

# SOCIALIST PRESS ★

FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

No 55 \* 16th March 1977 \* 10p

## BLOW AGAINST WAGE CONTROL TOOLMAKERS SLAM SCANLON

"Who do you represent: the government, the management or the membership?" This pointed question, rammed home to AUEW President Hugh Scanlon by a bitter meeting of 3,000 striking Leyland toolmakers last Friday is one that is being echoed amongst thousands of workers in every sector of industry.

The question pinpoints the role of the trade union bureaucracy as guardians of the government's wage control policy, collaborators with management, and policemen over the working class.

### AWAKENING

It knocks on the head any notion that the toolroom workers are not up against the Social Contract. And it sounds the note of an awakening working class groping for its political independence—the death knell of bureaucracy.

In voicing this the toolmakers are not an exception—but the clearest reflection of the voice of the working class.

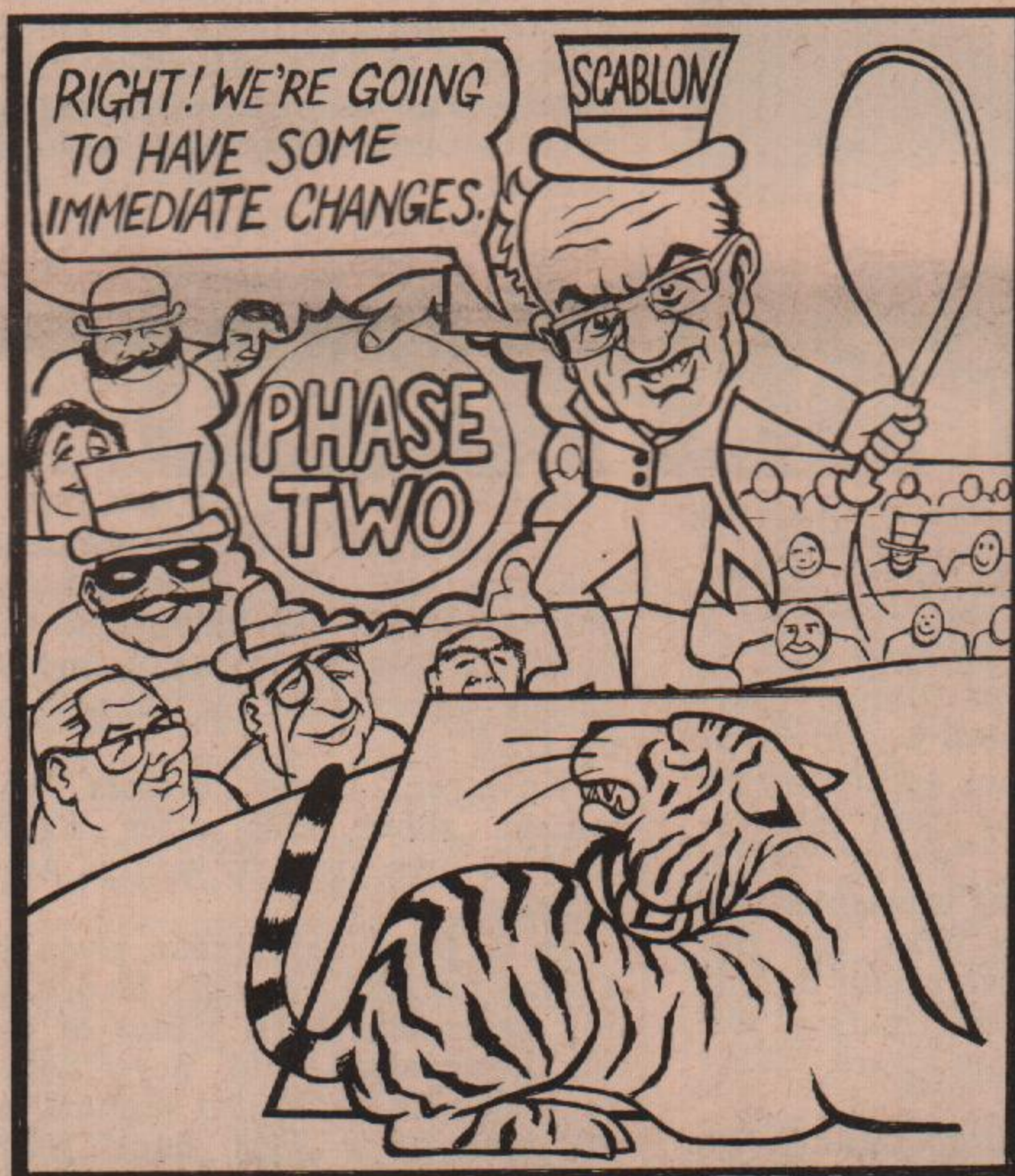
Scanlon of course is one of the foremost enforcers of the Social Contract. Last summer he brought the AUEW to the point of split as he railroaded acceptance of the 5% wage limit through the union's national conference in defiance of the rulebook.

Since then he has stomped the country defending every aspect of the government's policy, and using every means of intimidation at his disposal through union committees to break the resistance of any section of workers in struggle against wage controls or the brutal speed-up measures being forced in throughout the motor and engineering industry.

### ONLY TEN VOTES

Yet last Friday, face to face with 3,000 of the 1.2 million workers he supposedly represents, Scanlon could only win a puny ten votes for his proposals.

This came in a week in which the separation of the trade union bureaucracy from the membership was vividly exposed.



In Fleet Street, NATSOPA General Secretary Owen O'Brien found himself unable to win more than twelve votes out of 120 in repeated efforts to force workers on the *Times* back to work. Without any real support it was only his expulsion of the whole group of workers from the union—thus effectively sacking them out of the industry—that eventually weakened their resolve and drove them back.

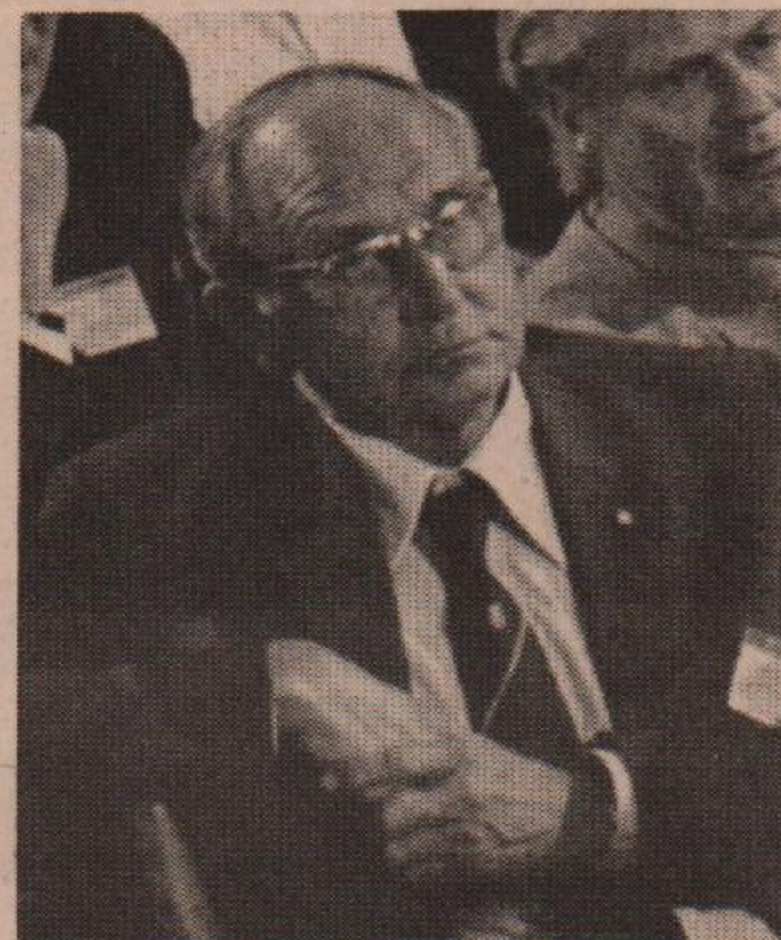
### DEMONSTRATION

In London last Wednesday a massive demonstration of 20,000 students many of them from occupied colleges hurled abuse at 'Broad Left' NUS President Charles Clarke who offered absolutely no policy to take forward their struggle against the impact of education cuts.

And on the same day in Glasgow, NALGO General Secretary Geoffrey Drain confronted howls of "scab" and "blackleg" from thousands of striking public sector workers furious at his compliance with a court order to call off an official one-day protest strike.

Bitter hostility to the treachery

of their bureaucratic leaders is sweeping the workers' movement, throwing into the balance the continued existence of the 5% pay limit which was never accepted by the membership and



Jones

is now preserved only by dictatorial measures exercised by increasingly discredited full-time officials.

Under these conditions wage-cutters in the Labour government are confronted with a real dilemma on the toolroom strike.

Whatever course of action they take, they must be guided by the knowledge that everywhere the working class is moving onto the offensive against wage-cutting and speed-up.

And in Plessey's the Kirkby work-in, with widespread solidarity action, is an indicator that workers are ready to occupy plants in the event of closure given the slightest hint of leadership.

The government and the TUC have three possible options in proceeding against the toolmakers.

### EXTREME WEAKNESS

They can press Scanlon to go for expulsions or suspension from the AUEW—in the knowledge that this would be from a position of extreme weakness.

They can move through the NEB for an announcement of closures and rationalisation of Leyland—risking a wave of factory occupations, and complete alienation of those sections of workers not on strike.

Or they can move towards

Cont'd Back Page, Col. 4

## Contents

International News . . . pp2-3  
 THF strike. . . . . Back Page  
 Film Review . . . . . p8  
 Million Year Pollution Threat . . . . . p9  
 French Revolution . . . pp6-7  
 CDLM Statement . . . . . p4  
 Festival of Healyism . . . p4  
 Industrial News . . . pp10-11

## PLESSEY CASE FOR WORKERS CONTROL

Workers in four Merseyside plants of Plessey Telecommunications last week excluded management from the factories following the company's announcement of a national total of 4,000 redundancies to be made on June 2nd.

At the Kirkby factory, which is to be closed down, the determined reaction of the 378 (mostly women) workers to the March 2nd announcement was to begin a work-in only two days later.

Management have been excluded since then except for half an hour the following Thursday so that wages could be paid.

The redundancies come as the result of decreased demand by the GPO for the electro-mechanical switching equipment produced in the factories.

But at the same time Plessey are engaged in rationalisation made possible through the change to the production of the all-electronic equipment now required by the GPO.

### SOLIDARITY

As a result, three factories (Kirkby, Sunderland and Speke) are to be closed; 1,300 jobs lost at the Edge Lane factory in Liverpool; and a further 700 installation workers will lose their jobs nationally.

At Edge Lane, Speke and Gilmoor (where installation workers fear that they will be amongst the doomed 700) white collar workers were until Monday preventing management from entering the factories as an act of solidarity with the Kirkby workers.

But despite this lead, no action has as yet been taken by the Sunderland workers or by shop floor workers at the Merseyside factories apart from Kirkby.

To begin a serious defence of jobs Plessey workers must fight to take real control of production into their hands.

This can begin at Kirkby and other plants by taking the super-

Cont'd Back Page, Col 3

WAGES CONFERENCE MARCH 27 SEE P4



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## DICTATORS RIG ELECTIONS

### El Salvador

The victory of ultra-right General Carlos Romero in last month's Presidential election in the tiny Central American republic of El Salvador was a foregone conclusion.

His party, the Party of National Conciliation set up by the army in 1962, won the last election by naked ballot rigging.

And it did the same again. Aside from the fraudulent count, working class voters in the capital San Salvador were forced to travel several miles if they wanted to cast their vote.

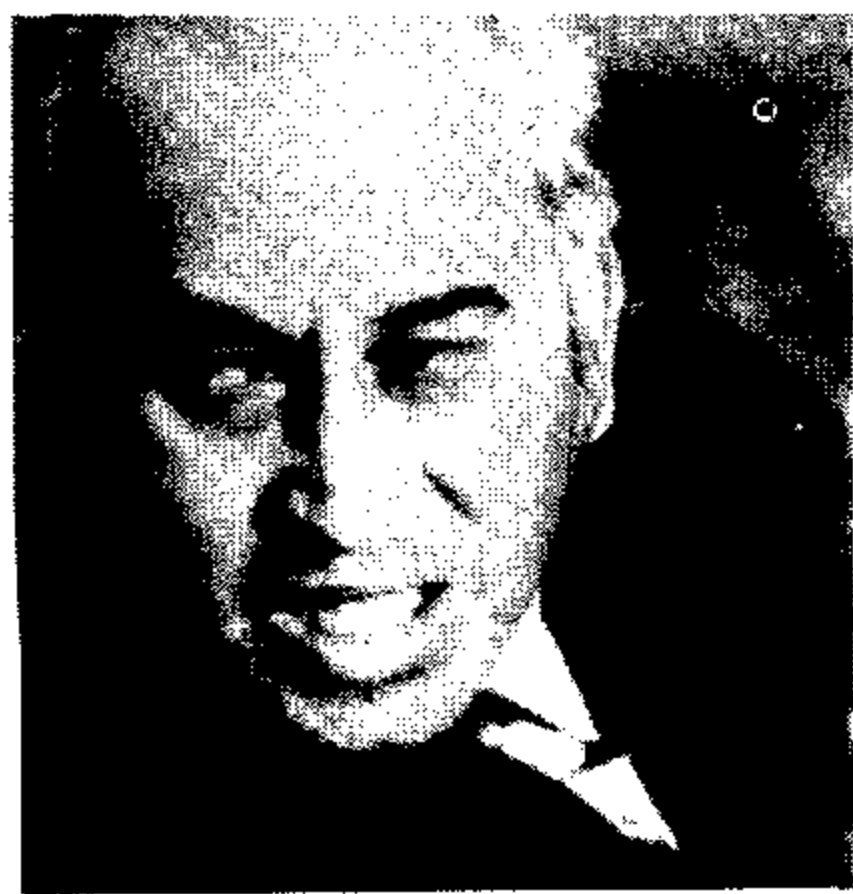
The left wing parties of the Socialist Bloc boycotted the election.

The result (announced by the radio before the count) provoked a wave of protest from the working class. There have been numerous strikes and demonstrations. At one time a demonstration of 15,000 occupied the main square of the capital.

This movement of protest has been attacked by the greatest brutality by the police and army.

According to opposition sources 200 people have been killed by the authorities in the three weeks since the election.

Romero has suspended all constitutional rights and is now set to rule through terror alone.



Bhutto

### Pakistan

Prime Minister Ali Bhutto's People's Party was returned to power in Pakistan's first elections since 1970 with well over the two-thirds Parliamentary majority which he needs to suspend the constitution.

The campaign was marked by huge rallies for the opposition Pakistan National Alliance led by Air Marshall Azghar Khan, whose only policy was opposition to Bhutto.

There was an evident lack of enthusiasm for Bhutto's arrogant demagoguery.

Every press reporter on the

spot has reported gross violations of the electoral law, including the packing of ballot boxes with false votes.

Bhutto, who has now dropped his former pretensions to 'Islamic Socialism', has failed to get the political 'legitimacy' he sought through the election.

Having nothing in his policies to meet any of the needs of the impoverished masses of Pakistan, Bhutto will be forced to rule through crisis measures as workers and peasants search for a political way to solve their problems.

