makarios. They transferred their allegiance — not to the working class, but to yet another section of the ruling class led by extreme right-winger Glavcos Clerides.

But now the island is effectively partitioned, the CP leaders are back in their old role as altar-boys to the reactionary Archbishop.

## SWEPT BOARD

In the Popular Front alliance which swept the board against Clerides, the CP accepted nine seats and allowed Makarios' party to take the lion's share.

Their abject support doesn't even get them a place in Makarios' cabinet.

The net result of these years of betrayal of every opportunity to build an independent workers' movement is a partitioned Cyprus.

In the Greek section the trade unions under CP leadership do the bidding of the capitalists and tens of thousands of refugees from the north live in intolerable squalour and poverty.

In the northern Turkish section trade unions and workers organisations have been completely outlawed by Denktash's ultra-right regime, which is protected by the Turkish army.

Such are the bitter fruits of years of Stalinist class collaboration.

# The Workers Socialist League

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# SOLIDARITY WITH ARGENTINE WORKERS

The military dictatorship seized power on March 24th in Argentina not primarily (as the capitalist press implies) in order to crush the guerilla organisations, but to combat the growing mobilisation of the working class against the capitalist policies of the Peron government.

## REPRESENTATIVE

This was made clear by Comrade Julio Mendoza, European representative of the Socialist Workers Party (PST), Argentinian sympathising organisation of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International". He was speaking at a meeting of solidarity with the victims of General Videla's repression called in London on October 6th by the Workers Socialist League.

He characterised the coup as totally anti-working class and pro-imperialist. He stressed in particular the need of the Argentinian capitalists to destroy the rapidly growing "coordination committees" through which the workers were fighting the Mondelli Plan, the last effort of the Peron government in March to attack the economic position of the workers. It was through these "coordination

committees" that the workers were posing a real challenge to the class collaborationist trade union leaders of the Peronist movement.

Since the coup thousands of leaders of these committees have been arrested, murdered or kidnapped.

And the force of repression has been especially hard on the political organisations of the left.

Many militants of the PST are missing or in prison and in danger of their lives.

But Comrade Mendoza said, a defeat on the scale of Chile had not taken place. The recent wave of militant strikes in the motor industry proved that the ruling dictatorship had not destroyed the fighting capacity of the working class.

## STRIKE

This has been confirmed again by last week's major strike in the electric power industry, called after the administration had sacked large numbers of workers, including the most important local union leaders.

Comrade Mendoza attacked the criminal policies of the guerilla organisations, the PRT/ERP and the 'left' Peronist Montoneros, who counterposed the armed struggle of an elite to the mass struggle of the working class. The Montoneros had consistent-

ly pursued an alliance with "progressive" sections of the capitalists. Instead he posed the need for unity of action against the dictatorship.

The Workers Socialist League speaker argued that the major political differences which exist between the WSL and both the PST and the British International Marxist Group (which was also represented on the platform) should not stand in the way of united action of those and other organisations against the Videla dictatorship.

## ACTION

The WSL stresses the need for a campaign of *actions* and not the verbal solidarity and appeals to the dictatorship for mercy, which come from the Labour lefts.

Socialists should campaign in the trade unions and other worker organisations to force the Labour government to break all trade and financial links with anti-working class dictatorships such as the one in Argentina.

In particular all arms deliveries must be stopped until the dictatorship is overthrown.

The WSL invites all political tendencies in the labour movement to join a movement of solidarity on that basis.



# WAGE CONTROL CONFERENCE CENTRAL

There are widespread repercussions for those who seek to oppose the bureaucratic actions of the trade union and Labour leaders.

This was made clear at a meeting of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement in the NUFTO Hall in Central London on 8th October.

Keith Vaness, who has been expelled from the North Islington Labour Party for giving an interview to a local paper criticising the right wing MP Michael O'Halloran, said that there was no democracy in the Labour Party for the ordinary member like himself.

When O'Halloran was selected as the candidate by a method which contravenes all the rules, nothing was done against him.

## NOT HEARD

But when Vaness was expelled, he found Committee after internal Committee within the Labour Party was loaded against him, and his appeal was still not heard.

Tony Kelly, the former Secretary of the Newham North East Labour Party, explained that they had been very careful to follow every rule in the constitution in their efforts to remove their ultra-right wing MP Reg Prentice.

This man attacked trade unionists and did not agree with Clause IV of the Labour Party.

As far as Kelly was concerned, Prentice was no longer their candidate, and the local Party should now be turning to defence of the interests of workers on such

questions as rents and the cuts.

Kelly also described in detail the connivance of the trade union bureaucracy in the campaign against him.

In August 1975 he had been accepted as a member of ASTMS after changing his job. He had paid his dues and attended meetings, even being elected to his branch committee.

## JENKINS

But now Clive Jenkins had announced he was 'not a member'.

Kelly had followed all the rules, his branch thought he was a member, his DC agreed, but the national leadership said he was not a member because he had not received a letter informing him of the fact.

None of the other ASTMS members at the meeting could recall having received such a letter, neither, we imagine, could any other ASTMS members.

But then they have not been prominent in the fight to remove an extreme right wing Cabinet Minister.

Speaking on behalf of the Organising Committee, Alan Thornett said that the question of democracy was intimately linked to the struggle for wages.

## SLIDING SCALE

He outlined the fight for the sliding scale of wages that he had brought to the 1975 Biennial Conference of the Transport and General Workers Union, the only alternative there to wage freezing

and the social contract.

Jones had refused to carry out any of the policies agreed at that conference in calling for increased public spending, reduced unemployment etc., except on the one question of wage limitation.

The seamen had made a big dent in the incomes policy, Thornett continued, and many sections of workers were now looking for a way through.

The trade union leaders were determined to hold back any such struggle.

Thus at British Leyland, they moved in to abolish the Oxford District Automotive Group of the

T&GWU when elections ended the right wing majority.

The question of democracy in the trade unions was intimately linked to a fight for the living standards of the members.

Comrade Thornett went on to call on all groups on the left to support this conference. He said that the organising committee had been particularly disappointed by the response of the IMG, who said the conference should only call for a return to free collective bargaining.

IMG speakers from the floor emphasised their view that the policies of the campaign were 'too

advanced' and said that democracy was not the central issue facing the working class, but the spending cuts.

One IMG spokesman said that if his union branch was too democratic they would only elect the right wing!

Other speakers from the floor emphasised the importance of the issues being raised by the campaign in different sections of the Labour movement.

## FORCED IN

There was a discussion of the new Rule 14/15 for Trades Councils forced in by the TUC in alliance with the Communist Party, and fought against with particular tenacity in some of the local Trades Councils in London, especially in Camden.

Other speakers said something of the attacks that had been launched against them when in other local Labour Parties they had protested against the expulsion of Keith Vaness.

Among the union branches which have voted since our last edition to send delegates are two ASTMS branches; the Merseyside Health Branch and the Leeds 507 Branch; delegates are also coming from the PSF Cowley Branch of ACTSS and Oxford NUR as well as the NUJ Book Branch. ASTMS 516 (Publishing) Branch are sending observers.

## CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Conference on

WAGE CONTROL AND  
UNION DEMOCRACY

Sunday 24th October  
Digbeth Hall, Birmingham.

Sessions

10am - 12.30pm.

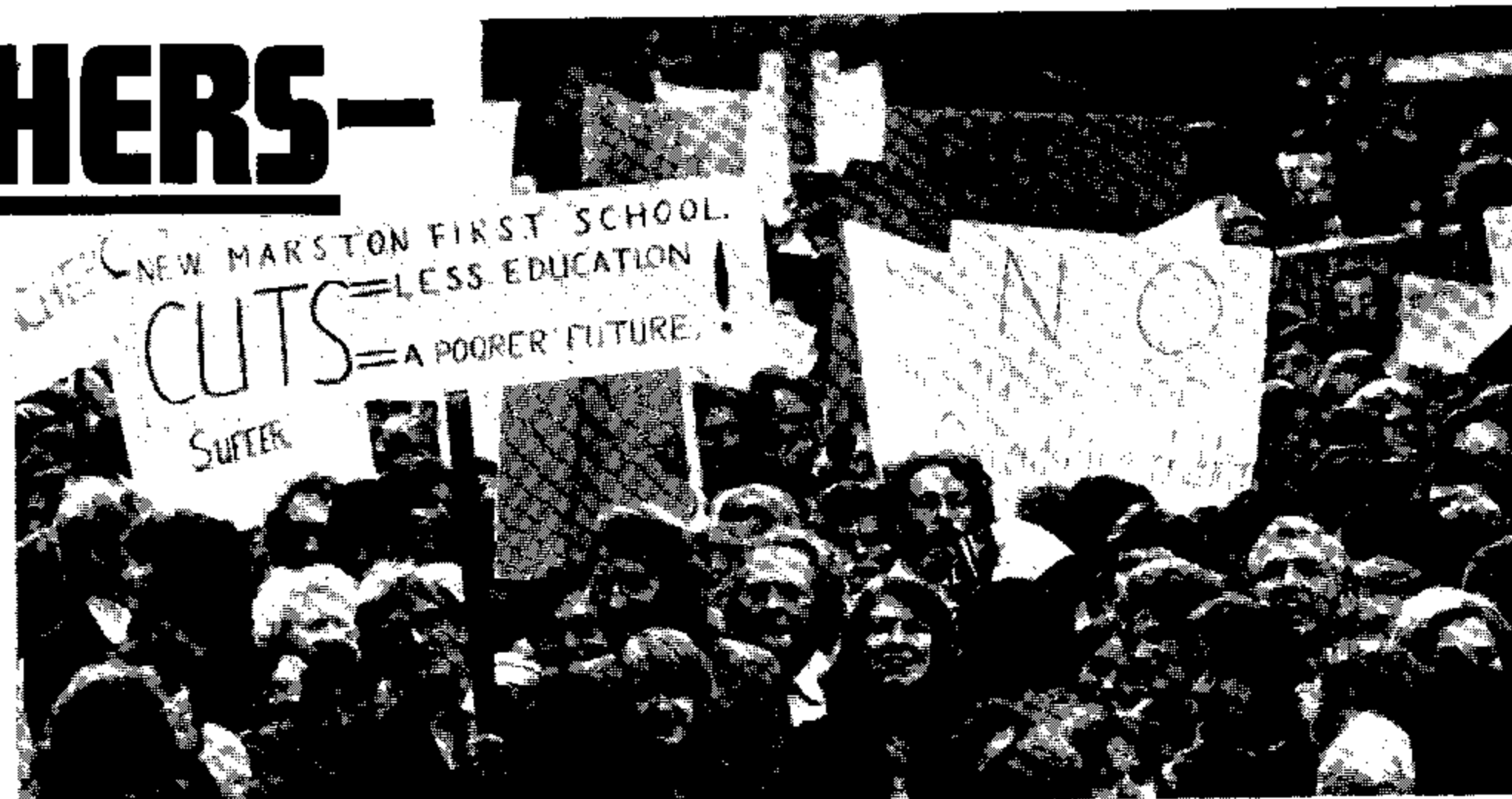
1.30pm - 4.00pm.

Credentials, 50p, from  
Kevin Lee, Campaign  
Secretary, 44, Devonshire  
Road, Handsworth Wood,  
Birmingham 20

# TYNDALE TEACHERS—

# SCAPEGOATS

# FOR THE CUTS



Oxford teachers on strike against the cuts — but NUT leaders prefer to fight union members.

The Labour-controlled ILEA has just voted in favour of a Tory proposal that a search should be made among London's primary schools for 'other' William Tyndale's.

Meanwhile the disciplinary hearings to decide the fate of the six victimised teachers has been delayed and whether they should be private or public is still undecided.

Hounded by the bourgeois media and long since abandoned by the NUT, the Tyndale teachers have been treated as something of an embarrassment even by so-called 'progressives'.

At a recent public meeting, Terry Ellis, the former headmaster, likened 'progressive' education to a sledge ploughing across snow, pursued by the wolves of reaction, with those on the sledge minded to ditch the Tyndale teachers as a burden and a 'bad example'.

This lack of support stems from a failure to understand the political

function to which the Tyndale issue is being put, namely as a major plank in the attack on education spending, and, to that end, a means of curbing the militancy of teachers.

As in so many other anti-working class measures comprising the social contract, the attack has been led not by Tories or by state bureaucrats, but by people elected as representatives of the working class, Labour councillors and trade union leaders.

