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The vote against Jones' line at the TGWU Conference

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REGAIN AND DEFEND

EXTEND POSTAL BLACK!

Trade unionists from almost every union in nearly every part of the country responded in their tens of thousands to the call from the APEX Grunwick strike committee for a mass picket of the factories on July 11.

Although, the police replied with a turnout of over 4,000 including their cavalry detachments and military-trained Special Patrol Group, their attempts to break the picket, met with repeated failure. In fact, the pickets made the streets around each of the factory entrances completely impassable for several hours.

The assortment of trade union bureaucrats from APEX and elsewhere, including TUC assistant general secretary Norman Willis, who attempted to address the pickets, were given a hostile reception as a suitable reply to their lack of action over the previous ten months.

In sharp contrast was the acclaim given to the strikers themselves and left-winger Arthur Scargill, who had brought a large contingent of miners from the Yorkshire area and who along with many other delegations, had travelled overnight to join the picket.

Ironically, it was Scargill's actions which ensured that the goal of bringing the factories to a halt was only partially achieved.

It was his call for the pickets to join the TUC-organised demonstration which brought a response after right-wing pleas had failed.

With the picket reduced to only a few hundred, the scabs'

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The political defeats suffered by the TGWU and NUM leaderships last week reflect the complete rejection of wage control by the working class. In the face of these developments Chancellor Healey's attempts to enforce wage control confirm that we are now at a decisive turning point in the class struggle in Britain.

Most fundamentally, the demolition of the carefully laid plans of the TUC to impose a rigid Phase 3 indicates a political turn by the working class parallel to the 1966 Seamen's strike—the first mass struggle by the working class against a Labour government—and the 1974 miners' strike, in which mass, active hostility to wage controls led to the bringing down of the Heath government.

OFFENSIVE

In the wake of the destruction of Phase 3, a wages offensive is already opening up. There is no doubt that section after section of workers will now seek to seize their chance to make up for the last two years of vicious cuts in real wages.

The readiness of workers to struggle in pursuit of these demands is shown by the scale of the mobilisations in support of the Grunwick strikers, and the tenacious blacking action by postal workers in defiance of UPW leaders, employers and courts.

And at the same time the defeat of Jones at the TGWU Conference has clearly shaken the authority of the union bureaucracy at all levels and challenged its ability to sabotage and disrupt through bureaucratic decree the struggles of their members to defend their living standards.

LEFT TALKERS

But it has not removed their room for manoeuvre. Rather, it has forced them to turn increasingly to utilise the left talkers and the Communist Party to assist them in heading off and diverting militant struggles on wages.

Already in Fords and at Longbridge Stalinist-dominated leader-

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE NATIONAL COMMITTEE STATEMENT

LIVING STANDARDS

ships have rushed in after the TGWU vote to submit claims for basic increases of no more than 15%-20%.

Even if such claims were won in full they would still amount to a substantial wage cut under present inflation. And workers are clearly prepared to fight for much bigger claims.

DEFUSE

The sole purpose of these "responsible" claims is to take the steam out of the wages movement by arguing the need to keep the employer viable.

We say that the priority must be the restoration of the living standards of the working class to 1974 levels, and the defence of this through linking wages to the cost of living through a sliding scale of wages.

The defeats suffered by the bureaucracy have killed any possibility of an agreed Phase 3, and caused Liberals to question the future of the Lib-Lab coalition deal.

But they have not slackened the iron determination of Healey and Callaghan to press ahead with their alliance with the Liberals, and impose wage restraint, if necessary without the formal support of the TUC.

They have drawn closer to the Liberals to set themselves free of pressure from the working class—



PHOTO: Andrew Wiard, Report

The Grunwick mass picket

whether through the unions, or through the Labour Party itself.

At the same time the government is aware it can count on the energetic efforts of TUC leaders to stifle militant wage struggles by any means at their disposal.

Scanlon has already announced that the AUEW will uphold the '12 month rule' and honour annual agreements.

More dramatically, the TGWU leadership has violated the specific vote of this month's conference by circulating full time officers informing them that the return to free collective bargaining is to

begin only after the end of existing contracts.

The TGWU conference rejected this position and voted for unfettered collective bargaining as of August 1.

It is with these moves in mind that Healey has made it clear that the government is prepared to press ahead without any formal deal with the TUC.

From the government end, all wage claims in the public sector will be resisted; rigid cash limits will be imposed, and, working

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS



Bhutto

PAKISTAN

IMPATIENT BOSSES OUST BHUTTO

The military seizure of power in Pakistan on July 5 was a response to the mounting exasperation of Pakistan's ruling class with the civil disorders unleashed by the squabbling of the right-wing politicians.

There has been a good deal of speculation as to why new military dictator Zia ul Haq seized power.

It may have been on behalf of the now imprisoned ex-Prime Minister Ali Bhutto, to save him from capitulating to the demands of the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA)—or it may have been on behalf of the PNA in order to guarantee the holding of new elections.

In spite of his apparent agree-

ment to fresh elections, Bhutto was desperately attempting to avoid it.

The answer is almost certainly that it was not on behalf of either group that the military took power—but rather because, along with Pakistan's capitalists and landlords, they saw the inability of either group of politicians to maintain control over the masses.

For a good deal of the period since the rigged elections a few months ago Bhutto himself has only been able to rule through martial law.

After consigning the leaders of the PNA and Bhutto's People's Party to an apparently comfortable protective detention, the military regime immediately introduced a large number of extremely repressive laws.

Membership of trade unions not approved by the military authorities is punishable by three years in prison and five lashes (for students unions the penalty is seven years in prison and ten lashes).

Although the regime says it will organise "free" elections in October all political activities are now banned and punishable by five years in jail.

These sentences can all be imposed by special summary military tribunals from which there is no right of appeal.

DEATH

Such tribunals can impose the death penalty for acts of "sabotage" or "damage to property".

In addition most of the traditional blood thirsty Islamic legal code is introduced for other crimes—for example, cutting off the hands of thieves.

The dictatorship, following the recent example of the Gaddafi dictatorship in Libya "humanely" specifies that this barbaric punishment must be carried out "by a qualified surgeon using local anaesthetic."

IN BRIEF

ITALY

The terms of the Communist Party's treacherous policy agreement with the Christian Democratic government have been announced.

They include wide ranging measures of political repression (including the improved coordination of the police forces, the building of new prisons and increased telephone tapping), the anti-working class economic policies agreed with the International Monetary Fund, measures to "reform" education including more emphasis on vocational training, and a "reform" of the national television to avoid "ideological opposition" between different channels.

ANGOLA

The Cuban supported government of Agostino Neto reports that it has captured Nito Alves, opportunist former Interior Minister and ally of Moscow, who led a failed coup against Neto in April. Alves escaped from custody after the coup.

ETHIOPIA

STALINISTS BACK REACTIONARY WAR

With the strong support of the Soviet Union and Cuba, and some military supplies from Israel, the Ethiopian "Marxist" military dictatorship (the Derg) has launched a massive military attack on the national liberation forces in Eritrea.

A similar army was ignominiously defeated last year. This year the 25,000 regular Ethiopian troops already fighting in Eritrea are also being reinforced by an airlift of troops and arms from Addis Ababa.

This counter-offensive follows several weeks of spectacular victories for the Eritrean nationalists.

The three Eritrean liberation organisations now claim to control virtually the whole territory aside from the capital, Asmara.

The Ethiopian attack has reportedly been master-minded by the Soviet Union and was not launched until the Soviet military delegation had satisfied itself that Eritrea was

recuperable.

One of the Soviet bureaucracy's aims in this reactionary struggle is undoubtedly to have access for its growing fleet to the important Red Sea Eritrean ports of Massawa and Assab as supplements (and possibly alternatives to) the Somalian port of Berbera on the Gulf of Aden.

HOSTILITY

Hostility between Ethiopia and Somalia has been growing rapidly as a result of Somalia's support for the West Somalia Liberation Movement in the Ethiopian province of Ogaden.

This movement recently cut Ethiopia's main rail link to the sea and has scored other military victories.

As a result, the Somalian government, after recent questioning of its long standing military and political alliance with the Soviet Union, has now reportedly called for the withdrawal of Soviet technical and military personnel from the country.

In the last few months Cuban Premier Fidel Castro has become one of the principle agents of Soviet policy in this part of Africa.

In his recent tour of Africa he tried unsuccessfully at a secret meeting to mediate between the Derg and the Somalian government.

He has withdrawn previous Cuban support for the Eritrean guerrillas and is now offering military advice to the Derg.

Castro has publicly compared the putsch in which Colonel Mengistu and the current Derg leaders seized power from the right wing rivals to the October 1917 Russian Revolution.

At the same time he is reported to be attempting to mediate between the Derg and the more "progressive" sections of the Eritreans.