Already they have begun to launch numerous protests against Bhutto's dictatorship, including a one-day general strike.

In response police have shot dead a number of demonstrators, arrested at least 1,000 oppositionists and banned all demonstrations.



Gandhi

### INDIA

If Indira Gandhi wins the Indian election on March 16th then no honest witness will believe that the results are genuine.

The Congress Party leadership are past masters at the art of ballot rigging, something which they do with more finesse than their counterparts in neighbouring Pakistan.

Congress controls the broadcasting services completely, though many sections of the press have shown their hostility and 40,000 journalists went on a one-day strike during the campaign to demand higher wages, the first strike since the emergency was partly lifted.

#### POLITICAL PRISONERS

Gandhi has kept 30,000 opposition political prisoners in jail throughout the campaign.

And 200 battalions of troops have been withdrawn from the borders to keep 'law and order' during the election.

Whoever 'wins' the ballot, Gandhi's Congress or the opposition alliance of right-wingers and reformists, the masses have been showing what they think of the dictatorship, and India will remain in a state of political crisis until it obtains a government which represents the interests of workers and peasants.

## MID EAST SELL OUT PREPARED

The red carpets in Mid-East airports must have worn thin in recent weeks with the series of visits from UN Secretary General, Waldheim, from 6th to 12th February and new US Secretary of State Cyrus Vance from 15th to 21st.

These trips have been designed to take another step to 'peace' on terms dictated by the imperialists through re-convening the Geneva talks on the Middle East.

The imperialist powers and their negotiators are operating now in a new situation following the defeats inflicted on the Palestinians in Syria and the coming to power of a new administration in the United States.

The Syrians, with the connivance of the Soviet Union, have continued to stamp with an iron heel on Lebanon.

Just before the arrival of Vance they moved back from the Lebanese border with Israel after protests from the Zionist government. They have done this in order to turn their attention to those areas of the Lebanon that are still controlled by leftist and Palestinian forces.

#### FIERCE FIGHTING

The movement of Syrian 'peace-keeping' troops away from the border led on February 13th to fierce fighting between Syrians and liberation forces in the area of Tel Nabl.

65 deaths were reported after two days of fighting in which Lebanese fascists were also involved on the side of the Syrians. Since then several more clashes have been reported.

The Zionist government, whose own internal problems have not

been resolved by the re-election of Rabin as Labour Party leader, tried to portray this event as a 'diplomatic coup' on their part in preparation for the Vance tour.

In fact its purpose was to force back the Palestinians and to try to find a formula for their involvement in Geneva 'peace' talks.

Such involvement is essential for the success of the talks, and the Americans, who have begun to talk about 'recognising the rights of the Palestinians' are more aware of this than anybody.

Various other preparations for bringing about Palestinian participation in a sell-out of their cause have also been made.

Thus on the same day as the fighting in South Lebanon, 13th February, a letter appeared in *Arbeiter Zeitung*, paper of the Austrian Social Democratic Party led by Chancellor Kreisky.

This unsigned letter, alleged to be from a leader of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, talked of possible 'reciprocal arrangements' with the Zionists, and of making concessions, presumably including the acceptance of the Zionist state, in return for a client state for the Palestinians on the West Bank of the River Jordan, currently in Israeli hands.

As usual the Israelis, who seem to be the worst judges of their own best interest, rejected all this as a trick, and insisted that the Palestinians could only join Geneva 'peace' talks in the baggage train of the Jordanians.

This talk has even led to rumours about further concessions by the Palestinian leadership.

In the week after the Vance trip they opened talks with King Hussein of Jordan on the possibility of an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank.

The Fateh leadership were compelled by all these developments to issue a statement on 16th February which denied the existence of 'any document delivered to any party which recognised Israel in any way what-

It reaffirmed 'its firm stand in rejecting all the capitulationist projects which the imperialist and Zionist forces are trying to impose on the region with the support of the USA'.

However, some doubts will remain about this after Yassir Arafat's own visits to various Arab capitals.

In a press conference given in Kuwait on 20th February he denied any agreement with Vance or the US imperialists, but nevertheless expressed his continued support for the idea of a West Bank state.

Talks with the Jordanians then began along with reports about possible efforts within the Palestinian leadership to exclude those opposed to the West Bank state, possibly at the meeting of the enlarged Palestine National Council which opened last weekend.



Carter

Finally on March 8th there was the much publicised 'reconciliation' in Cairo between Arafat and Hussein, the butcher of the Palestinians in 'black September' of 1970.

The need for firm and resolute leadership of the Palestinian Revolution was never greater than now and a rejection of all the 'great power' solutions being suggested to them is clearer than ever before.

For this the Palestinians will have to look not to the Arab governments, but to the Lebanese workers who supported them against the Syrians, and to the Egyptian masses who recently erupted into the streets in the

## CYPRUS FORMULA AGREED

In a meeting promoted by the US foreign office as a bid to end antagonisms between two NATO 'allies' leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities arrived at an agreed formula last month.

With the Turkish government under severe pressure from a US military and economic embargo aimed at forcing them into concessions, the Turkish Cypriot leader Denktash put his name to the following four proposals:

1. Cyprus will be an independent two-part federated republic.

2. The land held by each community will be discussed and consideration given to the productivity and economic sufficiency of that land.

3. Freedom of travel, of residence, and the right to possessions to be the subject of negotiations.

4. Both administrations will respect the independent and dual character of the state.

So while the document states the "independence" of Cyprus, it says not a word about withdrawal of the foreign troops on the island - Turkish, Greek, US and British. Such "independence" is clearly a fraud.

#### DIVISION

Both sides however were agreed on this position. The disagreement centres on the division of the island. While Denktash claims 36% of the island, Makarios for the Greek Cypriots opened the negotiations offering him only 20%.

Another concession fought for by Makarios was for the right of 200,000 refugees to return to their land in Turkish occupied territory.

The Stalinist AKEU and the Socialist Party (EDEK) - neither of which did anything to stop the coup before the 1974 invasion, who did nothing to mobilise the Cypriot toilers, and who supported the Turkish invasion, continue their betrayals.

They are now supporting Makarios' position in these talks, while the Soviet Union simply calls for the negotiations to take place at the United Nations.

#### ELECTIONS

Meanwhile US envoy Clifford and UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim have correctly pointed out that the future of the negotiations depends on the outcome of the coming elections in Turkey.

This is particularly true because of the opposition within the National Front coalition government to any concessions to the Greek Cypriots over land or the return of refugees.

These opposition forces are demanding the lifting of the US embargo before any concessions in Cyprus.

The lies that were put out at the time of the Turkish invasion - that Turkey would protect Turks and give them land and jobs has proved completely false.

On the contrary, the Turkish bourgeoisie has extracted tons of goods from the occupied territories and transferred them to Turkey.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

But now sharpening struggles have opened up against unemployment and inflation.

A few weeks ago 3,000 public sector workers took strike action demanding wage increases linked to prices. And peasants have begun to struggle pursuing demands for land.

The recent talks and the further talks to come on Cyprus will do nothing for the Cypriot masses.

Both Greek and Turkish toilers must unite in struggle against imperialism and for an independent Cyprus.

\*For an independent Cyprus!

\*All troops out of Cyprus now!

\*For the unity of Turkish and Greek toilers against the capitalists



## IN BRIEF



ITALY - The Lockheed affair continues to shake the Italian government. Two former defence ministers, Gui (Christian Democrat) and Tanassi (Social Democrat), have been formally impeached by the Parliament for their supposed role in corrupt deals with Lockheed.

Ex-premier Rumor has for the time being been let off the hook but still falls under suspicion, as does President Leone himself.

BELGIUM - Christian Democrat Prime Minister Tindermans has been forced to call a general election for April 17th, having lost his majority in Parliament over the question of devolution. But the major problem he has to face is the growth of workers' resistance to his

measures due to come into force next month. The largest strikes since the early 1960s have broken out, reflecting the European wave of resistance to the economic policies being imposed by capitalist governments everywhere to combat the economic crisis.

SCANDINAVIA - In Sweden and Norway the economic struggle of the workers has intensified. In both countries last week national wage talks between the unions and employers' organisations broke down in complete deadlock. In Finland also the breakdown of wage talks has led to moves which will bring at least 300,000 workers out on strike in the month of March.

# DENMARK: SOCIAL CRISIS SHARPENS

(Our brief note [in SP52] on the election in Denmark contained some wrong information. A reader in Denmark has written to clarify the issue.)

The Danish government which called the election was a minority Social Democrat government, put in office in January 1975 after massive and consistent working class hostility to the previous Liberal Party government.

However, they continued in much the same way in dealing with the effects of the crisis, although not going as far as the right wing would wish.

Danish parliamentary life has in fact gone into crisis, as the effects of the world economic crisis deepen.

Various new right wing parties have been formed by a panic stricken bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie and the situation where there was a previous consensus of opinion around "welfare-statist" policies by social democracy and the various bourgeois parties, has ended.

## NEW LIFE TO CP

The same situation has given new life to the previously discredited Stalinist Party, which has been the main beneficiary of the fight against the attempts to make the workers pay for the crisis.

However the Stalinists stopped even their bureaucratic and limited attempts to lead mass struggles as soon as the Social Democracy took office, and the power of the workers has been frittered away in a series of token strikes and demonstrations.

In May 1974 when the Liberal government pushed huge tax increases onto the backs of the workers and began its series of attacks on the workers' standard of living in general, a mass strike movement broke out with no centralised leadership, but organised from below as a class answer.

It spread over about five days and encompassed 500,000 workers. Some were out one day, others two, others came out again, but its hard core were inbetween three and four hundred thousand who struck and were looking for a lead.

## OPPOSED

The Communist Party turned it into a strike for a few kroner an hour more, *opposed* calls for a general strike to kick the government out, coming from its own ranks, and used manoeuvres and lies to stop it continuing.

100,000 workers demonstrated in Copenhagen, and later in the year strikes to protest unemployment gathered 250,000 in Copenhagen alone.

Also kindergarten and nursery teachers struck against firings and cuts in finance, with huge sympathy from the public.

Despite the Stalinists who limited the movement to days of protest the government was forced into a partial retreat. But when a few months later the negotiations between the unions and employers over the new Collective Contracts broke down, the government was

able to pass a law prolonging the old contracts.

This was met by relatively small protest, on the one hand because the Stalinists had no real perspective for a struggle, on the other because of the lingering confidence placed in the social democrats by most workers. The Liberal Party government would not have got away with such a move.

Since then, there has been a general downturn in strike action, broken only by what appeared to be a revolt of the lower paid in November 1976.

## TANKER STRIKE

It was not "a near general strike" that almost brought down the government, in November, but a strike by oil and petrol tanker drivers which almost paralysed the country.

The crisis was caused when the Social Democracy backed out of an attempt to criminalise the strikers by new legislation.

The Danish TUC leaders wouldn't go along with this, pointing out that the strike was illegal anyway since it broke the law extending the Collective Contracts from 1975.

The police broke the picket lines, not only supported by the TUC chiefs, they even *proposed* it. (The tanker drivers are in a breakaway, non-TUC union).

The election was called when the government and its supporting rightist parties couldn't agree on a number of issues.

Incomes Policy is of course the centre, whilst questions like housing, rents, and employment stimulation are all issues separating the government and its supporting parties, while the government will have to lean on parties on the left to carry out its policies in cultural fields and education.

## STRENGTHENED

The election strengthened the Social Democracy, but on the basis of its previous pro-bourgeois course, and upon continuing in office they made clear their intentions to lean to the right.

The Socialist Peoples' Party lost support in the election and the Stalinists, contrary to their expectations also lost support.

The Left Socialists, however, originally a breakaway from the SPP in 1966, and calling itself revolutionary—far to the left of the Stalinists—gained one mandate, clearly taking votes from the Stalinists in the urban working class concentrations.

The LSP is the most consequent anti-Incomes Policy party, and made gains because of their clear socialist proposals in fields like housing and unemployment, whereas some people have supported them after seeing through the sabotage of the Stalinists in various struggles since the last election.

There was a re-adjustment of the votes of the bourgeois parties, the Liberal Party mandates being halved, to the benefit of the Conservative Party and Centre-Democrats.

This election solved nothing, it has opened the way for an intensification of the social crisis, inas-

much as a sharper polarisation took place and the deep dissatisfaction of the masses was expressed by support for "unorthodox" views of left and right.

Joergensen, the Prime Minister—ex-leader of the Danish T&G—said that he would continue as a minority government until after the new Collective Contracts were negotiated and accepted.

He knows the score. Only a Social Democratic government can possibly get the workers to yet again swallow the bitter pill of Incomes Policy.

The most popular demands from the rank and file are for a 35-hour week now and for a minimum wage of 35 kroner an hour, but these were dropped.

For the last few years workers have been fed with pleas to moderate demands which was supposed to help the unemployed, and the lower paid, and unemployment has risen to over 170,000 (8.2%).

A possibility is government intervention to make some type of legally-binding compromise agreement.

Representatives from Stalinist and left-wing led unions met in conference on 27th February to decide what to do about the TUC sell-out of the workers' demands,



Police escort scab petrol lorries across picket lines

and to reject a political intervention into negotiations by the government, but it was clear that no lead will come from them.

They were even opposed to meeting again if a crisis situation should arise—this would necessitate them giving some type of lead and bring them into conflict with the TUC leaders.

## PRINT CONFLICT

Meanwhile the latest conflict is at the biggest newspaper and printing establishment of Berlingske Tidende, where 1,000 typographers and lithographers are locked out.

They are fighting a management plan to cut 500-600 Kroner from the printers' wages, get them on 3 instead of 4 shifts (increasing their week to 40 from 34 hours), getting rid of 200-300 printers, linked to the introduction of computerised setting, which will mean more

sackings still.

Management ripped up the old contract, and presented the new while the workers carried on as before, working to old norms, coming in at the same times, etc, so the firm locked them out and announced to its readers its closure.

The printworkers were found "guilty" at the Labour Court of refusing to accept the management's right of manage and fined 50,000 Kroner.

They announced their refusal to re-start work under these circumstances. They have some significant support already, and have started producing their own alternative paper in 300,000 copies.

The newspaper industry has seen some struggles because of this case. Newspaper production has been disrupted, but the main union has been fined 200,000 Kroner already.

By Mike Jones

# SPAIN ~ more 'reforms'

The Francoist government of Adolfo Suarez and King Juan Carlos continues without much success to foster the illusion that it is the friend of democracy and freedom.

Last week it legalised gambling, a measure which will no doubt improve its image with the more decadent sections of the European bourgeoisie and boost the flagging tourist trade.

It announced that the general election would be held on June 5th; though at the same time it became clear that most workers parties were almost certain to remain illegal by then. Over 80 fascist, bourgeois and reformist parties have been legalised.

The regime announced that the Basque provinces would be permitted to have some kind of regional assembly, though it was evident that this would be given no powers at all.

It announced a 'reform' of the trade union law, whose main effects would be to make it even easier than now for employers to sack workers.

Even the most openly collaborationist sectors of the workers' leadership rejected this as not worth even talking about.

And finally, it launched a further amnesty for political prisoners which, like the three previous ones, is limited in scope and, of course, does nothing whatever about restoring the rights of the 25,000 or more workers blacklisted for political and union activities.