## FLEXIBLE

Modern methods of teaching are more suited than traditional ones to producing 'flexible man' required by modern technology and have had the full weight of the bourgeois state behind them for a good decade.

But adequate resources have never been available to implement the low pupil-teacher ratios and the variety and amount of equipment which these methods require.

With the deepening of the crisis of capitalism in which public spending has to be drastically reduced, this contradiction sharpens.

The recommendation of Chief Education Officer Briault to the ILEA was that only two of the Tyndale teachers should be disciplined. No adequate grounds having been found to charge the others.

But then the Labour Group of the ILEA, intervening in this report before it reached the full sub-committee, voted by an overwhelming majority to charge all six teachers, and to change the charge on Brian Hadow from one of misconduct as 'the main architect' of the trouble, to one of inefficiency.

## LABOURITES

From the very beginning it was Islington Labour councillors and

school managers, (who have never waged a fight on poverty or cuts in educational spending) who encouraged parents to sign a petition and build the campaign to scapegoat the teachers.

The Executive Committees of North London and Inner London Teachers Associations, both Stalinist-dominated, claim they supported the teachers until they took unofficial strike action and set up the pirate school.

## COUNTERMANDED

In fact both bodies had flatly countermanded the decision taken by the North London branch that no inspection should be cooperated with until the political allegations that had been made had been inquired into.

Both NLTA and ILTA have steadfastly refused to lead any real fight beyond propaganda protests in defence of teachers' jobs and

conditions of work.

They will relish the example of teachers disciplined for taking unofficial action as a whip with which they can beat down militancy in other sectors.

## ANY SCHOOL

The charges laid against the Tyndale teachers could be made against virtually any school in the country.

The crisis in the schools reflects the social and economic crisis within capitalism itself. The attempt to lay the blame for this at the feet of these six teachers can only be done through a string of trumped up and rigged accusations.

We must fight to turn the accusations where they belong — against the local and national bureaucrats of the Labour Party and the NUT.

# NEW BROADSHEET— BUT THE SAME OLD CP BETRAYALS



Leyland car bodies

The Communist Party is at present selling a 'Broadsheet' on the motor industry which brings out very clearly the reactionary policies of this organisation.

Printed in July, the *Broadsheet* gives some idea of how part of the Communist Party is moving to the right, hand in hand with the reformist trade union leadership. These moves to the right are in line with the requirements of capitalism.

The *Broadsheet* refers to: "...the attempt to use new investment as a stick to beat the workers. One of the first acts by the Leyland bosses was to threaten the withholding of further investment unless the workers complied with demands for more production and that they should forego their right to use whatever action they saw fit to remedy industrial disputes.

This blackmail had the objective of intensifying exploitation through speed-up on the one hand and on the other the elimination of industrial action. In short, management used the fact that the government had put up the capital to try to force the workers into the position of tamely surrendering all their hard-won rights and trade union organisation which would leave them powerless to resist any further attacks.

The other side of the pressures put on Leyland workers was the threat that, unless they did what the bosses wanted, Leyland would be denied the new government aid and it would fold up. This is pure bluff. The government and Leyland's bosses know full well that the labour movement and people would not tolerate such a step. Because of the political, economic and social consequences, that would arise, no government would dare take such a step."

STAR

If this was the position of the Communist Party in July, look what Derek Robinson, Convenor of the Leyland Longbridge Works, leading member of the CP and writer in the *Morning Star* has done within four months of this statement.

It was Robinson who moved on the Longbridge Joint Shop Stewards Committee a resolution that not only aimed at stopping any strike action but actually said that no section of workers would "impede production" until full procedure had been exhausted.

## ULTIMATUM

It was also Robinson, through the 'participation' committees who was recently instrumental in persuading the shop stewards and then balloting the workforce to accept managing director Whittaker's three-day ultimatum on proposals for a 40% improvement in productivity on the new Mini.

If these proposals — originating in the Leyland 'participation' machinery — do not amount to speed-up, we don't know what does. They must increase unemployment.

The rest of the *Broadsheet* contains the reactionary nationalist demands of the CP for the motor industry. These centre on import controls on the one hand, combined on the other with a vague call to:

"extend links between motor workers in Britain and overseas so that all can unite in their common struggle against the multinationals."

## NOT EXPLAINED

How these two demands are supposed to go together is not explained.

Import controls of course mean getting together with your "own" nation's employers. In this way they are fit company for the "participation" demands in the *Broadsheet*:

"Using existing participation schemes in British Leyland to press for more investment."

"Fight to extend participation schemes to all levels of the company so that trade unionists start to take decisions on the company's future."

This is the position that leads Robinson to line up with the employers in everyone of their attacks on the workers he is supposed to represent.



## IRISH MILITANT DEAD IN CELL

Almost two weeks ago, on 9th October, Noel Jenkinson was found dead in his prison cell at Leicester.

It was there that he had been serving life-imprisonment for his alleged part in the Aldershot bombings of February 1972.

The official verdict is that he died of "natural" causes, but in reality his death was merely the climax of a recent wave of violence against prisoners.

Thus, on 2nd September, prisoners at Hull jail demonstrated against prison warden brutality; on 18th September, prison officers attacked Republicans held at Albany Jail, and at the coroner's inquest, Mr. Ian Glick, representing Mrs. Jenkinson, stated that Noel had recently been the victim of three vicious assaults by prison staff.

Yet the coroner refused to accept the statement and brought in a verdict of "death from natural

causes".

This verdict can only please the British government. Noel's death now means that his petition to the Court of Human Rights at Strasbourg will be dropped. And that is especially convenient, given that just six weeks ago, the same court found Britain guilty of using torture in Northern Ireland.

Noel Jenkinson had a fine record as a trade unionist and as an opponent of British domination of Ireland. Until 1962 he was a member of the British Communist Party. Thereafter, he was a leading militant in Holloway Bus Garage and in 1968 became Chairman of the Islington Irish Civil Rights Solidarity Campaign.

While in prison, he went on hunger strike in solidarity with Frank Stagg, and, as a result spent months in solitary confinement.

## REPRESSIONS

Noel's imprisonment in 1972 after a farcical trial, marked the beginning of the current repression against Irish militants in this country. His death now only signifies a further round of repression.

Exactly how Noel died is unclear. What is clear is that we in the labour movement have a duty to ascertain all the facts of his death. By doing this we will be actively furthering the cause for which he died — the removal of troops from Ireland and an end to British rule there.

## Delegation reports back

The Labour Movement Delegation, which visited Ireland during mid-September, made a preliminary report of its findings to a 100-strong audience at the London School of Economics on Monday 11th October.

Delegates spoke of their impressions of the trip, which lasted four days and visited Dublin, Crossmaglen and Belfast.

Although the final report has not been written yet, there seemed to be a general consensus among delegates that the only way to further the Irish people's right to self-determination was to call for an immediate withdrawal of British troops.

Delegates emphasised this in contrast to the British Communist Party's call for "a return of troops to barracks" pending their eventual withdrawal.

One delegate pointed out that in Crossmaglen, the troops were effectively confined to barracks — yet they still managed to intimidate and oppress the people of the area.

*Socialist Press* will carry a full analysis of the delegation whenever the final report appears. We would, however, urge all Trade Union branches that supported the delegation, to contact the organisers and ask for speakers to give a report on their findings. The address to write to is:

Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland, 1, North End Rd., London W.14.

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Part of the upsurge of world revolution - NLF takes Saigon, 1975.



# DEFEND THE METHOD OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

## Lessons from the split in the Workers Internationalist League (Greece).

This is the second of five parts of the Document by the Communist Internationalist League, (the expelled majority of the Greek Workers Internationalist League. The majority of the WIL were expelled after the intervention of Gerry Healy, (then General Secretary of the British Workers Revolutionary Party) acting in the name of the International Committee of the Fourth International.

American workers the advantages of socialism.

But he sees socialism as a question of propaganda, and he does not see it as a slogan of intervention "in the course of every economic struggle", as a slogan for agitation or immediate activity.

This difference between propaganda and agitation was known to revolutionaries from the early days, but petty bourgeois sectarians have never bothered themselves with it.

Let us remind them that such a distinction exists. They would have already noticed if they had real contact with the masses.

They would have noticed that difference layers and levels of consciousness exist within the mass movement, and they would take this fact into account when they took tactical decisions.

### CLEARED

In *What Is To Be Done?* Lenin clears the confusion on this question, fighting against the Russian economists. In place of propaganda the economists substituted agitation around economic demands, while in place of agitation they put "simple appeals" for action:

"We congratulate the Russian — and international — Social Democracy on having found, thanks to Martynov, a new terminology, more strict and more profound. Hitherto we thought (with Plekhanov, and with all the leaders of the international working class movement) that the propagandist, dealing with, say, the question of unemployment must explain the capitalistic nature of crises, the cause of their inevitability in modern society, the necessity for the transformation of this society into a socialist society, etc.

In a word, he must present "many ideas," so many, indeed, that they will be understood as an integral whole only by a (comparatively) few persons.

The agitator, however, speaking on the same subject, will take as an illustration a fact that is most glaring and most widely known to his audience, say the death of an unemployed worker's family from starvation, the growing impoverishment, etc, and, utilising this fact, known to all, will direct his efforts to presenting a single idea to the "masses", eg. the senselessness of the contradiction between the increase of wealth and the increase of poverty; he will strive to rouse discontent and indignation among the masses against this crying injustice, leaving a more complete explanation to the propagandist.

Consequently, the propagandist operates chiefly by means of the printed word; the agitator by means of the spoken word. The propagandist requires qualities different from those of the agitator. Kautsky and Lafargue, for example, we term propagandists; Bebel and Guesde we term agitators."

(Lenin, *Collected Works* pp409-410).  
What did Trotsky have to say on this question?

### LABOR PARTY

From the time of Trotsky right up to today the creation of a Labor

Revolutionaries do not passively propagandize their socialist programme — or rather they don't limit themselves to propaganda.

They organise and lead every struggle, they push the struggle forward in practice and in the process of its development they not only try to use the appropriate educational vocabulary, but they are at any moment ready to change their slogans, to combine them with others, at every new stage of the struggle.

But the sectarians justify their refusal to take up the struggle for a mass revolutionary party with their cynical rejection of such a policy "reformist".

### WAR

To engage in war against a bourgeoisie which is so experienced, so flexible and so ruthless, the bourgeoisie which has successfully defended its power under the most varied conditions and to approach such a war armed with ready-made themes — excluding in advance every "manoeuvre" in our practice is not only ridiculous but also dangerous.

Lenin says in *Left Wing Communism*:  
"Is it not like making a difficult ascent of an unexplored and hitherto inaccessible mountain and rushing in advance ever to move in zig-zags, ever to retrace one's steps, never to abandon a course once selected and to try others?"  
(Left Wing Communism p.53)  
But read the WRP Perspectives! They only want to know about straight lines. Everything different disturbs the calm routine of their propagandistic circle.

revisionism to produce a mountain of quotations which instruct the working class to pass through a series of stages of experience with social-democracy, right at the point where, on the contrary, the objective conditions necessitate a revolutionary leap by the working class..." (Page 7).

### OPPOSED

Our sectarians find the series of quotations heavy going because the WRP is essentially opposed to the whole voluminous work of Lenin and Trotsky, not to mention Marx and Engels.

Listen gentlemen:  
"Here again we find that the "lefts" [Left Wing Communists] do not know how to reason, do not know how to act as the party of a class, as the party of the masses. You must not sink to the level of the masses, to the level of the backward strata of the class. That is incontestable. You must tell them the bitter truth. You are in duty bound to call their bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices what they are — prejudices. But at the same time you must soberly follow the actual state of the class consciousness and preparedness of the entire class (not only of its communist vanguard), and of all the working people (not only of their advanced elements). (Page 42).  
To the "left" English Communists Lenin also explained that they should help the working class to learn through its experience that communists are right when they accuse the Social-Democrats as traitors.

### ELECTIONS

He proposed that in the elections they should support the



Labourites Ramsey MacDonald and Henderson — Lenin advocated to support them "as a rope supports a hanging man".

Labourites Henderson and Snowden against the Conservatives Lloyd George and Churchill, to support them "as the rope supports a hanging man".

"To act otherwise would mean hampering the cause of the revolution, since revolution is impossible without a change in the views of the majority of the working class, a change brought about by the political experience of the masses, never by propaganda alone."