REJECTED

This offer has reportedly been rejected by the Eritreans, resentful at Cuba's opportunist change of sides (many of their guerrillas were trained in Cuba).

They are also unwilling to make any compromise with the blood-thirsty and treacherous Derg, which has shown itself as totally hostile to the Eritreans' right to self determination as it is to its own left opposition, hundreds of whom have been slaughtered in massacres in recent months.

In order to reduce the number of fronts on which it is forced to fight, the Derg has recently tried to buy off its right wing opposition—the Ethiopian Democratic Union—with the offer of an amnesty to EDU supporters.

These dramatic developments and the strategic importance of Ethiopia's coastline and its potential control of the waters of the Nile, has turned the country's civil wars into an international battle-ground between counter-revolutionaries.

ISRAEL

The Derg is supported not only by the USSR, Cuba and East Germany but also by Israel, anxious to prevent the Red Sea ports coming under Arab control.

One of the Eritrean movements (the Eritrean Liberation Front) defines itself as "pan-Arab" and has support of the most reactionary Arab regimes (including Egypt, Sudan and Saudi Arabia).

The other main movement (the Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea), which claims to be Marxist, receives little direct international support but has a military alliance with the Liberation Front.

The struggle, therefore, while it has broad popular support has become a pawn in the power

TURKEY

GOVERNMENT CRISIS LINGERS ON

Such statements have greatly perturbed the chiefs of the armed forces, and it is clear that if the bourgeois parties should lose control over the working class the military would not hesitate to intervene.

These manoeuvres are further confirmation of the policy of the Stalinists and reformists—backing Ecevit as a 'democratic' alternative to Demirel, rather than putting forward independent working class candidates is completely bankrupt.

This failure to present a clear alternative was one main reason why the fascists of the National Action Party won 922,000 votes in the elections.

In reality the fight for democratic rights cannot be separated in this crisis from the fight for a clear socialist programme geared to the needs and demands of both workers and peasants.

The starting point must be defence of the workers' movement against the fascists through defence squads based on factories and working class neighbourhoods.

The bourgeois courts must be challenged by the setting up of workers' inquiries into attacks—especially the May Day slaughter in Istanbul.

And a programme spelling out the common need for all workers

As we go to press the government crisis in Turkey remains unresolved, with right wing Justice Party leader Demirel unable to hold together a coalition with the extreme right National Action Party and the National Salvation Party.

Thus the stalemate that arose from the indecisive June 5 elections still paralyses the bourgeois parties, while international capitalists and Turkish employers wait impatiently for an economic and political equilibrium to be established.

The most hopeful direction for the bourgeoisie would seem to be the proposal for a compromise by Bulent Ecevit, leader of the biggest capitalist party, the liberal-reformist Republican Popular Party.

While there are differences between the parties, an RPP-JP coalition would immediately enlist the support of those reformist and Stalinist leaders within the workers' movement who gave electoral support to Ecevit.

Indeed Halil Tunc, the leader of the right wing trade union confederation CTWU, has threatened to call a general strike "that very day" if a National Front coalition of right wing parties is formed, and demanded a JP-RPP coalition.

Gibraltar

EQUAL PAY FIGHT

Workers fighting blatant racial discrimination in the British imperialist outpost in Gibraltar have been imposing a 'black' on supplies to the Ministry of Defence dockyard passing through both the commercial port and the airport.

The workers, members of the British Transport and General Workers Union, suffer from discriminatory rates of pay which keep Gibraltar citizens in the dockyard on a wage £18 per week lower than UK citizens doing identical work.

Their struggle is in defiance of vicious British colonial regulations which make them liable to sacking for industrial action. Already one Ministry of Defence power generator has had to be shut down—with needed spares held up through blacking.

The National Union of Seamen are giving support, blacking material to the Royal Fleet Auxil-

iary in Gibraltar.

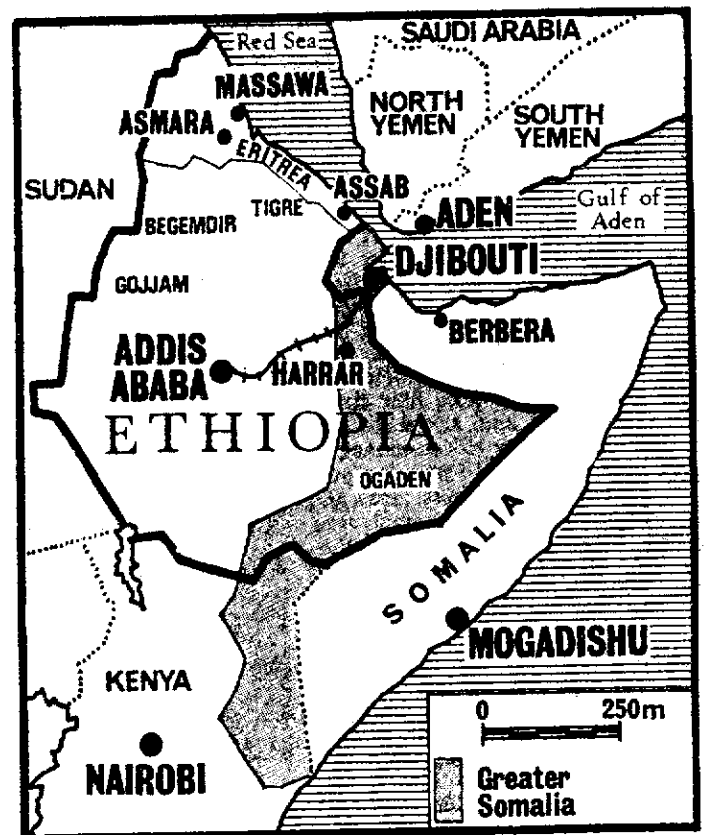
In this garrison colony any industrial action takes place under threat of military intervention. In 1972 a general strike was met by troops running power supplies.

The pay dispute has come to a head with the escalating cost of living. UK citizens receive a special supplement because of the high cost of living in Gibraltar—but Gibraltar workers are told their rates are lower because prices are lower!

The colonial administration has refused to argue a case for its racial based pay policy. Under pressure, the most they have offered the Gibraltar citizens is 80% of the £49 basic paid to UK nationals.

This offer was backed with threats of reprisals if the TGWU action is not called off.

British dockers and airport workers in particular must be ready to take action in defence of their Gibraltar brothers if this threat is implemented.



STALINISTS DIVIDED ON GARRILLO

In the early days of the Spanish election campaign Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Spanish Communist Party, published a now notorious book called 'Eurocommunism and the State'.

The main themes of the book were two: first an attempt to justify the form of class collaboration carried out by the Spanish, French and Italian Communist Parties; and second, as part of Carrillo's efforts to convince the bourgeoisie of his sincere intentions an attack on the Soviet Communist Party, especially on political repression in the Soviet Union.

MOSCOW

The book prompted a virulent rejoinder from the Soviet bureaucracy in the form of a review of the book in the international foreign affairs journal *New Times*, published in Moscow.

cut support from some parties.

In Western Europe, the Soviet Union was supported by the Danish, Austrian, Greek (exterior) and Portuguese parties.

Alvaro Cunhal, Portuguese CP secretary, expressed his "serious doubts about Santiago Carrillo's way of thinking."

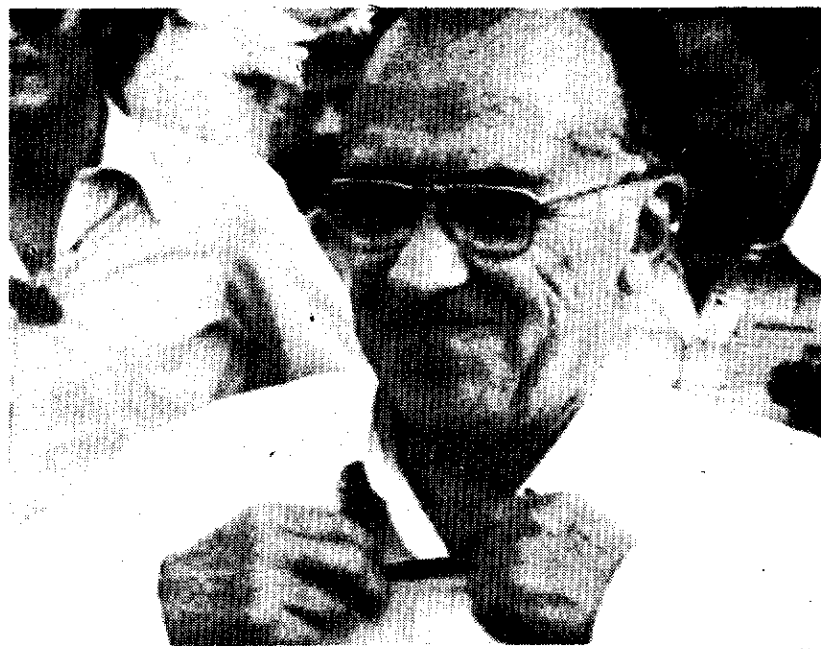
DOUBTS

In Eastern European parties, however, there were evidently serious doubts about the attack on Carrillo.