Despite this reformist mask, the regime also showed its true face when in San Sebastian on March 8th the police shot three alleged members of the Euskadi (Basque) liberation movement, ETA, killing two of them. The workers of Euskadi immediately reacted with the unanimous militancy which they have shown so often in the last two years.

Massive strikes and demonstrations spread like wildfire throughout the provinces of Euskadi, showing once again the irreconcilable contradiction between the aims of this government of fascists and the demands of the mass movement in Spain.

This, of course, did not stop the Spanish Communist Party from staging a major event to back up its

class collaborationist alliance with the Francoist regime. This was the Euro-communist summit meeting between Spanish CP leader Santiago Carrillo and Georges Marchais and Enrico Berlinguer of the French and Italian CPs.

The much publicised meeting produced a joint communique which was a spineless set of platitudes about unnamed 'democratic forces'.

It refrained from any criticism either of the Spanish fascists or of the Soviet bureaucracy. It showed very clearly what unites

these three major Western European Stalinist parties—a total hostility to the independent mobilisation of the working class against the political representatives of capital. In each of their three countries the leaders of these parties are sustaining in power the government through which the capitalist class is currently exercising its rule, whether this be Giscardian, Christian Democratic or fascist. In all cases these collaborationists do not want to overthrow capitalist rule but to broaden it to include themselves.

# WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Violence as bosses drive strike breaking fuel supplies



# CDLM STATEMENT BACKS TOOLMAKERS

We reprint below most of the text of a statement in support of the tool-makers' strike adopted on Saturday by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

The decision of the BLMC toolroom workers to continue their strike at a mass meeting in Birmingham Town Hall, despite the pleas of Scanlon, is a major step forward in the working class's fight against the Social Contract.

Despite the leadership of the strike denying this is a fight against the Social Contract it is clear that to grant the claim would breach Phase II. It is also clear that Phase III could not be held if it was in any way flexible, because if any one section got more than another then that other section would go into action.

It is no chance that the struggle against the Social Contract takes the form of an unofficial committee giving a lead after two years of continuous frustration at rising prices, wages held down and being told to get back to work by officials (the Midlands toolroom workers were instructed back by the AUEW Executive Committee last year).



Scanlon

The movement within capitalism through the Social Contract, Bullock and 'participation' is to draw the union leadership into helping to solve the capitalist crisis of profit.

Integral to this are the moves in all unions for officials to have all the negotiating power and for the role of the shop stewards to be taken away; everything must be "taken through procedure"—put into the hands of these officials.

For the union leadership to hold Stage II and go into Stage III under conditions where there is universal hatred of the social contract by the members, this control is essential.

This is why it is not only the employer that will not negotiate with the toolroom committee: neither will Scanlon and company.

So all the force of capitalism and the trade union bureaucracy is brought to bear on these workers.

The Labour government elected into office to defend jobs, uses the 1½ million unemployment situation it has created as a threat. The government acts through the NEB (the body which the 'left' MPs all say should be strengthened) to carry this threat through. The Tory press talks of closure.

## ATTACK

The Executive Committee of the AUEW then repeats these threats and in fact carries out the attack.

They have so far issued two instructions to return to work, followed by a meeting in London of the EC together with delegates from District Committees.

When the vote was taken at this meeting the majority of striking toolroom workers was against return, but the non-toolroom workers outvoted them.

This led up to the mass meeting in Birmingham addressed by Scanlon and Duffy in which they brought out all these threats of closure and tried to get the men back.

The voice of these workers when they howled down Scanlon and Duffy was the voice of two years of the bureaucracy's wage cutting.

The fact that the man who has held down the whole AUEW could only get ten votes out of 3,000 was the working class speaking. Similarly the continuous ovation for the unofficial strike leaders was the response of the working class to a strong lead.

The toolroom workers must be supported. They are giving a lead to the whole working class in that they are fighting the Social Contract now. This is something no 'left' talker will do. No union leadership has done this.

The Stalinists' LCDTU conference gave no such lead, but directed to trying to persuade the trade union leadership not to accept a Phase III.

## APPLAUDED

In fact speaker after speaker attacked "sectional" disputes and one leading Stalinist defended Scanlon's role—for which he was clapped. Now EC member of the CP and leader of AUEW/TASS, Ken Gill has specifically attacked the toolroom workers.

Leading Stalinists in Leyland have called a conference through the Leyland Combine Committee

on April 3rd.

The meeting of the combine committee to prepare this conference specifically voted against a resolution calling for support for sections fighting Phase II, with Derek Robinson, another EC member of the Communist Party, and toolroom worker at Longbridge attacking the toolroom struggle.

Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement supporters will of course oppose this projected sellout at this conference and demand support for the toolroom dispute.



Longbridge workers opposing wage control.

The only way Phase III will be defeated is by taking action against Phase II now. That is why the toolroom workers struggle will be central to the recall conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

The first conference held in October had as its central theme wage control and the way this was held by the attacks on democracy in the labour movement.

What was discussed there has become a reality in the struggles of the toolroom workers and a recall conference is taking place on March 27th because of these developing struggles.

At the same time as we unconditionally support these workers we must say there are dangers in the way the leadership is conducting the struggle.

It is one thing to demand wages be brought up to the level of the highest paid plant in Leyland; it is another thing to ask to negotiate wages and conditions on a company wide level.

This gives the lead to the company's requirement of corporate bargaining rather than plant bargaining; this would inevitably end up in the hands of officials.

The massive movement of workers is because of the erosion of their wages (not 'differentials') but the claim does not allow for this.

What is required is for the claims of toolroom workers and others to include a demand for cost of living clauses in their agreements whereby their wages would rise automatically with the cost of living as decided by elected committees of Trade Unionists and housewives.

## Recall Conference

Sunday March 27th, 10am-4.30pm, Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham  
Credentials (50p) from Kevin Lee, 44 Devonshire Rd. Handsworth  
Wood, Birmingham 20

# Conference details fixed

Final details in preparation for the March 27th Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy were agreed at last Saturday's meeting of the Organising Committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement (CDLM).

Despite opposition from the IMG who argued against inviting speakers directly involved in struggles in the working class, stressing instead the need for people who "understand the need for programme", it was agreed the platform would include speakers from the Oxford TGWU Hotel strikers, from the EGA Hospital occupation in London and if possible, the Little Ilford School NUT.

Among other speakers will be Alan Thornett, the candidate supported by the CDLM in the current election for General Secretary of the TGWU; Trevor Holdsworth of Bradford AUEW District Committee; Dick Bradley from Longbridge TGWU, a speaker on the struggle for women's rights and a speaker from the Labour Party.

The committee also agreed to approach workers in a number of other struggles including the tool-makers struggle with a view to speaking at the conference.

During the lunch break of the Conference the committee agreed meetings would be arranged to discuss campaigns within a number of unions with members present—in particular those whose union conferences are approaching. It was agreed such meetings would be held for TGWU, AUEW, ASTMS, NALGO, NUT, NUPE and GMWU members

The toolroom workers should take their lesson of trade union 'democracy' into the whole trade union movement.

## SUPPORT

The financial support already rolling in for the toolmakers (without an appeal being made) and the Ford workers' one day strike and lobby of the AUEW EC show the kind of response that is possible.

We call for other workers to take all out strike action in support; we must oppose the official instructions to cross picket lines issued by the TGWU.

In order to strengthen the strike and gain the necessary support we will fight for the above programme in the trade unions. That is why the toolroom strike will be central in the CDLM recall conference.

The IMG, who stated that their members had only moved motions supporting the conference in those labour movement bodies where they felt certain to win, and could only claim one success in terms of branch support, told the Committee that in their view however many came to the conference they would only be a small minority force.

For this reason, the IMG said, the idea of the conference should be to arm those attending with a programme to "catalyse" the building of "an organised left wing committed to class struggle policies", and proffered a list of tasks for action.

The Committee agreed that this amounted to an alternative resolution and should be submitted in the normal way through a labour movement body.

Despite the IMG's attitude it was reported that support for the Conference had grown within the labour movement. Bodies which had agreed to send delegates since the previous committee meeting include:

ASTMS 516 (Publishing); Oxford 5/670 TGWU (Hotels); Warley AUEW/TASS; Warley East CLP; Camden North CLP; Selly Oak CLP; Kensington North CLP; ASTMS Leeds 507; Sheffield AUEW/TASS; Charing Cross ASTMS; Oxford UCATT; Aylesbury Trades Council; Oxford COHSE; Strand Hotels GMWU, London; ASTMS W. London Medical; Westminster NUT; Leamington Trades Council; Warwick and Leamington LPYS; Middlesex Polytechnic Students Union; Ruskin College S.U.; Wadham S.U.; Oxford Student/Trade Union Liaison Committee.

# FESTIVAL OF HEALYISM

To us it seemed the most boring of three ring circuses. But in fairness, we must admit that the Workers Revolutionary Party managed to coax over 2,000 members, guilt-ridden drifters, and confused but cheerful youth to their "Festival of Trotskyism" on Sunday 6th March.

The afternoon featured films and exhibits of photographs and documents, some of them interesting from the point of view of the development of the Marxist movement, others slanted to support the WRP's present campaign of slander against Joseph Hansen and George Novack, leaders of the American Socialist Workers Party, sympathising section of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International.

About 1,000 heard a rally which began the evening's entertainment. Its impressively international array of speakers must have persuaded all but the most sceptical that Gerry Healy's "International Committee" remains a vital force for world revolution. We must count ourselves among the sceptics.

the rump Greek section of the Clapham "international" said nothing that would indicate any participation whatever in the living struggles of the working class in their respective countries.

And WRP General Secretary Mike Banda showed in his statement of programme that the WRP have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing in the past two years. "Nationalisation without compensation under workers control" is in; Trotsky's Transitional Programme is out.

There were ringing words on smashing the reformist and Stalinist bureaucracy and on bringing down the Labour government—but Banda was utterly silent about how to do it.

Banda also called for support for the WRP's latest propaganda lurch, a youth march for a United Socialist States of Europe.

Georges Vereecken, long-time collaborator of Michel Pablo, was the only politically alien element on the platform. The WRP now exhibit him at every opportunity because he supports their call for an "inquiry" into Hansen and Novack. Chairman Cliff Slaughter showed

Vereecken as a comrade with "over 60 years in the working class movement as a revolutionary".

Vereecken's remarks about the backwardness of the American working class do not, we trust, reflect a new shift in the line of the WRP.

They were, however, allowed to pass without comment, and indeed his speech was more roundly applauded than any other except Healy's.

Gerry Healy's oration was a fiery delight. He regaled us with anecdotes of raids by the Special Branch.

He told us of his recent series of classes in "Marxist theory" to Lebanese and Palestinian militants in W. Beirut.

But conspicuously, he did not tell us why *Newstime* has lately been acting as apologist for Colonel Gaddafi's anti-communist regime in Libya. Why is that, Gerry?

Once again the declining forces of the WRP had been shoved up on pillars of rhetoric.

And it was time for the Equity fraction to do their stuff, a semi-documentary "How the GPU Murdered Trotsky", whose primary goal seemed to be that of depicting Joseph Hansen impressively failing



to respond to Trotsky's cries of agony.

The rally considered a motion calling for a Commission of Enquiry into Trotsky's murder and indicting Hansen and Novack in advance. We abstained, the only ones to do so. We apologise for that—we should have voted against.

A particularly disturbing aspect of the WRP's non-programme of "socialism now" is its effect on the working class youth around them. We were appalled by the anti-trade union ideas of the young comrades with whom we spoke.

Contempt for the unions, as opposed to political hostility towards their reformist and Stalinist leadership, is something no revolutionary socialist can afford

More experienced members would probably not make the sort of statements we heard from the youth. But it is the WRP's lack of programme for intervention in the mass organisations of the working class that makes it possible for such backwardness to flourish inside the party.

The WRP have in the past excluded members of other political groups from their meetings wherever they could. We were, however, admitted to the "Festival" under our own banner, so to speak. Is the WRP beginning to take democracy in the workers movement seriously? Or did they merely find it expedient to strike a pose of openness in their campaign for a "public enquiry"?

# STUDENTS SHOW

The struggle against the DES proposals to increase tuition fees found a national focus for one day last week in the countrywide NUS demonstrations.

In London, 20,000 students marched in protest against the increases; in Glasgow, 10,000 students took to the streets; and in Leeds, 6000 students, backed by NUPE branches, demonstrated.

This impressive turnout by students, and the fact that 38 colleges are now occupied, once again underlines student willingness to fight the increases.

But again, the gap between student militancy and the NUS leadership's inactivity was never wider.

The London demonstration was designed from the beginning as a purely protest action. But even this protest was blunted, as for example the demonstration managed to march past the DES at Waterloo without even pausing to register student opposition.

## DUKE OF YORK

Like the Grand Old Duke of York, the demonstrators marched up to the DES only to be marched straight away from it.

And at the end of the demonstration, NUS President Charles Clarke informed those students who could hear him above a massive barrage of abusive attacks on him and the Broad Left in general how pleased he was that they'd come, and how Shirley Williams had at last consented to meet the NUS Executive to discuss the situation!

The point has often been made hitherto that what is lacking is effective national leadership in this fight.

Local reports again show that not only are the Broad Left within NUS not going to provide such leadership, but that they are going out of their way to *mislead* struggles.

At the LSE, for example, a decision was taken to reoccupy on Tuesday March 8th. The following day a Broad Left motion called off the occupation.

## INDEFINITE

At Essex, despite recent setbacks a motion calling for indefinite occupation eventually succeeded—again against the Broad Left.

Having failed to stop the occupation, the Broad Left Executive then issued a leaflet alleging that the occupation's support had "dwindled", and that the campaign was now nothing but the platform of the "ultra-left".

Such a statement was a scarcely veiled invitation to the administration to move against the occupation.

Nationally and locally the Broad Left within NUS have one aim: "patient negotiation", backed "if necessary" with empty protest actions, to achieve the non-implementation of fee increases for self supporting students only.

# HATRED FOR

# BROAD LEFT



Photo: John Sturrock, Report.

LSE students outside their occupied building.

This policy is clearly divisive, as it counterposes overseas students to home students, those without a grant to those with one.

Moreover the policy contents itself with the status quo—namely that students already on courses should not have to leave.

It completely excludes those who have yet to begin courses, and paves the way for a further round of increases bound to come in 1978.

Students must agitate for a rejection of *all* fee increases, and for an end to the discriminatory practice of charging overseas students much higher fees than home students.

From these basic demands, we must campaign for the abolition of all fees to ensure that anyone

wishing to study can do so.

These demands against the present fees structure must be coupled with demands for a rejection of all education cuts, and for education expenditure to rise to keep pace with inflation, as the necessary precondition for a real expansion of educational facilities.

The policies must now be taken up and fought for at the NUS conference at the end of the month.

Failure to present a clear programme in opposition to the official NUS position can only mean the continuing domination of NUS by the Broad Left, and therefore the continuing erosion of education.



NUS President Clarke

## Sit-in highlights

The Middlesex Polytechnic occupation began in only the Church Street administrative site and with a partial occupation at Enfield—but has now spread to engulf all six main sites.

Despite the claims of the directorate that they are on the students side, the canteens at Hendon and Enfield have been closed, mini-bus services stopped and light and heat cut off of the Bounds Green site.