"To lead the way without compromises, without turning — this slogan is obviously wrong..." (Left Wing Communism p.67).

The sectarians teach us, contrary to Lenin, that we should ignore the "degree of consciousness" of the masses. Trotsky, too, whom they claim to follow is radically opposed to their approach. They would

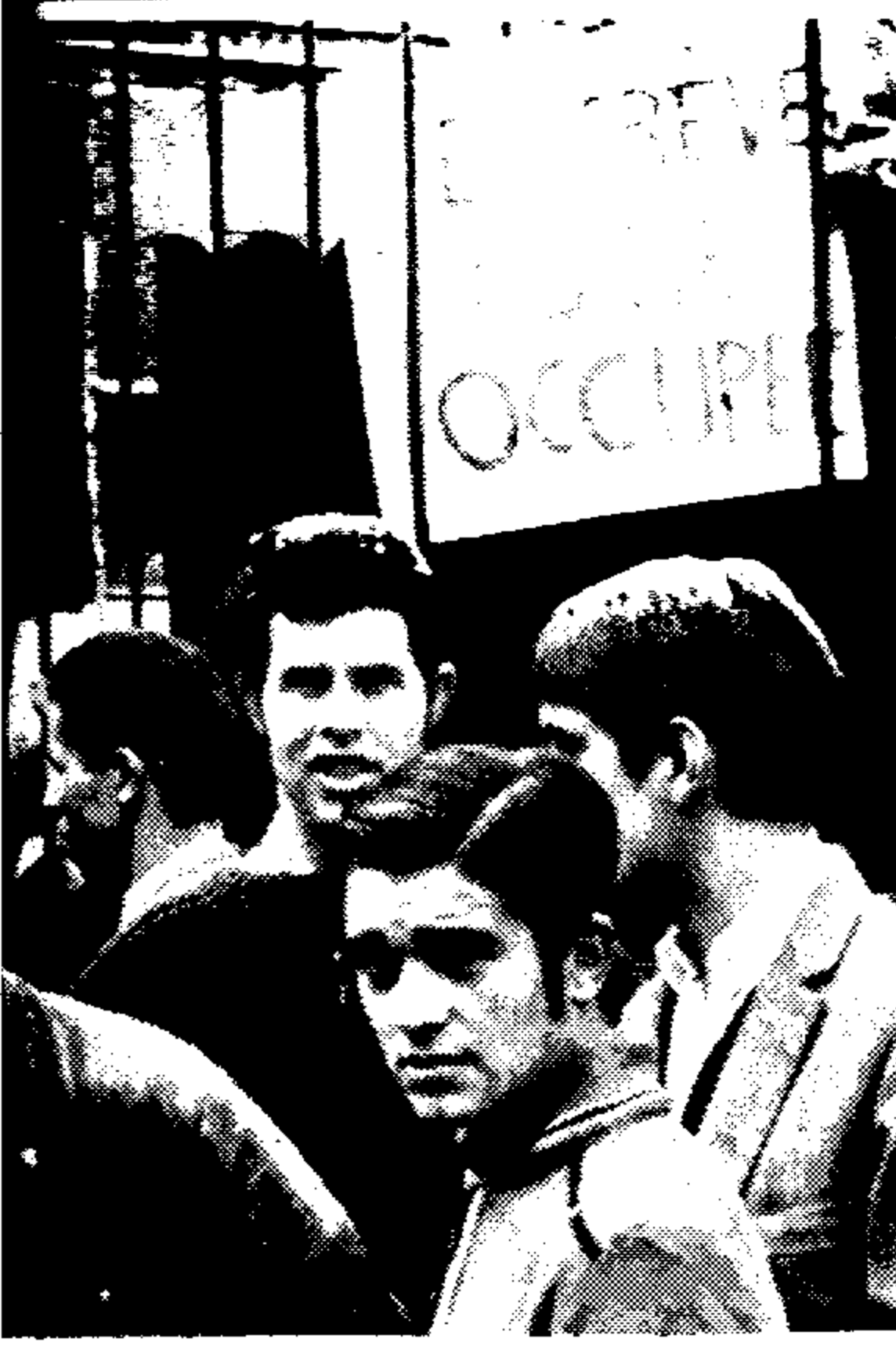


certainly accuse Trotsky of "adaptation" to spontaneity in the following passage:

"I think that in the beginning the slogan (sliding scale of wages and hours) will be adopted. What is this slogan? In reality it is the system of work in socialist society. The total number of workers divided into the total number of hours.

But if we present the whole socialist system it will appear to the average American as utopian, as something from Europe. We present it as a solution to this crisis which must assure their right to eat, drink and live in decent apartments. It is the programme of socialism, but in a very popular and simple form."  
(Discussions on the Transitional Programme, May 19th, 1938).

Trotsky does not mean of course that we must not explain to the



French General Strike - May-June 1968.



Trotsky speaking during the Civil War.

Party in America, counterposed to the two bourgeois parties - Republican and Democrat - which have monopolised the political life of the country, has not been possible.

The slogan and the struggle for a Labor Party has been on the agenda since the 1930's when it was advanced together with the struggle for the building of the Socialist Workers Party as part of the Fourth International.

In the period of imperialist decay and on the threshold of World War II, the American working class needed not simply a party but needed a revolutionary party.

why we must say to the workers, the masses; you must have a party. But we cannot say immediately to these masses, you must join our party.

In a mass meeting 500 would agree on the need for a labor party. Only five agree to join our party, which shows that the slogan of a labor party is an agitational slogan. The second slogan [become members of our party] is for the more advanced.

Should we use both slogans or one? I say both."

(Discussions on the Transitional Programme May 31st, 1938).

If it was possible that the masses

has a relationship with the workers movement and experience of it understands that even minimum demands cannot possibly succeed if simply counterposed to the masses.

**MATURED**

Even a simple strike for wages or conditions cannot begin unless it has matured, unless the leadership takes into account many factors in formulating these economic demands, and unless these demands are presented in the most appropriate manner.

Going through Trotsky's discussions with members of the SWP on the question of the Labor Party, one can observe how far removed he was from a propagandistic approach to the transitional slogans.

He says: "Into this Labor Party we will channel our transitional slogans. Evidently not all at once, but one after the other, to the degree that the chances will be offered to us."

In another discussion on the Transitional Programme, referring to the sliding scales of wages and hours, Trotsky says that:

"Everywhere, we must discuss how to present this idea, in all localities."

He gives a concrete example: "I believe that we can concentrate the attention of the workers on this point [the sliding scales]. Naturally this is only one point. In the beginning this slogan is totally adequate for the situation. But the others can be added as the development proceeds. The bureaucrats will oppose it. Then if this slogan becomes popular with the masses, fascist tendencies will develop in opposition. We will say that we need to develop defence squads." (May 19, 1938)

Is there anything in common between Trotsky's method and the method of the petty-bourgeois sect in the leadership of the WRP?

**FULL LIST**

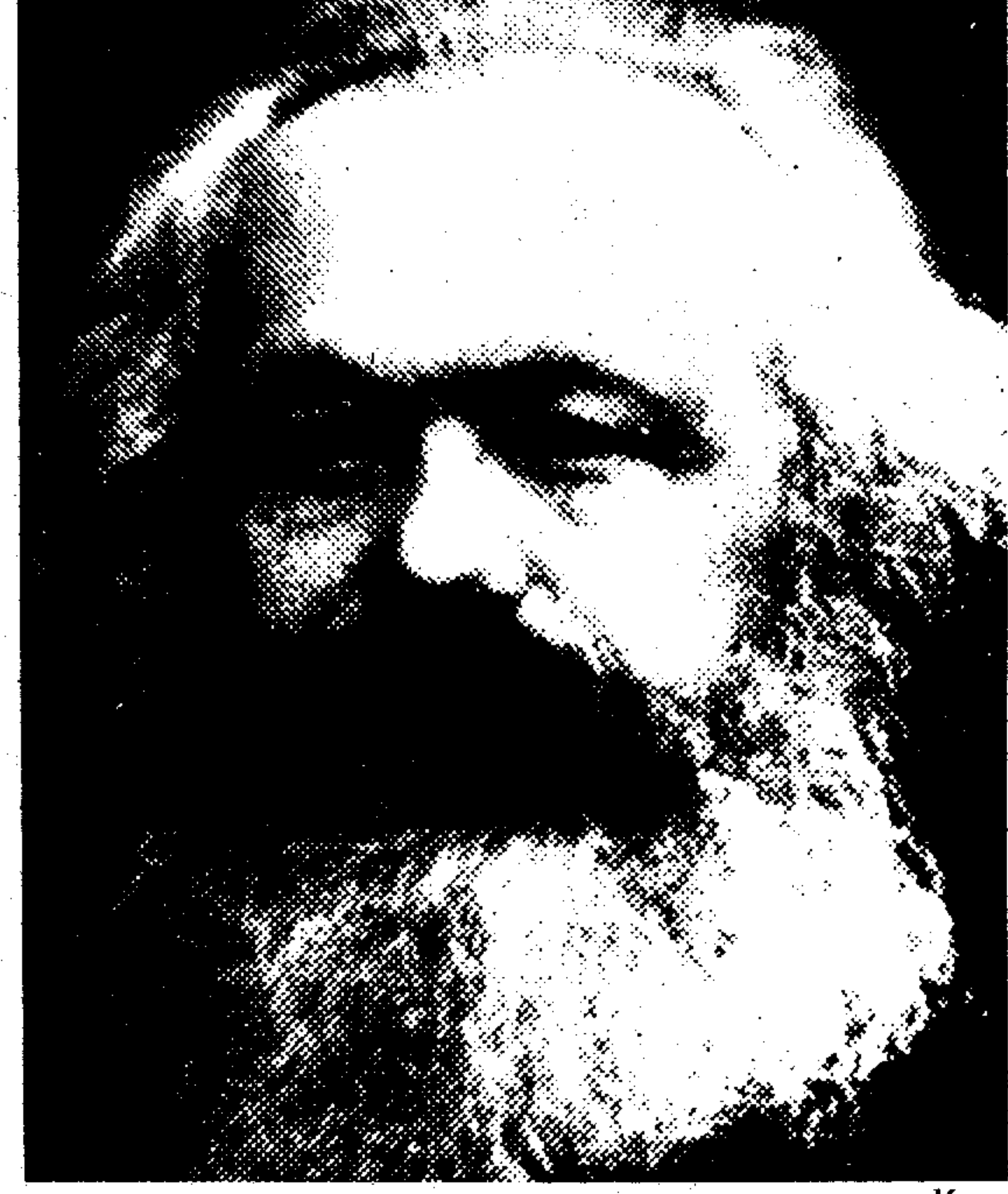
The WRP formulate comprehensive lists of the "objective tasks" of the working class, watching pedantically not to miss anything out.

This is the way they train the whole International Committee. They see no reason to feel disturbed, existing complacent and comfortable in the routine of their small circle.

The whole of their activity is dedicated to the self preservation of their petty bourgeois leading clique while they await a miracle: the time when the working class will perform the famous "leap" they have continuously predicted.

Their degenerate method reaches to heights of cynicism. They almost wish for the working class to be defeated under Stalinist leadership, supposing that the working class will in this way learn the value of the WRP, since they correctly warned it would happen.

There is no monument to cynicism in the history of the workers' movement comparable to this extract from the perspectives proposed to the 4th International Congress of the International Committee:



Marx

Nevertheless, Trotsky thought SWP members should not limit themselves to appealing to the working class to rally into the SWP.

This was a propagandistic task. Taking into account the level of development of the consciousness of the American working class, Trotsky considered that the SWP should call on the working class, (ie. the Unions) to build their party.

Naturally they did not call for it to be a reformist party.

In discussions with members of the SWP in 1938, Trotsky said: "In Minneapolis [where the SWP had its biggest strength and prestige] we cannot say to the trade unions you should adhere to the Socialist Workers Party. It would be a joke even in Minneapolis...."

"The necessity of a political party for the workers is given by the objective situation, but our party is too small, with too little authority in order to organise the workers into its own ranks. That is

accept the socialist programme all at once and so flock all at once into the revolutionary party which is necessary for victory, the need for a transitional programme, for transitional demands and for tactics in general would not exist.

But the question is how will the masses be pushed forward, in the process of everyday struggle, to conceive the necessity for socialist revolution?

**METHOD**

Trotsky, in the *Transitional Programme*, tries precisely to train the cadres of the Fourth International in the *method* which must guide their everyday activity within the masses, showing them how they must help the masses forward.