Only the Czechoslovakian party gave unambiguous backing to the position of *New Times*.

Its party newspaper, *Rude Pravo*, accused Carrillo of "laying, with visible pleasure, the cuckoo's egg of Eurocommunism" in the nest of the world communist movement.

But the East German, Romanian and Polish CPs have continued to maintain an embarrassed silence on



Carrillo

this. And the author of the *New Times* article worsens his case by trying to dissociate from a party its secretary-general.

That is an inadmissible procedure. This is not the way to encourage the necessary debate within the world communist movement."

It would be wrong to see the "Carrillo affair" as mere hot-air.

It certainly marks a stepping up of the Kremlin bureaucracy's attempts to rescue its declining authority within world Stalinism.

NO DISAGREEMENTS

But the Soviet Union has raised no disagreements with the class-collaborationist strategies of the so-called Eurocommunist parties.

Quite the contrary. In the middle of the hubbub about Carrillo the Soviet press significantly produced a series of articles in

collaboration of the French and Italian CPs is mild compared with the rapture with which the Soviet news agency TASS on July 8 praised the policies of the party of Santiago Carrillo himself.

The Tass dispatch begins by complimenting the "realism and subtlety" of Adolfo Suarez and King Juan Carlos.

The new Spanish government (which is, of course, composed of Francoist murderers) reflects, says Tass:

"The results of the last elections which have shown the will of the Spanish people to put a definitive end to the Francoist past . . . What is important is that legislative and executive power in Spain is from now on concentrated in the hands of partisans of parliamentary democracy."

This "achievement" is put down by Tass to the wisdom of the

dictions of the counter-revolutionary policy of socialism in one country.

The attack on Carrillo is a symptom of the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy finds the consequence of this contradiction especially troubling at the present time.

The *New Times* article was not an isolated occurrence. Almost simultaneously the Soviet leaders launched a similarly virulent attack on the Japanese CP because of its support for the Japanese government's claim to four islands of the Kuriles group which are 'occupied' by the Soviet Union.

On June 12 *Pravda* accused the Japanese CP of "chauvinism", "hostility to the Russian people" and "violation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by making a frontier problem the object of a dispute between Communist Parties."

In its reply the Japanese CP leadership identified itself with Carrillo and the right of all Communist Parties to find their own road to socialism.

It attacked the Moscow bureaucracy for "continuing the errors of Stalin".

It condemns the Soviet Union for its "great power interventionism" against the Czechoslovakian CP in 1968 and for its open support for an "anti-party group" within the Japanese CP in 1964 when the Soviet Union financed that group's factional paper, *Voice of Japan*, and described the group as "true patriots".

This is a further reminder that these conflicts between the Soviet bureaucracy and other CPs are nothing new.

Nevertheless, the crisis of Stalinism which they express now seems to be reaching a new peak.

A simultaneous crisis has blown up in relations between the Chinese bureaucracy and its hitherto faithfully, Albania.



Stalinist leaders (left to right) Husak, Czechoslovakia, Brezhnev, USSR, Honecker, East Germany, and Tito, Yugoslavia, far right.

The review attacks Carrillo personally as "consciously anti-Soviet" and for putting forward an interpretation of "Eurocommunism" which responds exclusively to the interests of imperialism and the forces of aggression and reaction."

Carrillo himself responded to this attack with a number of press statements elaborating his view that the Soviet state:

"... if it is not exactly bourgeois is certainly not one where the organised workers are the ruling class."

Saying also that if he had been in the position of the Czechoslovak Communist Party leaders in 1968 he would have ordered his followers to fire on Soviet troops.

Conflict between Carrillo and the Soviet leadership is nothing new.

EXPELLED

In 1968 a group inside the leadership of the Spanish CP was expelled for refusing to condemn the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and were later supported by the Soviet leaders in their attempt which turned out a disastrous failure, to form an alternative Communist Party in Spain.

This new quarrel, however, has stirred up a hornet's nest among the Communist Parties of Western and

the question of "Eurocommunism"; and Hungarian CP leader Janos Kadar has expressed his scarcely-veiled support for it.

He stated a few weeks ago that "Eurocommunism" was "completely natural".

"DUTY"

It was "not only the right but the duty" of all parties to find their own road to socialism:

"With or without the dictatorship of the proletariat, with a pluralist or other form of socialism, I only want them to open up the road to socialism for their people as quickly as possible."

Carrillo was strongly defended against the Soviet attack by the paper of the Yugoslav CP, while the Italian CP was a good deal more ready to condemn the "unacceptable" tone of the *New Times* review than to support the precise formulations in Carrillo's book.

The British and French parties have taken a similar line. The French CP daily *L'Humanite* wrote on July 7:

"Aside from his book, of which it is perfectly possible to criticise certain chapters without stooping to hostility, the secretary general of a Communist Party was directly aimed at and disputed with by a

praise of the policies and "successes" of the French, Italian and Spanish CPs.

On July 9 *Pravda* spoke of the success of the popular frontist Union of the Left in the French municipal elections.

In this Union, said *Pravda*, "the Communists represent the most dynamic force".

Pravda acknowledged the difficulties in formulating the programme of the Union of the Left but, it added:

"This should not let us forget the most important thing: the fact that the old division of workers, used by the monopolists to help their policy of isolating the communists and maintaining the capitalist system, has been overcome."

WELCOMED

In Italy, *Pravda* welcomes the new reactionary policy agreement between the CP and the Christian Democrat government but adds that "its a long way between making an agreement and putting it into practice."

Once again *Pravda* notes that through this agreement:

"the discrimination which the Italian CP has suffered from and the division of the political forces of the country are coming to an end."

strategy of the Spanish CP:

"The Communists of Spain, who have selflessly fought fascism during forty years of dictatorship, here put forward the slogan of national reconciliation of all Spaniards, regardless of which side of the barricades they were on in the civil war.

The triumph of this slogan today is the result of the long struggle of communists, socialists, left catholics and other anti-fascist democrats."

Eulogies of this kind make it clear that the purpose of the Soviet attack on Carrillo is *not* part of any attempt to alter the criminal popular frontist strategy of the West European CPs but is rather a new installment of Moscow's attempt to arrest "indiscipline" within the Stalinist forces.

The two things, however, cannot be separated since the Soviet policy of socialism in one country is the basis of class collaboration on the part of the Stalinist parties in capitalist countries.

But at the same time, that class collaboration can be completely fulfilled only by the adoption of anti-Soviet positions, such as Carrillo's support for US bases in Spain and the Italian CP's support of NATO.

The problem of authority within world Stalinism therefore is an

On July 7 the official paper of the Albanian CP launched an unmistakable attack on the international strategy of the Chinese leadership (without however mentioning it by name).

The main point of the article is an attack on the Chinese "three worlds" theory in which the "third world" is the source of revolution:

"Considering globally the so-called 'third world' as the main force in the anti-imperialist struggle and the revolution . . . without making any distinction between the authentic anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces which hold power in a number of developing countries, means to distance oneself in a flagrant way from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to preach typically opportunistic views causing confusion and disorientation among revolutionary forces . . ."

The articles point to the need to fight regimes like that of Pinochet in Chile, whom the Chinese have supported.

The practice of Enver Koxha's regime in Albania gives no evidence that its adherence to those principles is anything more than formal.

But in the Stalinist world even formal adherence to such a position

Big vote for sliding scale of wages

JONES BOWS OUT

DEFEATED

In more ways than one the wages debate at the TGWU Conference was the centre piece of the week.

The unprecedented defeat of both of Jones and the unanimously endorsed line of the TGWU General Executive Council on this issue has fundamentally altered the political situation within the TGWU, as well as wrecking TUC hopes of imposing a Phase 3 of wage controls on all workers.

Before the pay debate, tension showed itself in continual hostile questions on the Executive 'Report'; during the debate the anger and frustration of the membership of the shop floor found its reflection even within the bureaucratized layers that made up the conference; and after the pay debate many delegates, confident the task was done seemed to visibly ease off pressure against the platform, while the leadership struggled to regain its shattered prestige.

But within the pay debate itself a key component was to focus from the very start on the manoeuvre Jones had planned for foisting Phase 3 upon the Conference.

WORDING

This meant that the eyes of all delegates had to be directed to the precise wording of the Executive's composite motion, which called for an "orderly return to free collective bargaining", and insisting that this formula was no more than a blank cheque for a Phase 3.