Meanwhile the Broad Left NUS leadership is not content with doing nothing—but has sallied into

members.

ASTMS General Secretary Clive Jenkins was among speakers who addressed the 1,000 strong meeting saying that the strike would be funded indefinitely.

The feeling among the strikers is still adamant—they will stay on strike until they win. Every gate of the University is picketed by no less than 12 pickets every day between 6.30am and 7pm.

Some major publishers with ASTMS membership have now joined in the struggle by blacking Hudsons University Bookshop which is situated on the Campus.

A major question to be raised on this issue is how a public institution such as this takes upon itself the right to brazenly disregard a National Agreement.

Other Universities are looking on with keen interest. If the management in Birmingham defeat ASTMS every other administration will attempt to follow suit—threatening every gain made by unionisation in this sector of the public services.

# BIG BROTHER WATCHING ISLINGTON

General Management Committee meetings of Islington North CLP are to be closely scrutinised by Transport House.

That is the outcome of an NEC enquiry into the CLP set up after allegations of right-wing rigging of elections and the expulsion of left winger Keith Veness for fighting to expose it.

The inquiry committee has also instructed the CLP to restore Labour Party membership to Veness.



Veness

Veness was expelled by the CLP—dominated by a bloc of Catholic Action supporters of MP Michael O'Halloran and orthodox reactionaries—following an interview in the local community paper *Gutter Press*.

In this Veness exposed the

tactics of the right, including the ruling "out of order" of Ward AGMs which went against them, and the packing of meetings with members of other wards.

He also attacked O'Halloran for his relationship with the North London lump building firm of J. Murphy, O'Halloran's former employers who were fined £750,000 last year for tax evasion, and for his failure to speak in the House of Commons—O'Halloran has yet to make his maiden speech after years as an MP.

More recently, Veness's wife, Valerie, the only Councillor in Islington with a remotely left position on the cuts, was attacked with a broken bottle at their home by two thugs who gave her the message "That's for Michael O'Halloran".

It is the outcry over events of this kind which must have prompted right-winger Shirley Williams to propose Veness's reinstatement, an indication that although O'Halloran's politics are impeccable—he votes solidly behind Callaghan—his political methods are an embarrassment even to the right wing.

However even in restoring Veness, Transport House has made sure that they have not paved the way for a left-wing takeover of Islington North.

Every GMC for the next year will be attended by a Transport House official, ostensibly to prevent further vote rigging, but in reality to keep an eye on the left wing threat which the local reactionaries have shown themselves incapable of handling discretely.

# 'Conspiracy to rob'

The trial of the Islington 18 black youth faced with High Court charges of "conspiracy to rob", is set for April 25th.

Parents and youth involved know they are only the tip of the iceberg.

"But if we can get off this time, it will be the start of a fight back," said one youth. "It's a problem for

every youth, black and white. They ought to abolish the charges of "conspiracy" and "suspicion".

Many more examples of the malpractices of the police have come to light. On arrest, all the youths were refused permission to phone either solicitors or parents. Insisting on his rights one was told, "You don't have any rights in this country."

In all-night sessions youths were slapped and punched, made to stand legs apart and arms outstretched, while they were beaten in the kidneys and groin.

Four months after the event, one youth is suffering from a hard lump on his head from where he was flung against a wall. The mother of this sixteen year old was even tricked to signing his "statement" by being assured that if she did so he would not be charged.

Eventually she signed and the officer laughingly poured scorn on her.

Most of the youths have a history of "crime" for which they have served two years or so probation and which are used against them in bail applications.

## "STOLE 3p"

One, at 15, allegedly stole 3p and two sandwiches, and another at the age of 12, was charged with "robbery with violence" for stealing 4p.

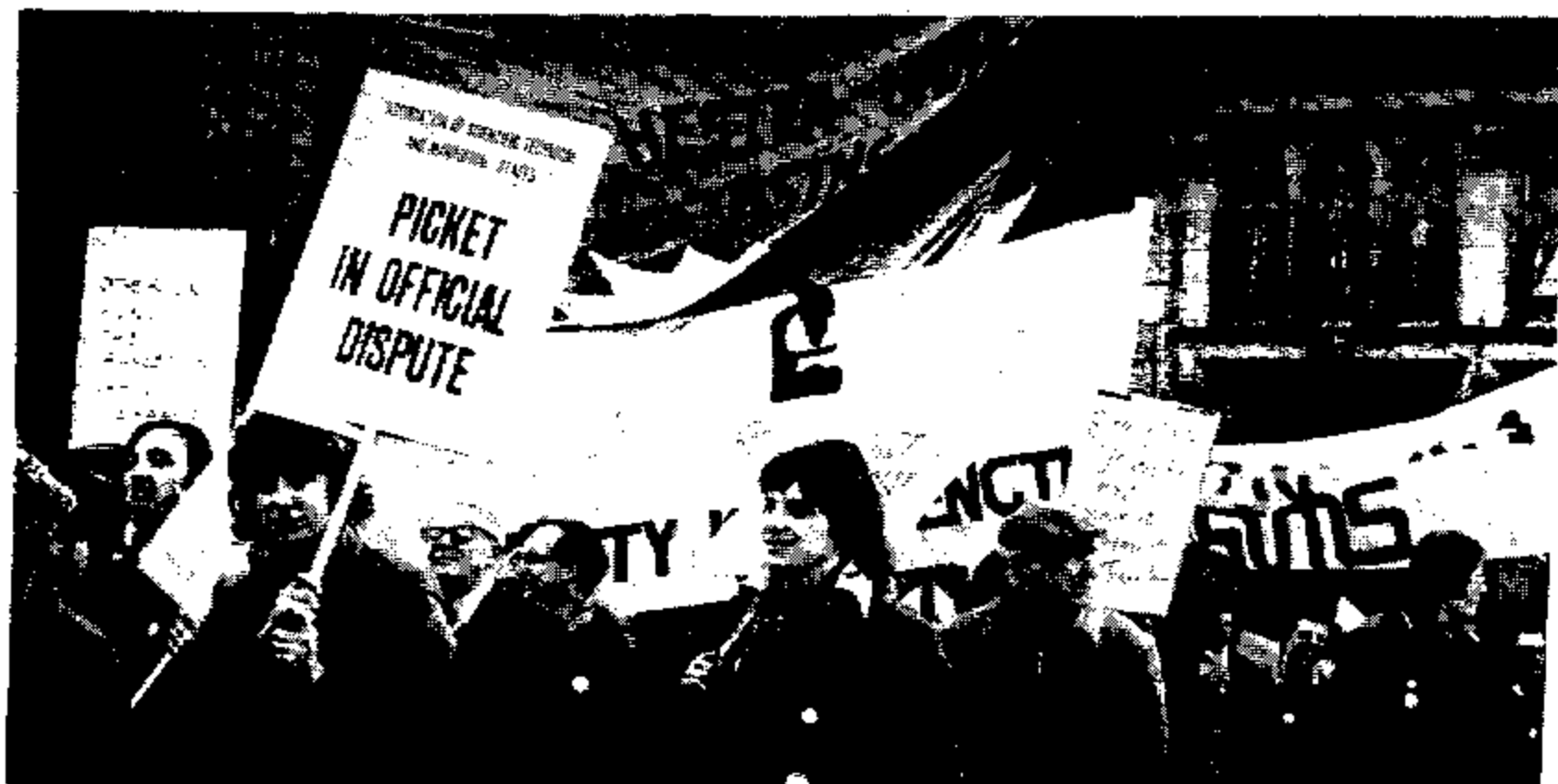
The Defence Committee is organising a petition and a local demonstration on Saturday April 23rd.

The local Fabian councillors and MPs openly critical of the racism of their old guard colleagues must be challenged to use their influence to put an end to police brutality in the area.

MP O'Halloran must be particularly called to task. He is President of the Whittington Youth Club of which most of the youth were members, yet he has been heard boasting of having stopped a £25,000 grant to a project for black youth and has been organising a racist petition against "mixing". He was doubtless party to the meeting which took place on Friday 11th between Labour Party delegates and the police to discuss "rising crime".

Does that include the crimes of the police?

## ASTMS picket



Part of last week's demonstration

The 30 week old strike of ASTMS technicians at Birmingham University over the University's refusal to implement a National Agreement with ASTMS for 5 weeks holiday is still on.

Tuesday March 8th saw ASTMS members gathered there from London, Cardiff, Edinburgh and other universities throughout the UK in a mass picket called at short notice on a working day as a follow up to a one-day national strike in support of the Birmingham





Napoleon's conquest of all Italy (right) contrasted with his rival generals.

1794: bands of thugs ('Gilded Youth') raid the Jacobin Club in Paris

# FRENCH REVOLUTION

## Part Two: Emperor of the Revolution

The second in our series of four articles on the revolutionary period after the reaction of Thermidor (1794), and the end of the French revolution. The third and fourth articles will deal with the revolutions of 1871.

"I should like to see—and this is the last and most fervent of my desires—I should like to see the last king strangled in the entrails of the last priest".  
The Will of Jean Messelier, published by Voltaire, 1733.

"From all this, what is my inference? It is, that this new system of robbery in France, cannot be rendered safe by any art; that it must be destroyed, or that it will destroy all Europe; that to destroy that enemy, by some means or other, the force opposed to it should be made to bear some analogy and resemblance to the force and spirit which that system exerts; that war ought to be made against it in its vulnerable parts. These are my inferences. In one word, with this Republic nothing independent can coexist."  
Edmund Burke, *On the Genius and Character of the French Revolution as it regards other Nations*, (Letters on a Regicide Peace, 1796)

"The French revolution broke the balance of power in Europe: the French republic, from its birth, knew that it could not live safely in friendship with any king, that a democratic government must be the natural enemy of any arbitrary and despotic government, that there would be as much difficulty in calming the hate between them as there would be in combining together vice and virtue."  
The Italian 'Jacobin' Matteo Galdi, *On political and economic relations between free nations* (1798).

"I hated thee, fallen tyrant! I did groan  
To think that a most unambitious slave,  
Like thou, shouldst dance and revel on the grave  
Of Liberty. Thou mightst have built thy throne  
Where it had stood even now: thou didst prefer  
A frail and bloody pomp which Time has swept  
In fragments towards Oblivion."  
Shelley, *Feelings of a Republican on the Fall of Bonaparte* (1815).



Napoleon in 1798

The French bourgeoisie of 1789 made their revolution for their own rights and their own property. But the Revolution itself could not remain their own private possession.

It reached out to arouse and rely upon the *sans-culottes* of Paris—the wage workers, craftsmen and small employers, along with the unemployed and poor—who dragged the revolution forward. And the great mass of the peasantry stood as a roadblock against any attempt to restore all the feudal rights which the lawyers of the National Assembly abolished in August 1789.

### HARNESS

Thus, with the one force pulling from the front, and the other placing their shoulders against any rolling back, the French bourgeoisie could move only in uneasy harness with two other classes: the *sans-culottes* of the city, and the millions of peasants who worked the land.

Nor were the French revolutionaries free to contain their revolution within their own country, despite the fact it was made in the name of 'the nation'.

By a process which combined infection, invasion and infiltration, the French revolution inexorably spread.

Between 1792 and 1815 four military coalitions were organised to contain and destroy it. But when the powers of Europe met to restore the old order (the 'ancien regime') at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) they were able to re-erect many of its forms, but not its substance.

### IRREVERSIBLE

In Italy, Switzerland, the German states, Poland, Holland and Belgium—as well as in France itself, where a Bourbon monarch was replaced on the throne—the basic social relations had been irreversibly altered.

Across the whole middle of Europe the French revolution had cleared the way for the development of capitalism.

From then on, politics was to take its essential shape from the struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat.

More than two and a half decades of almost continuous war in Europe took the form of conflicts between states. But they were in reality the concealed struggles of social classes—starting between the semi-feudal monarchist aristocracy of Austria and its dominions (egged on by their relatives in the French court) and the thrusting, confident French bourgeoisie.

Already in April 1792, before the social struggle in France had reached its climax, national revolution flooded over into foreign war, with the French invasion of Austria's provinces in Belgium.

The French Assembly's decision for war sprang from a tangle of opposing motives and pressures.

One motive was defence—as a continent-wide campaign by the far right for a crusade against revolutionary France took a dangerous turn when the more reactionary and belligerent Francis II succeeded as Emperor of Austria in March 1792.

Other motives flowed from intrigues of the French court—since Louis XVI's failed 'Flight to Varennes' (June 1791) different

factions had sought war in the hope that defeats would disintegrate the Assembly and restore the power of the crown.

And within the Assembly the war party, headed by the future Girardin leader, Brissot, preached 'a crusade of universal freedom' and warned that France 'will never be safe until the whole of Europe is in flames'.

Brissot's policies, if not his motives, were supported by a substantial body of merchants and manufacturers who anticipated that war would bring fat profits to its camp-followers.

External revolutionary prospects also lent weight to the rhetoric of Brissot and his supporters.

Events in France sharpened revolutionary processes elsewhere. In Britain circles, (like the London Corresponding Society), sprung up to support and discuss developments across the channel and the tracts, such as Thomas Paine's memorable 'Rights of Man', which defended them.

In Poland a political combination of intellectuals and 'liberal' nobility imposed, in May 1791, a 'Constitution' superficially similar to the French, but lacking its powerful social basis.

Burke, the venomous enemy of the French revolution, unwittingly testified to the anaemic character of its Polish counterpart when he rejoiced that it involved:

"no studied insults on religion, morals or manners" and exhibited

"regular progress . . . towards the stable excellence of a British Constitution"

In fact, even serfdom was not abolished, and Poland very shortly vanished in a partition by Prussia, Russia and Austria.

### AGITATION

In Holland, small but commercially powerful, 1789 revived a cautious agitation by moderate 'Patriots'.

Belgium began, in 1787, a national revolt against the Austrian Emperor. Though it soon took on a revolutionary character its first steps were led, as in France, by the resistance of local aristocrats to the central government.

From 1789 the tiny statelet of Geneva saw a resurgence of middle class agitation against the regime imposed, with French military backing, in 1782.

Those who led it were abused as 'sectaries of Jean-Jacques Rousseau' (the philosopher was the city's most famous son and the hero of many Jacobins).

In Italy numerous 'Jacobin conspiracies' took shape; most were repressed. In Bologna two democrats were hanged for hoisting the tricolour and issuing a call to insurrection.

Paris, in the winter of 1791-92, thus contained a large number of political exiles and emigres seeking French help for their own 'demo-

cratic' or revolutionary purposes. Together they seemed to provide a human refutation of the warnings of Robespierre, and Jean-Paul Marat, isolated on the left in the Assembly; that the peoples of Europe would not welcome 'armed missionaries', and that France should not therefore take the initiative in war.

The foreign war which Robespierre opposed was in fact inevitable.



The sans culottes were made up from a cobbler and a joiner.

It was to last almost continuously until 1815.

It was also, long before that, to promote his rise and the downfall of the Girondins. In March 1793 the opportunist French commander-in-Chief, Dumouriez, was defeated in the Netherlands and (having failed to persuade his troops to march on Paris and 'destroy Jacobinism') he deserted to the enemy.

By this time the forces against France had swollen to a general coalition including Austria, Prussia, Russia, England, Spain and several Italian states.

It appeared that, despite the guillotine which had removed his head in January, Louis XVI's intentions were about to be realised: disarray in the National Convention seemed to prelude the destruction of the newborn French republic.