Neither socialist slogans, nor transitional slogans, must be simply counterposed by ready-made and inflexible lists to the living struggle of the masses. Furthermore, every militant who

"As part of the international role of Stalinism, the Stalinist parties will undoubtedly (!) lead the workers in certain cases (?) to defeats. There will be no shortcuts around these experiences (!), as the working class goes through the preparations for the decisive struggle for power."

This is not the method of revolutionaries, but the method of cynical petty bourgeois, who are finished for good.

**Neo-Hegelianism and Dialectical Materialism**

Behind the sectarian falsification of Marxism, there are not only the material conditions which fed it, but also a wrong philosophical method - the method of the bourgeoisie, subjective idealism.

The science of dialectics has remained a sealed book for the prophets of the WRP, despite their prolonged theoretical and revisionist wanderings. Every work of classical Marxism and its method was reduced by these sectarians simply to material for propaganda.

**COVERED UP**

What is more, they use dialectical categories in the manner of sophistry, invoking 'contradictions' to cover up their idealist theories and their opportunistic practice.

These tricksters who expect the working class to come to their feet in a single "leap" tell us in bold type in their 1974 'Perspectives' document for the WRP Conference:

"So, the form of the "bridge" is the unity and conflict between the revolutionary party and the working class."

Nonsense! This "theory" has nothing in common with dialectical materialism.

It sends us back to the days of Bruno Bauer and the whole Holy Family of the neo-Hegelians, which amused Marx in his time and still amuses his followers.



Healy (front) with (right) Slaughter, IC Secretary.

The "conflict" which the WRP petty bourgeois sect describes as a conflict between the party, (which is the 'conscious' element) and the working class (which is simply 'spontaneity'), represents only an idealist diving into a vacuum.

In practice, it is an argument of the propagandist with the workers.

The world does not change as a result of such "heroic" battles of ideas. "The arms of criticism cannot be a substitute for the criticism of arms", wrote Marx.

What distinguished Marx from previous philosophers, is that they all believed that men should first of all reject their wrong conceptions and see the world correctly, in order to change it.

They could not understand that the wrong ideas which they were criticizing were rooted not within people's heads, but within the material conditions of people's lives and so they could not be rejected except through practical activity to change these conditions. Ideas are neither self-existent nor self-moving. They reflect the movement of the material world.

**CONFLICT**

Every development, in the world of reality and of ideas, originates first and foremost with the conflict of material forces and interests.

The possibility of the working class developing socialist consciousness exists within material reality.

This reality, characterised by the deepest-ever economic crisis of the capitalist system, is the result of the many sided activity of man: of work, of technological and scientific progress, of the class struggle, of conflicts between individual capitalists, of preceding wars and revolutions and of the inflationary policy applied by the imperialists after the war, (a policy applied not

willingly, nor on the command of an individual called Keynes, but because the imperialists had no choice).

Now the imperialists are unable to normalise the contradictions of their system or to reestablish its old equilibrium, because in imposing the great recession they now need they are confronted by human beings who will never accept pauperisation, starvation and death without resistance.

**ENERGY**

The imperialists therefore cannot face their problems without ensuring that Middle East oil and all the energy sources in the world as well as basic raw materials are in their hands.

But the epoch of colonial robbery has gone for good. The oppressed have one by one risen and won their independence.

Now the imperialists can get what they want only through successfully waging war. It is evident that this is not at all easy.

The struggles of the working class and the struggles for national liberation, not only exclude any "smooth" way out for the imperialists, but also deepen the crisis of their system.

The one-time economic "stability" of France - of which De Gaulle was so proud - was ruined after the General Strike of 1968. This is only one of the innumerable examples.

**ACTIVITY**

Though man, through his activity, changes material reality, ideas change more slowly. This creates a gap between objective reality and man's thinking, which retains many of the old ideas rooted into his head during the previous period, the period of boom.

The working class, hit by the crisis, is thrown into battles to

defend its standard of living. Initially - and inevitably - it does so through the old organisations and old forms of activity.

But in its everyday struggle, the working class not only changes the world, but also its own thinking, and creates the conditions for a forward movement and for a qualitative "leap" in its consciousness.

**WRONG**

In conflict with the new reality, the working class sees its old conceptions every day proved wrong.

They no longer work or help the class. As old ideas are rejected through struggle, and after an inevitable stage of confusion, the possibility is created for the masses to accept new ideas and conceptions, corresponding to their experience, better adapted to their needs.

So the task of a really revolutionary leadership is not completed by propagandising fixed lists of slogans, but on the contrary, it first of all consists of the task of organising and leading the struggles of the working class for its demands to help it draw the necessary lessons from its own practice, and in this way develop its consciousness and drive the movement forward for the final battle.

This is the only way to train really revolutionary cadres, leaders of the masses, rather than clique propagandists in small circles.

In this way the party broadens the scope of its propagandistic activity and creates for itself an ever-increasing audience of workers peasants and youth who will examine its analysis of the crisis, the state, Stalinism, socialism, and so on, and will join the party.



Part Four of our series on the history of South Africa

On October 26th the Transkei, a small area of South Africa about the size of Denmark, will be given "independence" by the South African government.

The Transkei is one of the ten African tribal areas or Bantustans in which Africans are permitted to own land and carry on farming activity for themselves.

The South African government intends eventually, if all goes well with the Transkei, to turn all these areas into independent States.

This manoeuvre, it is important to understand, is in no way a concession to the rising demands for freedom from economic and political tyranny in South Africa by the oppressed African masses.

On the contrary, granting independence to the Bantustans is a way of attempting further repressions of the masses.

**CHEAP LABOUR**

The Bantustans and tribal homelands have traditionally fulfilled two functions for the capitalists in South Africa. In the first place they have been a source of cheap labour for the mines and industries owned by South African and international capital.

By the early years of this century the native population of South Africa had been driven off their land and into the areas which now make up the Bantustans. These areas add up to only 13% of the land area of South Africa although Africans are 70% of the population.

The remaining 87% of the land, including all the best agricultural land and mineral deposits, remains in the hands of the whites, who are 16% of the population.

Of course, within the white population itself, land is concentrated in the hands of the mining and manufacturing capitalists and the big farmers.

**DESTRUCTION**

This land robbery meant the destruction of the traditional African peasant economy. In 1954 a government Commission of Enquiry pointed out what had been obvious for the previous thirty years - that the tribal areas could not support the population that had been forced onto them, 70% of the land in these areas being useless for agriculture.

The Commission calculated that the tribal areas could only sustain half their existing population. The population density in the Transkei for example is higher than in any country in Black Africa and the income per head is lower.

In the Transkei the annual income per head averages 97 dollars compared to 180 dollars in Nigeria, 310 dollars in Zambia and 210 dollars in Tanzania.

What the Commission did not of course point out was that this state of affairs was just what the South African capitalists and their government had intended.

As a result of starvation and declining agricultural output, the peasants in the Bantustans were compelled to purchase more and more of their food from the white capitalist farmers.

To do this they needed money,



# TRANSKEI: THE FRAUD OF 'INDEPENDENCE'



Police in an African suburb.

and to get money they have to send up to 50% of their young men as migrant workers to the mines and industries of 'white' South Africa where they are forced to work for wages lower than almost any other industrial country in the world.

The Bantustans thus have no independent economic existence. They survive only as a source of cheap labour for the capitalists.

But also the Bantustans have fulfilled a very important political function for the ruling class. Firstly, they have been a method of maintaining the fragmentation of the working class.

The migrant labour system has meant rapid labour turnover, and the pass laws have facilitated the rapid deportation of militants and trade unionists back to the countryside.

However, capitalism cannot avoid for long digging its own grave. As we showed in the previous

article, the development of manufacturing industry since the last war has been unable to resist the formation of a permanently urbanised section of the working class whose youth are now in the vanguard of the current wave of rebellion against repression and of the fight for democratic rights.

Knowing that any struggle for democratic rights under present conditions will turn into a struggle against capitalism itself, the ruling class in South Africa has been desperately seeking ways to strengthen its political suppression of the masses.

In no capitalist country has the ruling class been able to suppress the working masses by State repression alone. To maintain a regime of repression for any length of time requires the cooperation of other social groups or classes outside the ruling class.

**SKILLED**

Historically the South African ruling class have relied on an alliance with the labour aristocracy of white skilled workers as the basis for a regime of repression against the mass of the unskilled (black) working class.

But with the growing militancy and organisation of unskilled workers in the face of police brutality and State repression, another element of ruling class strategy now comes to the forefront.

That strategy is fundamentally to strengthen the political domination over the masses of a backward, conservative, tribal-based ruling group of chiefs and stooges.

This aim has been pursued by the South African ruling class from earliest times. The process of increasing the political "autonomy" of the Bantustans has gone hand in hand with the stripping of normal democratic rights from the masses.

In 1910 Africans were barred from standing for Parliament. In

Act removed Africans from the normal parliamentary voters' list and set up a Native Representative Council which then chose three (white) MPs to represent the entire African population in Parliament.

**ABOLISHED**

The 1951 Bantu Authorities Act then abolished the Council, and the organs for "representing" the Africans as far as the government were concerned, became the "tribal authorities" in the Bantustans.

At the same time the Act removed any vestiges of democratic bodies inside the Bantustans.

The Transkei, for example, for some years before the war had an elected regional council. The 1951 Act destroyed this and placed effective power in the hands of the chiefs.

The 1959 Bantu Self Government Act removed the last remaining element of African representation in Parliament (the three white MPs).

Finally, the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971 and the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1973 established the "legislative assemblies" which are to be the basis for the "Parliaments" of the new "independent" Bantustans, under the firm control of the Chief and his "Cabinet".

**STRIPPED**

Thus the policy of stripping the masses of democratic rights in South Africa and at the same time strengthening the political domination of the chiefs - by placing them in control of the only "representative" bodies left to Africans - is nothing new.

What is new is the move to give political independence to the Bantustans and create the illusion that they are independent sovereign States - though to date the United Nations and Black African states are refusing recognition.

be used to extend the political control of the chiefs over the thousands of Africans permanently resident in the towns in South Africa.

Africans will become "citizens" of their respective Bantustans on an ethnic basis whether they live there or not.

Thus all African workers of Xhosa origin will become citizens of the Transkei. This will include those who have no intention of going there.

In one move they will all become the political subjects of the government of Chief Kaiser Matanzima, well known as one of the most right wing collaborationist stooges of Vorster.

At the same time the African workers will lose their South African citizenship, becoming foreigners in their own country with no rights at all, and any worker subject to almost instant deportation to "his country" for any trivial offence.

Imagine if all British workers had their British citizenship taken away and replaced with citizenship of an independent Isle of Skye to which they could be deported under the existing British immigration laws, imagine what a crippling blow to elementary trade union rights this would be.

**BLOW**

This is precisely the blow that Vorster aims to strike to stem the rising tide of workers' struggles in South Africa.

The Transkei has been chosen as a test case for independence because of the firm pro Vorster stand of Chief Matanzima, who describes the government's policy as "an epoch making event that is the product of peaceful evolution and an orderly transfer of power to the people of the Transkei."

Matanzima, it should be noted, has for the last 13 years been ruling with an iron fist those aspects of the Transkei which the government has left to his jurisdiction. Since 1961 "Proclamation 400" has suspended all civil liberties and granted unlimited powers to Matanzima and his coterie of government appointed chiefs.

**SUPPRESSED**

Any opposition to the idea of independence is brutally suppressed. Even 'moderates' such as Hector Ncokezi and his Transkei Democratic Party who accept everything in the government's Bantustan policy except independence, have been incarcerated.

Will Vorster and the South African bourgeoisie succeed in this move to cripple the rising workers' movement by turning workers into foreigners in their own country? There is little danger of that because of the contradictions built into the policy.

Firstly, no economic basis exists for the growth of a black middle class which could become the ruling class in the Bantustans. In other words Matanzima and his small bureaucracy lacks a social base secure enough from which to dominate the increasingly militant urban working class.