Moving the main opposition composite calling for 'unfettered collective bargaining from August 1, Danny Harris centred his speech on the wage cuts suffered under the Social Contract, and the flouting by the leadership of the eight conditions on which the last TGWU conference had endorsed the Contract.

But it was left to Alan Thornett, moving the third resolution which on top of free collective bargaining called for a sliding scale of wages to compensate for inflation, to spell out exactly how the last TGWU conference had been duped by use of a vaguely worded motion:

"Many delegates will remember the last conference, where we had a motion—equally vague—formulated in a similar way.

I will quote it to you.

"That this Conference supports the Social Contract, . . . recognising that this understanding is in total opposition to any form of statutory wage control, and seeks to sustain (believe it or not) the principle of free collective bargaining."

Not only was free collective bargaining ended by this motion—but none of the conditions were ever carried out."

APPLAUSE

Thornett went on to draw strong applause when he pointed out that the executive had implemented the 5% Phase 2 policy without authority from Conference.

"I am convinced that the term 'orderly return' is used because the motion would face certain defeat at this conference if it was called by its real name—wage control."

Thornett was also the first delegate to point out the ominous government silence on Phase 3.

"It is significant that although we are now only 3 weeks from the end of Phase 2, the shape of Phase 3 has not been revealed.

Why not? If it is a policy which would be acceptable to this conference, why is it not revealed to us?"

ESCALATOR CLAUSES

He went on to show the need for free collective bargaining to include the demand for escalator clauses to match inflation.

"Since our members cannot influence inflation, they must protect themselves against it."

Setting the dominant note as suspicion of the wording of the Executive motion meant that the

"That cost of living escalator agreements to offset the full amount of price inflation be included in wage settlements additional to increases in the hourly rate. To facilitate this the Union establishes its own machinery to compile a cost of living index which will accurately reflect the impact of inflation on the wage packets of our members. Negotiators should demand that escalator agreements be based on this figure and not on government figures which are biased against the working class."

Branch No. 5/293.



Jones sees defeat looming in the pay debate



The vote for a sliding scale of wages, taken immediately after the rejection of Jones' "orderly return".



Alan Thornett

Delegate after delegate marched to the rostrum to attack an "orderly return" as a Phase 3.

Among the most damaging attacks on the platform came from Jones' former supporters. The mover of the Executive composite at the last TGWU Conference got up to say he had changed his position.

"Enough is enough", he said.

Sheffield convenor Sylvia Greenwood, who had also previously backed the Social Contract announced:

"I'm big enough to come up here and say I was wrong".

FORMER ALLY

And Irish delegate Malachy Grey announced that he had been one of Jones' allies in the fight against the TGWU right wing in the '50s and '60s—but ringingly denounced the Executive motion as simply "the old, old story."

Right wingers were dumbfounded by the onslaught on their policy. Only a handful attempted to speak.

When the chairman desperately

IMPORT CONTROLS

A REACTIONARY composite resolution calling for the government to impose a series of import controls was moved by Ford Dagenham Body Plant convenor Danny Connor.

Connor, like every defender of this nationalist policy, hotly denied that he was a chauvinist, while complaining that every time a job is "taken from this country to abroad", Jim Callaghan's dream of an export-led boom "becomes less and less realistic."

This policy is "the foundation for building a socialist Britain", he

claimed. Coventry delegate Dave Patrick was the only delegate to mount the rostrum against this policy. He pointed out that "cheap foreign labour" was a myth, and that Tory Press jingoism and nationalist sabre rattling would increase massively, diverting from the real problems faced by workers.

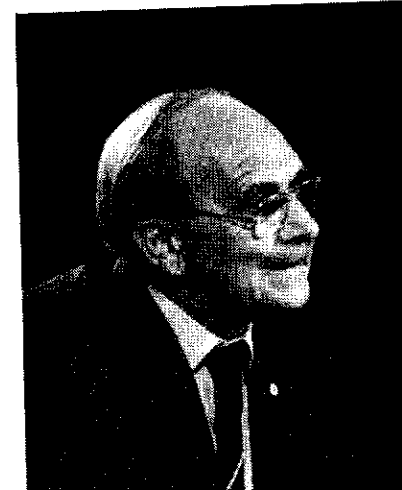
"The real question is to re-equip British industry on the basis of nationalising the banks and monopolies under workers' control" he argued.

The motion was carried, however, with only a handful of principled votes against.

to back down.

It was against these odds that Jones stood up in the afternoon session and attempted to swing the conference to accept a now thoroughly discredited motion.

As he floundered through a series of already refuted arguments Jones reserved a special attack for the sliding scale of wages motion, laughably describing it as "rigid wage control".



But to no avail. The Executive motion was defeated 2-1. The call for an immediate return to unfettered collective bargaining was passed by a similar margin.

ONE-THIRD

And the sliding scale of wages motion, though defeated, won the backing of nearly one-third of the Conference—indicating the growing influence of a demand which two years ago was backed by only a handful of delegates.

Jones now hands on a tarnished and dented crown to Moss Evans. The leadership that hinged on the authority of the General Secretary at conference has suffered a major setback.

And the failure of the platform to give any build-up whatsoever to the incoming Evans means that he must now attempt to control a much strengthened left wing from a position of great weakness.

The question now for militants is to go forward from the conference to build on these gains, developing a conscious and principled leadership to challenge the bureaucracy on every front.

CHILE

JONES' SPURIOUS reputation as a great internationalist suffered a hefty kick during discussion on a composite motion against the Chilean dictatorship.

After Jones had worked through a long speech in which he wept crocodile tears for the workers tortured, murdered or incarcerated under Pinochet's regime, but proposed no policies whatsoever to support them, a London docks delegate interrupted just as the vote was to be put.

He pointed out that London dockers had a policy of blacking Chilean goods—but that in some areas dockers who implemented the policy were taken off the clock. Would the union back them—maybe make up their wages?

Jones fumbled, completely exposed. He mumbled a few words about how "complicated" these things were and said it would be "up to the executive".

The point was damningly made. Jones will not, anymore than any bureaucratic "internationalist", carry his "principles" to the point of supporting struggles against the employers at home.

If London dockers are to maintain their principled policy, they must fight Jones to do so.

HOTEL STRIKES INSULT

THE WORKERS in Sheffield, Oxford and Birmingham who spent long bitter months on picket lines in the struggle to win union rights within the giant Trust Houses Forte catering and hotels combine, only to be sold out by TGWU officials, were given a calculated insult by Jones.

Moving executive support for a meaningless resolution on the Tourist Industry, Jones saw fit to hold forth on the need for the union to "pick up its responsibility to unionise" the industry in which there are well over 500,000 potential members.

But despite having personally followed the THF strikes, and having been confronted by angry strikers on one occasion occupying his office demanding national blacking to support this action, Jones omitted any mention of their brave struggle.

Instead he "congratulated" "all those associated with building the union in a very, very difficult industry."

The motion, which simply called for a Minister for Tourism, and spelled out no demands for support

EQUAL RIGHTS ISSUE PRESSED

Moving the composite resolution on Equal Pay and Equal Opportunities Alan Thornett laid stress on the failure of the much-vaunted Sex Discrimination Act and Equal Pay Act to significantly improve the lot of women in industry.

Pointing out that the composite motion leaned too heavily on reviewing and revising legislation, Thornett emphasised that:

"The main responsibility rests with the trade union movement to force the employer to concede equal rights."

The clearest proof of this, showed Thornett, was the lessons of two recent struggles—Electrolux and Trico.

At Electrolux, individual women won equal pay at a Tribunal, only to be moved off their jobs by the employer.

But at Trico the employer won his case at the Tribunal, only to be defeated by industrial action which achieved equal pay. This showed the way forward.

PLACE OF WORK

Crucial is what union leaders do in the place of work stressed Thornett. And most ignored is the issue of equal opportunity.

"The vast amount of jobs in the engineering and automotive industry are not available to women. It is in the power of convenors and stewards to make major inroads into this."

Only if this was done could the reactionary divisive notion of "women's work" be broken down and women workers properly integrated into the TGWU.

Delegates from the floor however ignored the issue of equal opportunity and concentrated this fire on the less contentious question of equal pay.

Most speakers attacked any idea of relying on tribunals, and several pointed out that out of 1,000 delegates only 35 were women.

YARDLEY

One delegate from the Yardley cosmetics factory bitterly attacked the role of TGWU officials and convenors during their long-running equal pay battle.

She was greeted by Moss Evans' patronising assurance that:

"If the ladies don't think we're doing the job adequately, push us a little bit [!] and we'll see if we can do a bit better next time."

It was left to Alan Thornett, in replying to the debate to ram home the responsibility of convenors and stewards at the conference to lead the fight to bring women into the workforce.

