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FIGHT ALL SACKINGS - OCCUPY!

The decision of Courtaulds - the giant fibres-to-textiles monopoly - to close seven factories, axing over 4,000 jobs is just the latest reflection of the now uncontrolled crisis of British capitalism.

The factors that decided Courtauld's management to shut down these operations are currently confronting every major employer - and the ruthless decision to make workers pay with their jobs for the fall in the profitability of the British textile industry is just the forerunner of other such moves by management throughout manufacturing industry as the slump continues to deepen.

In the bare terms of profit and loss, the closures may make good mathematical sense, though nobody but Courtauld's management has access to any reliable information on that question (even Industry Minister Eric Varley has been forced to admit "I am not at all sure that the government has all the facts").

DIRECT ATTACK

But in terms of the jobs, conditions and living standards of the working class, the shut-down of these factories represents a direct attack. And this arrogant move by Courtauld's management is clearly nothing more than the prelude to an all-out offensive for rationalisation and speed-up in every company.

This is not in any way simply vindictiveness or confusion as far as the employers are concerned, despite the whinings of Labour ministers and TUC leaders to that effect.

On the contrary, the employers are forced on by the rocketing rate of interest on investment, which has now reached a staggering 16%. This is now 6% higher than the rate of return from even the most profitable of Courtauld's subsidiaries this year, which are not expected to produce more than 10%. So simply to cut out the least profitable units from the giant firm's 370 factories is nothing but an opener to a brutal imposition of speed-up throughout the remaining plants.

An idea of what is required can be seen in the example of the doomed factory at Skelmersdale. There the firm was receiving £20 per employee per week in temporary employment subsidies over the last three months.

CHEAP LABOUR

Shop stewards had already scandalously concluded a long-term commitment to reduce manning levels by 30-40%. This gave the company the prospect of dirt-cheap and progressively cheaper labour into the future.

The plant had received continuous government subsidies - an estimated £3 million since 1968, not including regional employment premiums, training payments and other aid.

Yet in announcing the closure of the factory, Courtaulds claimed that the factory "cannot reach commercial viability".

"In addition", the statement continued, "efforts within the factory to reach internationally competitive levels of productivity by reducing manning levels and increasing flexibility have not proved successful."

If the Skelmersdale plant under all these conditions cannot be made viable, workers elsewhere might well ask what chance they have of stable employment in the coming period when every employer looks to rationalisation.

Of course we have only the company story to go on.

No elected workers' committee has been given access to the accounts of the Courtauld combine - or even any individual factory threatened with closure.

No worker has had the chance to investigate where the government subsidies went to; what the connection is between the 'loss making' plants and the 'profit-making' whole Courtaulds giant; what the inner workings of the



Jones

industry reveal.

No trade union leader asks these crucial questions or gives any call whatever apart from the TUC's reactionary, nationalist demand for import controls - which Courtaulds point out would not, in any case, save the doomed seven factories.

And Varley parades his obvious ignorance of the real situation within Courtaulds as an excuse to cover his complete refusal to challenge the right of Courtaulds to throw 4,000 workers onto the dole queues.

GRADUAL EROSION

Indeed such feeble protestations as have come from the government is not because they believe in defence of all jobs. On the contrary, their present and impending spending cuts are massively increasing unemployment. But this has been done wherever possible by gradual erosion of jobs - non-replacement, voluntary redundancy and 'natural wastage', with the full collaboration of trade union leaders, rather than grand slam closures like this, carried out in full view of a hostile working class to the acute embarrassment of TUC leaders already struggling to maintain the 4½% deal against the wishes of their members.

Courtaulds, however, unlike

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GANDHI DELAYS INDIA ELECTION

The Indian government has just announced that the elections, due next year, will be deferred for another year.

The elections themselves would not have meant an end to the dictatorship because Mrs Gandhi has made it plain that they would take place whilst the "State of Emergency" laws were still operating.

What is clear is that the dictators are scared of allowing any expression of discontent and therefore postponed the elections.

The rising hostility to the dictatorship is such that even the servile Communist Party of India and their British counterparts of the CPGB (who have both gone along with the outlawing of strikes and banning of opposition parties and imprisonment of oppositionists) have protested.

"EXCESSES"

But the Stalinists make sure they only criticise "excesses" of the sterilisation campaign while saying that they didn't think Mrs. Gandhi is ignorant of these excesses.

A typical example of this forced sterilisation campaign is given in the *Morning Star*. A 20 year old man who went shopping was simply picked up and sterilised. Another example quoted was of water and electricity being cut off from a village because the villagers refused to be sterilised.

Hostility to this enforced sterilisation has led to clashes in which at least 20 people died.

Within India, another section

of the bourgeoisie around J.P. Narayan, which calls for an ending of the State of Emergency has brought together the various other bourgeois parties like Alkali Da and the Jan Sangh, in order to consciously divert away from the class nature of the dictatorship.

In this he has been successful in pulling in various of the Maoist and other 'left' groups. No opposition group of any size has developed with transitional demands that connect the overthrow of the dictatorship with the fight for socialist revolution.

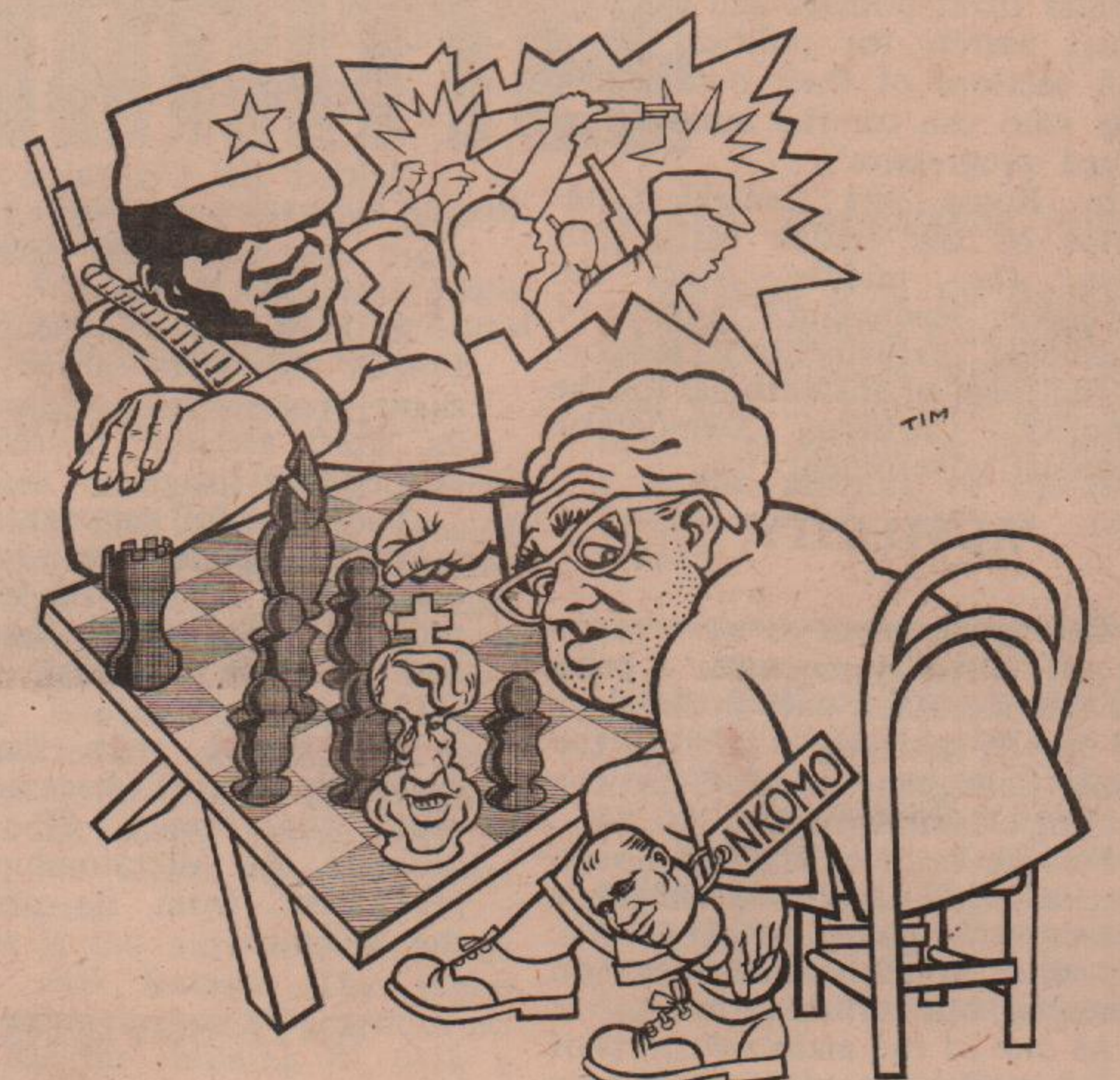


Foot

It goes without saying that the British Labour government has gone along uncritically with all the dictatorial measures of Mrs. Gandhi, but where are the 'lefts'?

People like Michael Foot and Jennie Lee have visited India

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Geneva Talks or Armed Struggle: See Page 8.

STOP THE CUTS! STRIKE ON NOV 17th

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



Irish Militant Murdered

THE CAPITALIST PRESS last week could hardly conceal their delight over at least one event in Ulster: the murder of former Provisional Sinn Fein leader Maire Drumm by 'loyalist' gunmen in the Mater Hospital, Belfast.

To read the headlines and the abuse in such papers as the *Sun* and *Mirror*, you would think that Mrs. Drumm herself had done the killing instead of being the innocent victim of sectarian venom.

We at *Socialist Press* hold no brief for the rather right-wing political opinions of Mrs. Drumm, but we do recognise her as a genuine and vigorous opponent of British imperialism.

Her speeches against the barbarity of the British troops in Ireland brought down on her the hatred of every supporter of imperialist and capitalist exploitation.

The hundreds at her funeral give the lie to the propaganda in the capitalist press about the movement against the British presence being just the work of a few fanatical gunmen.

The struggle for Irish national independence is one that has gone on in every generation and in this period has lived through the forcefulness and dedication of those such as Maire Drumm.

We are not surprised to discover that the perpetrators of Mrs. Drumm's murder have not been apprehended.

However, we are naturally suspicious about the fact that an inside knowledge of the routines of the hospital were necessary for the killing, and that those who did it got in and out without discovery long after visiting time.

It is also worth noting that the famous white coats used were found within hours in Hopewell Crescent in the 'loyalist' Shankill area.

How was it, we may ask, that the army found these 'clues' so early, and yet were unable to discover the killers?

This raises, as so often before, the question of just who the so-called loyalist groups like the 'Ulster Freedom Fighters' and 'Red Hand Commandoes', both of whom have claimed responsibility, actually work for.

TURKEY SEEDS OF CIVIL WAR

From our own Correspondent

One of the central political issues in Turkey is now what should be the attitude of the working class to the bourgeois Republican Popular Party led by former prime minister Ecevit.

Stalinist leaders of the working class describe support for Ecevit, who is the main "progressive" political face of capitalism, as a 'revolutionary duty'.

FACTORY OCCUPATION

But at the same time Ecevit has launched an attack on the 4,000 Profilo workers who occupied their factory against the victimisation of 18 workers and who fought an

armed battle with police. The police murdered one worker and wounded over 50, alleging them to be 'terrorists'.

The treachery of leading workers into this bourgeois party was brought out clearly in discussions I had with some youth members of the RPP in Istanbul.

They were on a 24-hour guard, protecting their party offices against fascist attack. They told me in many towns youth sections of the party had been expelled. (There is a two-year candidate membership in the RPP, introduced after the Stalinists turned to attempt entry work in the Party).

The youth told me "we are fighting against capitalism in the RPP" — ignorant of the fact that the RPP is a capitalist party!

The price of the failure of the Turkish Communist Party to develop an independent party of the working class has been high.

In the recent period alone over 3,000 have been sacked, several workers killed, and hundreds wounded as a result of attacks from police and fascists.

While the Stalinists have been busy diverting away from these issues, the right wing trade union bureaucrats have collaborated in detail with police and even fascist forces to suppress any opposition.

In Ankara one victimised worker, a road builder, told me:

"The right wing bureaucrats and the fascists were in absolute collaboration in suppressing our struggle. When an opposition emerged in the road workers' union (30,000

strong), and managed to call an emergency conference to elect the union's general committee, the right wing bureaucrats went to the courts and used a legal judgement to ban the conference.

Immediately afterwards the right wing organised another conference, telling nobody until the day before. On the day of the conference they brought along 200-300 fascists who prevented militants entering the conference and reinstated the right wing general committee.

Directly after the conference the employers began to sack all militants."

The collaboration between bureaucrats and fascists is not new in Turkey. Two of the biggest oil refineries in Turkey are still controlled by fascists, as also are a number of other factories.

With the reopening of the schools, fascist attacks have commenced at once. Nearly every day a student is either killed or wounded. In the last two years over 3,000 students lost their places either through suspension or intimidation by fascists in their bid for control of the schools.

VIOLENT ATTACKS

Teachers too have been subjected to violent attack. Hundreds of teachers have lost their jobs, and others have been killed or wounded. The government recently attempted to outlaw the Stalinist controlled TOB-DER (Turkish Teachers Association), the union representing the 130,000 teachers. However, this was ruled unconstitutional, and the union has reopened.

The fascist attacks, the recent general strike, the rising prices are the daily discussion points in the streets. But there is a silence on what to do about it all.

Most of the streets are controlled by either fascists or the left-wing. Every wall is daubed with political slogans. This is the every day evidence of seeds of civil war in Turkey.

There is a growing popular hostility to the fascists and the ruling National Front government, especially around the issues of mass unemployment and rising prices (average rents are now over half the average wage).