**BACKWARDNESS**

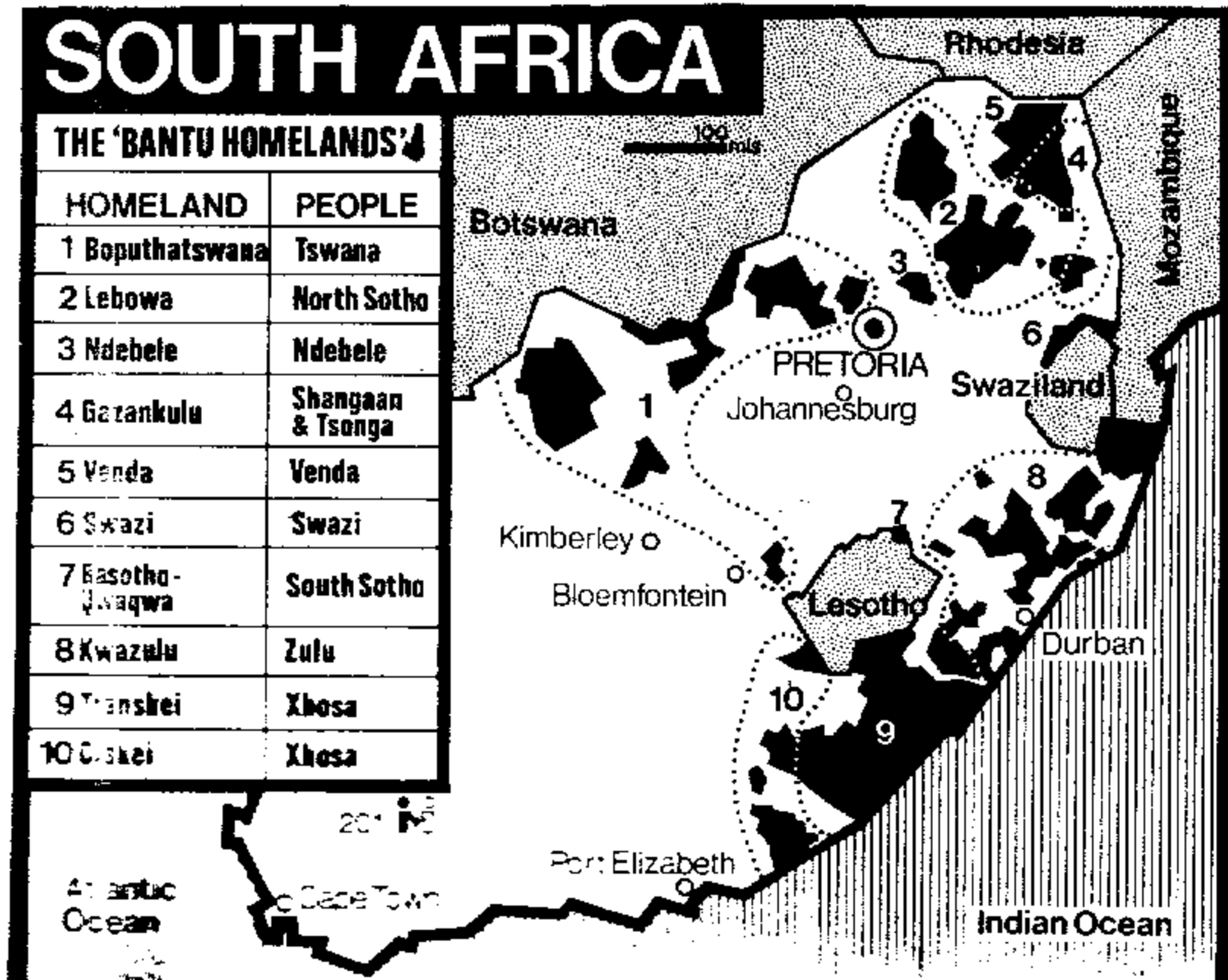
The weakness of Matanzima's social base stems from the same enforced economic backwardness of the Bantustans which historically has turned them into reservoirs of cheap labour. The South African bourgeoisie certainly cannot afford to change that.

In addition any economic development that does take place in these backwaters is out of the hands of Matanzima and his ilk, remaining in the hands of the South African State through the various Bantu Development Corporations.

Over the period 1959-74 only 18% of the finance provided by the BDCs has gone to African capitalists. But even white industry is loathe to come and set up plant in the Bantustans when it can locate near the major urban centres and ports and still get cheap labour.

Thus in 30 years only 5,520 new jobs had been created inside the Bantustans!

The lack of participation of the nominal 'rulers' of the Bantustans in any of the real decisions affecting their territories was aptly expressed by Mr Botha the Minister for Bantu Affairs in opening a "legislative assembly" in the Lebowa Bantustan last year: "Politicians should...bear in mind that they should not try to





their territory."

Also, precisely because of the lack of any economic viability of Bantustans themselves the thought that all African workers in the urban areas are to become their citizens strikes panic among the chiefs. Suppose, they reason, that as unemployment rises in the cities more and more of our 'citizens' are sent back.

### STARVATION

Lack of jobs and soil erosion will result in starvation, on a massive scale. Last May the Transkei legislative assembly rejected the clauses in Vorster's draft constitution for independence which would make all Xhosa people its citizens.

Needless to say, Vorster paid no attention to this at all and intends to proceed as planned.

The crucial fact is above all others however that the masses have clearly demonstrated that they have absolutely no illusions whatsoever in Matanzima's "independent" Transkei.

Over the last period of struggles since June again and again the slogan has been for majority rule



Matanzima

and democratic rights within South Africa. Moreover the strikes and demonstrations have not been solely against the South African State terror but also against Matanzima and his stooges.

When on August 20th this year 266 black students were arrested by police at Mount Frere in the Transkei demonstrating explicitly against independence, Matanzima left no room for doubt as to where he stood. Speaking against the demonstrators he said:

"...force will be met by force and criminal behaviour will be extinguished by all means necessary."

So strong was the rejection of independence during the summer demonstrations that chiefs of the other Bantustans wishing, unlike Matanzima, to salvage the last dregs of credibility they might still have in the eyes of the masses announced they would refuse independence even if it were offered them.

### FIVE VOTES!

Finally, in Soweto, Xhosa workers called to vote at the end of September in the "Transkei General Election" flatly refused to do so.

According to the *Financial Times* of 30th September "late last night electoral officers reported that the election had been a flop because fewer than five voters had cast their votes at most of the polling stations in the Township."

By John Lea

# BROAD LEFT DODGES TEACHERS JOBS FIGHT

In a year when cuts in education spending are clearly going to escalate, threatening the jobs of thousands more teachers and throwing further into question the prospects of new trainees, the fight for a programme in defence of jobs and standards in education is a crucial one.

Yet within the National Union of Students it is plain that the Communist Party-dominated 'Broad Left' leadership has no intention of learning any lessons from last year's militant but isolated struggles by student teachers.

The latest *Broad Left Journal* shows that on the contrary they are determined to lead student teachers down the same road to the dole queue they mapped out last year.

crats in particular in teaching and the public sector.

But now, relying on students' memories being short, the Broad Left present a different version of these events.

They claim that the occupation movement was hampered by an excessive number of "action committees" and "coordinating committees".

### COVERED UP

Yet the Broad Left in this way cover up the fact that these committees developed precisely because the NUS bureaucracy gave no

The article ends with the endless Broad Left plea for "unity" — calling on students to "put behind us the divisions and disappointments of last term" — hoping in this way to silence any questioning of the NUS leadership.

But the only way to go beyond these divisions and disappointments is to take up a sharp struggle in every college against the Broad Left whose treachery left the student teachers isolated.

They must be replaced by a leadership willing to fight for a programme of local and national action which can link students in joint struggles with public service

Student teachers on the May 26th Day of Action against unemployment.



## JOINT FIGHT AGAINST SACKINGS

Students at Lanchester Polytechnic, Coventry, have begun a fight against threatened staff redundancies which might mean a reduction in staff of 65 over the next four years — while the number of students is to remain unchanged.

The following motion was passed at a Students' Union General Meeting last week.

"...2. This union notes:

The plans of Coventry's Director of Education and Warwickshire's Chief Education Officer to cut the academic staffing establishment by 65 in order to increase the student: staff ratio to 10:1.

This Union recognises:

1) That the right to work must be defended and therefore no jobs must be lost through natural wastage, early retirement or redundancy.

2) That any increase in student: staff ratio inevitably reduced the standard of education.

3) In the light of these plans for staff cuts in the Polytechnic it is obvious that the proposed merger with Canley can only mean more redundancies since it has already been stated that Canley has surplus staff and the LPSU is in these circumstances opposed to the merger.

This Union therefore:

Calls for the Executive to organise a meeting of all staff and students within fourteen days and to seek the Joint Union Committee's support in arranging this meeting.

The joint meeting should set up a committee to collect information regarding the finances and plans of Warwickshire and Coventry LEAs and the time spent on consultancy work by academic staff. The committee should consist of the Joint Union Committee and rank-and-file members of trade unions with members in the Polytechnic elected from the joint meeting.

In the event of a Day of Action called for by the NATFHE branch of the Polytechnic, LPSU would support it.

### CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

The redundancy threat has come in a confidential report from Coventry's Director of Education to the Poly Board of Governors (see *Socialist Press* 44).

At a meeting of the Polytechnic Joint Education Committee a proposal to make the report public was rejected.

Committee Chairman, Labour Councillor Harry Caplan, wanted the report discussed privately, while another Labour Councillor said it was "a sensitive matter concerning individuals and their careers."

It is precisely for this reason that the report must be made public immediately.



In an article entitled "Wanted: Teaching Jobs", the *Journal* attempts to examine the student teacher occupations which erupted as a spontaneous protest against education cuts — beginning in Scotland, and rapidly covering the whole country.

But the author points out one reason for the Broad Left leadership's refusal to give any national perspective or impetus to the struggle, admitting:

"...Some of us have not analysed exactly why we are fighting on the issue of teacher unemployment at all."

Of course there was no confusion in the minds of the student teachers in struggle — they were fighting teacher unemployment because it is the way in which government policy directly attacks them — threatening them with chronic unemployment, and savaging the education system they want to help build.

### BUREAUCRATS

The only confusion on this question is in the heads of the Broad Left bureaucrats who regard these issues as simply debating points or problems to be avoided by manoeuvres and 'left' phrases.

Indeed, for the Stalinist leaders of the Broad Left, with their eyes fixed on the prospect of full-time officials jobs in the trade unions, the militancy of students and student teachers is if anything an embarrassment as they seek at all costs to avoid disturbing the TUC leaders, whose policies are the mainstay of the government's cuts programme.

The result was that as the wave of occupations began to grow — despite continued opposition from the Broad Left — they were eventually forced to step in and give nominal support to the students to regain control of the movement.

### THREE WEEKS

Only in this way were the Broad Left then able in three short weeks to defuse and call off the occupations — to the audible sighs of relief of the trade union bureau-

official support or leadership to these occupations in the early stages!

The occupations in no way flowed from NUS initiative, but from the local action of militant students, who naturally organised, to ensure solid action.

The article goes on: "Yet it was clear that a national focus was needed to pull together the disparate activities of the term up to that time. One day of activity of sufficient magnitude was needed to clearly demonstrate that the campaign was still active and positive at the end of term, but this never happened."

The cynicism here is unbelievable. The reason one big day of action did not take place was because the call from the special Manchester Conference of the NUS for an NUS mobilisation to lobby the Special Congress of the TUC on June 16th was consciously sabotaged by the Broad Left NUS leaders, who defied the conference to call a separate NUS demonstration the day before!

### SUBSTANTIAL

The two contingents together would have added up to a substantial turn-out — but the *Journal* article ignores the June 15th march, and simply stresses the "lack of support" for the TUC lobby from Colleges of Education!



The "official" June 15th NUS national demonstration.





# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## 'PARTICIPATING' IN PRINT SACKINGS

At a meeting of print employers and trade unions in London on October 12th, the policy of drawing in trade union leaders to do the employers' dirty work came out extremely clearly.

The Joint Standing Committee for National Newspapers, a kind of joint union-management 'participation' committee, produced proposals on the introduction of new machinery into the printing industry that will decimate the workforce.

### PLATITUDES

After the usual platitudes about 'no compulsory redundancy', the statement produced by the Standing Committee goes on to say that the savings made through the introduction of new technology should be, "...used to protect the viability of titles and in doing so, the interests of employees affected by these changes" - so bringing in the so-called 'joint interests' of employers and workers.

The procedure for introducing new machinery will be as follows:

"Companies wishing to introduce new technology and methods will first have to put forward their plans in accordance with JSC guidelines giving detailed information about economic prospects, company plans, the kind of new technology proposed and the implications for the quality of newspapers and for employees of the proposals. These plans will then be issued "in house" for discussions at that level.