Only this could create conditions for adequate numbers of women to be delegated to conference, and breakdown the present reactionary "women's section" whose work focussed on such "women's jobs" as the Pin, Hook and Eye and Snap Fastener Wages Council.

JONES BACKS 35hr WEEK



Urwin

The unemployment debate indicated how necessary is a fully developed alternative to the reactionary policies of the right wing.

By focussing attention simply on the emotive issue of youth unemployment speaker after speaker succeeded in creating the impression that only school-leavers are on the dole, and concealing the fact that factory after factory has carried through rationalisation and redundancies with the full co-operation of TGWU leaders.

It was not only right wing speakers that created the loophole—indeed a crucial role was played by Broad Left and Militant supporters who followed exactly

the same lines.

And Deputy General Secretary Harry Urwin was only too pleased to take advantage, and to move in quoting reams of statistics on the government's various diversionary projects and "job creation" schemes which offer some youth a few weeks or months work. Lacking any alternative, the toothless composite backed by the leadership was carried.

The debate was one-sided because the motion on the agenda spelling out a clear policy to defend jobs and create new ones, submitted by the 5/293 Branch, was manipulated off the order paper and separated from the main discussion on unemployment.

OPEN BOOKS

The 5/293 resolution called for the opening of the books of employers who declare redundancies; for union backing to factory occupations; for a policy of demanding work sharing on full pay where the employer seeks to cut production, and for nationalisation of employers who refuse these demands.

Having been cut off from the main unemployment debate, this motion had to be moved by Alan Thornett just as the bulk of the left

wing delegates were called out to discuss the composite resolution on wages.

Though Thornett's contribution, stressing the fact that this was the only motion to outline a programme to defend jobs won considerable applause from the conference, the motion failed to get a seconder.

BANKRUPT

The bankruptcy of the call for a 35 hour week as a supposed "cure" for unemployment was indicated by the fact that a composite resolution demanding it was passed with the full backing of Jones and the executive.

As far as the right wing are concerned they are quite prepared to incorporate verbal claims for a 35 hour week even while consenting to savage speed up on production tracks which jeopardises thousands of jobs.

This was confirmed by the fact that a separate resolution, calling for the Executive to "give official support to all branches, shop stewards committees and groups of members in the fight for a 35 hour week without loss of pay, and for official overtime bans" was opposed by the Executive and substantially defeated.

BULLOCK GETS THROUGH

Despite the efforts of a number of delegates who spoke on the real effects of so-called "workers' participation" and the class collaboration embodied in the proposals of the Bullock Report, a composite motion in favour of the Report was carried.

One speaker, Colin Carty, convenor at Export Packing Services, Banbury, pointed out that "participation" by TGWU stewards and management in British Leyland at Cowley had led Cowley stewards to agree to the withdrawal of work from the EPS factory, resulting in 250 redundancies.

1200 TO 600

Another 350 jobs in the same factory had been lost when similar steps were agreed to by trade union leaders in Chrysler factories in Coventry. In the course of a year his membership had shrunk from 1200 to 600.

Oxford delegate Tim O'Sullivan backed up Carty's argument, and stressed that the terms of the Ryder "participation" scheme in Leyland are quite specific.

"It says the Company will run affairs and make the final decisions. So how can you participate?" he asked.

A similar view was taken by Bob Stoker from Huddersfield.

"I reject any participation in the management of private industry under capitalism. We haven't got socialism. We are still fighting capitalism."

"Participation means a man wears two hats: one with management, and one with the stewards", he pointed out.

But the mood of the conference was more sympathetic to a veteran wearer of two hats, deputy convenor of Levland's Cowley Body Plant, Alec Morton J.P.

"You can say 'no' under partici-



Alec Morton J.P.

change all this.

"Maybe heads will roll," he went on, "but you can't have power without responsibility".

This was turned around by a Liverpool delegate, who shrewdly pointed out that Bullock offered trade unionists "responsibility but no power".

The Executive composite was overwhelmingly carried, with the memorable assurance from Moss Evans that:

"We want no truck with an emasculated Bullock."

TYCOON GORMLEY

Question: How do you stop Canadian workers going on strike?
Answer: Hire a British trade union leader to sort them out.

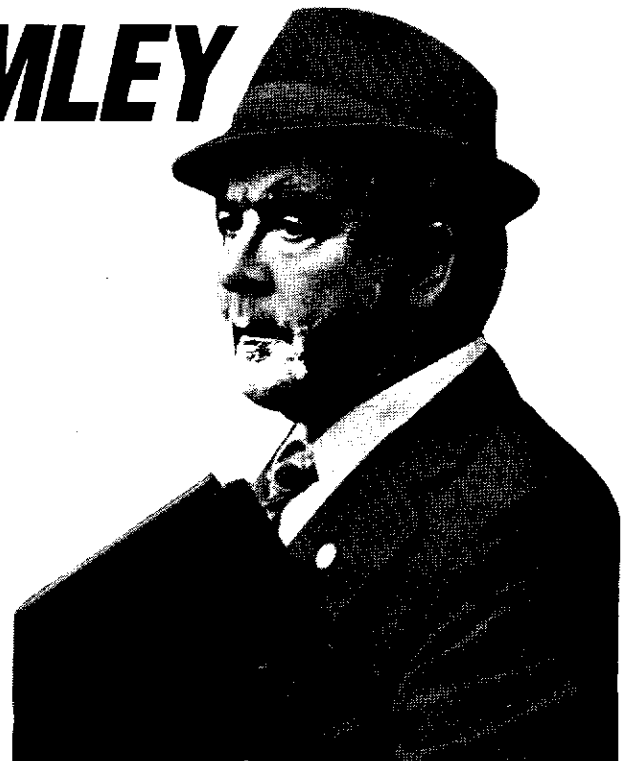
Joe Gormley—president for life of the National Union of Mineworkers—has been appointed to the board of a multi-million pound Canadian company to advise them on industrial relations.

So now we see why Gormley was so opposed to the NUM adopting a pay claim that could regain and defend his members living standards!

The firm—Vancouver Wharfs—is a subsidiary of the William Hudson Group, an oil giant. Gormley will add an undisclosed salary to his £7,500 a year from the NUM and another £1,000 a year from the National Research Development Corporation.

Vancouver Wharfs chairman David Olhams said: "He has good qualifications in that we run into an awful lot of labour troubles here and he would know more about that than most people. We would find his experience most useful."

Gormley, who angrily refused to comment, before leaving for a holiday in Spain, will no doubt win a glowing reference from NUM members who will confirm his expertise in holding back wage demands and his usefulness to the bosses.



MINERS SHOW THE WAY

The £135 a week claim to be lodged for November that emerged from the NUM Conference must set the tone for the entire working class.

The demand is not excessive. Two years ago even right wingers voted for a toothless resolution calling on the union to 'seek' a figure of £100 a week.

The right wing majority on the

Executive of course interpreted this resolution as a charter to accept the pathetic £6 "flat rate" under Phase 1 of Healey's state control of wages.

PHASE 2

And last year the Executive narrowly forced through a ballot decision on a deceptively worded ballot paper which it used to give backing to Phase 2.

The upshot is that miners still receive only a basic of £71. Meanwhile inflation and taxation mean that the £100 claim of two years ago must be upped to a £135 claim now.

But of course the right wing who were prepared to advocate this figure at the conference did so on the basis that they would make up at least £20 of the figure by trading increased productivity.

This was one reason for the resolution again using the infamous words "seek to achieve".

PRINCIPLED

For this reason the most important setback to the right wing plans to scuttle the £135 claim was when the NUM Conference voted for a principled rejection of these speed-up proposals, which would trade a few pounds in

Each of these decisions show the direction all workers must take if living standards are to be brought back up to the levels that existed prior to the Social Contract.

A Northumberland miners' resolution calling for increases to be linked to inflation through a threshold agreement also shows a growing awareness among miners that even a 90% wage increase can be rapidly eroded by the employers stoking up price increases.

The fight must now be pressed for:

- *The full £135 claim.
- *No productivity strings.
- *A sliding scale of wages to compensate for inflation.



PAMPHLETS

The Toolroom Strike and the Fight to end Wage Control
Price 25p plus 10p p&p

How We Fight Youth Unemployment
Price 10p plus 7p p&p

Available from
Folrose Books
31, Dartmouth Park Hill

HOW FASCISTS TOOK STATE POWER: NO 3

PORTUGAL: THE RISE OF SALAZAR



Salazar with Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain

Some people called them "Terrorists" whose objective was to see that 'the last king would be strangled by the entrails of the last priest'.

But these 'Terrorists' were the professionals and intellectuals of the Republican Party which had overturned the Portuguese monarchy in the almost bloodless revolution of 1910.