But as the recent general strike showed, the question of a revolutionary leadership ready to mobilise the independent strength of the masses is the most burning question in Turkey today.



Berlinguer, General Secretary of the Italian CP.



Marchais, General Secretary of the French CP.

STALINIST CRISIS

Political splits threatened the leaderships of the Communist Parties in both Italy and France during the last fortnight.

In each case they came as the direct result of their Stalinist popular front policies and the perpetual search for political blocs with sections of their own ruling class who can for the moment be judged 'progressive'.

In Rome the Central Committee of the Italian Party split down the middle over the Berlinguer leadership's policy of continuing parliamentary support (in the form of abstentions) for the minority Christian Democratic Andreotti government.

'AUSTERITY'

This government is now carrying out 'austerity measures' — price and tax increases, cuts in holidays and public spending — rivalling the Healey-Callaghan attacks on the working class in Britain.

Former Party chief Luigi Longo attacked the support Berlinguer's leadership is giving to Andreotti. But the attack came not on principles, but tactical grounds.

As one of the main architects of the 'historical compromise' now being carried through, Longo warned that the Party needed a slightly more 'left' face, otherwise:

"We will not only lose the influence and prestige among the masses that is the source of our strength, but we will also lose our bargaining power."

The upshot was an open letter from the CP to the other 'democratic' parties, including the Christian Democrats, at the end of last week, demanding that a 'discussion' be opened on the economic policies of the Andreotti cabinet.

These policies, it is clear to all sides, are almost wholly dictated by the overseas bankers who are bailing out the lire.

'SAFETY-VALVE'

Neither the Central Committee split, nor the letter, were treated as more than a political 'safety-valve' by Andreotti, however.

In Paris the leadership of the French CP went ahead, despite sharp protests from Moscow, with its latest attempt to refurbish a 'democratic' image.

They gave full support, including a platform speaker, to a meeting in defence of the 'civil rights' of political prisoners in the USSR... and in Latin America, including Chile!

The breach with the Soviet leadership which became public when the French CP formally dropped the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' from its programme thus widened.

'ANTI-SOVIETISM'

The protests from Moscow about 'anti-Sovietism' were only those to be expected — those of practised cynics. But nevertheless, there was in them more than a grain of truth. In placing on the same footing, the bureaucratic abuses of the workers' states and the fascist dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile,

the French Stalinists took another significant step towards a practical political alliance with the anti-communist and 'liberal' circles of the French bourgeoisie.

The real target of such an alliance will not be political jailings but the French working class.

SUMMIT OFFERS NOTHING

The end of the Arab summit meeting in Cairo on 26th October has provided no solution to the problems facing the Arab masses, especially the embattled Palestinians in the ruins of their refugee camps in Beirut.

Although the latest ceasefire seems to be holding in Lebanon, the Arab heads of state refused to commit themselves on the Palestinian demands that no one country should provide all the members for the Arab 'peace-keeping' force which is supposed to police this and any further agreement.

NO SOLUTION

The heads of state, from the reactionary monarchs of Saudi Arabia and Jordan to the so-called progressives of Iraq, can in no way provide a lasting solution for the

anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggles of the Palestinians and their allies.

The occasion seems to have been used more for the patching up of old disputes like those between Dr. Kissinger's friend, President Sadat of Egypt and the extreme right wing ruler of Lybia, Colonel Gaddafi.

In case anybody persisted in the mistaken notion that the bloody conflicts in Lebanon have been 'religious' in character, the intervention of the Israelis on the side of the right wing forces has been confirmed in numerous press reports over the past week.

No reporter has managed to see Israel's soldiers in action, though one saw "Phalangist troops wearing Israel's uniforms", and the Israeli government has not sought to deny that they have been giving supplies to the Lebanese fascists.

The fact that the Zionists have found it necessary to do this shows

the strength of the resistance of the Palestinian and leftist forces in Lebanon.

No invading force yet thrown at them — Syrian, 'peace-keeping' or otherwise — has defeated their fight for the right to organise themselves to struggle on for their national rights.

It is not the government leaders in Cairo who will guarantee these rights, but the Arab workers and peasants, mobilised on a revolutionary programme.

US ELECTIONS

A feature article on the outcome of the American Presidential elections will appear in the next edition of 'Socialist Press'.

CHINA - FRAME-UP INQUIRY LAUNCHED



Teng with Kissinger

The news from Shanghai last weekend that the Chinese Communist Party is to set up a commission of inquiry into the 'crimes of the anti-party clique' underlines the close parallels with the Stalinist purges in the Soviet Union.

Reports indicate it will be headed by Marshall Yeh Cien-ying, Party Vice Chairman and Defence Minister. The scale of the frame-ups over which he is likely to preside may be gathered from Shanghai posters reporting that the 'Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao clique' are under arrest and are being interrogated on their activities going back to before the beginning of the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Similarly with Bukharin and others who were tried as 'Rights

and Trotskyites' in Moscow in the 1930's, they were accused of plotting the murder of Lenin almost twenty years earlier!

The new Chinese purges rival Stalin's also in the speed, cynicism and 'unanimity' of the political turns.

SUSPENDED

One of the effects of the announced 'inquiry' will be to suspend the work of the earlier 'inquiry' headed by one of the 'gang of four', Deputy Premier Chang Chun-chiao into the 'crimes' of Teng Hsiao-ping.

This investigation was set up immediately after the 'rightist' Teng was removed in April, following the clashes in Peking over the commemoration of Chou En-lai.

One of the main charges levelled

by the 'lefts' against Teng - charges with which not one single member of the present ruling echelon publicly disagreed! - was that he had 'falsified' the thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The attacks on Teng have been quietly phased out since Hua Kuo-feng and his supporters ousted the 'lefts'. But the same charges are now being levelled at Teng's former main accusers.

LIES

In particular it is claimed that one of the 'four', Yao Wen-yuan, placed his supporters in control of the *People's Daily* and used it to disseminate lies, and falsifications of Mao's views.

Yao's nominees have now been removed and have, reportedly, made their 'self-criticisms'. And at the end of last week the new acting editor of *People's Daily*, An Kang,

gave an interview to western journalists in Peking during which he disputed the description of the 'gang of four' as 'leftists', claiming that they sought to "pull down the flag raised by Chairman Mao and turn China into a backward society" (a thin euphemism for the restoration of capitalism).

Although An Kang denied that the four would be executed, accusations of this sort obviously provide the basis for charges of treason.

Among the orchestrated denunciations of the past three weeks one of the obvious charges which has been - so far - conspicuously absent has been that of any sort of complicity with the Soviet leadership.

This lends weight to the suggestion that the new leadership intend - after a decent interval - to respond to the repeated overtures from Moscow.



LETTER: MAO AND THE MASSES

Dear Editor,

I would like to raise what I consider to be a weakness in the otherwise excellent articles on Mao and the Chinese revolution.

You argue in the first article that the Chinese bureaucracy "look to the mobilisation of the masses strictly within limits set by themselves."

And in the second article you refer to the bureaucracy as "continually wracked with internal crises only rarely brought out into the mass movement."

I would suggest that this outlook reverses the true state of affairs.

Even without a coherent political leadership, the readiness of the Chinese masses to struggle against any return towards private property, any consolidation of privilege has severely limited the options open to the bureaucracy.

Mao's temporary alliance with the Red Guards in 1966 was a necessary concession on his part to

maintain the bureaucracy in power.

Similarly the uprisings in Peking and Wuhan last year made certain political options out of the question.

The mobilisation of the Chinese masses is just as much a part of the world struggle against capitalism as the movements among workers in Eastern Europe.

The fierce debate between rival factions in the Chinese bureaucracy is a reflection of the difficulty of controlling the Chinese masses rather than a cause of their mobilisation.

Their failure to prevent this mobilisation can be seen in the series of mass struggles that have occurred from the Hundred Flowers movement in 1956 to the violent demonstrations following Chou-En-lai's death.

The same attitudes are reflected in the analysis of the period 1945-1949. To view Mao's victory as due to military organisation seems similar to the American commen-

tator of the 1960s who blamed the French defeat in Indochina on incorrect military tactics.

While it is true that Mao stood to one side and watched the mass struggle of 1945-46 be defeated it was surely the refusal of the masses to accept Kuo Min Tang government or fight for it in 1947-49 that made Mao's victory inevitable.

It can be predicted with certainty that the developing response of the working class to the international crisis of capitalism will find a response in the Chinese working class, where the seed of an independent class outlook became apparent as long ago as 1964 and has not disappeared since.

If mass movements could be switched on and off by the bureaucracy as the articles suggest the outlook for the future of would be bleak indeed.

Yours fraternally,
G.W., Birmingham.

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.

COVENTRY ANTI-RACIST COMMITTEE

Over 100 people attended a meeting called by Coventry IWA-GB to discuss the formation of an anti-racist committee in the city.

Speakers from the platform stressed the class nature of racism and the way it is used by the ruling class to divide workers from each other.

FOUR POINTS

The meeting agreed four points as a basis for the committee.

1. To campaign against fascist and neo-fascist organisations (such as the National Front, National Party and British Movement) and their allies in financial, business and government circles. To combat racist and all other propaganda that creates false divisions amongst workers.

2. To help build and support all necessary forms of self-defence organisations in any community threatened by racists or fascists.

3. To organise black and white, men and women to campaign for

better housing, education, health and social services.

4. To oppose all racist legislation and to fight for the repeal of all racist immigration laws.

DEMONSTRATION

There seemed to be general agreement that the initial focus of the committee would be around the November 21st Anti-Racist Demonstration called by the Labour Party.

The Workers Socialist League has continually stressed the need for new leadership in the working class, built around a programme of action on wages, unemployment and the cuts.

This is the only way to defeat racists and fascists. The vague formulation in point 3 provides no basis for the building of such a leadership.

USEFUL ROLE

Nevertheless, if they are rooted in the working class, anti-racist and anti-fascist committees can play a

physical confrontation with the fascists.

Speaking from the floor at the Coventry meeting a member of the Workers Socialist League argued that one of the first acts of the committee should be the calling of a public meeting to discuss the formation of workers defence squads.

The Student Movement Conference on Ireland is to be held at the University of Kent at Canterbury on Saturday November 16th.

Although the Conference is called on the platform of a 'Campaign Against Repression in Northern Ireland', it in fact puts forward no formulated programme or demands.

While the position of the Workers Socialist League is unambiguously for the withdrawal of all troops from Ireland and self-determination for the Irish people, this Conference in raising discussion on Britain's role in Ireland could

TRICO - FIGHT

The 22-week Trico strike was a victory not just for equal pay, but for the establishment of trade union rights, and represented a blow at the social contract.

This was the message in a strong speech to the conference by Strike Committee member Sally Groves, speaking in a personal capacity.

The strike had taken place in a firm where trade unionists had to start from scratch - there was no history or record of defence of trade union principles in the firm.

DETERMINATION

The strike was held together by the unity and determination of the 450 women, who were driven on to fight not only by the situation at Trico, but also by the all-round

RULE 15

Also from the platform, Peter McIntyre, a delegate from the Oxford NUJ Branch, outlined some of the bureaucratic manoeuvres that paved the way for the disaffiliation of Oxford Trades Council by the TUC, and the setting up of a right-wing dominated 'Trades Union Council' with the most repressive possible rule book - includ-

the "viability" of the company.

"This also runs right through the Labour Party", Comrade Thornett stressed. "At the Blackpool Conference there were really only two decisions made. The first, on the first day of the Conference was support for the Social Contract. The other was the vote on the last day to support Healey's economic policy. In between was all the 'left' phrases and pious resolutions - but these were the policies endorsed by the block votes of the big unions."

In fighting back to defend living standards, the central demand had to be for increases linked to a sliding scale of wages, rising to match inflation. And in the fight for this demand, workers must demand that the account books of British capitalism opened up so



Part of the audience of nearly 300 trade unionists at the Wage Control Conference.

FIGHT BACK AGAINST WAGE CONTROL

There is a powerful feeling building up within the workers' movement against the TUC's 4½% wage cutting pay policy and the attacks by union bureaucrats on the shop floor. This was indicated by the turn out of delegates and visitors at the Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy called last Sunday in Birmingham by the ad-hoc Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

Those present heard Chairman Gerry Casey (Oxford UPW, speaking in a personal capacity) stress the link between the attacks by union officials on democratic rights of the membership and the attempts by the TUC to enforce the 'social contract' with the Labour government and the CBI.

Highlighting the fact that the repression of democracy within the unions, while definitely growing as a threat to the jobs and living standards of union members, is not a new issue, Comrade Casey pointed to three previous instances where stewards had been victimised by management with the collaboration of union officials - at Ford's Halewood in 1971, at the Filkington's glass works in St Helens, and in Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant in 1974, where management withdrew recognition from deputy senior steward Alan Thornett.

LAUGHING

Now these attacks were again being launched in the factories. "Management must be laughing up their sleeves now they are being allowed to pick and choose who should be shop stewards", said Comrade Casey.

And at the same time, these moves have been accompanied by the imposition of police control of Trades Councils through the TUC Model Rule 15.

It was for these reasons that Comrade Casey said he welcomed the Conference as a means to begin the fight back - and he was willing to risk possible victimisation in his own union in order to give support to it.



Alan Thornett

on behalf of the ad-hoc conference organising committee, Alan Thornett, Chairman of the 5/293 Branch at Cowley, showed how the last eighteen months in particular had seen an onslaught on democratic rights linked completely with the bureaucracy's need to police the working class movement in order to impose wage control.