On adoption of these recommendations, joint union/management house committees would be set up as soon as possible to discuss and reach agreement on manpower issues including the introduction of new technology, to carry through JSC policies on voluntary redundancy, pensions and decasualisation, to develop policies and to provide a regular forum for dealing

with problems which arise.

All representatives present indicated their awareness of the critical state of the industry as a whole in the wake of the nation's present economic difficulties."

### THROW OUT

All workers in the print must fight to throw out this system and fight for the independent interests of printworkers from their employers by rejecting all redundancies, voluntary or compulsory.

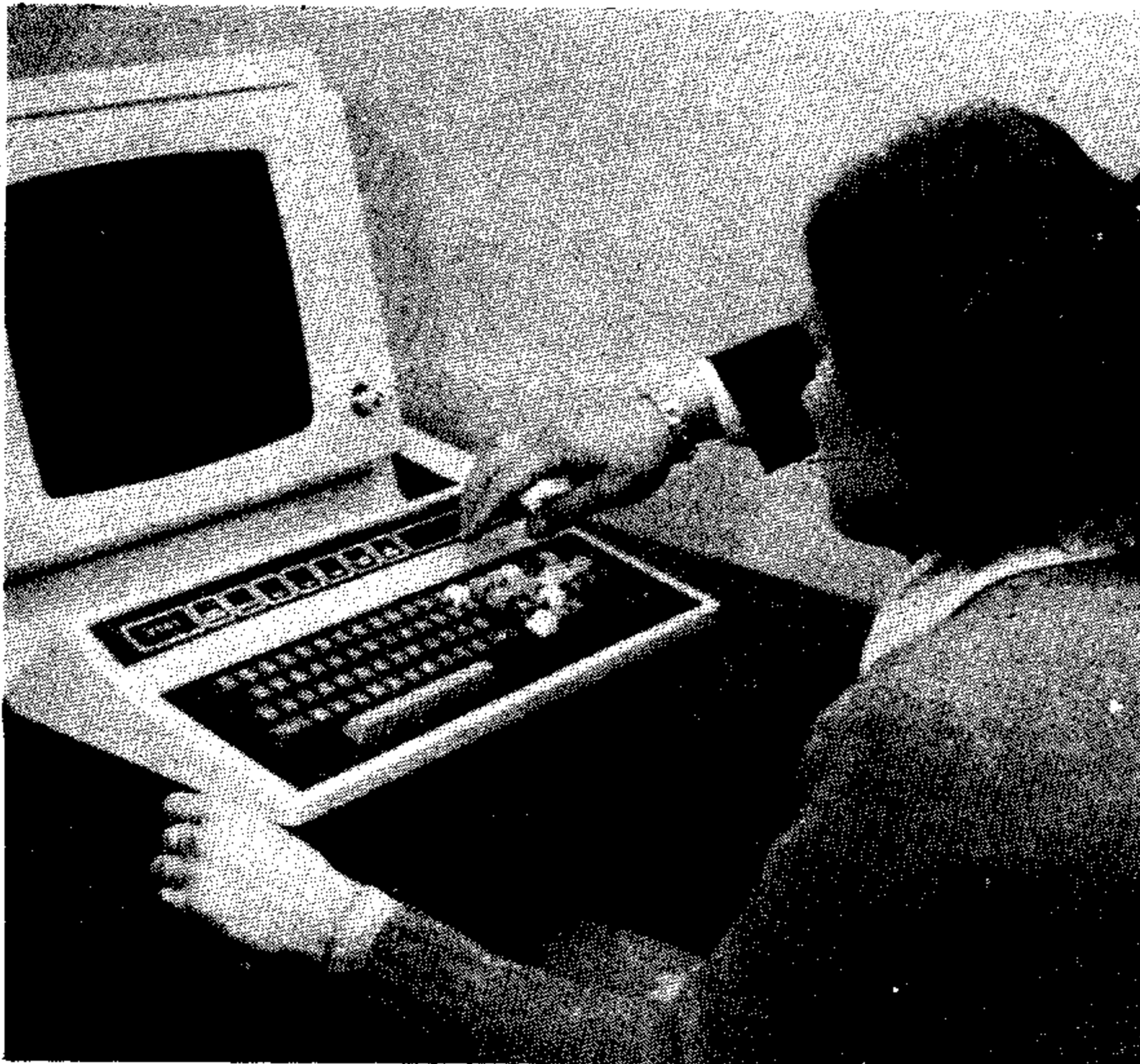
If the employer wishes to bring in new technology then it must not be at the expense of the jobs of printworkers and an overall lengthening of the dole queues.

All available work in the print industry must be shared among the whole workforce on full pay.

### OPEN THE BOOKS

If the employers claim they cannot afford such a policy, then their books must be opened to elected trade union committees.

This will prove the case for the nationalisation of genuinely bankrupt firms, which can in turn provide the basis for a programme of useful public works, whether cheap publications for the education system or other forms of publishing and printing normally impeded by the print employers' thirst for profit.



A Visual Display Terminal, part of the new technology with which the print employers seek to phase out thousands of jobs.

## NUJ FIGHTS SCAB 'UNION'

THE NATIONAL Union of Journalists has issued a one month strike notice, due to expire on October 28th, to the management of the Sun Newspaper, in pursuit of a closed shop agreement.

At present, the NUJ Chapel has 100% membership at the Sun and has voted overwhelmingly in both London and Manchester to protect this strength by strike action if necessary.

### PROVOCATIONS

Meanwhile on the Lancashire Evening Post at Preston, 55 NUJ journalists have taken official strike action after a 48-1 Chapel vote to resist a series of provocations by management.

In this fight, they confront the scab "union" beloved by the employers - the Institute of Journalists - whose ten members turned out to put in ten and eleven hour days in an effort to break the strike and ensure publication. These struggles for trade union-

ism in newspapers are essential in this period of intense efforts towards rationalisation and redundancies by the employers in the industry.

They have to be fought against a background of conscious IOJ strikebreaking and a barrage of hypocritical management hysteria about "infringements" and "dangers" to so-called "press freedom".

These current struggles show that journalists are increasingly aware that such 'freedom' is provided only at the expense of their job security and living standards.

### COMMON

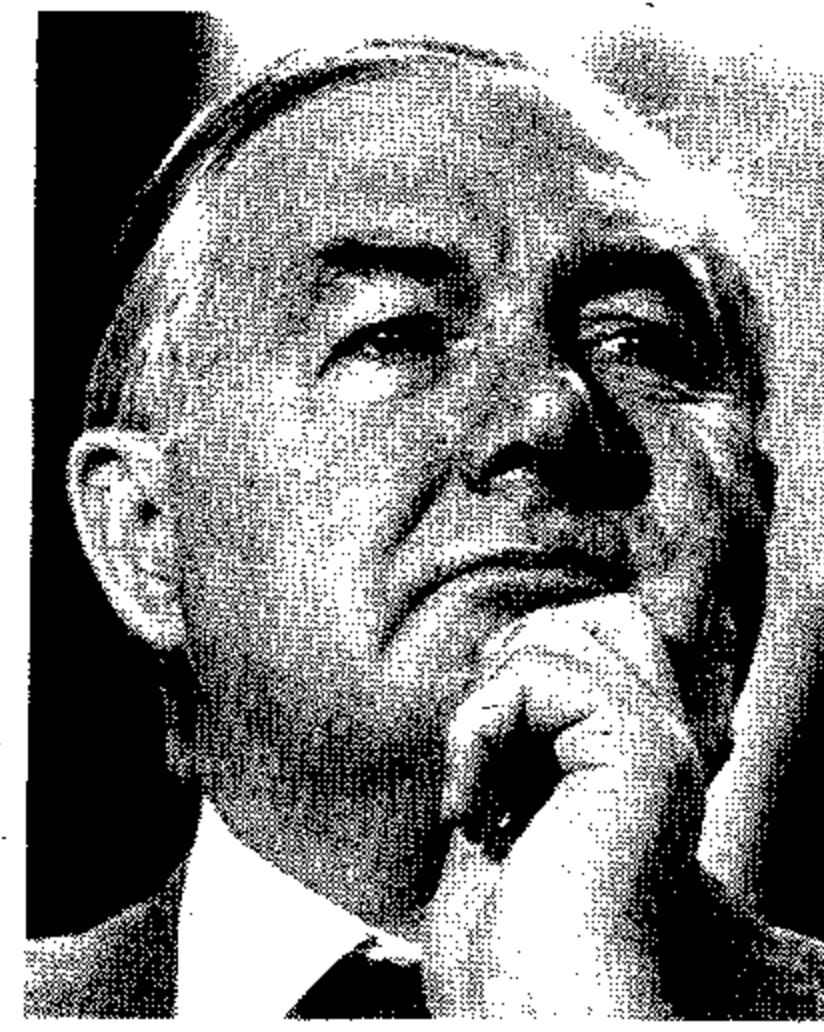
In the coming struggles against sackings in the print industry this developed awareness must be linked firmly in common struggles side-by-side with the NGA, SOGAT, and other print unions in seeking a defence of all jobs and working conditions.

## JAGS SHORT-TIME THREAT

Leyland management have been forced to make full payment to workers at Jaguar's Browns Lane factory in Coventry for most of the time lost during their recent sit-in struggles against lay-offs.

The experience of this victory, secured by united and militant action of the workforce, must further strengthen the resistance of paintshop workers at the factory, who continue to impose an overtime ban in protest against company silence on plans to move paint operations out of the factory.

Yet the clear demonstration of the militancy of the workforce has scared the union leadership within the factory. One T&GWU senior steward objected to management actions not on the grounds of his members' right to secure employment, but



Callaghan



Grantham

## Grunwick Strike: APEX LEADERS PLEAD WITH CALLAGHAN

A very important struggle for trade union recognition is currently being fought by over 200 Asian workers at Grunwick Film Processing in Willesden, North London.

The strike, now in its 9th week, began on August 23rd, when the workers walked out in protest at management's refusal to recognise their right to join a union - APEX.

The workers are also protesting against pay and work conditions: £25 for a 35-hour week, £28 for a 40-hour week; obligatory overtime; holidays allowed in winter only - none permitted during the summer!

### FERVOUR

The management of the firm - which also operates under the names of "Cooper and Pearson" "Bonnspool" and "Trucolour" - have consistently demonstrated their anti-working class fervour since they smashed attempts to organise their factories over ten years ago.

This time the management are pulling out all the stops, and there has been some violence on the picket lines. Indeed, there is concrete evidence that management are working in tandem with the police at Willesden Green station - not surprising, really, given that one of the management teams was formerly employed by the police.

On 1st September the strike was made official and since then the strikers have received considerable support.

### MARCH

For example, over 400 workers marched in support of the strike on 10th September, and the workers confidently claim that their "black-ing" campaign has been 80% effective.

Verbal support has been forthcoming from Roy Grantham (General Secretary of APEX); local MPs

Laurie Pavitt and Reg Freeson; Brent Trades Council and the Greater London Association of Trades Councils.

And yet the strike continues. One reason for this is that the workers anger has been channelled into purely parliamentary protests by local APEX bureaucrats.

### PROTEST

Thus when the pickets were molested by police, APEX decided to send a letter of protest to Robert Mark!

At the start of October, Grantham called on Albert Booth to set up a Court of Inquiry. On 15th October, the workers marched to Downing St. - only to present a petition to James Callaghan!

We say that such protests are entirely inadequate - what possible comfort will workers gain from men who are busily attacking their standards of living and livelihoods?

Only by direct working class action will this strike be won, and not by relying on the "good offices" of such traitors as Booth and Callaghan.

### BLACK

APEX must call for a nationwide "black" of Grunwick goods, and boycott all chemists who deal with them.

They must draw in the active support of other unions - especially postal workers - to ensure that absolutely no deliveries are made at the plant.

The strike committee should set up their own defence squad to protect themselves from the joint attacks of management and police. Concrete steps such as these are the only way to ensure victory.

Messages of support and donations to:

Mahmood Ahmad, Brent Trades and Labour Hall, 375, High Rd., Willesden, London NW10.

'because the company actions "gave a platform for troublemakers"!'

But an indication of who are the real "troublemakers" came in Saturday's Coventry Evening Telegraph where it was announced that Leyland are now considering imposing short time working in the Browns Lane plant, in a new bid to isolate the paintshop workers.