This bourgeois victory was achieved, as in most other European countries, only with the aid of the proletariat.

What terrified critics of this Portuguese revolution was the unanswered question of which part the proletariat would play in the Republic.

The new regime was petty bourgeois in character, but it was historically impossible for such class forces to control the state for any length of time.

VACILLATE

Inevitably, the government must constantly vacillate in response to pressure from either the capitalist or the working class, before finally giving way to the dictatorship of the proletariat or of the bourgeoisie.

But the leadership of the Portuguese working class consistently failed to develop an understanding of the theory and process of permanent revolution.

The tragic consequences for the working class of such a failure were nowhere — not even in Spain — more starkly laid bare than in Portugal.

The early legislation of the Republic was typical of petty bourgeois radicalism, particularly in its attacks on the aristocracy and the Catholic church. Titles were abolished; the state was secularised; the church's property confiscated, and Afonso Costa, Prime Minister, declared that religion would be wiped out in two generations.

MEANINGLESS

The new Republic also granted the legal right to form trade unions and to strike, but the meaninglessness of this paper democracy soon became painfully obvious to the working class.

The Portuguese economy was in a state of apparently uncontrollable crisis. Shattered nearly a century before by the protracted wars against the Napoleonic armies, and then by the loss of Brazil (a former colony), Portugal was barely able to exploit the remnants of its own empire.

Competition with the developed capitalist nations seemed an impossibility. Such stabilisation as the Republican government did achieve benefited only the capitalists.

Workers still bore the brunt of

Only six months after the Republic had been declared, a wave of strikes for higher wages and better conditions broke across Lisbon and spread rapidly throughout the industrial areas.

The bourgeois democratic government responded to these demands by smashing the strike with police violence and with the killing of workers by the Republican Guard.

DIVORCE

As a contemporary paper of the labour movement proclaimed: "13 March 1911 is the date that marks the divorce between the republic and the working class."

But there were no revolutionary forces in Portugal capable of drawing the lessons from this divorce. On the contrary, the policies followed by the various working class parties during the Republic were to lead directly to the establishment of fascism.

At this time, the industrial proletariat was dominated by the Socialist Party which had adopted a revolutionary Marxist programme as long ago as 1882.

Despite this, the party was

When the Republic attacked the working class, the Socialists were paralysed. They had no alternative to continuing their policy of faith in the democratic intentions of the government.

Industrial militancy continued, and in January 1912 the government smashed a Lisbon strike by declaring martial law and arresting over 1,000 workers.

The pattern had been established which was to be repeated during the 16 years of the Republic, when there were 158 general strikes in Portugal.

The bourgeoisie did not remain passive when threatened by this tide of working class activity.

The Republican Party itself split into a radical wing led by Afonso Costa (the 'Democrats') and a right-wing group (the 'Evolutionists') which established close links with the officer caste of the army.

The persistent monarchists and other groups attempted a series of coups — there were 25 uprisings between 1910 and 1926, and 3 short-lived counter-revolutionary dictatorships.

But no single class proved strong enough to take state power. The national bourgeoisie was extremely



Salazar with Rhodesian racist Ian Smith

divided between its revolutionary wing and a right-wing which constantly sought to enter into alliance with 'progressive' elements of the bourgeoisie, in the shape of the Republicans.

The Socialists had given full support to the Republican coup. They were completely unable to analyse the inevitable inability of the regime to resolve the economic and political crisis.

SOCIALISM

They failed to recognise the necessity for the working class to seize state power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to accomplish the democratic tasks of

dictatorship.

There was every indication that the leadership of the working class would mislead and betray the workers into precisely this trap.

The industrial proletariat of Portugal was very small — only 2 per cent of the population. Although tightly organised, and in many respects at a high level of political development, it was incapable of accomplishing a revolution alone.

It was vital for the workers' parties to gain the allegiance of the peasants and other agricultural workers, and to do this it was necessary to advance a programme of land nationalisation and redistribution.

Gripped in the agricultural crisis, peasants were constantly being declassed to the status of landless labourers, while landless labourers were thrown off the land into unemployment.

This was the situation of the vast majority of the population. To fail in the task of winning over these forces meant to risk the danger of these volatile elements moving over to support for the bourgeoisie, or at the least into an indifference fatal to the success of the proletarian struggles.

None of the workers' parties took up a consistent fight for these demands. This failure alone was enough to ensure that the triumph of the bourgeoisie was only a matter of time, however heroic the resistance of the industrial workers might be.

In the meantime, the Republicans maintained a precarious existence as a Bonapartist regime, balancing and tottering on the backs of the conflicting forces which it tried to reconcile in the name of 'democracy'.

In 1916, the Republic was pressured by the British government to enter the first imperialist world war. This move only aggravated the economic crisis, which in turn sharpened the political tensions.

REFUSAL

After the war, the Socialist Party continued to declare its refusal to support the Republican government in parliament, but Socialists actually entered the cabinets of the Republicans between 1919 and 1921.

This class collaboration opened the way for other forces to come forward and take the leadership of the working class.

From 1917 the anarcho-syndicalist Portuguese Maximalist Federation became increasingly important and won control of the major trade union, the CGT (Confederacao Geral do Trabalho — General Confederation of Labour).

The full, disastrous significance of this political development was to be revealed only with the overthrow of the Republic. In 1921, the Portuguese Communist Party was formed; two years later the party became effectively isolated from the mass of Portuguese workers as it pursued its ultra-left, sectarian policy of trying to build a 'red union'.

While the revolutionary energies of the proletariat were wasted time and time again by the criminal mistakes of its leadership, the forces of

Even in its most radical phase the Republic had not attempted reform the army. Recruited from the families of the ruling class, the officer caste represented a major conservative force.

Isolated groups of individual officers had staged coups in the past, but now a general movement was developing to restore stability with the rule of 'law and order'.

The bourgeoisie grew confident that the working class could be defeated, and within the petty bourgeoisie the tool for that defeat was being forged as fascist ideology took shape.

CORPORATE STATE

At the University of Coimbra the CADC (Centro Academico Democracia Crista — Academic Centre of Christian Democracy) with Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, prominent member, was developing the theory of corporate state from those papal Encyclicals which outlined a policy to entice and entrap the working class.

In Lisbon, Marcello Caetano, law student, was editing magazine *Ordem Nova* (New Order) which defined itself as:

"An anti-modern, anti-liberal, anti-democratic, anti-bourgeois, anti-bolshevik magazine, revolutionary and reactionary, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman, monarchist, intolerant and intolerant."

Despite the attempt of



CADC to build Catholic Workers' and Youth Associations, these groupings were completely unable to develop a following of any significance.

In conjunction with the army it was the forces of these apparently insignificant groups which were able to impose the corporate state on the defeated workers.

1926 saw yet another attempted military coup - but this time the coup was successful. The Republic ended, as it had begun, in a virtually peaceful transfer of power.

The coup was in no sense fascist. The generals in command were representatives of the forces of reaction which had fought to end the Republic.

They were right-wing, hostile to the working class, and in a general way determined to re-establish the authority of 'law and order', church and family. But they had no specific loyalty to the bourgeoisie, and possessed no coherent politics.



An early picture of CP leader Cunhal.

Awed by the economic chaos, they turned to Dr Salazar, who consented to enter the new government, but soon resigned, recognising that the situation was not yet ripe for him to establish his power.

Two years later, the labour movement had been totally disoriented by its failure to act against the dictatorship. The anarchists had campaigned for 'proletariat neutrality' towards the coup.

Such a criminally irresponsible position was not only a betrayal of the whole class; it also virtually destroyed the anarchists as a political force - the anarchist-led CGT collapsed from 100,000 to 15,000 members.

But the other workers' parties had offered no alternative perspective, and political bankruptcy on such a scale could lead only to widespread disillusionment and apathy in the class. Membership of the Socialist Party dwindled to 2,500, and that of the CP to a mere seventy.

It was at this point that Salazar came back into office, on terms which secured his supremacy in the government. He then promptly announced:

"I know quite well what I want and what I am going....For the rest, let the country study, let it suggest, let it object, and let it discuss, but when the time comes for me to give orders, I shall expect it to obey."

CONSOLIDATE

Over the next six years, Salazar worked to consolidate his power. The dictatorship survived various struggles within the military hierarchy and provided him with solid support, while the church was restored to grace and welcomed him wholeheartedly.

In 1930, he announced the formation of the Uniao Nacional (National Union) as the country's only legal political association.

This had no similarities with the mass fascist parties of Italy and Germany; it was simply a structure to perpetuate Salazar's rule and maintain the ideology of fascism, while at the same time it was claimed to be opposed to, and somehow above, the factional interests of political parties.

Although frustrated in all its efforts, the working class had not ceased to struggle against the dictatorship.