This was because they face the resistance of a powerful international movement of the working class, stressed Comrade Thornett: "From Vietnam to Soweto; from the Ford and Rubber workers in the US to the recent general strikes in France and Italy, and in Britain the vote of the seamen and the 22-week Trico strike for equal pay show the strength of the workers' movement. Against such strength the bureaucracy is forced to act through manoeuvres."

ONLY INITIATIVE

Pointing out that this Conference was the only initiative against the 4½% pay policy, Comrade Thornett emphasised the



Gerry Casey

inability of others to fight wage control:

"Who can call a conference on wages today? To call such a conference your own record is called at once into question.

The social democrats could not do it, they are actually policing the wage control. The Tribunites could not call such a conference because they have provided a left cover for the 4½%, refusing to fight it at key moments.

The Communist Party can do nothing but mouth general phrases about "free collective bargaining", with no policy to defend living standards. It was Ken Gill of the Communist Party who withdrew the TASS opposition motion and allowed the Social Contract to become the policy of the TUC in April 1974."

ARGUMENT

Comrade Thornett showed how the argument used now by the TUC and the Labour government - that wage increases cause inflation and real wages must be cut to cut inflation is the argument of capitalism. It was the same argument that put Heath into confrontation with the miners, he said. A confrontation which destroyed the Tory government.

Therefore the Labour government was elected on the wages issue - put in office to oppose wage control after Heath was defeated by the miners."

Outlining some of the manoeuvres of the TUC leaders and particularly at the T&GWU Biennial Delegate Conference to produce the stage-managed 17-1 vote in favour of the 4½% policy, Comrade Thornett went on to examine the conditions which drive the working class into collision with this policy and those who support it.

Inflation was now acknowledged - despite cuts in wages - to be again rising and already standing at a 15% annual rate, while interest rates have also soared. This had to mean a disruption of industrial investment, fresh attempts to impose speed-up and closures, and another round of spending cuts as the conditions of the latest IMF loan were felt.

The result of this crisis was to drag the bureaucracy further into line with management - arguing

LABOUR PARTY FIGHT PROPOSED

A supplementary amendment to the main resolution detailing demands for the struggle for democracy in the Labour Party was moved at the Conference by Richard Shield, a delegate from the NUPE branch at University College Hospital, London.

Stressing the contrast between the 1974 Labour election manifesto and the record of the Labour government the amendment went on:

This year's Labour Party conference resolved, for example, to "support those Labour councils which have refused to implement the cuts, and calls on other Labour Groups to follow suit": it urged "the Labour Party to conduct an active campaign against cuts in public

expenditure", and it called "on the National Executive Committee to support trade unions opposing the cuts".

At the same conference, however, Callaghan and Healey promptly announced the impossibility of carrying out these decisions and through the block vote of the unions secured endorsement of the social contract.

Most of the Constituency Labour Parties' (CLP) delegates voted against the 'contract', but the previous acceptance of the wage restraint 'deal' at the TUC, with spurious argument about wages causing inflation and "giving a year for Britain" meant that the Labour government had their incomes policy sewn up.

CRUCIAL

Thus the whole question of democracy in the Labour Party, as well as in the unions, is a crucial

SHOWS READINESS TO

attacks on their living standards — through pay cuts and cuts in the social services, Comrade Groves went on.

MORE QUICKLY

The victory could have been won much more quickly if they had only had the backing of the whole workforce from the start, and the active support of other sections of workers. The fight was a major one — not at all one of fighting for 'pin money' as less conscious workers thought.

"Though we didn't realise at first the enormous fight we had taken on, the Company did. They didn't just organise scab lorries — they sent in convoys, American style" said Comrade Groves.

The police had at one point sent five coachloads of men down to force lorries through 25 pickets.



Sally Groves speaking from the platform

The outcome of the strike was to confirm that "you cannot win rights through legal machinery" Comrade Groves stressed. "We were proved right never to have touched the Equal Pay Tribunal."

The success at Trico could now

have wider implications than that of the Ford women in 1968. It has exposed and smashed aside the Equal Pay Act and exposed what a farce it is. And it has shown we can beat the TUC pay policy, Comrade Groves concluded.

SUPPORT FOR WORKERS IN STRUGGLE

The prospect of a renewed struggle in defence of jobs at the Export Packing Services factory near Banbury was recognised in an emergency resolution moved at the Conference by the Organising Committee.

"That this Conference supports the struggle in defence of jobs at Export Packing Services, Banbury, and therefore calls upon delegates to move support in their branches, and gives the Organising Committee the authority to recall the Conference in defence of EPS if so requested by the trade union movement at EPS.

In addition money over and above expenses in the collection be made available to EPS shop stewards committee if necessary."

A delegate from the 5/104 T&GWU branch at EPS gave the Conference details of the way in which the 'participation' plans

introduced in British Leyland were now having a direct impact on workers at EPS — a Leyland contractor.

By their collaboration in the participation set-up, T&GWU officials were involved in the loss of T&GWU jobs elsewhere, with the threatened withdrawal of Leyland work from EPS into the Leyland factory at Cowley.

The emergency resolution of support was passed unanimously.

The Conference also voted unanimously to donate £25 from the proceeds of the collection to the strike fund supporting five women G&MWU members on strike at the Holbrook annexe of North East London Polytechnic against working with asbestos. The women, cleaners at the annexe, have been out for two weeks and have been picketing the annexe twelve hours a day.

STRUGGLE

ing both clauses of the notorious "gag" rule, Model Rule 15.

The result, Comrade McIntyre pointed out, was double-edged: while the right wing had won a temporary victory along with their CP allies, the depths to which the TUC bureaucrats will stoop was exposed to a wider than ever layer of active trade unionists in the town.

readily to the IMF bankers, be opened to elected trade union committees, as part of the fight for nationalisation of bankrupt firms.

Comrade Thornett concluded by pointing out the importance of the Conference.

"There may only be a few hundred at this Conference. But it is always the case that the key questions in the workers' movement — the fight for principle and for leadership — are at first qualitative questions. What we are discussing here today the working class will be discussing in the next period.

We see this Conference as the first step in mobilising and leading a much wider struggle against wage control and in defence of jobs and living standards."



Keith Vaness, platform speaker on the Labour Party.

The Labour leaders must be forced to abide by Labour Party policy or be removed. The government must be accountable to Labour Party conference.

While the Labour government ignores the basic needs of the working class which put it in office, CLPs are beginning to resist the retreat.

Joint campaigns against cuts, unemployment and racialism have been started in numerous areas. Many CLPs are fighting to implement the decisions of the Labour Party Conference.

DISREGARDED

Yet they have to watch their own MPs in Parliament disregard these struggles or pay lip service to opposition to the Wilson/Callaghan government's betrayals.

PRICE EXPLOSION WILL OPEN UP FIGHT

"The capitalist system will create such a massive price explosion that the working class will have to fight in defence of living standards. This Conference is about leadership for such a fight."

This was the view expressed in the discussion by Tim O'Sullivan, bringing fraternal greetings of the T&GWU 5/55 Branch to the Conference.

He referred to the way in which the T&GWU bureaucracy had directly intervened to split up the 5/55 Branch in 1974, when it had over 5,000 members, and a leadership and record "second to none".

"They mobilised a witch-hunt against us — but the militants are still there, fighting the bureau-



Tim O'Sullivan

cracy", continued Comrade O'Sullivan.

"You can sit here and listen to what is going on, but it is only a talking shop unless you go back to your branches, throw out those shop stewards who sit on participation committees, get rid of them,

Hammersmith North CLP have rejected their MPs, Prentice and Tomney, both of whom openly defied even the constitution of the Labour Party, as well as its policies.

Some prospective parliamentary candidates have already agreed to follow Labour conference policy and the decisions of their general management committees.

We support the fight for the mandatory reselection of all candidates before every election. Labour MPs must be made accountable to their GMCs.

We must build an alternative leadership in the Labour Party, a leadership which fights to resist the attacks on jobs and living standards through such policies as work-sharing on full pay, a sliding scale of wages, programmes of useful public works.

We must fight to expose and replace every Labour representative who does not carry out conference decisions in the interests of the labour movement or the social reform pledges of the manifesto.

ANNUAL ELECTION

The Labour Party leader, the National Executive Committee and other national and regional committees must be elected once a year at conference, and these leaders must remain accountable between

There must be no secret decision making and the Labour leaders must be forced to end all secret diplomacy and open all books of the civil service and national industry.

In order to force Labour councillors to fight for the policies of their ward branches and CLPs, they too must be made accountable. Hackney North and Stoke Newington CLP, for example, have mandated all their councillors to vote against rent increases.

COUNCILS

Some councils have been forced into opposing cuts, eg Haringey and Battersea. But Labour councillors are not generally accustomed to listening to the members of the CLP that installed them.

They regard themselves, on the contrary, as bound instead by the decisions of the Labour Groups which are the puppets of the Labour government.

Councillors, ministers, all representatives of the Labour Party must be elected at least annually and subject to immediate recall, paid the wage of a skilled worker with all expenses vetted by committees of rank and file members, and constantly be made accountable to the mass of Labour Party members who are increasingly moving into opposition to the betrayals of the Labour government.

and fight for a socialist leadership", he said.

Terry Barrett, (T&GWU, personal capacity) stressed the need to fight for the sliding scale of wages. "The sliding scale is vital for us to defend our living standards", he insisted, pointing out that, whereas many union officials were appointed, "even Popes are elected when one dies — though you have to be a Catholic to stand!"



Terry Barrett

Not one of the 23 resolutions opposing wage control submitted to the NUR Conference was on the final agenda. Instead they selected one which supported the TUC pay policy, reported Philip Lewis, (Barnsbury NUR, in a personal capacity).

And although his branch had voted support for this Conference, it had been manoeuvred out by the officials. "Any resolution opposing union policy will be acted against" he said.

Several speakers in the discussion questioned whether the main resolution was correct in pinning the responsibility for wage control firmly on the trade union leaders.

"How is it that time and time again, the working class allows itself to be sold down the river by these arguments?" asked one such speaker, Margaret McNab, who expressed the point most clearly.

She and a number of other delegates went on to point out that the document lacked any demands for women workers.

This was taken up by Di Parkin (NATFHE, in a personal capacity), who pointed out that the low level of organisation of women



Di Parkin

was precisely because the bureaucracy refuses to take seriously the fight to unionise women.

And when it comes to the question of equal pay, it is again the bureaucracy that has to be fought, whereas many union officials were appointed, "even Popes are elected when one dies — though you have to be a Catholic to stand!"

"The fight against women's oppression must be linked to the fight against the bureaucracy," she concluded.

In replying on behalf of the Organising Committee to the discussion, Alan Thornett said it had become clear that the main resolution needed additional sections putting a clear position on women's rights, on racism and on import controls. The Committee put the resolution forward for endorsement on the understanding that these questions would be written into it.

Some people had referred to the problem in the wages fight being the backwardness of the working class and not the leadership, Comrade Thornett went on.

"But the working class starts not from its backward ideas but from the material conditions it confronts. It is this fact which makes a struggle on wages inevitable."

RECALL CONFERENCE

Stressing the emergency resolution from the Committee for a recalled conference to be held in February, Comrade Thornett ended by calling on all organisations in the labour movement to send delegates to what should be an enlarged Organising Committee.

The emergency resolution, passed unanimously, states that:

"This Conference calls for strike action on November 17th and supports the demonstrations and lobbies called on that day.

"This Conference will be recalled in February 1977 and that the Organising Committee continues to function and be enlarged and that it should coordinate the creation of regional organising committees."



Lenin with delegates to the Second Congress of the Communist International

DEFEND THE METHOD OF THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME

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

This is the third 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.

This article began by stressing that the split in the Greek WIL must be understood as a political struggle, and not in terms of individuals or personalities.

It then went on to trace the historical roots of the propagandist, sectarian method of the leadership of the International Committee - showing the way in which it produces a rejection of Trotsky's Transitional Programme and the materialist method of Marxism.

The sectarians seek a foundation for their neo-Hegelian concepts (which are a complete rejection of Marxism) on the most tenuous basis.

They rest on a single formula- tion in Lenin's *What Is To Be*

In reality, the sectarians never understood Lenin, and so falsify him. Their theory and their practice is completely opposed to the whole life and work of the leader of Bolshevism.

First of all, Lenin himself recognised the one-sidedness and thus the incorrectness of the point on which they take their stand.

Trotsky, in his book *Stalin* writes:

"The author of *What Is To Be Done?* recognised later the one sided and consequently wrong character of this theory, through which at a particular point he directed his fire, against "economism" with its excessive respect for the spontaneity of the workers' movement."

(*Stalin*, Volume 1).

CONSCIOUSNESS

Of course we know that when Lenin writes that consciousness comes to the proletariat from the *outside*, he understands this in a completely different way from the sectarians.

Lenin means, (and this is absolutely correct) that socialist

the class struggle, but it must be brought to the proletariat from the "outside", from the Marxist party.

But this does not at all mean that the scientific consciousness of the party develops within the four walls of a newspaper office, independent of the class struggle, or outside of it.



Rosa Luxemburg

Nor does it mean that it will

struggle. Lenin was the last man upon whom the sectarians can off-load their idealist "theories".

And in *What Is To Be Done?*, which they invoke, Lenin's critique of the economists turns precisely against the sectarians also. The economists limited the movement of the working class to trade union struggles for economic demands and refused to struggle for political demands because in their view it was not "possible" that the autocracy would concede them, so that the struggle did not promise "tangible results".

The economists, from being critics of the autocracy slid into becoming its apologists. Lenin fought precisely against this tendency.