Leyland point out that as a result of the paintshop overtime ban - in force since July - there are now more than 1,800 half painted bodies stockpiled in the plant.

But sooner than concede the demand for an enquiry into their plans, Jaguar management would prefer to hold out, and put the cost of this onto the backs of the rest of the workforce.

There are clear indications that such moves would be fought. If the company proceed to attempt to impose short-time, then a repeat of

the successful tactic of sit-in strike must take place - but with the twin demands of full pay for working the reduced hours, and that the company at once open up full information on stocks, orders, component supplies, production schedules, lines of credit and future plans to an elected committee of trade unionists, from both the paintshop and the remainder of the plant.

In this way, wages can be defended and unity with the paintshop workers established, and Jaguar workers can begin to learn the inner workings of their section of Leyland as a part of the motor industry as a whole.

Only in this way can an alternative to the vicious Ryder speed-up plan be drawn up in the interests of the car and component workers and the working class as a whole.



# CUTS...

## STRIKE ON NOV 17!

The decision by the national leadership of NALGO, the largest white collar union in the public sector, to declare official any strike by its members in support of the November 17th Day of Action against the cuts in public spending is a concession to the militant moves of workers — and an avoidance of a strike call.

For while NUPE, NALGO and other unions and staff associations, have declared official support for the Day of Action and its lobby of Parliament, only the Civil Servants union, CPSA, has called strike action for that day, and that only in the most half-hearted way.

### TRAINS

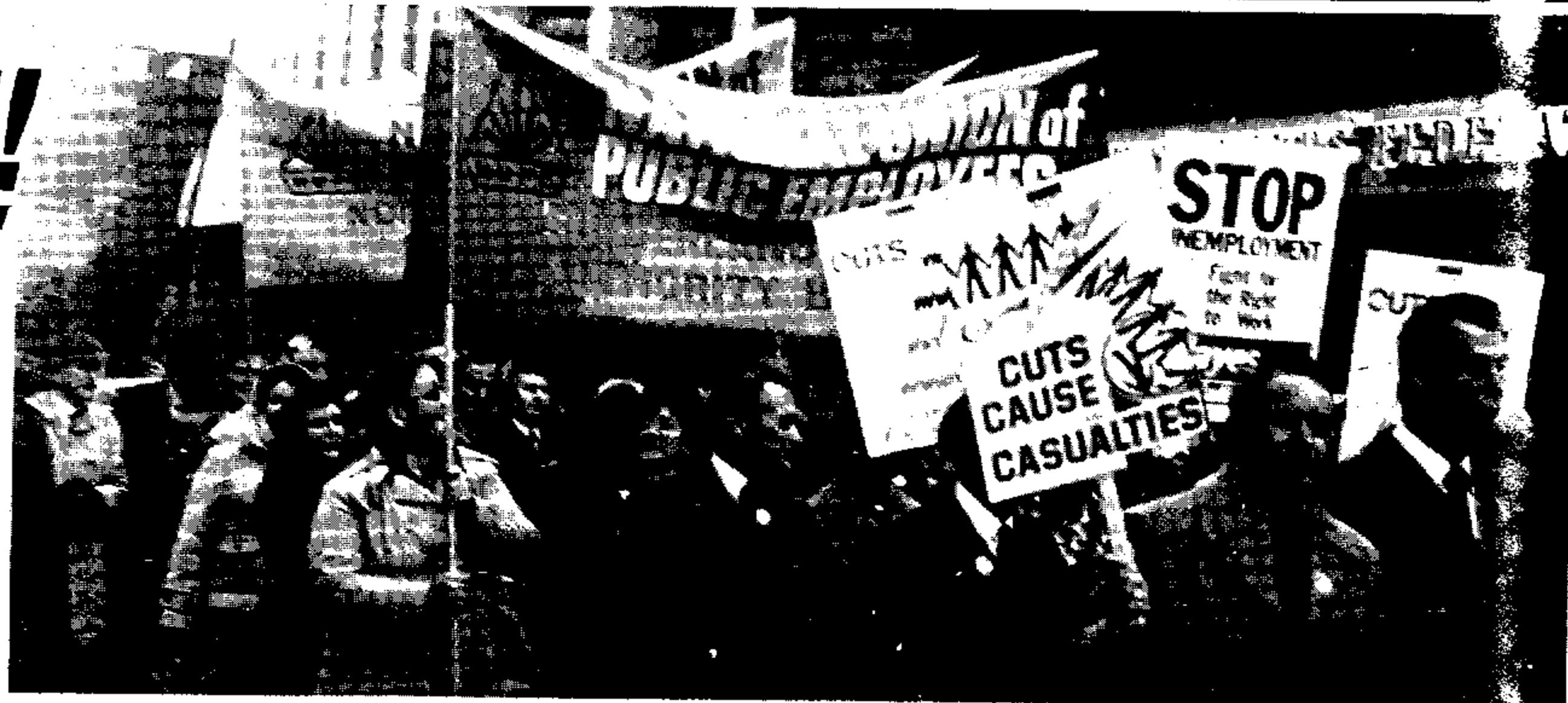
So as they trumpet their ambitious plans and lay out thousands of pounds of union funds booking prestige trains to bring members to London on the 17th, the union leaders are dodging the key move needed to produce a far bigger impact than thirty lobbies of Parliament — a complete one-day stoppage in the public sector and the social services.

This, of course, would embarrass the Labour government on the one hand, and Jones, Scanlon and other TUC leaders (who are completely in support of the spending cuts) on the other.

Instead the November 17th events stand in danger of becoming a harmless jamboree of protest, conducted under the eye of the union bureaucracy.

But it is not too late to take up the fight at local level through trade union branches and Trades Councils for stoppages on that day.

Only if a firm base of resistance to the cuts at local level is built can the ground be made ready for a wide-sweeping united struggle of all social service and public sector workers, around the demand for government spending to be not cut, but increased step-by-step with inflation, as assessed by trade union committees — a sliding scale of spending.



March against the cuts through Newcastle supported by N. Region TUC and Confed.

# CUTS...

## NCC MEETS AGAIN

One organisation which has scarcely flinched as substantial struggles have erupted out on either side of it during the last five months has been the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the NHS (NCC).

While strikes, occupations, demonstrations and pickets have broken out in many areas of the health service and particularly in London, the NCC has held firm to its May decision not to meet again until October — thus ensuring it could be nothing but an interested

bystander in the struggle to stop the cuts.

This was so much the case that when the NCC leadership decided to convene a further meeting, the letter sent out felt it necessary to assure the reader that:

"The NCC is still alive and functioning after a long summer recess"!

### RESULT

For those militants who might well ask what had been the practical result of this 'functioning', the letter went on:

"We have not been entirely idle

during that time, having spent most of our energy around the organisation for the Labour Party lobby, and the circulating of our petition about the resolution at last year's Labour Party Conference."

While both these activities have a certain value, and have been supported by *Socialist Press* they hardly provide a glittering record of struggle in a period where the cuts have begun really to bite home, and where the possibility, given a lead, of strike action to stop the cuts has been so clearly shown.

A reconvened NCC, however, met on Saturday 16th October to consider where to go from now on. Sights were set on a recalled NCC Conference, to be held in April of next year.

The Workers Socialist League has made a number of criticisms

of the NCC and would welcome the chance to raise these in the fullest possible conference. But, after five months without a meeting, to propose nothing other than a conference a further six months later can only be seen as completely inadequate.

### URGENT

Specifically, it is now urgent for the NCC to take a position of full-scale coordinated support for any section of NHS workers taking strike or other industrial action to stop the cuts.

On the positive side, however, the NCC move to circulate affiliated bodies calling for full support to the November 17th Day of Action and lobby of Parliament is a correct move.

## FORD VICTIMISATIONS

Following the outburst at the Ford Dagenham factory three weeks ago management have moved in and sacked four of the workers who they accuse of being "ringleaders". Sixteen more are subject to 'investigation'.

In going for victimisation, Ford want to discipline the whole workforce in preparation for sharpening trade war between motor manufacturers both nationally and internationally.

They have to fight for markets under conditions of severe economic crisis with interest rates of 15%, car hire purchase at 17% and the standard of living falling, making a slump in the car industry a virtual inevitability.

### "RIOT"

Standing behind the so-called 'riot', which took the form of the sacking of the management canteen, was the pressures of Ford's drive for speed-up on the new model Cortina and the frustration of the working class as a whole.

Real wages plunge downwards, unemployment reaches 1½ million and the social services are cut to ribbons.

Under these conditions, the sacking of four workers singled out is a heavy blow at Ford workers and strengthens the hand of management.

### STRENGTH

There is no doubt that the strength shown in the struggle against lay-offs could have defended these workers. But such a defence would have required a clear and determined leadership.

The present leadership have just allowed a 40% wage claim to be reduced to 4½% by their negotiator

T&GWU National Official, Moss Evans.

And they settled the lay off claim by accepting a proposal that workers can be laid off after 11 pm on two hours pay.

The response of body plant workers to the sacking of the four was a strike by 70 body assembly workers in their defence.

A manoeuvre now used by both the Stalinists and the right wing throughout the motor industry was then brought into play and a mass meeting was called of the whole body plant and the strikers were sent back to work.

### DEVELOPMENT

This struggle has raised the question of leadership sharply in front of Ford workers. There is a development beginning with the shop stewards movement.

A statement signed by six of them demands complete rejection of the government pay policy. It then calls for discussions:

"throughout the Ford workforce to draw up a list of demands that can really defend Ford workers' wages and conditions. We ourselves believe that any claim should include:

1. A 20% wage increase.
2. A cost of living compensation starting immediately on the expiring of the last agreement, so that for every percentage rise in prices, wages automatically keep pace.
3. The thirty five hour week."

Such an approach begins to provide a way out of the blind alley of disorganised protests.

It shows the way forward in the development of a programme which can unite Ford workers against the attacks of both employers and the government and enable the building of a leadership which will fight for that programme.



Fisher

The whole facade of the NUPE leadership's call for 'guerilla strike action' against the cuts was sharply exposed at a public meeting last week in Hounslow Town Hall.

NUPE General Secretary, Alan Fisher, speaking second in the meeting, spoke forcefully, telling the large audience that the cuts were 'unacceptable' and 'unnecessary'.

Arguing that what was necessary was simply a cut in arms expenditure, diverting the cash to the social services, coupled with the usual nationalist call for 'import controls' peddled by 'left'-talking reformists, Fisher at no point showed that the cuts flow from the crisis of capitalist profitability.

### NO CALL

For this reason he gave no call for any policy which could seriously challenge the cuts — least of all a demand for the full protection of the social services against inflation through a sliding scale of spending, rising in pace with increased costs.

His efforts were restricted to campaigning for the November 17th Day of Action and lobby of Parliament.

A Workers Socialist League member, speaking from the floor, demanded that Fisher, to indicate his sincerity in fighting the cuts, should call a national one-day strike by all NUPE members to back the Day of Action.

Fisher, after attempting to avoid

# ...CUTS

## NUPE'S FISHER ON THE HOOK

answering this point (claiming that he could not do so in the presence of reporters from the right-wing press!), eventually came out with the statement that he could not call a one-day strike because, he claimed, "the General Strike was a disaster"!

### ERUPTED

At this point, the meeting erupted into shouts of protest. An older worker, who had been in the General Strike, jumped to his feet and loudly laid the blame for the

defeat in 1926 on Fisher's forbears in the TUC leadership of the time.

As more evidence of hostility to the cuts among the audience became obvious, and while more were waiting to speak, the chairman abruptly closed the meeting.

But Fisher's open revelation that the 'guerilla strikes' call from NUPE is issued in opposition to serious all-out strike action to prevent the cuts will not be lost on the meeting and must be noted by all NUPE militants.



### MORE INFORMATION

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name .....

Address .....

Post to WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



# TRICO WOMEN WIN EQUAL PAY

After 22 weeks on strike for equal pay, hundreds of Trico workers assembled outside the factory gate last Monday morning and marched, victorious, back to work.

The settlement of the marathon strike, which was accepted unanimously by a mass meeting of strikers the previous Friday, gives the women the same operational rate as men and a flexibility bonus of £2.50.

Members of the strike committee were claiming that the company, which makes 90% of windscreen wipers used by the British car industry, had conceded all their demands.