RISING

The CP had moved increasingly into the leadership of the workers' movement, and in 1931 it led the class into temporary alliance with the Republicans (and the anti-clerical Freemasons) to overthrow Salazar. The rising in Lisbon was suppressed violently, and 40 workers were killed.

The next year, Salazar became Prime Minister. It was only at this stage that a fascist party was formed in Portugal - the National Syndicalist Party led by Rolao Preto.

Modelled far more closely on the Italian and German parties, it proved a threat to Salazar's personal control of the fascist state.

Two years later, the Executive of the party accepted Salazar's 'invitation' to join the National Union; when leading members opposed this, they were exiled immediately.

In September 1933, Salazar felt secure enough to declare the Estado Novo (New State). Under the National Statute of Labour, all strikes were banned, all trade unions declared illegal, and the apparatus of a corporate state erected.

GENERAL STRIKE

The anarchists reacted by calling for a general strike; the CP attacked all illegal activities as being 'in the interests of the fascists', and proposed a rejection of the new constitution by democratic parliamentary methods.

The spontaneous resistance and hostility of the working class far outstripped the pathetic demands of both groups.

More than 60,000 workers participated in the demonstrations which developed from the general strike of January 1934 into a revolutionary upsurge.

A state of siege was imposed, and the armed resistance crushed by the Republican Guard and Public Security Police. Even in Marinha Grande (north of Lisbon), where a soviet had been declared, the rising was defeated within five days. Fascism had come to power.

By DAVID WHITFIELD

BACK ISSUES

Copies of the Back issues containing the first two articles in this series - Italy (2 parts) and Germany (2 parts) - are available for 10p plus 9p p & p from Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.



Berlin, May Day 1922

Within these pages are collected some of the finest and yet least known pieces of twentieth century revolutionary writing.

Larissa Reissner was born in Poland in 1895 and died aged only 31 in 1926. In that short space of time she played an important role as a Bolshevik in numerous spheres of revolutionary action.

This book flows from the period she spent involved in the German proletarian struggles following World War 1.

Throughout her writing Reissner constantly combines brilliant description of the horrors of poverty under the Weimar regime with astute political analysis of the contradictions embodied in social democracy and the German republic.

In "Berlin October 1923" she examines the contemptible sell out of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and the growing spirit of communism that many German workers came to see as their only solution.

Reissner shows vividly how trade union leaders and officials, initially

history is on ours. Good night and until we meet again—not on the barricades but at the next jubilee which, with the aid of social providence, will turn out happier than today's."

In *Hamburg at the Barricades* itself, Reissner carefully records chronologically and then analyses the whole of the 60 hour Hamburg Rising of October 1923.

Coupled with maps and eye witness accounts she pieces together the extraordinary courage and organisation displayed by the Communist insurgents in the face of overwhelming odds.

The odds they confront include mass starvation, the Weimar state and the cancer of social democracy.

Reissner examines each moment of courage, each seizure of a police arsenal by a small unarmed band of communists and their supporters—all the while waiting for the revolution that never came.

She never ceases to emphasise the scale of the task and the extent of the success embodied in the Rising, in the face of 50 years of pseudo-socialism dragging the proletariat into its quagmire of impotence.

INSIGHT ON WEIMAR

A review of *Hamburg at the Barricades* by Larissa Reissner, translated and edited by Richard Chappell. Published by Pluto Press. Price £4.80.

members of the proletariat, are ultimately brought by social democracy to the point where they stand as the greatest obstacle to the progress of that proletariat for power. On the eve of a fascist putsch, the clean shaven SPD intellectual or the union bureaucrat can offer nothing but sympathy with the miseries of the starving unemployed workers. They suggest only rallying to the bourgeois dictatorship embodied in the putrid carcass of the Weimar republic, while hundreds of thousands of workers seek nothing more than principled revolutionary leadership:

"Oh, what an ecstatic philosophical breeze that Doctor of Laws could all of a sudden waft through the cold, hungry vigilant meeting! A cheap, miserable yet seductive hope that can fool no one and never yet has defended anyone but none the less crawls into a proletarian heart like a louse on the table only to be squashed by the iron fingernail of bourgeois dictatorship. And yet that traitor of a party rotting alive on the shoulders of the proletariat and poisoning it with its sugary ptomaine gets yet another chance to dodge the clear and simple fighting slogans of a break with the bourgeois government and for that hateful social revolution.

Just listen.

"We are beaten, unarmed, unemployed and robbed by our vile bourgeoisie. This celebration can rightly be called the funeral repast of the revolution. But, dear proletarians, don't get upset or angry: time, history and social destiny are on our side. The wheel of history cannot be turned back and therefore, in spite of our complete unreadiness for battle, the fascists will not triumph; go in peace and don't be afraid of Ludendorff. The

She still maintains beside this a brilliant emotional understanding of the conflicts of individual workers, and their emotions after the suppression of the Rising.

Finally, in Hindenberg's Germany, Reissner presents a cold clear expose of the development of the demands of German imperialism, the Krupp magnates. They are the pioneers of the 20th century way-of-death, the basis for the advance of the German bourgeoisie into fully fledged capitalist production.

Reissner yet again combines an incredible 'feel' for the situation and struggle, with recognition that only through the assistance of German Social Democracy could Krupp's restabilisation programme after the Great War, necessitating massive redundancies and lock outs, succeed.

She takes numerous instances in which wage labourers, male and female, young and old confront the degradation inflicted on them by the mode of production and increased to the extremes of endurance by the crisis of capitalism reflected in the chaos of Weimar Germany.

Reissner, always relating her argument to the individual proletarian in the actuality of his or her struggle, doesn't simply expose the SDP sell-outs.

Instead she lets the miners at the Ruhr coalfaces or the destroyed unemployed paupers swept into rotting barrack hulks on city fringes speak their own condemnation in their own language of bitter experience.

Thus the Leninist cell, like the subterranean butterflies hovering above the embittered Ruhr face-workers, 'eating the moisture and sipping the darkness together', is seen as the only possible direction

the level of forcing German workers to break the strikes of their English counterpart.

"A man does not die from the wounds he receives. Each of the miners had lost faith in socialism from one specific betrayal or on a single act of treachery. Here, the old man had been poisoned by the toxic gases of Vorwärts's article against Russia; there the fragment of a smashed strike had crippled the young worker. A speech by Noske had burst like shrapnel over the third. There are also very recent injuries, no more than a few days weeks old.

For example the SPD worker who has standing on guard has been lost recently, in 1924, when the unions broke the last big strike of Ruhr miners only three days prior to the verdict of the conciliation commission, despite the feeling of the masses and notwithstanding the fact that the strike has lasted twenty-five days and could have held out as long again. They smashed the movement's solidarity, preventing the transport workers' union from

coming to the aid of the coal miners: in this way they helped the metal workers betray the comrades so that to this day the treachery has not been forgotten among workers.

They whipped up discord sowing a caste hostility between the different branches of labour, salting and teasing this wound on the body of the proletariat. Comrade T., forgetting all caution, no longer spoke but shouted at the top of his voice. His coal-matted beard stuck from his face like a stake.

"The Saar goes on strike but work. Didn't you see? Hundreds of trains ready at all the stations. They started to move as soon as the strike in England began. They even called it 'English coal'."

"I'm an old social democrat and these two here are honest working men but together we were strike breakers. And our party urged workers to do the work of traitors!"

Her greatest strength lies in her ability to combine a scientific analysis of her subject with the recognition of the relation of Krupp's imperialism as a whole—with an immense emotional understanding of the doubts, fears, bitterness and personal struggles of individual workers ground down by the millstone of capitalism embodied in Krupp.

This book, translated by Richard Chappell, combines then the best of what little work of Reissner's is at present in print, along with bibliography and several essays and poems about Reissner by the man that knew her best.