'LEFT' COMMUNIST

Lenin fought the same sectarian method, when he took up the struggle against the Russian "left" communists and Rosa Luxemburg in his critique "For the Brochure of Junius". Because democracy and national independence cannot exist in the epoch of imperialism, the "lefts" refused the struggle for these demands as a reactionary

Thornett in *A Menshevik Unmasked*:

"We Trotskyists say plainly that none of the transitional demands can be met within the boundaries of the capitalist system and that the realisation of these demands - as Lenin showed in 1917 - leads necessarily to the conquest of power."

And we say to this lamentable sectarian: not only the transitional demands but even the simplest economic demands today go far beyond the limitations of the capitalist system.

NO IMPROVEMENTS

Is it not a fact that, despite temporary successes, workers can no longer improve their conditions of life under capitalism?

But only a scholastic sectarian who observes the class struggle through binoculars can put the question in this way.

Banda's position is nothing but a method to transform the critique of imperialism into apologetics for British imperialism, a "left" cover while bending in front of the bourgeoisie, in practice lining up with the reformists - who likewise take up no struggle for any demand, because they consider nothing "realisable".

The sectarian, with contempt for spontaneity turns out to be as subservient to it as the reformist. The sectarian's method is just the other side of the reformist coin.

STAND ASIDE

To stand aside from the masses with a list of slogans and wait until the evils of the capitalist crisis oblige them by themselves to perform the famous "leap" to revolutionary consciousness means complete submission to spontaneity in another form. Lenin fought such submission in *What Is To Be Done?*

Our sectarians line up in practice completely with the opportunists, placing no demands under a government like that of Heath in Britain or Karamanlis in Greece.

Why should they? These governments are not in a position to meet workers' demands, and the struggle for such demands does not promise us "tangible results", as the Russian economists put it. One of the practical consequences of this method was that Healy's puppets in Greece accepted the anti-union laws of Karamanlis and publicly, in front of workers, opposed violation of these laws, defaming Trotskyism within the trade union movement.

OVERTHROW

The reason was - they said - that the *real* question is not to violate the laws of Karamanlis but to overthrow him! What a perversion of Marxism!

Let us see what the "reformist" Trotsky has to say on this question:

"Mr Roosevelt insists on public works. But we insist that this, together with mines, railroads, etc, absorb all the people. And that every person should have the possibility to live in a decent manner not lower than now, and we ask that Mr Roosevelt with his brain must propose such a programme of public works that everyone capable of working can work at decent wages. This is possible with a sliding scale of wages and hours."

(*Discussion with Trotsky*, May 19th 1938).

Let us say in passing that Healy's London clique defends itself by using the argument that the reformists have always accused revolutionaries of being sectarians, and so they declare that sectarians are revolutionaries!

LUDICROUS

There is not a kernel of logic within this ludicrous demagoguery, intended only for internal consumption.

We say: if the reformists brand revolutionaries as sectarians, sectarians blame revolutionaries for the opposite failing: they attack revolutionaries as "reformists".

Isn't it true that the "left" Bukharin at one point characterised Lenin as a "right"? This should not be forgotten.

The demagogic conclusions of the petty-bourgeois Healy clique, arrived at through a process of empirical analysis, bear no relationship to the dialectical method of Marxism which teaches us to judge things as they are, and not based on

policies must be judged on objective criteria; such an assessment must not be based on accusations coming from different political groups.

Let us say here that the Tories in Britain and Karamanlis in Greece would very much agree with the opinion of these "revolutionaries", that it is "reactionary utopia" and "reformism" for the working class to place demands on bourgeois governments.

This is immensely more important than the sophistries of the leading clique of the WRP.

Lenin writes in *What Is To Be Done*:

"Revolutionary Social-Democracy has always included the struggle for reforms as part of its activities. But it utilises "economic" agitation for the purpose of presenting to the government not only demands for all sorts of measures, but also (and primarily) the demand that it cease to be an autocratic government."

(Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5 p.405).

REJECTED

Let the "revolutionaries" of the WRP compare their method with that of Lenin and Trotsky. But why should they do so now? While they accept these leaders in public, they reject them in private.

Trotsky led a revolution and founded an International. The cowardly Healy clique in London has achieved nothing comparable.

Despite this, they treat Trotsky with arrogance and contemptible ignorance. They never accepted his method.

Even when they published his work *In Defence of Marxism*, they answered him in the appendix with the petty bourgeois conceptions of James Burnham.



In the Transitional Programme. Trotsky rejects with contempt the sophistries of the sectarians and the reformists:

"If capitalism is incapable of satisfying the demands inevitably arising from the calamities generated by itself, then let it perish. "Realisability" or "unrealisability" is in the given instance a question of the relationship of forces, which can be decided only by the struggle. By means of this struggle, no matter what its immediate practical successes may be, the workers will best come to understand the necessity of liquidating capitalist slavery."

(Folrose edition, p.10)

DEFAMING

In their application, the concepts of the sectarians are a real comedy - defaming Trotskyism. Let us take two of the many Greek examples.

The first strike after the collapse of the Junta was in the National Can factory at Elefsis. The Stalinists and the centrists were in the process of shamelessly selling it out in front of our eyes, when one of the puppets of Healy's London clique took the platform at a strike meeting. This comrade considered it his duty to fight the "spontaneity" of the masses.

He did this by speaking to the workers *not* about the problems of their struggle and the concrete betrayal of the Stalinist and centrist leadership, but - if you please - by denouncing the stand of the Greek Communist Party towards Aris Velouhiotis in 1945!*

This is not a joke. It is a real story.

This puppet was one of the main partners in Healy's faction, which later expelled the secretary of the organisation and the majority of



Trotsky.



Stalin with ally Bukharin: Bukharin once termed Lenin 'right wing'.



Karamanlis

strike in the 'Eskimo' household appliance factory.

According to the logic - if one can use this word of Healy's petty-bourgeois sect - our comrades, who were leading this strike, should have put in front of the 800 strikers of Eskimo the question of the overthrow of Karamanlis and asked for support on this basis.

We say that only people who have spent a whole life carrying out their "revolutionary" tasks within the four walls of a newspaper office could understand the struggle to remove Karamanlis in this way.

Another variety of sectarianism was shown by those that said that our comrades in the leadership of the strike should put the question of removing Karamanlis, but....not as an ultimatum!

CONFUSION

Such petty-bourgeois confusion comes as a complete surprise. First of all, the 800-strong workforce at 'Eskimo' understood very well a fact that others, whose ambition it was to bring consciousness into the working class from "outside" could not understand: the fact that 800 people in one factory, *cannot* overthrow Karamanlis!

The workers would correctly consider any "leader" who proposed such a thing to be crazy.

Secondly, even the more advanced workers at 'Eskimo', those who really want to overthrow Karamanlis, were obliged, before taking up a struggle, to take into account their less advanced colleagues, including the conservative white collar personnel who were participating in the strike, and so on.

Without making an alliance with these layers in the factory, without a provisional unity, the strike at 'Eskimo' would have been impossible.

'LEADER'

The advanced workers would never give their support to a light-headed "leader" who, in a strike of 800 people, puts forward the question of the overthrow of Karamanlis...."not as an ultimatum"

"The question of the overthrow of Karamanlis should have been put forward, and it is not important whether our comrades in the factory would have gained support" our petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' kept saying.

And they added with enormous cynicism:

"The workers, through their failure, would understand that the Trotskyists were right."

What workers would really understand in such a case, would be that the Trotskyists are babblers and unable to help the workers.

They would say to these "Trotskyists":

"You are good prophets but bad leaders. You do not know how to defeat your enemies. We would like to see this struggle ending with the overthrow of Karamanlis. That is why we wanted to give you our support. But with your unskilled stand you prevented us from doing so."

The consequence of this petty bourgeois policy - had it been applied - would have been the domination of the strike by the Stalinists - ever ready to betray.

DEGENERATE

The occupation would not have taken place, perhaps not even the strike. The struggle would degenerate into work stoppages of only two hours a day, with long drawn out "negotiations" and with the sacking of the most militant workers.

So the workers would not have had the chance to know - as they have now learned - not only the role of Karamanlis, who sided with the employer (the employer himself was an Under Secretary under the Junta) but also the role of the Stalinists of ESAK and AEM (trade union fractions of the two Communist Parties).

The Stalinists acted as maniac strike breakers, openly allying themselves with the employer, the "trade unionists" of the government, and the government itself.

The workers learned more in eight days about their enemies and their friends than they could have

learned in 800 years of propaganda by Mr. Van Der Porten. [Banda, ed].

At every step we exposed all the strike breaking conspiracies of Karamanlis and his Stalinist agents. The prestige of our organisation among the 'Eskimo' workers was tremendous and it grew among workers throughout the whole of Athens.

MORE EXPERIENCED

The fruits of this struggle and perhaps its development would have been different if the leadership of the organisation had been more experienced and if it had taken up the struggle conscious of its tasks.

The same lessons could be drawn from the intervention of our organisation in the struggle of the peasants in Oropos. Not for one moment did we ask for the support of the peasants on the basis of the struggle for the overthrow of Karamanlis.

Despite that, in the course of our struggle, the influence of the government among the Oropos peasants collapsed.

We went with the peasants to Parliament and we lobbied their right wing MPs. We showed the peasants who the people who had promised them democracy and the heavens really were.

We can show the result of this struggle with one picture: the photographs of Karamanlis and the posters saying "He is the only capital of the nation" were torn from all the public places in Oropos.

Continued Next Edition.

*FOOTNOTE: Aris Velouhiotis: One of the most popular and militant leaders of the ELAS (army of the Communist Party) who refused to surrender the army after the Vauliza agreement and continued the struggle with small forces. He was denounced and expelled by the CP leadership for that, and most probably betrayed by them to the Gendarmerie which finally killed him and his men.

Their double dealing cannot be tolerated any longer.

Banda can turn as much as he likes around what, in his opinion, is the 'decisive' question of whether demands are "realisable".

But the working class in the struggle for demands vital to its survival, does not have "dilemmas" of that description.

The miners in Britain did not stop to ask Heath whether he could satisfy their demands or not. They started a prolonged, heroic struggle - and they overthrew him.

VERIFIED

The leadership of the WRP claims that the overthrow of Heath verified its policies. Sectarians are equipped only for such commentaries.

In fact, they missed the most important lesson from the miners' strike: that the task of revolutionaries is *not* simply to comment on the facts through their newspaper, but to be in the forefront of the struggle and to lead it consciously to its conclusion.

Capitalist governments repeatedly explain, as they introduce demands for national "self-restraint" that capitalism is in no position to satisfy the demands of the workers.

Revolutionaries, too, explain this in their propaganda. But only sectarians draw from this the conclusion that they must abstain from the struggle for economic demands. This is simply capitulation, in which the sectarians in practice go hand in hand with the reformists.

Banda, General Secretary of the WRP the members. (213 of the members were expelled, and more are on the way to joining us).

In the second case another Healy puppet - who says that he learned Marxism studying Banda's cap during the Conference - speaking as a Trotskyist, said in a meeting of students of the Dental Medicine School where he studies, that the broken panes in the School's windows could not be replaced without the overthrow of Karamanlis!

Naturally, Karamanlis, fearing his overthrow by the students of the Dental Medicine School, preferred to replace the broken glass.

The London leadership tried to turn the international Trotskyist movement into a madhouse of this description.

And they still dare to claim that they have a relationship with Marxism and Trotskyism!

The Healy Sect's Policy in the 'Eskimo' factory occupation.

Within the framework of the factional effort to create a clique of puppets within the Greek section the leadership of the British WRP sent Mike Banda to Greece last summer (1975) to observe the 7th Conference of the Workers Internationalist League.

Banda tried to impose the policies of his petty-bourgeois sect by criticising the way in which the leadership of the WIL led the sit-in

GENEVA TALKS— OR ARMED STRUGGLE?

This interview with four militants of the Zimbabwe African National Union, ZANU, (speaking in a personal capacity) took place a few days before the opening of the Geneva Conference.



Socialist Press: How do you see the Geneva conference?

"It is one of the ways in which Kissinger and the imperialist camp are trying to lend support to Smith.

All the indications are that militarily and economically it's a matter of months before he collapses. There's a tremendous desperation to try and ensure that capitalist/imperialist interests in Zimbabwe are protected.

Geneva is the first mechanism they are using to ensure this. The talks are a method of sustaining Smith — giving him financial and personal aid through an interim government, through a UN or other peace-keeping force.

This goes counter to the principles of ZANU which was founded for one specific purpose — to get hold of the instruments of power by force and nowhere by compromise.

A reformist constitutional settlement is intended to weaken the progressive forces and to set up a neo-colonial government which would perpetuate imperialist interests in our country and totally wipe out any possibility of a revolution."

Why, then has the ZANU leadership not in principle rejected any participation in Geneva?

"Because ZANU is a democratic party that decision cannot be made by the leaders alone without consulting the relevant bodies of the party.

Only after our Congress in Lusaka could one say this is the ZANU statement on this question."

[See *Socialist Press* comment — Ed.]

It seems, however, that the "Patriotic Front" between Mugabe and Nkomo was declared without consultation with the party.

"Not quite true. There was consultation with the guerillas but not with other party organs. The joint statement of Mugabe and Nkomo includes their demands.

In any case the idea of a united front with ZAPU should not be seen as a unity between Mugabe and Nkomo, as the press tries to make out.

The principles of the "Patriotic Front" are not counter to the aims of ZANU.

ZANU has always maintained that it is prepared to enter a united front with anybody who supports the armed struggle.

By offering to join such a front with Nkomo I think what ZANU is saying is that the progressive elements in ZAPU must help the liberation struggle.

It must be a national effort. It is trying to preempt the use by the imperialists of ZAPU as a tool of imperialism by putting the ZAPU faction into some sort of united front for progressive ideas."

INITIATIVE

The initiative for the front, then, came from ZANU?