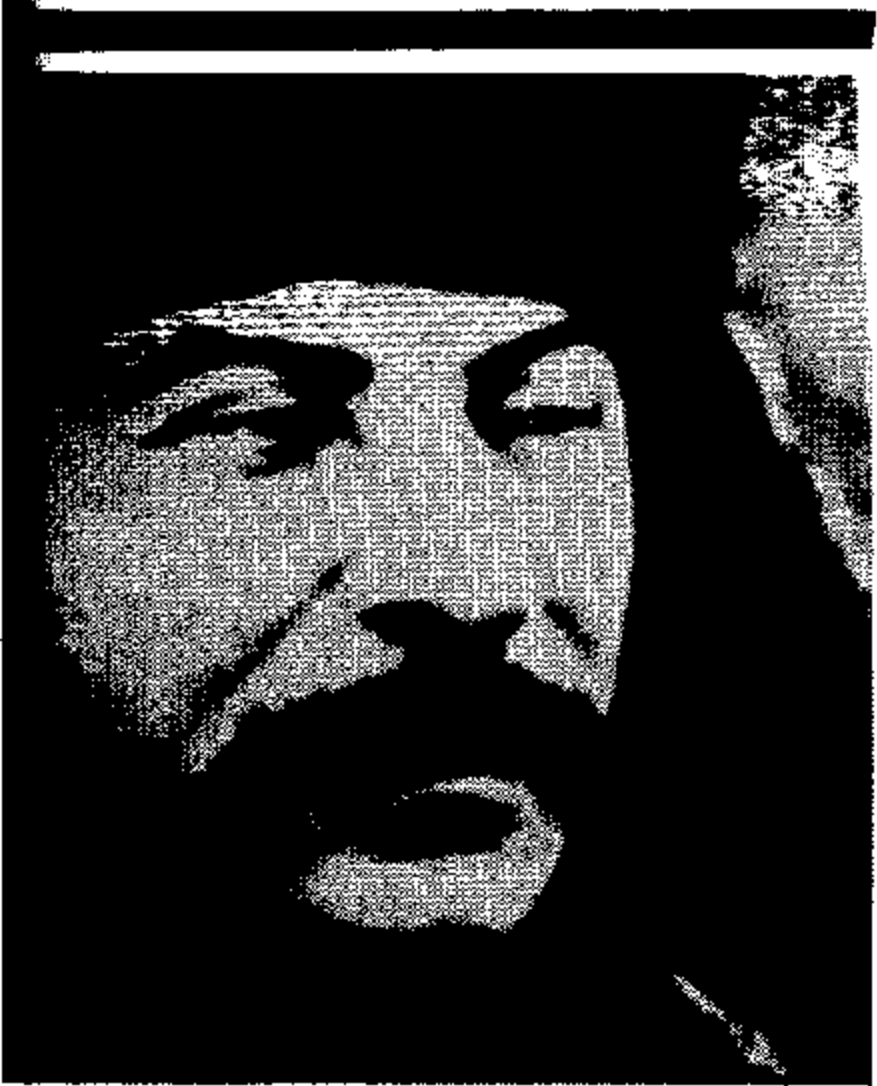
The Pope, in one of those speculations which infallibly let the political cat out of the religious bag, suggested that the headless Lousi might well be made a saint!

But the hoped-for miracle was thwarted. The rising of the Paris *sans-culottes* on September 4-5th 1793 concentrated power in the hands of the Jacobin government.

If the Committee of Public Safety was a regime of balance at home, it was single-minded in the foreign war.



1796: French army welcomed into Milan.



Stalin

# ON

history of France deals with national wars which followed 1848 and the Paris Commune

revolutions does not end there, however.

In both cases the revolution had a momentum that carried it, and the new property relations it had established, far beyond its own borders.

This remained true even after political reaction at home had crushed the most revolutionary forces, and physically annihilated most of those who led the initial struggles.

In the case of Russia, Stalin's armies and agents, after 1945, imposed a transformation of the economies, and the states, of Eastern Europe into lesser images of the Soviet Union.

And similarly the armies and diplomacy of the Directorate and Thermidorians, then of Napoleon ploughed up the soil of feudal Europe, forming states where the bourgeoisie ruled, states that all—some more, some less directly—had their political capitals in Paris.

War and diplomacy in those days, without radio or the internal combustion engine, was a much slower, more seasonal and confused business than today.

The political substance emerges more clearly from the tangle of march and counter-march, battles and treaties, partitions and coalitions, if we single out one strand.

## MOMENTUM

Italy highlights many of the general issues in the European wars—starting as the defensive response of a revolutionary nation under threat, but then acquiring (as in Napoleon's invasion of Russia in 1812) a momentum of its own as the spearhead of imperial policy by the major capitalist state on the continent.

In a short article such as this, the Italian events must serve to exemplify forces that were also at work in countries as different as Prussia, Ireland and Russia.

Northern Italy formed the runway on which the military career of

By June the 27 year old General effectively commanded the North Italian plain (the Po valley) as far as the borders of Venice, and the Pope was suing for peace.

Echoing his victories against the Austrian armies, city after city came to the boil in republican and 'jacobin' demonstrations, forming assemblies, adopting constitutions based on the French model, calling for a free and unified Italy.

## SELECTIVE

Napoleon, however, was selective in his support for these movements.

At Alba (near Turin, in Piedmont) 'patriots' proclaimed a republic, but Napoleon repudiated them; he had already agreed that the king of Sardinia should continue to rule the area.

In the spring of 1797, turning north, Napoleon's Army of Italy threatened Austria itself, and crowds rioted when the Bank of Vienna shut its doors.

Napoleon did in fact enter Venice where a revolutionary government had replaced the old oligarchy, abolishing slavery and the ghetto.

But the city was handed back to Austria as part of the overall carve-up of Italy at the Treaty of Camp Formio (October 1797).

Part of the deal was that Austria (secretly) recognised French rights west of the Rhine.

The barter of Venice, therefore, was not only a stepping-stone in Napoleon's career.

It was also an essential element of the Directory's efforts to safeguard 'Republicanism in one country'.

To do this they tried to secure France's 'natural frontiers'—announced as being, approximately, the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees.

## YALTA

Like Stalin at Yalta a century and a half later, Napoleon negotiated his victories not as a revol-

the British fleet.

The restored Bourbons asked Admiral Nelson to treat Naples 'like a rebel Irish town'. He eagerly obliged, presiding (along with his mistress, Lady Hamilton) over a blood-letting in which during the next six months almost the entire intelligentsia of the city were hanged or beheaded.

In this he reflected to the full, British foreign policy, which persistently allied itself with the most reactionary enemies of France.

The British bourgeoisie—having long ago accomplished their own revolution—were not hostile to the politics of the French revolution as such. But they were determined to prevent the spread of French military and economic strength, in the interests of maintaining 'the balance of power' in a divided Europe.

The British bourgeoisie had no natural affinity with the powers of old Europe, with which they formed such a devious and brutal series of agreements.

## BEYOND LIMITS

But they were hostile both to the permanent character of the French revolution, going beyond the social limits desired by the bourgeoisie, and to the rise of a rival modern state in Europe.

Within the international civil war that involved Italy right up to 1815 the punctuation marks provided by the formal occasions accurately reflect Napoleon's increasingly reactionary role, especially after his Brumaire coup d'etat in Paris (November 1799).

In July 1801 the Pope retrieved most of his territory and authority in Italy, in return for giving—under the Concordat, ratified in 1802—effective supervision over the French clergy to Napoleon.

Soon French (and Italian) pulpits were being employed for sermons on the virtues of taxation and the delights of conscription. One early result of this 'detente' was that Napoleon was installed in January 1802 as President of an Italian Republic—his former Cisalpine Republic, in the Po valley.

But Napoleon and his ministers and relatives not only sought to make their peace with the old order, they donned its very garb.

Early in 1805 Napoleon, freshly crowned 'Emperor of France', in the presence of the Pope was preparing to leave Italy for the campaign in which he destroyed the archaic feudal patchwork of the Holy Roman Empire, and cleared the ground for the modern German state.

## 'KING OF ITALY'

But on his way the 'soldier of the revolution' paused in Milan Cathedral to have himself anointed 'King of Italy'—explaining, by way of republican excuse, that both his brothers had declined the throne!

And Italy, on the eve of the disastrous Russian campaign, was itself to be absorbed into the 'Grand Empire'.

To this day the French revolution and its aftermath divides those who speak of it. There is scarcely a line written on—for example—Robespierre or Napoleon which is not partisan.

The same was true at the time. Books could be written (many have been) on the intellectual results of the revolution.

Any thinker worth his salt (and a number who were not) felt obliged to take an attitude. Even the cautious Immanuel Kant fell into disfavour in Germany, and in Budapest the authorities publicly burned his books.

## RESPONSIBLE

They seem to have felt that, having deprived God of His philosophical props, Kant must also somehow be responsible for the fall of Kings.

Napoleon (like Stalin) repelled many who initially greeted the revolution.

Shelley, born in the week that the revolutionary Commune was established in Paris (August 4th, 1792) possessed not only great poetical gifts but an acute historical intuition.

He was one of the relatively few (unlike for example, Wordsworth) who cursed the Napoleonic dictatorship, but without ever going over to the side of the old order.

In his last major poem he pictures the revolution as a chariot, rushing onwards under its own

power, but in the... a Shape So safe within, as one whom years deform, Beneath a dusky hood and double cape, Crouching within the shadow of a tomb". And Shelley asks: Who is he with chin Upon his breast, and hands crossed on his chain?" "The child of a fierce hour; he sought to win The world, and lost all that it did contain Of greatness, in its hope destroyed" (The Triumph of Life, 1822)

The violent combination of revolution and reaction in the Napoleonic regime was one that Shelley could only grasp through images.

We see it through the lens of our own times. But the histories of the Russian revolution and its degeneration, and of the French revolution, do mutually illuminate one another.

That was the reason why Trotsky, to understand the roots of the Stalinist dictatorship in the Soviet Union, reached back to an analogy with Napoleon and his Bonapartism.



Trotsky

Trotsky explained that, in each case, it was a question of political counter-revolution imposing itself upon, but not reversing, revolutionary social conquests:

"Was Thermidor counter-revolutionary? The answer to this question depends upon how wide a significance we attach, in a given case, to the concept of 'counter-revolution'.

The social overturn of 1789-1793 was bourgeois in character. In essence it reduced itself to the replacement of fixed feudal property by 'free' bourgeois property. The counter-revolution, corresponding to this revolution, (our emphasis) would have had to attain the re-establishment of feudal property.

But Thermidor did not even make an attempt in this direction. Robespierre sought his support among the artisans—the Directory among the middle bourgeoisie. Bonaparte allied himself with the banks.

All these shifts—which had, of course, not only a political but a social significance—occurred, however, on the basis of the new bourgeois society and state." (The Workers State and the Question of Thermidor and Bonapartism, 1935).

The analogy between Stalinism and Thermidor was an essential part of the Fourth International's defence of the Soviet state, even when the crimes of Stalin put those of Napoleon Bonaparte utterly in the shade.

## HATRED

And, echoing the ostracism of Shelley, the Trotskyist movement's objective assessment of its own period has earned it the combined hatred of the old order and of the new usurpers.

The French revolution produced some of the basic symbols of modern politics. The red flag (earlier used by the authorities as a warning that they were about to fire on demonstrators) was first flown by revolutionaries in Paris, in July 1792.

Sewn on it were the words: 'Martial Law of the Sovereign People against Rebellion by the Executive Power'.

After Thermidor the red flag was eclipsed by the French tricolor. Napoleon surrounded himself with a nauseating 'cult of personality', draped in the French flag and capped with the Imperial Crown.

But in the 1848 revolution both appeared again: the red flag on the barricades erected by the Paris workers, and Napoleon as a pathetic caricature—his nephew Louis Bonaparte.

The struggle of the working class in 1848 will be the subject of the next article.



very diverse elements: (left) the idealised sans culotte; (left to right) a carter, a market porter,

Safety in April, "stop fighting as soon as the moment arrives when the death of another enemy soldier will not serve the cause of liberty."

By the early summer of 1794 the immediate military danger had been thrust back. And its retreat became, in its turn, one of the factors in the fall of Robespierre and Thermidor.

In the previous article (SP54) we drew a comparison between the French revolution and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Each displayed the permanent, combined character of revolutionary processes.

## TEMPORARY

In each case the opposition to the old autocracy by bourgeois 'democrats' and working masses coincided, but cutting across their temporary alignment was also the struggle between the rising capitalists and those that they exploited.

But these two divisions were at very different levels of development, giving rise to quite opposite results.

In Russia there was the seizure of power by the Soviets in October 1917, in France there was the counter-revolution and white terror which followed Thermidor (July 1794).

The parallel between the two

Napoleon Bonaparte really took off.

But he assumed command there (April 1796) already blooded in a political, as well as a military, sense.

He directed the action which crushed the royalist revolt of Vendimiare (October 1795). Not long after, leading the army of the interior, he took the initiative in forcibly closing the Jacobin clubs in Paris (February, 1796).

The hasty and unsuccessful plans for insurrection (May 1796) by Babeuf's 'Conspiracy of Equals' were precipitated by Napoleon's repression.

Imprisoned in 1794 as a Robespierist, Napoleon came to a fully independent command in Italy as the instrument of a sharp shift to the right by the Directory in Paris.

The 'soldier of the revolution' paused momentarily in Paris to marry the aristocratic Josephine de Beauharnais, and took command early in April 1796.

At that time Italy was not one nation but a jig-saw puzzle of small states. In a swift series of actions Napoleon took Savoy and Piedmont in the east (April-May), entered Milan (May 15th), surrounded Mantua (besieged till it fell in February 1792), and forced surrender from the rulers of Parma, Modena and Bologna.

utionary, but as a broker in peoples.

And a sequel to this 'settlement', universally unpopular among Italian democrats, was the rising against France's annexation of Piedmont, in the early months of 1799.

Before they were put down by the French army, the Jacobins of Piedmont marched to the slogan of 'national sovereignty', carrying portraits of French revolutionary martyrs, such as Marat, the sans-culottes' spokesman for 'the despotism of liberty', murdered by a royalist in 1793.

Their—only apparent—inconsistency foreshadowed that of the Hungarian workers and students in 1956, who marched to confront Kruschchev's tanks beneath portraits of Lenin.

Throughout the afterbirth of the French revolution, the Italian peninsula was taken and retaken by France and the various coalitions ranged against her.

## BURNED

In the general counter-revolutionary offensive of 1799 Jews were burned alive, along with the Liberty tree, in the main square of Siena in central Italy.

And the six-month-old Neapolitan Republic fell to a Austrian-Turkish army, backed by



# REVIEW: THE FRONT

"The Front" (AA), directed by Martin Riff and starring Woody Allen, Zero Mostel and Michael Murphy.  
Reviewed by John Docherty

This film deals with an important topic—the anti-communist witch-hunt in the United States twenty five years ago.

It has an interesting story-line and is well-directed and held together.

However, it reduces the greatest political problems to the level of melodrama and the most profound individual choices into comic turns.

The witch-hunts in the United States during the 'Cold War' were not just part of the reflex action of American imperialism to international rivalry with the Soviet Union.

They owed much to the earliest traditions of American life.