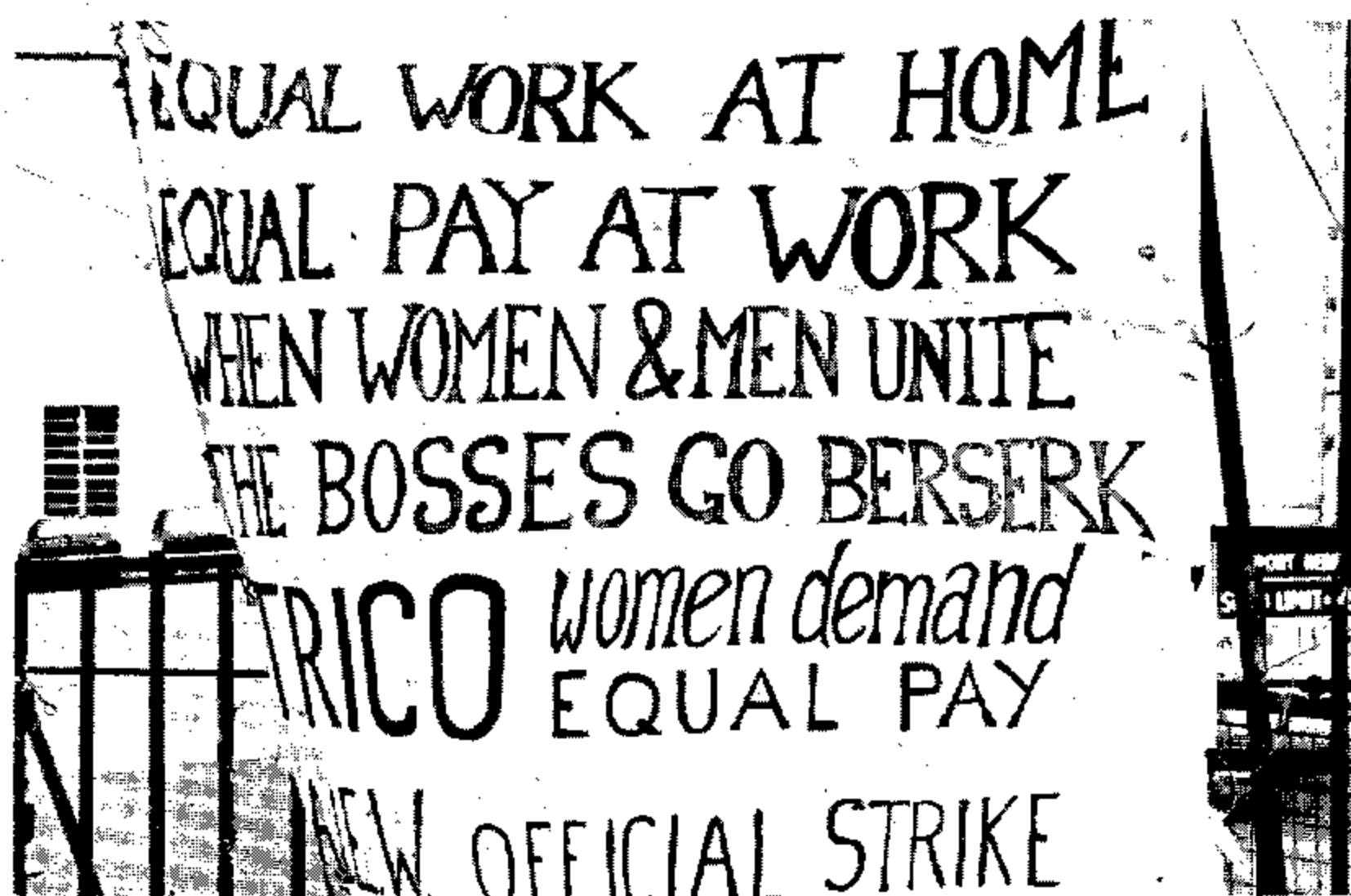
## REPERCUSSIONS

The repercussions of such a victory will inevitably be widespread. Women up and down the country involved in the struggle for equal pay will be greatly strengthened by the victory at Trico's.

At the same time the standing of the reactionary so-called Equal Pay Tribunals will have been greatly undermined by the actions of the Trico strikers.

The women correctly refused to take their case to the Tribunal, knowing that during their brief history, these Tribunals have clearly demonstrated a bias towards the employers.

No doubt it was for this very



reason that Trico management themselves referred the case to the Tribunal - who found in their favour!

The women refused to accept the findings of the Tribunal and maintained their strike - a decision completely vindicated now that the company has finally given in.

## OFFICIALS

But if the Trico strike is a victory for the fight for equal pay, little thanks is due to AUEW National and District Officials. Their refusal to fight for an EC instruction to union members

to black all windscreen wipers, a move that would have quickly brought Trico to its knees - using the excuse that the EC would not agree to such a "black" and that this would demoralise the strikers - has resulted in a long drawn out strike with much hardship and suffering by many of the strikers.

Clearly the struggle for equal pay must go hand in hand with the fight to build a new, revolutionary, leadership in the working class in opposition to both 'left' talkers and the right wing.

## STALINIST PURGES.....Cont'd from Page 1.



Hua toasts Nixon in Peking

Communist Party, was conducted entirely behind the backs of the Chinese masses, and the Party rank-and-file and even of the lower levels of the Party hierarchy.

So the Byzantine uncoiling of the crisis in the Party leadership throws into relief how spurious are any claims that - during the Cultural Revolution or since - the mass of Chinese workers have had any place in deciding the policies or leadership of the Communist Party and state.

## SHANGHAI

At the weekend, in Shanghai - traditionally the centre of power of the ousted "left wingers" around Mao's widow, and the scene of enormous demonstrations following the removal of "rightist" vice-premier Teng Hsiao-ping at the beginning of this year - demonstrations of thousands filled the city centre in response to officially approved posters with crosses obliterating the faces of the four leading "leftists" - Chiang Ching (Mao's widow), Yao Wen-yuan, Chang Chun-chiao and Wang Hung-wen.

They were described as the "Anti Party Plot Group". At the same time rumours spread that they had headed a conspiracy for a coup d'etat and had planned to assassinate Hua Kuo-feng.

Other posters demanded that the leadership "crush the heads of the four dogs" and "crush and

demonstrations spread to other cities, effigies appeared of Chiang Ching suspended from a hangman's noose.

At the same time came widespread rumours that Teng is to be "rehabilitated" and even that he has already returned to Peking.

Railway Minister Wan Li, ousted very recently as a "rightist" was, equally suddenly, back in office last week.

But whatever the short-term future of Teng and his immediate group, it seems clear that the political crisis was precipitated by an agreement between Hua and the main body of the army and state leadership, forming a bloc to control the Party, State and military apparatuses, and to act violently against all opposition in the upper echelons of the Party.

Beyond doubt questions of ambition, careerism and personal animosities play a major part in the struggles amongst China's Stalinist chiefs.

## DEATH

With the death, within a few months of Chou En-lai, Chu Teh and finally Mao, the enormous weight and prestige of the generation that led the revolution has been effectively dissolved.

Mao's body may be preserved in a crystal sarcophagus, but the battles for possession of his political corpse are conducted in a fog of bureaucratic cynicism and hypocrisy.

on the CP political committee - succeeded Chou En-lai as premier with the support of the Shanghai "gang", and presided over the excommunication of Teng.

Now with the aid of the army leadership he has double-crossed the 'leftists' and is submitting them to the same abuse.

And the Five Year Plan has already been revised in line with Teng's policy with great stress on advanced industrial technology and foreign trade.

## WRONG

It is completely wrong to give any sort of "critical support" to any section of Chinese Stalinism - as the French Pabliste paper *Rouge* did last week to the "lefts".

Neither faction's policies express the interests of the masses of the Chinese workers and peasants. "Leftists" is in any case a misnomer for those purged. They have, after all, presided over diplomatic policies which back regimes as reactionary as those of Pinochet in Chile and the Shah of Iran.

And they eagerly gave Nixon a guided tour of the posters against "capitalist roader" Teng earlier this year.

This group, linked by nepotistic and family ties with Mao's personal faction in the leadership have now lost the enormous capital of his support.

The new leadership is highly likely to seek a rapprochement with the Soviet leadership (which maintained a deafening silence on last week's crisis) at least in an attempt to reduce the strain of military spending.

This rapprochement will not, of course, require any break in Chinese support for fascist regimes, but domestically the peasantry will bear the new burden of accelerated and more efficient industrialisation.

Yet the zig-zags of Chinese Stalinism no more than those of its Moscow twin, offer no prospect for the rebuilding of a new international revolutionary leadership. It is absolutely impermissible to mistake the 'left' phrases thrown up from this moment to that in the bureaucratic faction fights for voices of



Joining up with the employers for trade war, TUC chiefs Jones, Bassnett and Scanton

## WAGE CUTTING MUST BE FOUGHT.....Cont'd from Page 1.

a sharp fall in demand.

The Western European steel industry was last week reported to be once more verging on financial catastrophe, because the expected boom in demand for investment goods has failed to materialise.

## FALL

And in Britain, the latest figures show a marked fall in industrial production over the last three months - to a level barely higher than it was in 1970.

While Callaghan and Healey try to patch up this situation in ever closer alliance with international finance capital, so the Labour 'lefts' and the TUC leaders deepen their collaboration with British industrial capital.

This close relationship centres on the call for greater protection of British industry - taking shape last week in the joint statement issued by the TUC and the Confederation of British Industry (hailed as a victory by the *Morning Star*).

## REACTIONARY

*Socialist Press* has consistently pointed out that the policy of import controls advocated by so-called 'left-wing' Labour and trade union leaders is a reactionary diversion from the struggle in defence of jobs and wages - in which the main enemy is the British capitalist class.

We have always stressed that the question is to fight the employer at home, and not to attempt to export unemployment to other countries.

And now it is clear from this joint declaration that the difference between the right and the 'left' of the Labour leadership is

not at all over whether the working class should bear the burden of the capitalist crisis - but simply about how that burden should be distributed among the working class internationally.

Left and right, the reformist leaders of the workers' movement are lining up behind their "own" employing class as it prepares for cut-throat trade war.

## REFORMISM

There are no reformist measures that can soften the blow of this economic crisis. To defend jobs and wages it is more than ever necessary to fight against all forms of collaboration with the capitalist class.

Instead the leadership must be built to fight for a programme of demands which ensure that the working class can fight the consequences of the crisis in an internationally united and independent manner.

**\*DOWN WITH THE 4½% DEAL!** For wage increases rising in pace with inflation as assessed by elected trade union committees - a sliding scale of wages.

**\*NO REDUNDANCIES!** Occupy workplaces threatening redundancy or closure. Demand work-sharing on full pay!

**\*NO CUTS IN SOCIAL SERVICES!** For a social service budget rising in pace with costs, as assessed by elected committees - a sliding scale of spending.

**OPEN THE BOOKS!** Where employers threaten sackings or closure, or claim they cannot afford demands, force them to open their accounts to trade union committees, to prove the case for nationalisation without compensation.

# £1000 SPECIAL FUND

AT A MEETING of the national membership on October 10th, a Special Fund of £1,000 was launched. The aim of this fund is to lay the basis for planned recruitment and expansion over the winter months, a period, as we point out in our lead article, when the deepening economic recession will drive workers more and more into struggle to defend their living standards.

At the meeting, £370 was collected towards the target and pledges for a further £435 were received, making a total commitment of £805.

This leaves us with a further £195 to raise by the beginning of December. All pledges or donations should be sent to:

*Socialist Press Special Fund*  
31, Dartmouth Park Hill,  
London NW5 1HR.

# £600 FUND

THE OCTOBER Monthly Fund now stands at £286.89, with only eleven days to go to the end of the month. It is important, therefore, that a big effort is made to raise the full £600 in that period.

Latest contributions include: Hull, £16.50; Liverpool, £5.00; South London, £20.00; BLMC Cowley workers, £8.50; NHS workers, £41.30; Coventry, £8.20; PSF workers, £5.00; East London, £30.00; Banbury, £2.30; Central London £50.00; Nuneaton, £2.00; Leamington, £2.40; North London, £42.00; Aylesbury, £0.40 and Oxford General, £11.00.

All contributions should be sent to:

*Socialist Press Monthly Fund*  
31, Dartmouth Park Hill,  
London NW5 1HR.

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE**  
Oxford  
Class on  
Revolution in South America

October 31st at 7.30 at  
Lake St. Community Centre

## LETTERS

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

*Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.*