"As far as we can follow what happened at Dar es Salaam, Mugabe singled out ZAPU as the one other faction at least having an army.

The only meaningful united front, therefore, would be with ZAPU. Nkomo himself only took up the ZANU initiative for opportunistic reasons after it became clear to him that he might boost his following by doing so.

In Zimbabwe, Nkomo is a discredited man. People are absolutely convinced that he is working in



Muzorewa

The masses of the people totally reject this man as a serious leader prepared to carry out revolutionary change."

Why then, does ZANU agree to be in a united front with him?

"The front is not an agreement between two personalities. It is a vehicle within which the progressive elements of ZAPU can join the people's war.

We do not believe that the leadership of ZAPU completely reflects the position of its members.

For instance, recently when ZAPU forces were ordered to withdraw from ZIPA (the Zimbabwe People's Army) many of them refused and remained within ZIPA.

One wonders, if their leadership says leave and they do not leave, are they still members of ZAPU?

Unlike ZANU, which is a democratic centralist organisation, the structure of ZAPU does not allow elections, criticism or the removal of a corrupt leadership.

Thus, though we cannot say that ZAPU as a whole is an imperialist tool, we realise that it has the potential to become one because there is no democracy.

Its structure veers it towards dictatorship by one or two people who can become the tools of imperialism and pull the whole movement with them."

How do you assess the present position of Muzorewa, especially after the large demonstration which marked his recent trip to Zimbabwe?

"You have to realise that, because ZANU is not a political organisation, there are ZANU people still using the front of the Muzorewa African National Council so that they can carry out ZANU work; this is a well-known fact.

You have people now coming to welcome Bishop Muzorewa but you must understand why. It was a clear demonstration against Nkomo which people misread as support for Muzorewa.

He has been opportunistic enough to say "I'm on the side of ZANU" and the people were thus demonstrating their support for the guerillas.

But they were saying not "We love the Bishop"; but "We love our own interests".

That is clear from their slogans on that demonstration: "Freedom! No negotiations! No giving in! Zi Zi Zi (meaning Zipa)!"

What is the present state of the armed struggle?

"We can start with the Pretoria



Mugabe

to Smith: From US and South African intelligence reports, it is quite clear, man, that you are finished."

That illustrates our military potential. One should say that the way the country is structured by the settler regime into black and white areas is to their disadvantage.

It is quite obvious from the trial of Bishop Lamont and the treatment of the guerilla by that Dr. Guidotti who was arrested, as well as from reports by journalists and missionaries who have been there that in the black areas the guerillas are in complete control.

This was confirmed by Garfield Todd when he said that in the south Smith's forces cannot travel by land; they can only use planes and helicopters.

If the truth about the armed struggle were known you wouldn't have a white man living in the



country.

They would all flee and the regime, of course, cannot survive under these conditions. So there is a tremendous clamp down on the press.

But we know that they have growing problems getting their supplies because roads and railway lines can only be used during 12 hours or so of daylight.

The road between Beitbridge and Fort Victoria in the south is now closed at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

A journalist who was in a convoy on this road was told: "On

and you drive at 65 mph and you don't stop. If anything happens you just keep going."

Also, large numbers of whites have abandoned their farms and are now arriving in the towns.

The freedom fighters can now move more or less freely in the areas they have left.

The whites' economy has been literally destroyed through this struggle, because the freedom fighters are everywhere."

What assistance has the armed struggle had from other African countries?

"Countries like Tanzania have accommodated ZANU and facilitated most of its work, including in the early stages, its training.

Zambia also allowed us facilities though as you know our relations with Zambia have since been unfortunate and turbulent.

The OAU supports our struggle and has voted a large budget to it; but some members do not pay their dues and others have been giving money on an individual basis to Nkomo, Sithole and Muzorewa.

But we single out Mozambique which has really shown the spirit of international proletarianism and pan-Africanism to the limit, despite constant attacks, including economic sabotage, from the racials.

There is one thing you may not be aware of: when the border was closed between Mozambique and Zimbabwe, the Frelimo government issued a decree that every man and woman from the President to the lowest peasant must work one day a month, the money from which would be put in a fund for the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

Because they went through the armed struggle, the people of Mozambique know what it is to

slavia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania.

There are some people, including in the socialist countries, who misunderstood our beginnings.

There's often a mistaken view that we have declared war on the Soviet Union, that we are anti-Soviet Union. That is not our stand at all.

Our stand on international proletarianism is very clear: we believe that insofar as we are fighting against imperialist exploitation and to build socialism in our part of the world we are the natural allies of anybody who considers himself socialist.



Smith

For this reason, we think it is a duty of all socialist countries to support our struggle. It is not a privilege that we get some assistance from them.

We are suspicious of those socialist countries who try to impose conditions on us like "if we support you, you must not get aid from the Soviet Union", or vice versa.

We are the people who are genuinely fighting for change and we hope for this reason that the people of the socialist bloc will support our struggle."

Comment by 'Socialist Press'

Because of our unconditional support for the armed struggle against white racist rule in Zimbabwe, we are pleased to give an opportunity to members of ZANU to express their views in *Socialist Press*.

ZANU, a nationalist party, whose programme nonetheless contains a commitment to the pursuit of socialism, is the principle organised political force within the present guerilla struggle.

While acknowledging the principled statements of ZANU leaders in recent months, we strongly criticise the decision to enter a "Patriotic Front" with Nkomo's ZAPU whose leaders have so frequently shown their readiness to compromise with the Smith regime and imperialism, and the decision, confirmed by a special Congress in Lusaka on October 22, to participate in the Geneva Conference.

Regardless of the position taken by the ZANU delegates, such participation can only facilitate the schemes of the imperialists.

We think that in this interview, the ZANU militants themselves provide ample reasons why both these decisions were wrong, and why the talks should be broken off

fight for one's freedom."

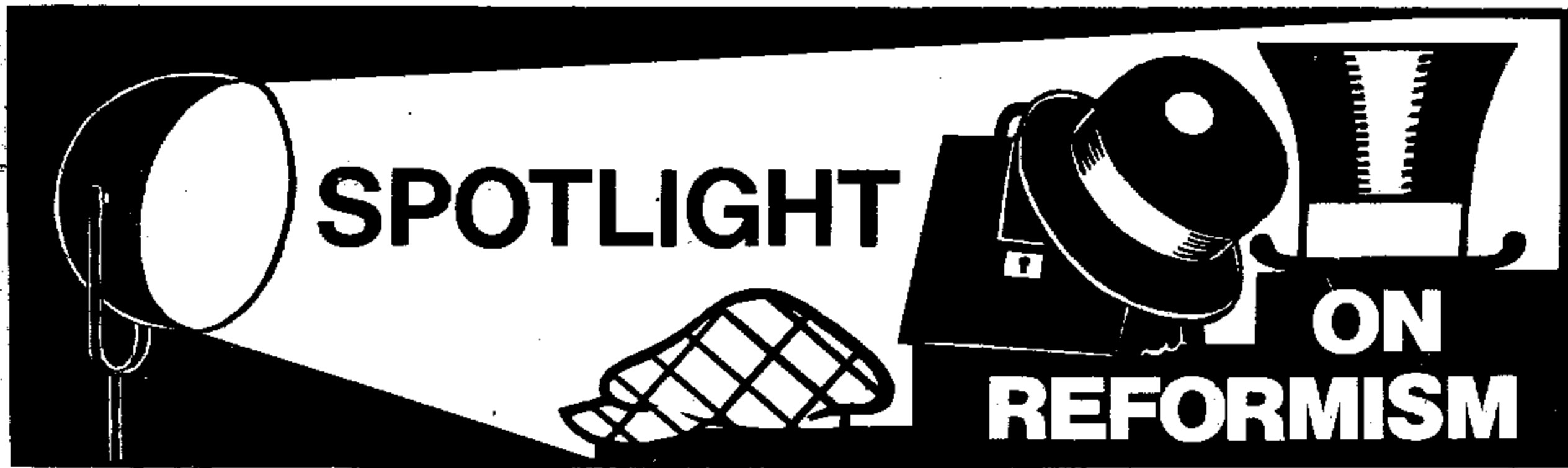
What about assistance from the Soviet or Chinese governments?

"We formed very close links at a very early stage with the Republic of China.

They played a major part in the development of our party and in those early stages we had to rely very much on their assistance including the training of our people, though the total of the aid has not been large — no more than a few hundred guns and a dozen or so trained people.

Most of our aid has come from

CAPITALISM STARVES PUBLIC SERVICES



As the British economy lurches still more unsteadily into decline, the impossibility of capitalism making social provision adequate to the needs of the working class becomes more starkly exposed.

But the trade union and Labour leaders attempt still to conceal this harsh reality. Instead they peddle two linked illusions. The first is that, given a healthy capitalist economy, adequate provision of public services could be made. The second is that the economy can be restored to 'health'.

These are the reasons why they put their backs into restoring profitability as the prerequisite of capitalist expansion. And in a period of crisis, 'profitability' becomes the altar on which all other social needs are sacrificed.

But in reality, even in its thirty years of post-war 'prosperity', capitalism never dreamed of furnishing these needs — indeed for the mass of the population it can never even realise the elementary rights it claims to uphold.

For example, the figure of state benefits actually taken up averages only about 40% — and they are never fully budgeted for. If the government were suddenly to pay out all the paltry entitlements as means-tested benefits, it would be bankrupted several times over!

But of course many areas of fundamental need have remained untouched by the much-vaunted 'welfare state'.

Services for the elderly (including pensions), for the mentally and physically handicapped, for youth and for children have remained at the bottom of the list.

HOUSEWORK

To replace the privatised drudgery of housework would likewise require a massive allocation of resources which could only take place when need is considered above profit, and the productive forces of capitalism are set free under a socialist plan.

Meanwhile as Tories and right wingers rant on about growing 'welfare' expenditure, 20% of local government spending simply goes on servicing debt charges, while

huge resources are devoted to maintaining the police force — indicating the real priorities of the capitalist class.

Many social services won by the working class as real material gains are administered repressively under capitalism. Housing allocation policies, rent rebates, schools, welfare services and the social security system are all operated to stratify and divide the working class and to harden the shackles of the family.

The encouragement of 'participation' and community organisation is an attempt to replace class struggle for reforms by class collaboration — incorporating workers' 'representatives' into local government procedures and undermining class consciousness by parochial notions of 'community'.

Now the huge spending axe wielded by Healey is disrupting the very workings of this set-up, creating the conditions to reexamine the whole approach of the workers' movement and its leadership to the operation of the social services.

But of course the established leaders of the working class hold

back from such a change. Some agree with Callaghan, Healey, Jones and Scanlon that, 'temporarily', cuts must be made in order to divert resources to private industry.

CONSUMPTION

Others, including the 'Tribune' Group claim that the problem is inadequate consumption, and that capitalism needs only full employment and increased public spending through the National Enterprise Board to reflate the economy.

The Tribunes agree with the Communist Party however, that there should be import controls and money controls to protect British industry against 'foreign' competition.

REFORM

In other words all these layers of the labour movement who simply seek to reform capitalism or, in the case of the Communist Party, claim they want to remove it through parliamentary means, fight the cuts within the limits set by the employers.

Revolutionaries believe that only socialism can solve the problems of

the working class, and for this reason the struggle against the cuts must be carried through in a way which advances the struggle for socialism. This means the fight must be carried through independently of the bourgeoisie, and in opposition to the class collaborating trade union leaders.

EXPANSION

Thus we demand not simply a halt to cuts, but also the expansion of services according to plans drawn up by elected committees of trade unionists, pensioners and tenants independently of the state bureaucracy, and based on need.

We call for an end to bureaucratic secrecy in the social services, for workers to elect committees to open the books of employing and governing bodies, to monitor staffing, and to investigate the profits made by the public service supply industries.

In this way, independent forms of organisation can be established in the course of today's struggles which will eventually run the social services under socialism.



Lobby against cuts at TUC Brighton Conference

I.Q. CHARLATAN EXPOSED

Recent revelations of rigged evidence and invented statistics has brought the discussion on the hereditary or environmental source of intelligence back into the news.

The 'Nature or Nurture' dispute has of course been a bogey in biology ever since it was recognised that certain qualities of the individual are largely governed by heredity whilst others are strongly modified by the physical and social environment.

than others — the middle class with respect to the working class and whites to other races.

The early geneticist Francis Galton thought that genius was hereditary and advocated a policy of selective breeding to preserve the intellectual stock.

By the 1930s some followers of Galton were proposing that workers on the dole should be sterilised, and the logical conclusion from the hypothesis was adopted in fascist Germany.

Attempts to show that some individuals are genetically superior intellectually goes back at least to the last century, and for many Victorians it was axiomatic that certain groups were better endowed

RACIST

Most recently, Jensen in the USA and Eysenck in Britain have attempted to put racist and supremacist views on a "respectable" footing by using IQ tests to show both that intelligence is inherited, and that workers and blacks are less intelligent than bosses and whites respectively.

Using data derived from IQ tests, especially those showing that identical twins (who are genetically identical) have closely related IQ scores, even when they have been brought up apart, it has been argued that heredity accounts for 80% of intelligence — leaving only 20% to be accounted for by environment.

UNCOMMON

Identical twins separated at birth are very uncommon, however, and consequently there are only four reports of such studies in scientific literature.

All of these four have been challenged, for various reasons. Nevertheless they form the backbone of the argument that IQ is

inherited.

Now it appears, however, that two of these four reports — and the best two at that — were faked.

It is widely accepted that Sir Cyril Burt, the founder of British Educational Psychology, published false data and invented crucial facts to support the theory that intelligence is largely inherited.