## 'CONSPIRACY'

The founders of the first American colonies firmly believed in witches of the supernatural variety, and they hunted and killed old women in their search for them.

Their descendants in the American ruling class have chased and persecuted hundreds of trade union militants, socialists and black activists.

The campaign against the 'communist conspiracy' after 1945 was part of real efforts to hold back and defeat any upsurge by the American working class.

For the liberal, what is wrong with witch-hunts is not that they are directed against these fighting for better conditions, but that they stop people thinking 'their own thing'.

Thus the liberal can only confront a witch-hunt as a matter of individual choice, separate from its context and results.

## PATHETIC CHARACTER

Most of the bourgeois critics of this film have talked about 'mis-casting' and other such causes as being the reason for the failure of the film.

But this is not really the case. Woody Allen performs very well as 'the front', the man who puts his name to scripts written by authors banned from working openly due to the notorious Hollywood 'black-list'.



Beaten US carworker—victim of McCarthyite witch-hunting.

Zero Mostel provides just the right combination of mania and depression as the apolitical actor driven to despair and suicide by the witch-hunters.

Allen builds up well the slightly pathetic character of the 'practically illiterate' restaurant cashier who wins fame, fortune and a girl, in a false role as a 'famous writer'.

Yet the trouble is that this unreal Hollywood world is seen in two dimensions only.

All the witch-hunted are angels whose revolt is a matter of individual protest, not an attack on the system that oppresses them.

They are all brilliant script-writers, great actors and heroic martyrs in the cause of the right to free thought.

In this way the true horror of the witch-hunt, the terrible choices between livelihood and principle, is not clearly revealed.

The pressures are absent when Woody Allen can prosper and at the same time make a stand on principle.

Hollywood stops being a symbol or even a stage, but becomes instead a cardboard world of its own.

This is a pity really, because the film remains amusing enough, and worth seeing.

But the liberal stance, deriving from the Stalinist/liberal standpoint of the (formerly blacklisted) people responsible for the film makes it into much too faint an echo of the ferocity of the witch-hunt and the horror of its effect in allowing the American ruling class to perpetrate crimes against the poor in every part of the world and holding back the development of the socialist and workers' movement for a generation.

# BOOKS

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# 1-DAY ACTION NOT ENOUGH



NALGO's Drain; NUT's Jarvis; ASTMS's Jenkins; NUPE's Fisher

Each of the public sector unions is contributing 25 hand picked delegates to the March 22nd conference called by the November 17th steering committee.

This is no more than a pathetic gesture against the cuts, which, the union leaders say, is an attempt to influence Healey's April Budget.

Last year, in an attempt to defuse the growing demands of their members, the executives of the public sector unions called a national demonstration against the cuts.

Strikes were not encouraged. This manoeuvre badly misfired and 80,000 workers, many of them on strike, turned out in defence of the health, education and public services.

Feeling this pressure, NUPE left-talker, Alan Fisher called on his members to stage one-day protest strikes a little at a time, area by area, in a tactic calculated to divide the membership and persuade them of the "ineffectiveness" of strike action.

ference will call for a further round of one-day strikes.

London NUPE have already called for a London-wide strike on May 11th and a number of lay bodies including the London Health Services Committee of ASTMS will be lobbying the March 22nd conference to demand that this day be turned into a national strike in the public sector.

While Socialist Press supports the demand to extend action beyond London, SP supporters should attend the lobby to demand that May 11th is only the first day



of prolonged strike action throughout the public sector until the cuts are reversed and guarantees given for the protection of the public services.

Anything less than this will only assist the union leaders technique of demoralising members through a series of ineffective protest actions designed to achieve nothing more than a day's loss of pay for those taking part.

Lobby the March 22nd Conference at Central Halls, Westminster at 9.00 to demand:

- \*All out strike action to defend the social services!
- \*For a sliding scale of public expenditure to defend against inflation.
- \*Demand the left MPs vote against any budget which does not restore public spending.



The first of two articles dealing with the hazards of nuclear energy.

# MILLION YEAR POLLUTION THREAT

Great efforts are being made to cover up the legitimate worries of many workers and scientists about the safety of the processes used in the latest plans for developing nuclear energy with a new series of Fast Breeder reactors.

The new technology alongside its huge potential benefits if properly developed, also has the potential to cause spectacular destruction.

Nuclear reactor programmes remain besieged with safety problems: weaknesses in reactor emergency systems; poor control over operating procedures; and the unsolved problem of the ultimate disposal of nuclear wastes have attracted particular attention.

In fact, at virtually all points during the nuclear fuel cycle (from the mining, through processing and transportation, right up to utilisation and storage of nuclear materials) there are opportunities for people to be exposed to significant radioactivity or for other hazards to arise.

## HAZARDS

To understand the new problems we must look at the hazards involved in the generation of power by nuclear reactors.

The two most common nuclear fuels are a type of uranium which constitutes only 0.7% of natural uranium, and a substance called plutonium, which apart from small traces in uranium ores occurs only as a by-product in some nuclear reactors.

They are utilized in power-generating reactors in several different ways, but the basic principle is the fission, or fragmentation, of a fissile atom.

This process is initiated when the atom is struck by and captures an atomic particle known as a neutron.

This process can be likened to the disintegration of a large liquid drop on shaking to give two medium size drops and a few tiny drops. The medium sized drops are analogous to neutrons.

These neutrons may interact with other fissile atoms to produce further fission reactions, and so the process continues (a chain reaction).

Heat produced by the fission reactions is used eventually to boil water. The resulting steam drives turbines which are linked to electricity generators.

## FAST BREEDER

A fast reactor, so called because of the speed of the neutrons involved in its fission reactions, is smaller, hotter and contains more plutonium than a conventional thermal reactor.

This means that a very efficient coolant is needed.

By careful design of a fast reactor's fuel elements and by surrounding them with suitable uranium oxide elements it is possible to create more plutonium than is consumed. Hence the term Fast Breeder Reactor.

Special safety hazards in the fast reactor can arise from sudden surges of extra power as the reactor core (where fission reactions occur) takes up new positions in use.

is very rapid the core could melt and the molten fuel and the liquid sodium used as a coolant interact explosively.

Thermal reactors do not show a sudden surge in power as the fuel changes position, but an accident involving a loss of coolant or failure of other means of controlling processes in the reactor core could also result in its melting.

## REACTOR FAILURE

The containment system (ie a pre-stressed concrete vessel around the reactor core, and the reactor building) may then be breached and radioactive substances released to the atmosphere.

A recent report from the Health and Safety Executive, who now have the responsibility of the old Nuclear Installations Inspectorate, describes an official view of a fast reactor on a semi-urban site overheats, melts and becomes partly vapourised, and its container fails.

If only one tenth of the reactor core vapourises this:

"would cause several thousand deaths within a few weeks of the accident".

and "some tens of thousands of cancer deaths" may occur in an area extending for "a few hundred kilometres downwind" over the next few decades.

plutonium.

In appropriate concentrations plutonium, like other fissile materials, can produce a spontaneous, uncontrolled, fission chain reaction; this is the property made use of in atomic bombs.

Ten accidents involving uncontrolled chain reactions are known to have occurred resulting in several workers being injured and some deaths.

Plutonium is perhaps the most toxic element known and has no antidote. Amounts as low as one millionth of a gram can be hazardous in lungs and bone.

Its toxicity results from its radioactivity and the fact that once it gains access to the body it is retained for long periods.

It also has a long "half-life" (ie the time taken for half the atoms to lose their activity)—of some 24,400 years!

## POISON

The movement of three tons of plutonium every year from British reactors to reprocessing sites has been suggested as likely should FBR's be established in Britain.

This represents 5,000,000,000,000 times the maximum permissible body burden laid down by statute in this country. A phenomenal amount of poison!

If the handling of plutonium



Atom waste dumped into the sea in containers designed to last only 100 years

of these wastes that no acceptable method is yet available.

Provided that they can be separated from actinides with a high degree of efficiency then converted to glass and stored in a stable geological formation, they would decay to manageable activities only after about 800 years.

## PILOT

Anyway, development of the process for converting liquid wastes to glass has so far only reached the pilot plant scale.

The actinides themselves and the products of their spontaneous decay, however, remain a hazard for millions of years. There is no convincing method available for their storage or conversion to manageable substances.

Four methods for the disposal of actinides are being studied at present.

These are: burial in deep and stable geological formation; burial under the floor of the deep ocean; emplacement in suitably long-lived containers on the bed of the deep ocean; and irradiation in a suitable reactor to convert them to shorter lived materials.

The first method begs the question; what geological formation can be considered stable over a geologically significant period of time?

Even the Health and Safety Executive admit that the second would be difficult to achieve.

As to the third, it would be difficult to prove the integrity of the containers for millions of years, under the action of plant and animal life and the corrosive action of the sea itself.

Furthermore, human operations may uncover these stores of radioactive materials.

For example, in 1962 containers holding low activity radioactive wastes were recovered by French trawlers in the English Channel!

The fourth method is also acknowledged by the Health and Safety Executive as having daunting technological difficulties, but is the most satisfactory of the ones mentioned.

## DESIGNED TO LEAK

Even this, however, would yield materials that at best would remain highly dangerous for 500-800 years.

The disposal of low and moderate activity wastes also present a hazard to life. At present, solid wastes contaminated with small amounts of plutonium and other activities are dumped on the sea bed in containers designed only to protect their contents on the way to the sea bed.

They are designed to leak and are never expected to retain their contents for more than ten years.

In 1964 a number of drums holding low activity wastes actually failed on impact with the surface of the sea.

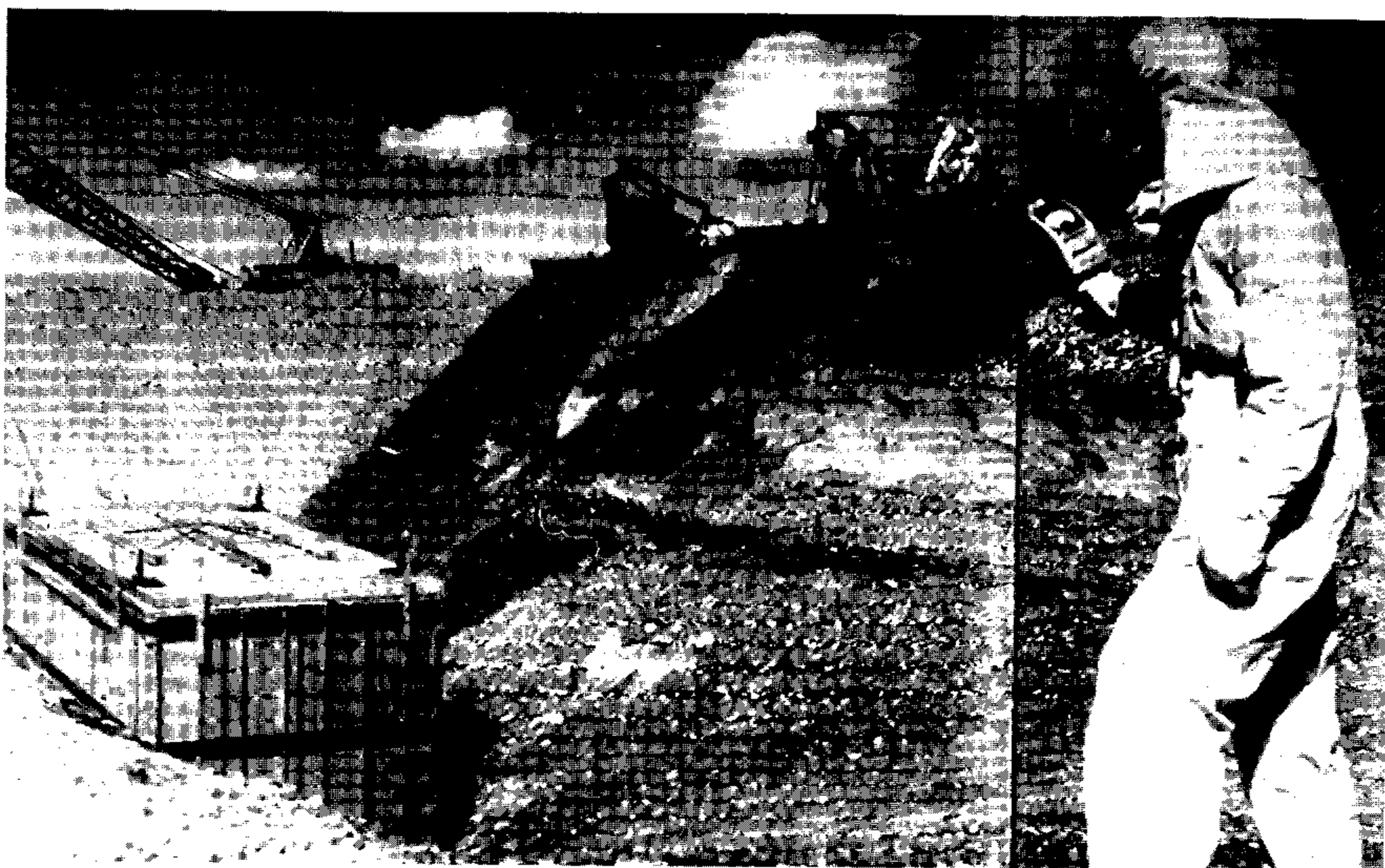
Low activity liquid wastes from reprocessing and fuel fabrication at Windscale and Dounreay are discharged to the sea through pipelines.

In both cases the large volumes of sea water are expected to dilute the dangerous radioactivity to levels acceptable to government inspectors.

However, local concentrations of radioactive materials can still develop, especially near the dumping grounds and this may affect marine life.

In any case, dilution has not always been achieved. Radiation levels in the Celtic Sea have caused a great deal of concern. One type had risen to 83% of permitted levels by 1975, and there has been a tenfold rise in the levels of radioactive caesium in fish between 1973 and 1975.

By a science correspondent



US burial ground for contaminated reactor machinery

"Land and dwellings" would be unfit for occupation "for some tens of kilometres downwind", and farm produce at even greater distances may have to be destroyed.

The report arrogantly notes: "in sum total, these effects, though serious, would not be insupportable by society".

Such is their contempt for workers' lives.

Reprocessing of fast reactor fuel elements involves dissolving the fuel from its cladding and separating out the plutonium, uranium and intensely radioactive fission products.

The safety hazards here centre around the handling and storage of the highly radioactive waste products.

increases as FBR's and re-processing plants are established, the chances must be that the number of accidents will also increase.

The high activity wastes of nuclear reactor programmes prevent the most enduring safety problems. The wastes are of two types; fission products and a group of elements, which includes plutonium and uranium, known as the actinides.

## TANKS

At present, fission products are stored as acid solutions in cooled, stainless steel tanks.

This temporary means of storage is necessary because so little is







# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## NUJ KETTERING LOCK OUT

Journalists at Kettering who voted to end a 12-week strike three weeks ago are still out on the streets—locked out by the management and deserted by their union officials.

About 70 journalists in Kettering and Wellingborough from the *Northamptonshire Evening Telegraph* came out on strike in December over a claim for an improved house agreement on a number of fringe benefits and conditions.

### FORECAST

The strike had been long forecast. The claim had run the full gamut of the long drawn out disputes procedure—a device that is designed to wear out chapels (office branches) before any real struggle begins.