GUESSED

In a *Sunday Times* article on the controversy, four main charges are levelled against Burt; that he often guessed the IQ scores of people for whom he had no test available; that he invented the existence of two collaborators in order to give added authority to his publications; that he produced statistical values identical to three decimal places from different sets of data (a statistical impossibility); and that he simply invented other findings to fit his theory.

This revelation becomes even more astonishing when it is realised that this 'evidence' was the basis of Burt's educational theories, such as his belief that the most common cause of educational retardation was "inborn inferiority of general intelligence."

This theory was the rationale for government policy of segregating the mentally subnormal so that they would not reproduce.

His theory that intelligence was innate and therefore unlikely to change after early life was incorporated in the 1944 Education Act, establishing the theoretical basis for segregating children into Grammar, Technical and Secondary Modern schools, according to their "innate" ability.

COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

This theory, incidentally, is also the centre of the case against comprehensive education.

Of course the revelations on Burt's work do not in themselves prove the case against his theories,

though they are left as pure speculation, while a number of leading psychologists have quickly leapt to the defence of the theories whilst tut-tutting over Burt's 'unfortunate' methods of supporting them.

PIONEER

Perhaps the most forthright comment is that of Lord Alexander of Potterhill, General Secretary of the Association of Education Committees and a pioneer in use of IQ tests.

According to the *Times* of October 28th, Alexander has stated:

"Burt's fundamental propositions are not invalid. Some of the statistical evidence is open to challenge. I could not care less. I do not need any statistical evidence to recognise the validity of inheritance."

So much for the idea that 'free society' is immune from ideological influence on science!

Nevertheless, it would be wrong simply to take the revelations about Burt as a bulwark for the environmentalist argument. Indeed, the whole 'Nature versus Nurture' debate arises from a sterile and mechanical conception.

PROPORTIONS

To ask what proportion of intelligence is due to genes, and what to environment is like asking what proportion of a car is steel, and what is labour.

It is only when the dialectical interaction, the unity as well as the conflict between them is studied that an appreciation can be made, not only of what shapes the individual intellect, but also of how it may be changed and given fullest expression.

The fact that science does not exist independently of society makes such a development impossible under capitalism.

By Dai Stephens.

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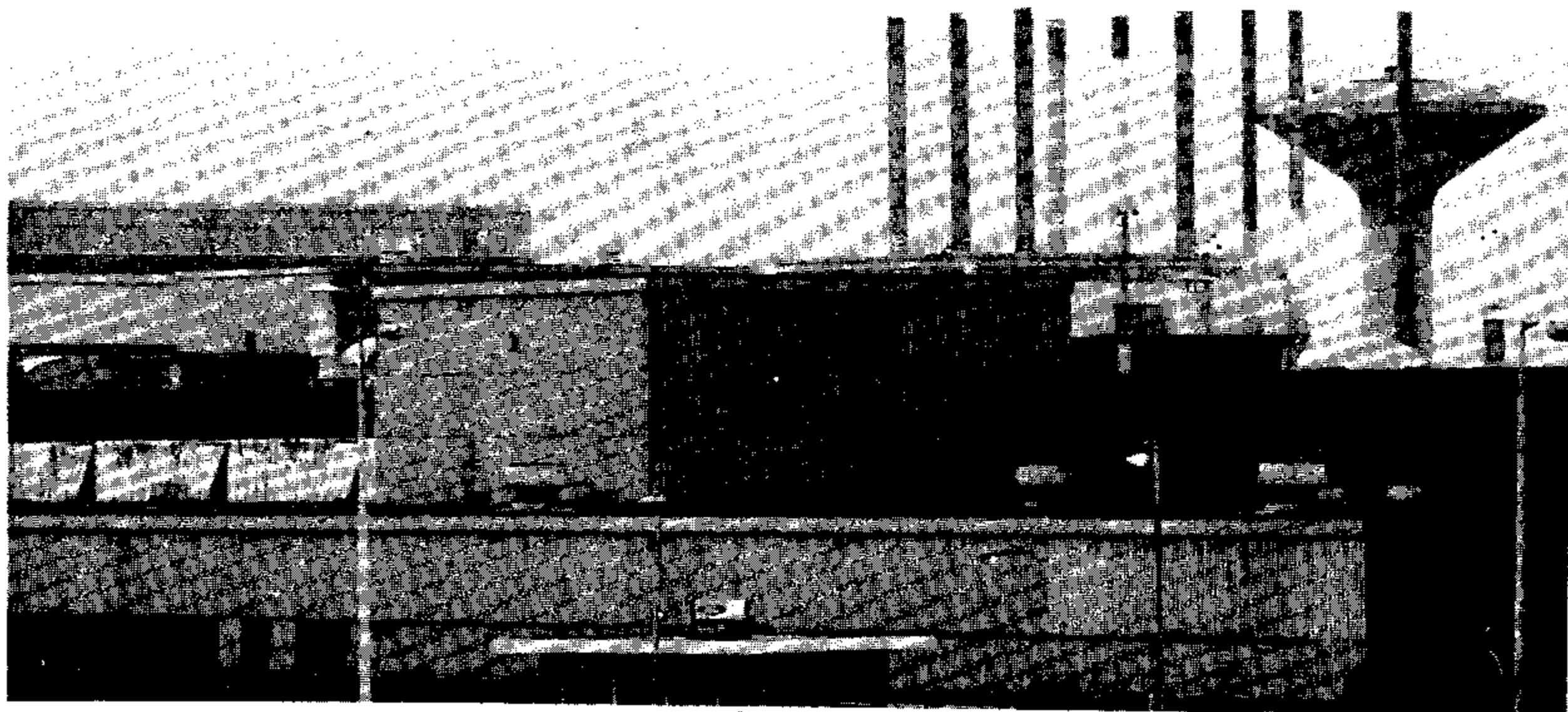
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INDUSTRIAL NEWS



Fords Halewood Works.

FORD'S OFFER REJECTED

All Ford factories, with the exception of Southampton, have now rejected the company's offer of a 4½% wage increase on the current annual wage review.

These votes show the developing mood of the working class on the wages issue once a lead is given. The problem is that the leadership have no intention of carrying the fight through.

HEIR APPARENT

Moss Evans (chief negotiator and heir apparent to the Jones' throne

next year) is treading a delicate line between supporting the social contract to please Jones and retaining some credibility with the Ford membership where he hopes to get votes.

THROWN OUT

This led him to throw out the claim formulated by the shop stewards as being outside the social contract and to substitute a claim based on the 4½% limit. When predictably management offered 4½% he avoided recommending acceptance of this and put it back to the members who rejected it.

Evans now talks of 'fringe benefits', yet he knows that Harry Urwin, deputy to Jones, told the Labour Party conference that the T&GWU would not press for fringe benefits like the seamen.

Ford workers should reject Evans' talk. With prices rising as they now are, it is not a matter of looking for fringe benefits which may be allowable under the social contract, but to *reject* the social contract and demand a substantial pay rise linked to a cost of living clause giving further increases to match the full effects of inflation as assessed by elected trade union committees.

CHARTER OPPOSES PAY DEAL

JOURNALISTS' CHARTER — a "left" rank and file grouping within the National Union of Journalists — has called on its members to launch a campaign for a return to free collective bargaining.

It is to campaign for an end to the social contract and support for chapels which try to win pay agreements outside the 4½% limit.

But the Charter at its annual meeting in Sheffield on Saturday refused to back a call for a wage claim of at least £15 a week with wage rises to keep pace with inflation to go forward immediately from the NUJ delegates meeting next April.

The Charter also refused to campaign for annual election of

officials, sticking instead to its present target of elections every three years. Charter supports recall of all elected officials but in fact the only NUJ full time paid official to be elected is the editor of *The Journalist*, the union's newspaper.

A motion to amend the aims from calling for "continuous financial disclosure" to a full blooded call to open the books whenever redundancies are threatened was also defeated.

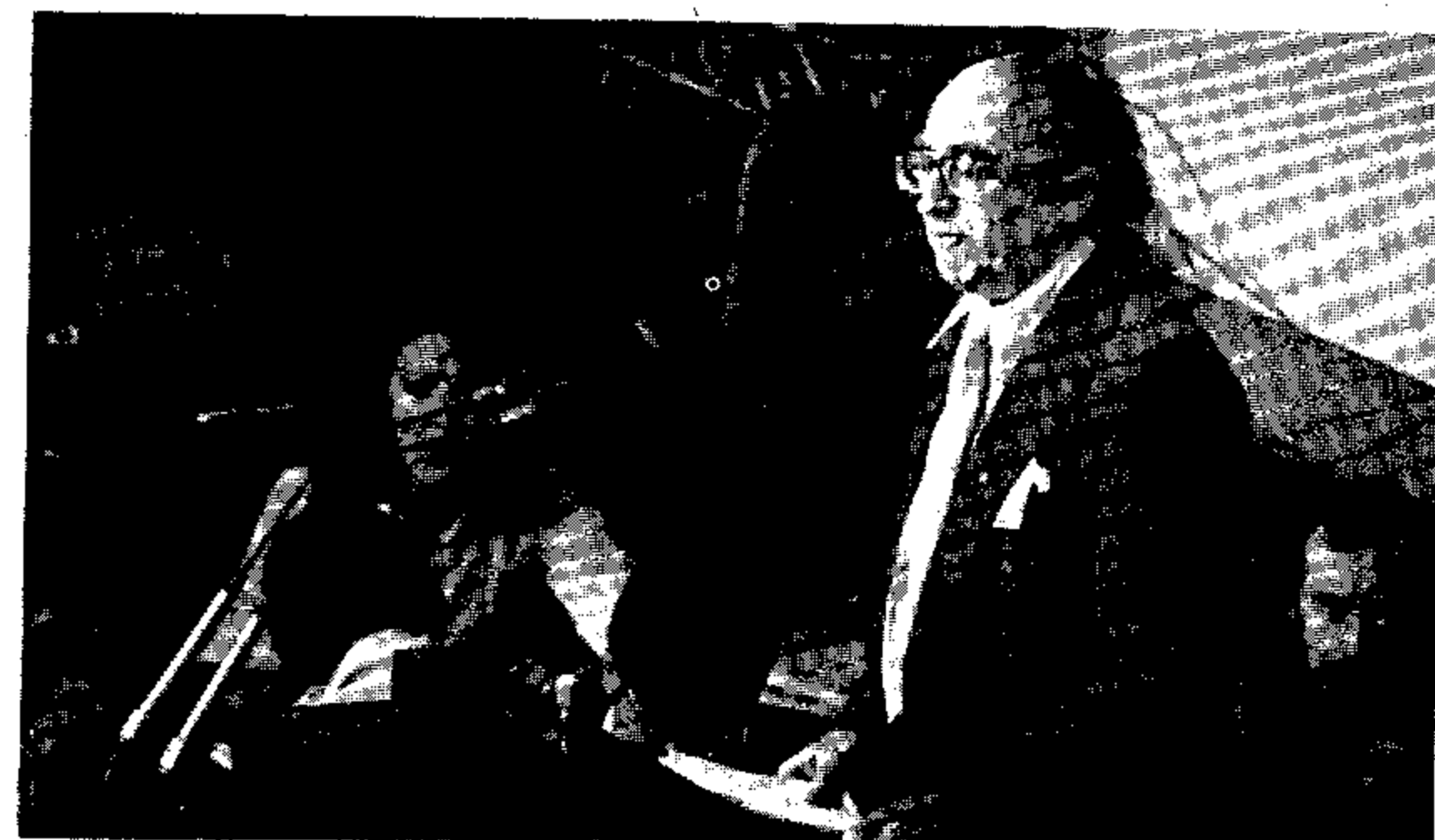
Charter is to issue leaflets explaining its opposition to the social contract, including an explanation of how the deal was cooked up and how the promises contained within it for less unemployment,

more money for social services and an end to inflation have all been broken.

Members will also continue a campaign begun last year of alerting NUJ members and printers to the way that new technology threatens mass unemployment within the print industry.

A new edition of the Charter pamphlet — *Technology in the Print, Why We Should Resist It* — is to be produced.

But unless the programme put forward by the Charter is developed to give definite direction to the fight against redundancies and wage control the danger is that such work will remain abstract propaganda.



Fred Jarvis, NUT General Secretary

Officials Attack Newham Teachers

At the last annual conference of the National Union of Teachers a leaflet distributed by the Workers Socialist League warned that new disciplinary measures would be used by the Executive against teachers fighting for jobs and decent educational facilities.

The correctness of this view is now being confirmed in Newham.

After teachers at the Little Ilford School had agreed not to take the lessons of colleagues absent for more than three days, as a protest against rising teacher unemployment, an NUT member was presented with a letter informing 'breach of contract' and threatening that action would be taken.

Support was given to the victimised teacher in the form of unofficial strike action on the 4th October. Since that time attempts have been made to win wider support outside the school.

In the face of this attack the response of the union leadership has been one of cynical betrayal.

They have threatened disciplinary action through the union to supplement that being offered by the Education Authority.

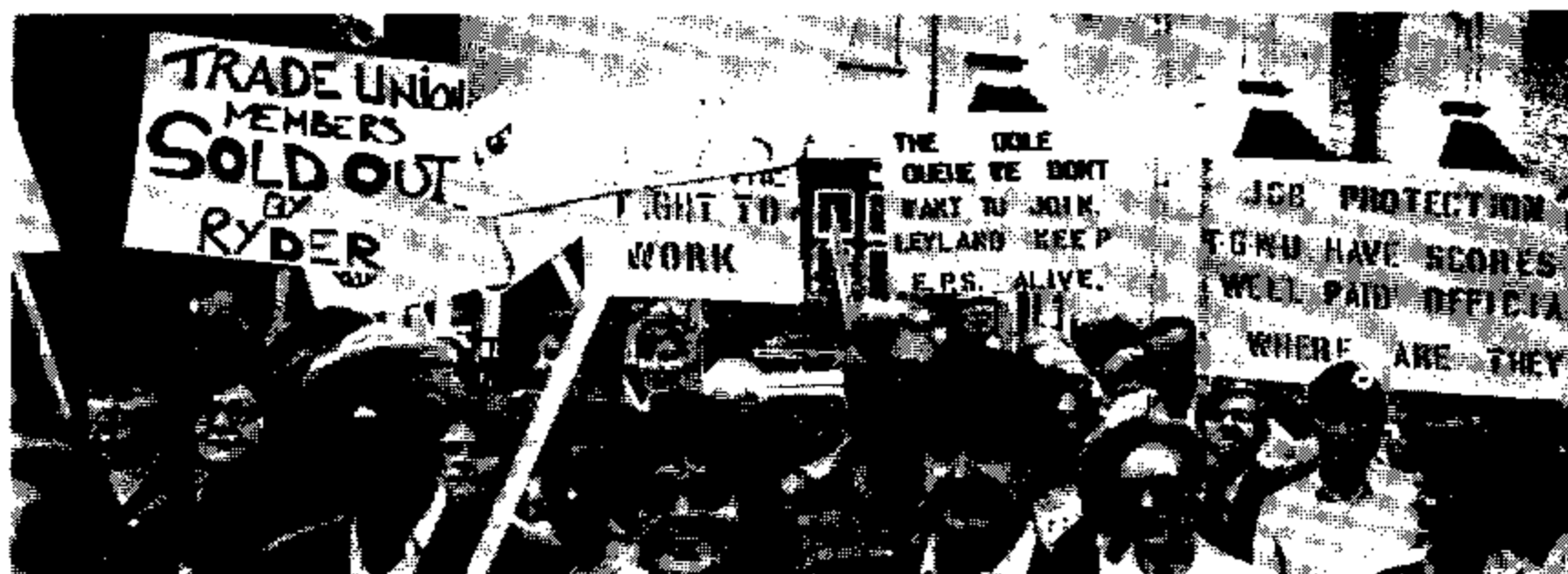
Thirty five teachers have been suspended for refusing to sign slips disassociating themselves from 'unofficial action', and the NUT bureaucrats, who through their policies have made sure that the only action taken in defence of jobs will be unofficial have simply lined up with the Authority in pressing this attack home.

On no occasion did they even make the gesture of sending one of their minions to the school in question to take a look at the situation.

They had decided their position in advance.

The way in which attacks on democracy in the teachers' union have paved the way for the sabotage of even the most minimal struggle has never been illustrated more clearly.

The question of removing this leadership as the precondition for any successful struggle against unemployment now acquires a burning importance.



DEFEND PACKING JOBS

A mass meeting last Tuesday of about 1,000 workers at the Export Packing Services factory near Banbury voted overwhelmingly to support a programme of action in defence of their jobs.

In line with the policy of the British Leyland 'participation' committees, all Leyland packing work, starting with the Allegro, is to be withdrawn from EPS into various

British Leyland plants. This would result in the closure of EPS.

The decision of the mass meeting was to mobilise immediately a large squad of flying pickets ready to move onto the Cowley plant as soon as Leyland start bypassing EPS and diverting components to Cowley.

The meeting decided to start collecting in order to establish a defence fund capable of sustaining 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week pickets many miles from EPS itself.

TRADES COUNCIL JOBS FIGHT

Leamington Trades Council is launching a large scale campaign against unemployment and the cuts in the next month.

This follows the setting up of an unemployment sub-committee in June, whose work led to the proposing of a demonstration and two public meetings designed to illuminate the political points involved in fighting for jobs and against cut-backs in public services.

The Trades Council is putting forward a fighting programme for a campaign in the unions, which avoids the reactionary demands for import controls that are the stock in trade of the bureaucracy and their hangers-on in the Communist Party.

One of the most important

slogans of the campaign is the call for a programme of public works under trade union control.

This is the only alternative to the fraudulent "job creation" and "work experience" schemes put forward by the government.

The sole intention of these projects is to stifle the frustration of school leavers by shoving a small proportion of them into dead end "jobs" with slave labour rates of pay with the close prospect of a return to the dole queues.

Every attempt is being made by the Trades Council to get those on the dole to join the unions so that the strength of all workers can be brought into play on the side of the unemployed.

The importance of this is shown by the situation in a local firm, Pottertons, whose shop stewards

have accepted voluntary redundancy as the easiest way out of the fight for jobs.

This comes down to selling jobs and the Trades Council has taken a principled line of opposition to this calling for a stop to voluntary redundancy and the filling of all vacancies.

This programme is to be pushed into the limelight by the Trades Council, starting with a special meeting and social for unemployed youth, where a film and a performance by the Red Ladder Theatre Group will be followed by discussion on how unemployment can be fought.

Two big public meetings follow which are designed to build up support for the demonstration on November 27th.

TASS LEADERS ATTACK DEMOCRACY

The Executive Committee of TASS has accepted a report from its Organisation Sub-Committee which proposes major changes in the union's decision making procedure.

At present each branch elects one delegate to the annual conference, is allowed to submit two motions and can amend any motions.

Under the new proposals delegates would be elected on a 1/1750 members basis, by the Divisional Council not the branches (delegates would have to be DC members), motions could only be submitted by a DC and each DC would be limited to four motions.

Amendments to motions could only be put at conference — neither DCs nor branches could submit amendments.

The effect of these moves on democracy in the union can be seen quite clearly.

For example in No. 16 Division (which has 12 branches) the effect of the new procedure would be to reduce conference delegates from 12 to 4 and the number of motions which could be submitted from 24 to 4!

The Stalinist dominated Executive clearly fears the continued growth of opposition to its leadership. There must be a determined campaign to throw out the proposed changes at the next annual conference.

HOSPITALS UNDER FIRE

EGA CLOSURE NEARS

The closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital moved a step closer this week with the announcement in Parliament that all in-patients will be removed from the hospital by the end of December.

The announcement, in a reply by Minister for the NHS, Roland Moyle, (a NUPE sponsored MP) to a primed question from Lena Jeger, the local MP, came after a series of visits to Moyle by NUPE officers, by the EGA consultants and by a group of local people.

With the final date now set for closure the willingness of the EGA workers to fight remains strong.

HOSPITAL COMMITTEE

They have now formed a hospital committee to organise the defence of the hospital, including, if necessary, a work-in.

The committee represents all grades of staff at the hospital, including consultants, whose interests very temporarily coincide with those of the workers.

This is where the weakness of the defence of the EGA lies. At the moment the workers feel that they cannot make any decisions unless the consultants acquiesce.

But at the same time, the consultants are using the strength of feeling amongst the workers to negotiate better facilities for themselves in surrounding hospitals when the EGA finally closes.

The Area Health Authority, well aware of the incipient split in the hospital, on two occasions have offered the consultants more beds at the Whittington Hospital in an attempt to persuade them to move.

WAVERED

And on both occasions, the consultants have wavered and hesitatingly dangled the carrot of more beds in front of the workers.

Of course, more beds at the Whittington means nothing to the EGA workers who are interested basically in saving their jobs and the special EGA facilities and not in

which consultant has which beds at the Whittington.

And if the AHA are using the carrot of beds to gain the support of the consultants for the move to the Whittington, they are also using a stick on the unions.

THREATENED

At a meeting of representatives of the EGA staff, including Divisional Officers from NUPE and ASTMS, the AHA threatened that if the unions took any action against the proposed short term move to the Whittington, then this would prejudice any chance of funding a long term home for the EGA anywhere.

The long talked-about work-in is now an urgent necessity at the EGA. The only time that the AHA have ever looked worried was on September 23rd after the strike in all Camden hospitals in support of the EGA.

The ghost of this strike was called up at the AHA meeting on Wednesday 27th October when both ASTMS and COHSE officials threatened that if a single patient or single member of staff is moved from the EGA then their members at the receiving hospital would strike.

SUPPORT

NUPE, ASTMS and COHSE have expressed their support both for a work in and for supportive strikes.

The immediate task is for the officers of these unions to organise and declare the date of the work-in to begin.

This is not the only task, though. It would suit both the union officials, the AHA and the DHSS if such an action was limited to a protest against the closure.

The work-in and supportive strikes must become the basis of a workers' enquiry into the NHS in the area, with a workers' estimate of the needs and provisions of health facilities at the moment.

On the basis of requirements of workers in the area, a plan must be drawn up for the provision of health services.

The demand for the opening of the books not only of the AHA, but also of the private suppliers of the NHS must be advanced.

Unless the work-in is used as a basis for such demands, then it can only be a last-ditch desperate protest, and not a way forward to defend the NHS as a whole.

HACKNEY

AS THE SACKINGS START

In London the Labour government plans to close 120 hospitals out of 150. This would mean that in 'health blackspots' like Hackney, the Health Service would come to a virtual standstill.

A new consultative booklet just issued by the Area Health Authority proved conclusively that the City and East London has more health needs than many parts of the country but the least medical facilities.

The area also lags far behind the rest of London. The rate of general and infant deaths in particular has been consistently above the national average.

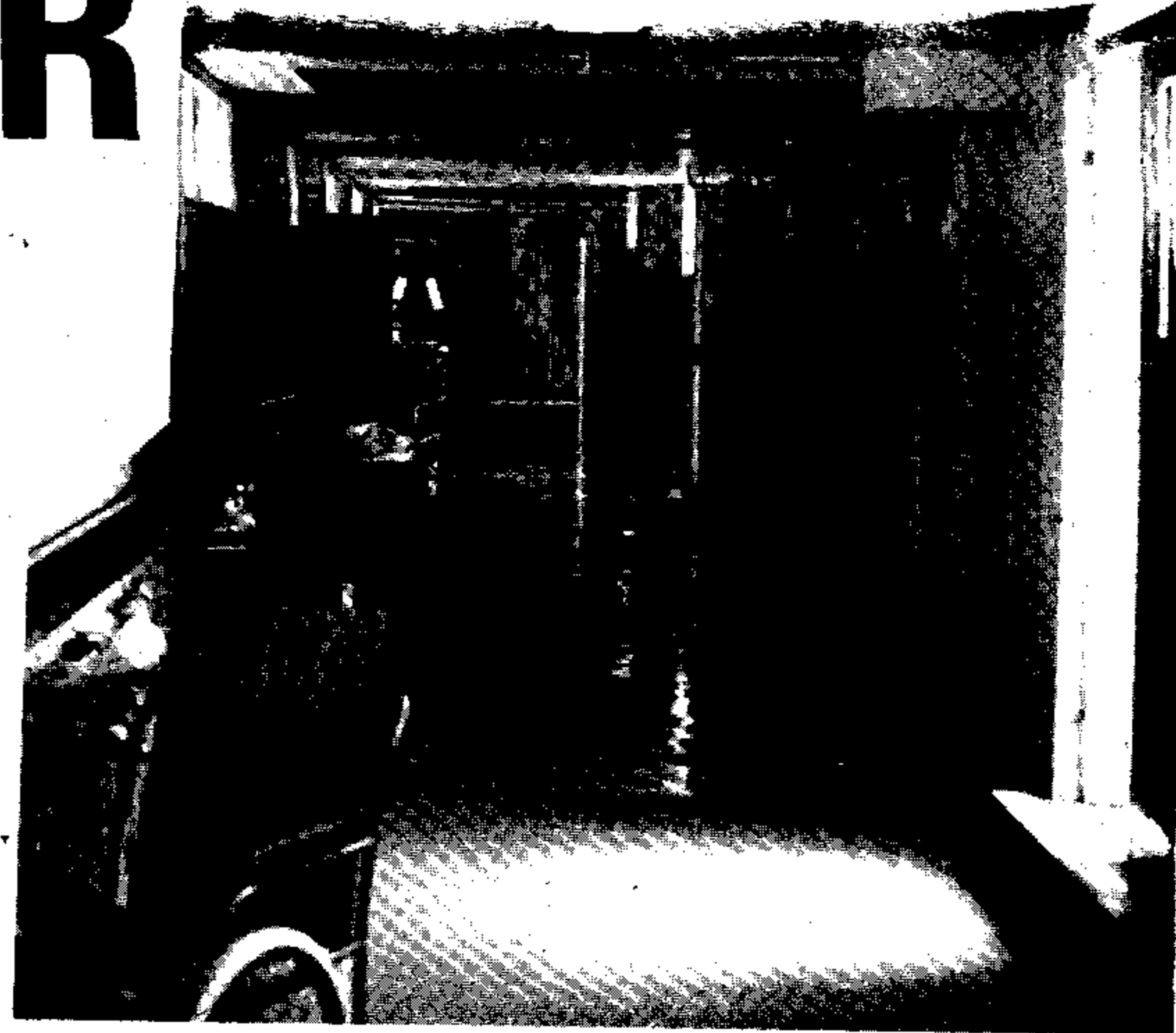
The same goes for the prevalence of handicap or long term sickness.

And although the number of mentally handicapped in East London is 35% higher than the GLC area, the admission into hospital of such cases was only half the GLC rate.

17-POINT PLAN

It is in these already wretched conditions that the Area Health Authority intended to implement a cut of over £700,000 in the Hackney district through a 17 point plan.

In a Socialist Press interview with George Box, the NUPE Branch Chairman in Hackney hospital and Ron Paynter, acting Branch Secretary, the meaning of this 17 point plan was brought out.



them" "The reason we go on strike is to defend the Health Service. We fight for the unity of patients and workers - we have the same interests."

Ron and George said they were disappointed NUPE had called no strike action but continued, "It is about time something was done about these wretched conditions due to cuts. We expect a mass walk-out. We have been getting encouraging support from other unions too - like the nurses."