Last summer after a major witch-hunt had started in the National Press and on television, the East Midlands Allied Press chapel decided by one vote not to strike over a claim to have their 100% membership formally agreed in a closed shop agreement.

This climb down had made the EMAP management determined to break the chapel by imposing an all-out defeat over its claim.

After 12 weeks on strike the claim was referred to the Printing Industries Committee of the TUC, chaired by Owen O'Brien, General Secretary of NATSOPA.

The chapel demanded that if their claim was not met, other EMAP chapels should be called out in support.

They had addressed a number of these chapels about the dispute and their assessment was that, despite vigorous opposition by the right wing, the chapels would respond.

The meeting opened with O'Brien reading out telegrams declaring that other chapels would not support, and saying that sympathy strike action was out of the question. (This was exactly the method that the NEC of the NUJ had used over the Radio Sheffield strike, where the chapel was ordered back to work with nothing gained, after right wingers sent a stream of telegrams).

The chapel was told that if they did not accept a slightly improved offer from the management all support would be withdrawn.

Unanimously the chapel voted to return to work. The major gains were that the agreement could be reviewed annually, instead of in three years time, as the management had insisted, and that expenses would be revised quarterly.

"It wasn't everything we hoped for but it was something", one chapel member said.

During the strike nine members had declared themselves to be leaving the NUJ and joining the Institute of Journalists—which has the proud record of never having failed to scab on any NUJ dispute

where it has members.

NUJ rules state that no member can resign during a dispute.

The chapel said that if the nine showed up in the office and tried to work, they would go into mandatory meetings.

The management responded by cutting off their phones and ordering them out of the building.

When they turned up for work the following day the doors had been locked.

The chapel is now demanding that strike pay of £25 a week be increased to £40—since they are now locked out; that other chapels in EMAP be called out; and that the TUC Printing Industry Committee be reconvened.

The role of Ken Morgan, General Secretary of the NUJ, has been to weaken every action the chapel try to take.

He postponed a sympathy strike call for seven days to allow the right wing time to organise, he exempted production of *Motorcycle News* and the *New Musical Express* (both produced at Kettering) from the action, and he allowed the editor, Ron Hunt—an NUJ member—to scab to such an extent that he turns out a daily paper on his own.

Chapel members say they are taking part in "the forgotten strike". Morgan's inaction is designed to ensure it remains forgotten.



Fleet Street workers: their leaders have power over jobs as well as union cards.

## Print pay fight axed

"I am satisfied they have seen the errors of their ways"—so said NATSOPA General Secretary, Owen O'Brien, after bludgeoning striking printers at *The Times* back to work.

His action in declaring 120 machine workers' union membership 'null and void' had certainly done the trick.

Faced with the threat of permanent unemployment the strikers went back to their jobs.

The *Times* resumed publication after a gap of five days and disruption that had lasted three weeks.

But the print workers' claim for more money to clean the presses or more workers taken on to do the job, is still on the table. Talks are due this week.

### CRISIS

It is a measure of the crisis in which union bureaucrats find themselves that O'Brien was forced all the way to expulsion.

The role of the trade union leadership in policing wage cuts and speed up for its members must inevitably lead to attacks of this nature on a group of workers almost 100% united in their action.

Only twelve out of 120 had (up to the time of expulsion) voted to end their dispute.

They pulled back because NATSOPA not only has the power over the union cards but in Fleet Street it hands out the jobs as well.

Expelled from the union these workers would have been out of the industry for good. But support from other NATSOPA chapels could have been gained.

### REPUDIATED

The *Observer* chapel repudiated a statement in their paper saying that the *Times* workers had been defeated.

"There was no collapse of morale of the *Times* NATSOPA chapel, which was in our opinion a lock out and not a strike".

[The NATSOPA clerical chapel at the *Times* even refused to type out the dismissal notices to the men. This kind of support would have emerged rapidly throughout the country]

The *Times* in its own editorial—a straight statement of the management position—analysed the role of O'Brien correctly.

"The dispute then brought into question the authority of the NATSOPA executive, who voted unanimously to give an instruction to the chapel. The union leaders, who behaved with considerable determination, resolved to assert the authority of the union and of the union's rules."

### CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Public Meeting

"Support the Toolmakers"

Tuesday 22nd March at 8.00

East Oxford Community Centre, Cowley Road

### PORT STRIKE

THERE WILL BE A complete shutdown of British ports on Monday 21st March. This is due to a one-day strike called by national dockers leaders in protest against the proposed axing of 2,000 jobs through the closing of local-authority owned Preston docks.

The rule referred to by the *Times* is the catch-all declaring that the executive can expel any member who 'brings the union into disrepute'.

### UNDEMOCRATIC

As in so many other cases the union bureaucrats are forced into openly undemocratic attacks to stamp out struggles by their members.

The *Times* is converted to a powerful ally of the trade union leaders.

"No union can negotiate effectively with management if its members engage in repeated unofficial action. Unless the unions are able to control and prevent unofficial stoppages they have little to offer management. If there are going to be strikes anyway, the strike threat loses much of its force".

Linking this strike to the Social Contract the *Times* states that incomes policies "put at risk the future of the trade unions".

### TRIUMPH

Whereas O'Brien sees his butchery as a triumph for the union executive the *Times* sees that the working class itself is ready to fight whether authorised to do so by their so-called leaders or not.

What the *Times* can see and O'Brien cannot is that the NATSOPA dispute has brought nearer the total collapse of control by the TUC over the working class.

"It is one of the drawbacks of incomes policy, and particularly of a voluntary incomes policy, that it makes the leadership of trade unions responsible for the control of incomes rather than for raising the incomes of their members.

"The trade union leadership comes to be in the position the boss has always occupied; that of the man who has the responsibility to say no. This gives an opportunity to militant sub-groups in the unions to attack the authority of the union leadership. It must be doubtful whether the trade unions can manage a third year of incomes policy in anything like its present form".

### COURAGE

The NATSOPA chapel are still technically pursuing their claim. If they are to win it the members there must take their courage in both hands and defy their executive.

The strength of support in other NATSOPA chapels and throughout Fleet Street would show whose expulsion is really in order—Owen O'Brien and his executive of strike breakers.



The Agee-Hosenball defence demonstration

## MORGAN DUMPS AGEE

Ken Morgan, General Secretary of the National Union of Journalists has a mission in life—to get out of the union before his members throw him out.

Morgan's timing, in moving to a full time job with the Press Council in August will not save him from the annual conference, in April, where 19 branches have tabled motions against the social contract and only one has supported it.

It will however allow him to sabotage any NUJ action between now and August without worry for his future security.

The disputes at BBC Radio Sheffield and at Kettering (see below) have illustrated the way in which he has sought to isolate groups of workers in struggle.

His manoeuvres on the closed shop issue—with the support of Michael Foot—ensured that struggles were kept to a minimum.

But his finest hour must surely be his complete abandonment of Agee and Hosenball to their fate.

Since the confirmation of the deportations branches have not received a single message from Morgan.

ing to the Home Secretary, Rees, not to act against two NUJ members for receiving secret information was sent to Chapels, not by Morgan, but by the union President Rosaline Kelly.

In the absence of a trade union struggle—which should be led by the NUJ—against CIA ordered deportations and M16 ordered arrests, the Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee is reduced to impotence.

The latest demonstration ten days ago in London was supported by no more than 500 people and was not addressed by a single member of the NUJ Executive.

In a self-indulgent display the demonstration strolled round London, addressed an empty office block—the Headquarters of M16—burned a copy of the Official Secrets Act, and accused a film training crew of being CIA agents.

No policies were proposed and indeed without a labour movement lead, no policies are possible. Agee and Hosenball will go unless the NUJ calls strike action against their deportation and for support from other unions.

Morgan has refused to offer any lead on this or on any other issue.

him has not yet been published. It is likely to include four right wingers, including Ken Ashton, former Deputy General Secretary.

The crucial question is what kind of campaign the left will run. Journalists Charter—which is dominated by the SWP—is already flirting with support for Mike Bower from Sheffield, a Labour 'left'.

### OPPOSED

Bower has spoken against supporting chapels which challenge the social contract and has consistently confined the closed shop issue to an 'industrial' issue in support of wages—rejecting its role as a challenge to capitalist control of the Press.

The struggle in the NUJ is not for a 'left' face in the leadership but a principled fight on policies which will show militants a way forward.

Clearly on the single transferable vote used in the ballot Bower would be a second choice for Trotskyists.

But a candidate must be found who will fight on a programme for defence of wages and jobs and for a ban on technology being used to increase the rate of exploitation.



# NALGO BOWS TO COURTS

Sharp lessons both in the increasing court interference into the unions and the complete servility of the union bureaucracy must be drawn from the calling off last week of a one-day strike of NALGO's 60,000 Scottish members following a "temporary injunction" granted to seven right wingers.

The strike call had gone out from the union's special conference in January to which a strong delegation from Scotland went specifically to argue for the strike to be an instruction, binding on all union members.

While clearly in itself insufficient to stop the massive attacks already underway against public sector workers in Scotland, the strike decision represented a considerable setback for the NALGO right wing, who opposed it bitterly, and an indication of the bitterness within the branches for an all-out fight for jobs and conditions.

And it was clearly the right wing in the NALGO NEC, with not a word of opposition from spineless 'left' talkers, who ensured that as soon as the court decision was announced by Lord Cameron, telegrams were rushed out to all Scottish branches, telling them to work normally.

NALGO thus joins the UPW in

the ignominious ranks of those whose leaders are prepared to subordinate the entire strength of the union to a handful of extreme right wingers and the courts.

NALGO members can be certain that if General Secretary Drain and his right wing pals back off even a protest action in the face of a court order, there is no prospect of them leading a serious struggle to stop the cuts, which must centre on the preparation of all-out indefinite strike action to force back the government plans.

But if the NALGO retreat is out in the open, there should be no illusions in the leadership of NUPE, ASTMS and other unions which proceeded with the one-day stoppage in Scotland last week.

While militants from those unions correctly howled at Drain, branding him as a 'scab' and a 'blackleg' for pulling out of the action, they would do well to remember that their own leaders are equally opposed to sustained strike action to stop the cuts—and in the case of Fisher, open defenders of wage controls under the Social Contract.

The question of new leadership throughout the public sector unions must be confronted if the cuts are to be defeated. Such a leadership must base itself on uniting with all sections of the labour movement against the social contract, against the cuts, and for



NALGO special Conference

a rising scale of state spending to protect public services against inflation.

And such a leadership will not shrink from mobilising the full strength of the unions against the interference of the courts. Until

such a leadership emerges, 'temporary injunctions' and a whole battery of legal restraints will be utilised by right wing extremists inside and outside the unions to frustrate the implementation of democratic decisions.

## MASSEY STRIKE WON

After eleven weeks on strike 1,000 assembly workers at Massey Ferguson voted unanimously to return to work after management had conceded their demands.

The dispute was sparked off by the company's action in taking 136 workers off the clock for alleged slow working. Over 1,000 assembly workers struck in sympathy and for a time the factory was occupied until the company got a court order directing the strikers to quit.

Support was growing for the strikers (a meeting of over 100 representing several factories in Coventry met recently to discuss ways of developing support) when the company backed down and agreed to take issues through procedure, up to national level, in future instead of taking men off the clock.

In addition the company agreed to pay the strikers their full three-day holiday pay.

The fight will now be around the continued attempts by management to push up the production targets to 48 tractors a day.

## BANKRUPT 'ALLIANCE'

No way forward against vicious government attacks on teachers jobs, conditions and living standards was forthcoming from the conference last weekend of the 'Socialist Teachers Alliance' masterminded by the International Marxist Group.

Discussion centred on endless 'tactical' "initiatives". Whereas a vanguard of revolutionary-sounding demands was added through a string of amendments to the IMG's main resolution, these were negated by attaching the whole resolution to support for the bankrupt Stalinist-led "initiatives" centring

on the Liaison Committee for Defence of Trade Unions.

Only WSL speakers pointed out that the purpose of these moves by the Communist Party was precisely to head off the growing resistance to Stage Two of wage controls, and the necessity if teachers were to find a way forward against wage cuts for them to support the March 27th Conference called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

The Socialist Teachers Alliance itself has already dwindled in numbers from its first conference. Further fiascos like that staged last weekend will most likely polish it off altogether.

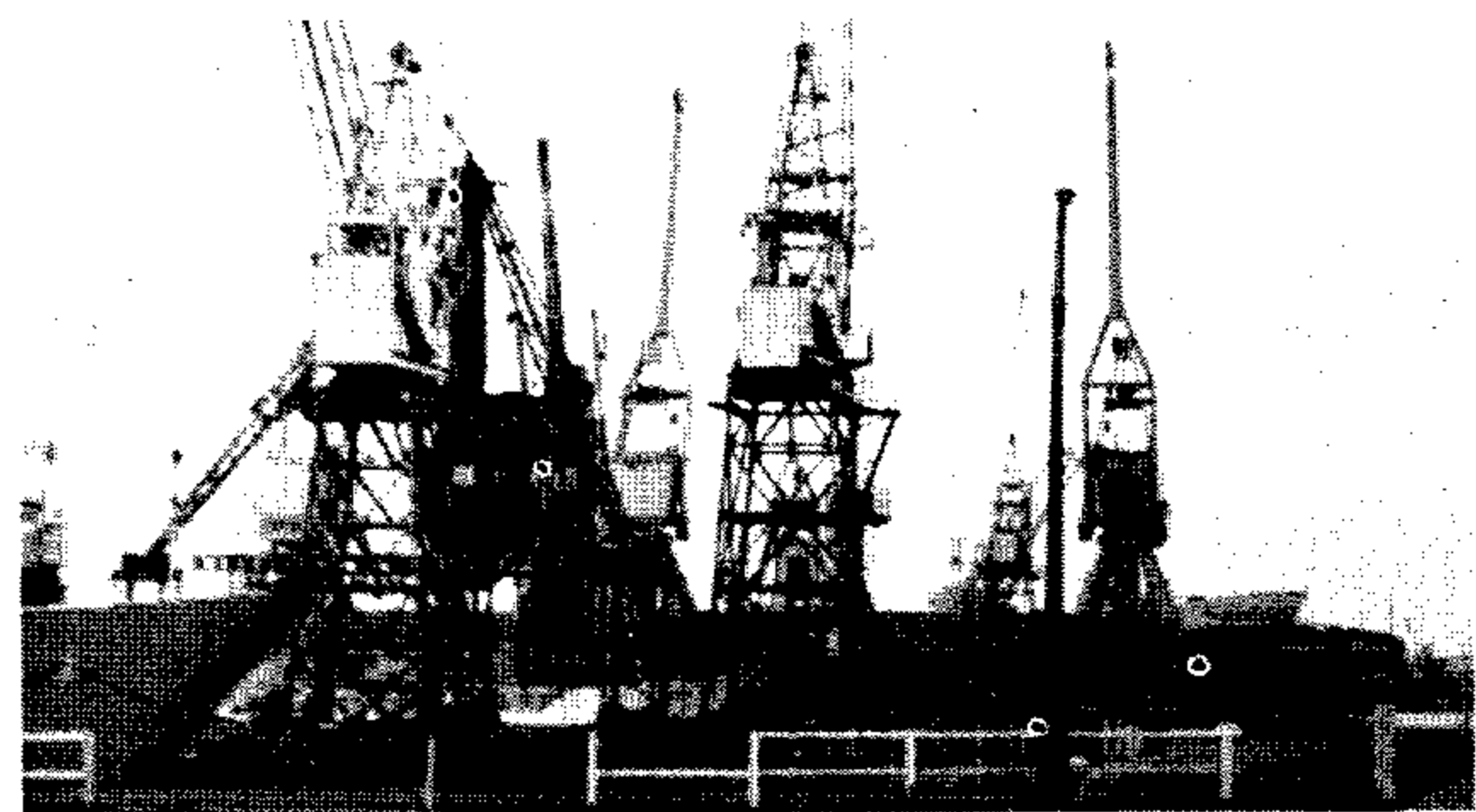
## Hull NUR Strike

NUR members in Hull held a one-day strike on March 15th in protest at the planned closure of British Rail links to Hull docks.

The closure will mean the loss of about 150 jobs and the local branches are urging the NUR leadership to organise some form of national action against the closures.

Meanwhile, the threatened 450 redundancies at Hawker Siddeley Aviation of Brough near Hull have been given a temporary reprieve.

This has come about because the company will be nationalised at the end of April in line with the Aircraft and Shipbuilding Bill.



However, it would be wrong to think that jobs will not be lost in the aircraft industry, as nationalisation in this case is bound to mean rationalisation with speed-up and jobs lost.

\*The outcome of a meeting convened by Hull Trades Council this Wednesday could be a near general strike in the town on March 30th. The TGWU is proposing the action, against unemployment.

# HOLIDAY PAY STRIKE

Workers at F.H. Biddles of Nuneaton are on strike following management refusal to sign a regrading agreement which had been verbally accepted by management and unions.

At present the actual cash involved is slight—approximately £35 a year—but feeling on the shop

floor is high.

Regrading will change the minimum time rate which only affects holiday pay (minimum time rate plus one-third). Normal weekly wage is based on the domestic base rate, negotiated at plant level, plus a bonus.

The works manager agreed to regrading in January and three weeks negotiation was followed by a shop floor meeting which accepted the deal.

Management fixed the date of signing then began to backtrack. First the works director was "not available" to sign. Then he was found to be on holiday in Spain. When he arrived back a new signing date was fixed—12 noon on March 4th.

When the works director refused to sign and asked for more time a mass meeting was held on Monday which voted to strike and meet again on Friday March 11th. The drivers at Biddles negotiate separately but have come out in support.

At the mass meeting their steward called for support when they went into struggle.

Despite the fact that all the lorries are "heavy goods vehicles" all the drivers are classed as unskilled and the basic rate is £28 a week.

The mass meeting voted support for future struggles by the drivers. On Tuesday morning (March 8)

the stewards were called in by the works director who said that as he had not been involved in the negotiations the whole thing must be gone through again. "I've got to be careful. This is going to cost me money in the future" he said.

At the mass meeting of March 11th, stewards reported that no headway had been made and the meeting voted unanimously to continue the strike, elect a strike committee and not meet until the following Friday.

One of the strikers told *Socialist Press*:

"In my opinion this strike is the result of frustration which has built up over low wages throughout the period of wage control.

It's only the second strike in the plant's 35 year history. Three years ago we were on national average wages, now were about £15 below.

The highest paid production worker is on £58 basic".

"We've had a really good response from delivery drivers. With an average of 15 lorries a day only two in the whole week have crossed our picket line".

Messages of support and donations to:

Biddles Strike Committee, c/o 496, Kingswood Road, Grove Farm Estate, Nuneaton.

# NEWS IN BRIEF

## "SUGGESTIONS"

A special branch meeting of the GMWU (Nuneaton) called to discuss what attitude to take towards cleaners who had scabbed on a two-day protest strike against the cuts was honoured by the attendance of Ralph Jones, GMWU official.

Against a background of massive education cuts in Warwickshire (see SP54), Jones showed clearly where he stood, saying:

"We're not going to stop the cuts and we've made some suggestions as to where they can be made in order to protect jobs".

Once again it is the union leaders who head off, discourage and where necessary sabotage spontaneous moves by workers to fight the cuts.

## WORK TO RULE

A meeting of Warwickshire NALGO voted to implement a work to rule and ban on overtime (to start April 4th) as further steps in the fight against the cuts.

Among the actions decided on by the meeting were—work not to exceed 148 working hours in any four week period, blacking of any work started outside normal hours, refusing to carry out work connected with all posts temporarily or permanently vacant, and refusing to do preparatory work, as overtime, on the county council elections.

It was clear, however, that there was considerable feeling in sections of the meeting that these actions would not stop the cuts.

Some members argued that only indefinite strike action, nationally organised in conjunction with other trade unions, would be sufficient to stop the cuts.

Some members were already voicing the opinion that "when these measures fail we'll have to go for the indefinite action".

## SCRAP PAPER

ON MARCH 3rd 50 TEACHERS in the London Borough of Havering lobbied a meeting of the 'Vacancy Control Procedure' established by the Council to cut one in every ten vacant jobs.

The need for stronger action must have been brought home to some lobbyists when the committee chairman, Alderman Kemble thrust back a leaflet proffered to him about education cuts with the comment "Use it for scrap paper in the schools, you'll need it".

## CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Public Meetings

### NUNEATON

Monday 21st March at 8pm  
Bull Hotel, Market Place  
National Ad-hoc Committee speaker

### BIRMINGHAM

Thursday March 22nd  
at 7.30pm.  
Labour Club, Bristol Street  
Speakers, in a personal capacity  
Alan Thornett, BLMC Shop Steward  
Mick Rice, AUEW  
Chairman, Lucas BW3 JSSC

## LETTERS

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

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



# MEETINGS CALL TO BREAK PHASE TWO

Break Stage II of the Social Contract now! Support those sections currently taking action against wage control such as the Leyland toolmakers! Don't be diverted by the Stalinists who oppose the current strikes and call instead for a TUC vote for free collective bargaining after July! Prepare to fight for the leadership of a mass movement which is emerging against the policies of the Labour government by firstly developing a programme appropriate to those struggles and then turning those sections of workers who are in struggle towards that programme.

Those were the points rammed home by Alan Thornett, a candidate in the election for General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union in a series of meetings in the past two weeks organised by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement in London, Bristol, Sheffield, Hull, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow and Newcastle.

## CENTRALITY

Supporting the perspectives of the CDLM he pointed out at the well attended meetings that the Campaign Organising Committee had recognised the centrality of the wages issue to all the policies of the Labour government.

From that standpoint they were able to confront the issue in the Summer and Autumn of last year when no other tendency on the left was prepared to do so, starting from the conviction that the working class would not accept Stage II and that by the end of the year struggles would emerge against it.

The Wages and Democracy Conference called by the Committee last October, he said, had provided an essential forum in which an advanced layer of workers could discuss the necessary programme and the problems of leadership which would confront workers when the mass movement emerged.

The connection had been powerfully drawn between the bureaucratic imposition of wage control and the wholesale attacks on trade union democracy which were taking place.

Thornett emphasised that the Recall Conference to be held on March 27th would mark a new stage in the struggle for leadership.

Unlike the first Conference, it would not be confined to the level of discussion.

## CONTRIBUTION

The opportunity now existed to draw into the Conference workers now on strike against the employers, the government and the trade union bureaucracy.

The Conference was poised to make a contribution in real terms in providing programme and perspective to current strikes which threaten the Social Contract and the government.

The programme to be discussed by the Conference is contained within Alan Thornett's election address.

No other candidate had presented a perspective for the mobilisation of the working class.

In a meeting of the TGWU Central London branch, addressed by seven of the fifteen candidates in the election, Thornett challenged John Cousins and John Miller—two of the five bureaucrats pushed by the capitalist press as "main contenders"—to state if they were for breaking Stage II now and if they supported the toolmakers.

Miller in a demagogic speech refused even to mention either point, simply talking in general about his "opposition" to the Social Contract.

Cousins, living in a complete dream world, said that he supported the toolmakers and was for breaking Stage II now.

He then said he did not think it was a particularly relevant question because Stage II had been broken so many times that it no longer existed.

It was clear to the meeting that for the vast majority of the working class who not only oppose the Social Contract but suffer under it every day that Cousins offers no alternative and the vote must be for Alan Thornett.



Thornett

# BLACK THE!

Jack Jones brought his personal touch to bear on the union battles against Trust House Forte in Birmingham, Sheffield and Oxford—by stamping out any question of national blacking.

The blacking of all Trust House Forte establishments had been called for by hotel strikers in Oxford and Sheffield.

They have been joined on their four month old strikes by workers at the Night Out night club in Birmingham after their shop steward was sacked.

But at the National Executive meeting of the TGWU called to discuss national blacking Jack Jones spoke strongly against it, quoting an agreement with the GMWU as a reason for not implementing it.

The decision of the executive came after the trade group and the district committees of Oxford and Sheffield had backed the call for blacking.

In Region 5, which includes Birmingham and Oxford, blacking has been organised and Trust House Forte must face the drying up of beer and food supplies to all their main hotels.

But in Sheffield, where the regional secretary, Hayhurst, has abandoned the strikers to their fate, no blacking has been organised.

This is despite the fact that GMWU members at Allied Breweries have already refused to deliver to Trust House Forte hotels.

The strikers are now being supported and given encouragement, not by their local officials, but through contact with other hotel workers, who have formed themselves into a Joint Shop Stewards Committee, containing TGWU and GMWU members.

A meeting in Birmingham on Monday drew the strikers from the three disputes together with hotel workers in London. GMWU members at the Cumberland, part of the Strand Group bought by Trust House Forte, have applied for recognition, rejecting previous refusals.

In a new development last week a lightning strike by GMWU workers at the St. James Hotel in London, part of the Centre Hotel Group won a claim for extra Christmas payment after only two hours.

A lobby by hotel workers of Transport House in Smith Square London has been called by the Joint Shop Stewards Committee to demand that the national blacking be implemented.

The lack of action by national officials over Trust House Forte allowed the Linton Lodge management in Oxford—where the strike is in its 18th week—to step back after making offers of partial reinstatement.

The chairman of the commercial drivers 5/35 branch in Birmingham, Dennis Mills, self-appointed spokesman for the Night Out strikers has been declaring to any one who will listen that "the gloves are off".

With Jack Jones and his gang sabotaging these vital disputes the handcuffs are still firmly on.

## Toolmakers Slam Scanlon . . . from Page One.

negotiations with the toolroom workers' committee—which could only be interpreted as a major climbdown by the company, and will carry a commitment to at some point increase the rates of lower paid toolroom workers by up to £18 a week—crashing through Phase Two or any proposed Phase Three.

There is no doubt that any concession along these lines by Leyland would produce an upsurge of unofficial committees in every industry as workers attempt to evade the bureaucratic stranglehold of their union officials on wages and get directly to grips with the employers.

In other words by attempting to settle one confrontation Leyland would merely stoke up the fires for a whole chain of further confrontations stretching far beyond the motor industry.

This is why some 'left' MPs are now attempting to find ways of defusing the militancy of the toolmakers by ensnaring their unofficial leaders in ACAS arbitration.

But the biggest danger of all to the toolmakers is the uncertain nature of their claim. Whereas the factor that interests most of those in struggle is the wage increases involved in levelling them up with other plants, the toolroom committee has centred its demands simply on recognition of the committee itself.

This has grave dangers. By turning away from the wages

question and claiming that their demands are not against the Social Contract the leaders cut themselves off from full-scale support from other sections of workers.

And by calling for corporation-level bargaining as a section they are exposing themselves to the danger that even if their demand were accepted, they would be again subject to the dictatorship of full-time union officials over every wage demand.

After Friday's solid vote, the toolmakers leaders now have a great opportunity. They can strengthen their case by spelling out the wage demands their members are really seeking, and the fact that this runs flatly counter to Phase II and any Phase III of the Social Contract.

They can turn toolmakers towards the fight to protect wage increases against inflation through a sliding scale of wages rising to keep pace with the cost of living.

## THREATS

And they must challenge the endless threats of closure flowing from management, government and the press. As the statement on the toolmakers strike by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement points out:

"Instead of closure being a threat to the workers it should be a threat to the capitalist class: if you create redundancies we will occupy factories. A policy should be put forward demanding work sharing on full pay.

If the employers say they cannot pay we must demand they open their books and those of the component firms and start the struggle for nationalisation without compensation of the whole motor industry."

In fighting for these demands the toolroom leadership will have ample opportunity to expose the nature of the union bureaucracy and the Labour government.

On such a basis they can confidently call on the mass of workers in every industry for support, and rally the growing forces in opposition to the union bureaucracy in the struggle to end all wage control.

In doing so they would help a new leadership to replace the Scanlons and Joneses whose policies today threaten the living standards of the entire working

# FRENCH POLLS

The municipal elections of March 13 and 20 have uncovered unhealable wounds in the political body of French capitalism.

The Gaullists of ex-premier Jacques Chirac's Rassemblement pour la Republique are fighting a bitter battle against the electoral lists of President Giscard d'Estaing with whom in national politics they maintain an increasingly tense coalition.

The battle has centred on Paris where Chirac hopes to become Mayor.

Other sections of the disintegrating Gaullist movement have allied themselves, much to the delight of the Communist Party leaders, with the popular frontist Union of the Left led by the Communist and Socialist Parties.

## PROBLEMS

The elections have also revealed problems for the Union of the Left.

Aside from the opportunistic jostling for power between the CP and SP leaders, they have been under growing pressure from the working class in this campaign to abandon and break with the bourgeois parties (the opposition Gaullists and Left Radicals) in the Union of the Left.

There are increasing demands that instead these parties put forward a slate composed only of workers parties.

This is the political task facing French workers.

They must both destroy the present reactionary Giscard

active peddled by Socialist and Communist Parties, and supported by a growing proportion of the capitalist class.

The way that should be fought for in these elections is by voting for Communist and Socialist Party lists only where these do not contain representatives of the capitalist parties.

Such a vote should be seen as part of a campaign in all working class organisations to force the CP and SP leaders to break from their capitalist allies.

## 'TROTSKYIST'

We believe that this task is in no way changed by the presence in many cities of a list of candidates put up by the 'For Socialism - For Workers' Power' alliance of the 'Trotskyist' Revolutionary Communist League (section of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International), Lutte Ouvriere and the Maoist Revolutionary Workers' Organisation.

While it would be right to vote for these lists in places where there are capitalist candidates on the CP/SP list and we do not disagree in principle with putting up revolutionary candidates in such an election, the programme of the alliance is based on semiotopian propaganda and does not confront the necessary struggle in the working class to destroy the popular front politics of the Stalinist and reformist leaders.

This is shown up by the completely incorrect position of the 'revolutionary' alliance in calling for a vote on the second round for Union of the Left lists

# Plessey's

From Page One.

vision of production out of the hands of the management-appointed foremen and women supervisors. Instead a factory committee must be elected from the workforce to organise production.

When Plessey then move to cut off payment or supplies, the factory committee must take the lead in organising the full-scale occupation of the factory.

The central demand of the occupations must be that Plessey's be forced to open their books to these elected trade union committees. This will show the case for the firm to be nationalised, under workers' management, if these, along with other jobs to be threatened by future rationalisation are to be saved, and a system of work-sharing with no loss of pay implemented.

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