Yet despite this feeling there has been no real lead from Alan Fisher, NUPE General Secretary.

The call for a one-day national demonstration and lobby of Parliament on 17th November does not even amount to a one day strike.

This demonstration is designed to let off steam and divert militancy, channelling it into a protest movement.

Although the November 17th demonstration is a conscious manoeuvre by Fisher and the public service union bureaucrats to dampen the workers' militancy, those workers who respond to the call will be doing so for opposite reasons.

They will be coming to defend the Health Service and to smash the social contract.

This is why the November 17th Day of Action must be fully supported, wherever possible by strike action.

STRIKE ACTION

But this, they said, is only the beginning: "We will see a tremendous onslaught after Christmas. The membership will not accept this. We will take strike action."

They added: "It is nonsense when the authorities try to stop the strikes by blackmailing us and playing on our consciences, saying that the strikes would hit the patients - while at the same time it is the same authority which cuts off the electricity for thousands of old age pensioners, literally killing

Student Backing For Nov 17th

A motion calling for a one day strike on November 17th was passed by an overwhelming majority of the 300 students present at the Enfield branch of the Middlesex Polytechnic Students Union last Thursday.

The motion demanded that left MPs vote against any further cuts in public spending as a result of the latest run on the pound. It further called upon these MPs to start a campaign in the labour and trade union movement for a massive

injection of funds into the social services, linking public spending to inflation.

RESPONSE

This policy of strike action in support of the NUPE lobby of Parliament must be taken up by both students and staff in every college and university.

There is no doubt that this policy will find a huge response within the student movement, carrying forward from last year the willingness of students to fight the policies of this Labour government.

STRIKE STOPS BINGO HALL

SEVENTY WOMEN WORKERS employed as cleaners, kitchen workers and bingo callers came out on strike in Coventry on October 22nd, demanding trade union recognition, better rates of pay and improved working conditions.

They decided to join the T&GWU three months earlier, spurred on by their current pay rates of only 56p per hour, with an average of five hour shifts - while overtime is paid at a pittance of 12p per hour!

The women are all employed by Orr Enterprises, who own all the major Bingo Halls and Casinos in Coventry and Leamington, and who have to date refused to recognise the T&GWU.

Instead, three months ago, the management of Orr Enterprises and Club One called in the officials of the National Association of Theatre Television and Kine Employees (NATTKE) and signed an agreement giving NATTKE sole negotiating rights.

This directly challenged the workers' right to organise in the trade union of their choice.

As the dispute broke out, an official from NATTKE attempted to placate the women by offering

them 1971 rates of pay. This incensed them even more and they took strike action, contacting the T&GWU who immediately made the strike official.

To date, the women are winning massive support for their dispute, and with all the major delivery firms (with the exception of the Northampton Glass Co.) and the city refuse collectors all refusing to cross the picket line they have

brought the Bingo Hall to a closure.

This in turn is having the same effect on all the other Orr Enterprise clubs in the city, plus its cinema chain, with new deliveries of films being turned away.

Resolutions of support and donations to the strike fund should be sent to:

Sister Ann Coffey, T&GWU Shop Steward, 42, Hamilton Road, Stoke, Coventry.



PHOTO: Coventry Evening Telegraph

HIGH COURT APPOINTS STEWARD!

The refusal of Hugh Scanlon and the leadership of the AUEW to take action against past High Court interference in the union has led to yet another astounding case.

The Darlington District Committee of the AUEW decided to withhold credentials from a shop steward who scabbed on a mass meeting decision for a 24-hour token strike.

Last week a High Court Judge, Mr. Justice Oliver issued an order requiring the District Committee to meet the blackleg concerned within 14 days and to approve his election

This case highlights the trend towards Court interference in the unions over recent years.

What the state could not achieve through the Industrial Relations Act it is now setting out to achieve by gradually strengthening the role of the Courts in the affairs of the trade unions.

It is a dangerous development. While it was possible to pressure the trade union leadership into some form of action against the Act, now the Courts are being brought in by the back door the leaders feel able to sit back and let it happen.

Militant workers should take up within the trade union movement every case of Court interference as soon as it occurs. The independence of the trade unions must be

MORE PAY CURBS PLANNED BY CALLAGHAN

As the huge economic crisis of British capitalism continued to escalate during the last fortnight, it has become clear that a further package of spending cuts, coupled to prolonged wage controls are being lined up by the Labour government.

News of the crisis came thick and fast as each day piled up additional statistics and details of the attacks in store for the working class.

On Monday 18th October it was revealed that the growth in the money supply (printing of additional paper currency), is running now at 27% per annum - more than double Healey's projected figure of 12%, and massively stoking up inflation, which already stands at 15%.

STAGNANT

Next day the publication of retail sales figures showed that they had remained stagnant for the last three months - and are now running at a lower level than they were two years ago.

At the same time both British and German motor manufacturers launched a concerted campaign to the Common Market to cut down on 'cheap' cars imported from Eastern Europe.

The British Communist Party, which has vociferously demanded curbs on car imports from Japan and Germany was thus put in an acutely embarrassing position.

On Wednesday October 20th the pressure for protection of the European shipbuilding industry against 'foreign' competition was stepped up with an EEC move to cut imports from Japan.

In part of the publicity for this move the Chief Executive designate of the new nationalised board of British Shipbuilders, J. Graham Day, announced that the whole shipbuilding industry here was close to collapse.

By Monday 25th October, figures were emerging on the scale of spending cuts contained in the implementation of present policies over the next year.

Some 3½% of local authority spending will need to be axed - from services already cut to the bone in every area. This will mean an inevitable loss of jobs.

On that same day the pound crashed through the floor of the foreign exchange markets, plunging a new record low value.



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Callaghan's response was immediate. That evening, speaking at the opening of a new headquarters for the Post Office Engineers Union he stated that a further period of wage restraint was now "essential".

This statement, made while the value of the wage packet took a record blow as a result of the crisis of British capitalism, was in general covered over by the Tory press, whose owners were looking for even more drastic and dramatic measures to attack the working class.

But in case anyone thought the wholesale onslaught on jobs and living standards might force the union leaders into any kind of militant stance, Jack Jones confirmed his continued alliance with the employers in defence of British capitalism, stating:

"There is no question that the pound is undervalued and the message that Britain must give to the world is that we are a united nation determined to win through."

REACTIONARY

This line is of course completely reactionary. To suggest there is any unity of interest between the 1½ million unemployed or the countless millions facing speed-up and wage cuts on the one hand, and the bloated bankers and capitalists of the CBI with whom Jones and Callaghan collaborate each day, is a complete deception.

Yet what clearly dominates both Callaghan in his appeals for 'social stability', and Jones with his talk of a 'united nation' is the fear of the growing resistance within the working class to the

4½% deal and the reactionary leaders who have foisted it upon them.

Trepidation at the response of workers in the coming months seems also to have caused both Whitehall and TUC bureaucrats to remain unenthusiastic about the puny 13,000 drop in unemployment in the seasonally adjusted figures.

They know only too well that this temporary drop is in no way an indication of the future, when the forecast is nearer to two million jobless than one, at least until 1979.

LOBBY

Fears of a hostile and militant working class also lie behind the 13-6 vote decision of the Labour Party National Executive Committee to support the November 17th lobby of Parliament in opposition to cuts in public spending.

Neither the fact that the government has no intention of paying any attention to the NEC vote nor the fact that the 'lefts' on the NEC have no intention of leading any serious fight against the cuts in public expenditure, as demonstrated by their pitiful performance at the Labour Party Conference last month, prevented the pound from sliding a further 1½ cents the same afternoon.

On October 30th, amid the news that rail fares are to rise by another staggering 12½% - clearly as a prelude to further cutbacks in service, the Cabinet met to discuss a new package of spending cuts for late November (after the by-election results are counted).

Rumour had it that three unlikely bedfellows were opposing the cuts - faded 'lefts' Foot and Benn, together with right-winger Anthony Crosland. Crosland's position threatens to cause Callaghan embarrassment, since there is no credible way in which he can be branded as 'extreme' or 'left wing' for opposing a package of measures which will incur the hostility of the vast majority of Labour supporters.

As the crisis lurches on from day to day the complete economic and political impasse of the Labour government is exposed more and more clearly.

Every new statistic only confirms the impossibility of reforms - and the need for the struggle uncompromisingly to defend jobs and working class living standards, paving the way in the process for the ousting of the present Labour and trade union leaders and the building of a new leadership prepared to struggle for socialism.

FIGHT ALL SACKINGS, OCCUPY!.....Cont'd from Page 1.

the TUC and the Labour government have little respect for the niceties of the social contract. They accept the profits bonus provided by the wage-cutting 4½% deal, but on closures move with complete disregard for the bureaucracy.

This has left leaders like Jack Jones floundering, seeking a face-saving way of heading off working class resistance.

The Times showed this clearly, pointing out that Jones is:

"Concerned because clearly he knows only too well that this sort of shattering blow to a highly sensitive area like the North West can be used by militants in his own union and elsewhere to grease the skids under the social contract that he is so vigorously trying to preserve."

CONDEMNATION

Indeed the Courtaulds closures are a crushing condemnation of the social contract. They indicate that, regardless of the level of speed-up and wage-cutting agreed to by the union bureaucracy on behalf of their members, there is no escaping the axe of capitalist rationalisation.

The only defence of jobs lies in a rejection of the 'profit and loss' line of argument put by the employers and by TUC leaders alike, and the mobilisation of the full strength of the working class itself in independent struggle, starting with the occupation of factories threatened with closure. This step has already been discussed in Skelmersdale, where an action committee has been elected.

The occupations must call on the support of other workers in the combine and put forward the demand that Courtaulds be forced to open their books to elected trade union committees at plant, division and combine level.

This will expose to the workers movement the real financial position and manipulations, the hidden deals and the future intentions of Courtaulds management and provide the case for the nationalisation of the massively subsidised Courtaulds combine, compensating only small savers.

At the same time the insight the opening of the books would provide into the marketing and production techniques in textiles will provide the basis of a workers' plan of expanded and improved production in the longer term, to use to the full the productive resources held back by the capitalist's lust for profit in a period of slump.

Until such a workers' plan can be implemented the work available must be shared, at no loss of pay, among the whole workforce in each factory, with no redundancies.

Union bureaucrats and Labour ministers, attempting to argue 4,000 workers out of their factories and onto the dole queues, will argue such a programme is 'unachievable'. But what is certainly unachievable is full employment, improved living standards or secure working conditions unless such a fight is taken up.

'LEADERS'

Those 'leaders' of the working class who dodge this fight are simply paving the way for defeat and demoralisation of the working class and the downfall of the Labour government.

They must be replaced by a new leadership which will develop the fighting capacity and independence of the working class.

This is the lesson the Courtaulds closure holds for every worker.

By-election candidates

THE LABOUR government is this week likely to bear the fruits of its consistent anti-working class policies in a disastrous turnout at the November 4th by-elections and the Tories await eagerly to take maximum advantage.

Despite the policies of the Callaghan government, Socialist Press is calling for the largest possible class vote for the Labour candidate against the Tories in each constituency.

Workers in Walsall N., Workington and Newcastle Central should demand that the Labour candidate take a stance against the anti-working class policies of Callaghan and campaign to drive the right-wing leadership out of the Labour Party, replacing it with leaders prepared to defend the interests of the working class.

In Walsall N. and Newcastle Central workers will have the opportunity of voting for an International Socialist candidate standing on a Socialist Workers Party platform.

In our opinion the "programme" advanced by these candidates, based as it is solely upon generalisations about corruption and fighting the cuts and unemployment offers no credible alternative or clear way forward for the working class.

But it is not solely a question of programme. While not opposed to voting for revolutionary candidates in principle it is our view that the present period is not the correct time for standing such candidates, particularly when a split vote and the return of a Tory candidate could be a possible outcome.

As the fight back against the attacks of the Labour government begins to get underway on a number of fronts, in particular wages and public spending cuts, it is vital, in our efforts to break the working class from reformism to constantly expose the practice of the reformists. This task is made much easier when the Labour government is in power rather than in opposition where the reformist leaders can assume once more a 'left' mantle.

For this reason we are opposed to voting for the SWP.

FUND

The October Fund closed with a total of £505.52. Latest donations include: Cambridge reader, £5; Cardiff reader, 0.50p; BLMC Cowley workers, £17.50; Coventry, £12.50; South London, £20.

The November Fund has got off to a good start with £22.45 in on the first day.

£1,000 SPECIAL FUND.

A further £49 has been received in pledges or donations to the £1,000 Special Fund since the last issue of Socialist Press. This leaves us with only £146.00 to raise by the end of the month, but this must not be left to the end of the month. All donations for the Monthly Fund or the £1,000 Special Fund should be sent to:

Socialist Press
31, Dartmouth Park Hill
London NW5 1HR

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recently and although Foot reacted to an article in the New Statesman which said he supported the dictatorship, he was very careful still not to condemn it.

From the rest of the 'left' MPs there is an eerie silence.

A solidarity movement must be developed, which, unlike that of the Maoists, has no connection with bourgeois parties, and which is able to demand that the 'lefts' and the CPGB take a position of opposition to the dictatorship.

This movement must fight for the release of political prisoners like imprisoned Socialist Party leader George Hernandez as well as other democratic rights in India alongside the fight to break ties with imperialism through the ending of the aid and investment programmes.

This Ghandi dictatorship is a tool of imperialism.

Its roots are within the crisis of the major imperialist countries and the way this reflects in their investments in countries like India. Our fight is that of the Indian working class and peasantry against Ghandi.

And we weaken Ghandi whenever we fight the attacks of the Labour government on the working class.



MORE INFORMATION

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

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