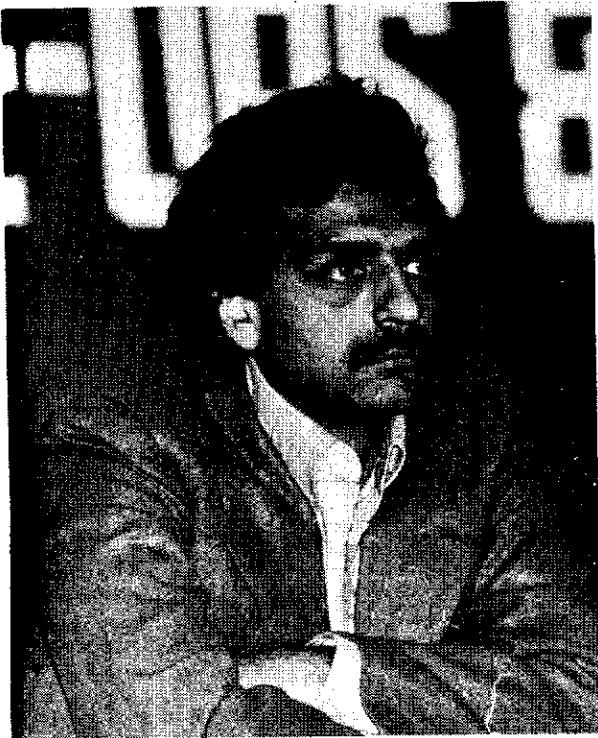
By SIMON JACOBS

INCORPORATING RED WEEKLY

Socialist Challenge

BUILD A SOCIALIST OPPOSITION FOR A UNIFIED REVOLUTIONARY ORGANISATION 12p

IMG'S CHALLENGE TO TROTSKYISM



Socialist Challenge editor, Tariq Ali



Ernest Mandel

Flippant, anti-political "holiday snaps" from the Grunwick mass picket; uncritical extracts from the new Big Flame pamphlet against Trotskyism; pages of "debate" on "Eurocommunism" in which the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism is not mentioned; and a mere two paragraphs on the struggle for the policy of a sliding scale of wages carried out at the TGWU Conference: mix these together with a welter of light minded and irrelevant material and you have a close approximation to each of the first six editions of 'Socialist Challenge'.

Socialist Challenge, says the IMG, is not a 'party paper'. It aims to draw into the Editorial Board organised "forces" outside the present outfit.

Already, several hapless groupings, with neither aim nor programme, have accepted this cordial invitation.

These include 'Big Flame', which is openly hostile to Trotskyism; the Workers League, which believes Russia and China to be capitalist states; and two new microscopic discoveries—the 'Marxist Worker Group' (from Bolton) and the 'Tameside International Socialists'.

Socialist Challenge No. 1 tried to explain the IMG's role as ringmaster in this circus.

It talked of the need to attract people "responsive to the initiatives

of the far-left but who are repelled by its lack of unity".

The 'Our Policies' section makes a virtue out of opportunist necessity and talks of uniting such forces into "broad based class struggle tendencies . . . non-exclusive in character, grouping together militants holding a wide range [!] of political views."

"SECTARIANISM"

The same section talks of the need to reject "sectarianism". But Trotsky answered all these positions long ago when he pointed to the confusion of the "anti-sectarians":

"The centrist frequently covers up his dawdling by referring to the danger of 'sectarianism', by which he understands an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency and organisational completeness."

(*Centrism and the Fourth International*).

The IMG today, of course, like the centrists of yesterday, try to make reasonableness and open-mindedness on Marxist theory their basis for trapping the innocent and the unwary.

They attack the Workers Socialist League for its determination to carry through a consistent fight for the Trotskyist programme.

TROTSKY

Trotsky dealt with these arguments also:

"Occasionally one may hear the following reproach . . . 'why does [the Left Opposition] take such an intransigent attitude toward those organisations that stand outside of

the Second and Third Internationals [ie the Socialist and Communist Parties]? Why does it demand of them '100% Marxism'?"

Behind this extremely characteristic approach there is hidden an entire world attitude in which there is hardly to be found 51% Marxism . . . Without a day-to-day struggle for principled purity and for the intransigence of the party, one can have only petty bourgeois floundering in the waves of history."

In fact the "petty bourgeois floundering" of the IMG is deeply rooted in the history of the



Spanish CP leadership

"United" Secretariat of the Fourth International, of which the IMG is the British section.

This bloc of organisations dates back to the faction led by Michel Pablo which brought the Trotskyist movement to a split by declaring it was unnecessary and futile to build independent revolutionary parties in the working class, since "objective processes" were, apparently, automatically producing centrist moving currents within the mass Stalinist parties.

"FUSE"

The job of Trotskyists, according to the Pabloites, was therefore to dissolve their independent parties and "fuse" with these forces.

And, since that split in 1953, under the leadership of Ernest Mandel, they have remained

the working class.

The IMG today with its search for a 'broad based' "class struggle [!] tendency" mirrors this method exactly and has resorted to wooing the Socialist Workers Party (formerly the International Socialists).

This is the largest group on the IMG's 'far-left' and therefore a prime target for the drive towards 'unity'.

As ever the IMG prepares the ground for this manoeuvre, not by an open fight for political clarity but by finding 'reasons' for calling the SWP 'revolutionary'.

The main problem here is that this definition is blatantly false. The SWP is an out-and-out centrist formation.

It rejects the Trotskyist Transitional Programme outright.

AVOIDED

Its paper, *Socialist Worker*, completely avoids the fight for Marxist theory, programme and leadership in the working class; considering its job done each time it has given a group of strikers a patronising pat on the back.

Hand in hand with this, the SWP rejects defence of workers' states against imperialism.

Yet for *Socialist Challenge* it is undiplomatic to point out such things.

(A letter in *Socialist Challenge* by IMG leader John Ross, was entitled 'Stop These Little [!] Attacks').

Only long articles urging 'unity' and 'non-sectarianism', are now on the agenda.

In a sense however, there is wisdom in the IMG's silence. To criticise these aspects of the SWP, especially if related to their practical activity in the class



"A centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactic into a supreme principle."

service to those sections of the working class which are seeking a victory in this struggle.

Yet *Socialist Challenge* in at least its first five issues, merely treats us to the same essential 'analysis' that can be found in any mass-consumption bourgeois paper.

We read: "The strikers rely not on talks, or on 'compromises', but in building mass action not as a means of forcing Ward to compromise, but as a way of winning the strike [!]."

They rely on the working class in action: in class struggle.

As Arthur Scargill put it, 'What Grunwick is about is class confrontation on the picket line. Which is why Grunwick has become the major political issue it has.'

The IMG is here carried away with a euphoria that blinds them to every question of political programme and leadership.

COURTS

Socialist Challenge readers will find no serious treatment of the use of the courts or the need to spread the postal blacking which has been the central issue throughout the strike.

Trotskyism is thus reduced to trade unionism, and the IMG descends to the political level of Arthur Scargill.

But while grovelling to the SWP and trade union militancy is bad enough, grovelling to the Stalinists of the Communist Party is worse.

Socialist Challenge has given much attention to the question of "Euro-Communism"—by which it refers to the changing positions of many Western Communist Parties in relation to their own bourgeoisie and in relation to the Soviet Union.

But nowhere will the reader find an honest and open article which fights to explain the utterly counter-revolutionary nature of the CP leaderships.

FRIENDLY

In *Socialist Challenge* No. 5, we find leading IMG member Robin Blackburn giving friendly advice to the British Stalinist Party:

"You're a small cadre organisation [!] on the fringe of a large mass party. I think that you should



debated over the last decades, because they are directly relevant both to the situation of your own party [!] and to the conditions of struggle in an advanced capitalist country."

The "relevance" of the Trotskyist strategy to Stalinist parties is the emphasis in every one of Trotsky's writings after 1933 on the need to destroy the counter-revolutionary cancer of Stalinism which feeds off and throttles the workers' movement.

But Blackburn mutters nothing but banalities and abstractions, avoiding every sharp political point, leaving veteran anti-Trotskyist Monty Johnstone a free hand.

In 'Our Policies', *Socialist Challenge* astonishingly states that: "Neither the Eurocommunist nor the pro-Moscow wings have any meaningful strategy for the overthrow of the capitalist state."

That both "wings" do have a meaningful strategy for acting as the policemen of imperialism against the working class is fundamental to Trotskyism.

Socialist Challenge however hopes to win people from the CPs not by exposing the Stalinists, by saying what is, but by covering it up.

Socialist Challenge No. 5 devotes its centre pages to passages from 'Eurocommunism and the State' by Spanish CP leader, Santiago Carrillo.

The introduction tells us that "Carrillo's critique (of the Soviet Union) remains incomplete. He fails to understand the need for institutionalised organs of workers democracy in a socialist state."

'Incomplete!' 'Fails to understand!' All this is presented as if slightly touched-up, the 'critique' by this former leader of a GPU murder squad during the Civil War, could be useful to the working class.

One would not imagine that here are "Trotskyists" discussing a veteran Stalinist who uses his 'theories' of Eurocommunism and even attempts to use the name of Trotsky as part of a drive towards sharing power with fascists in his own country.

Interestingly, in the cartoon on the same page, this opportunism is given a visual impact.

This shows Brezhnev chasing sheep, which are labelled with the names of the 'Eurocommunist' CPs. But one sheep is labelled 'Polish Workers'.

The Polish workers who have put up a heroic resistance to the Moscow and Warsaw Stalinist bureaucracy, are put on a par (as sheep) with people like Carrillo who squabble with Brezhnev entirely for bureaucratic, anti-working class ends!

In every way therefore *Socialist Challenge* represents a political turn away from Trotskyism. The 'Our Policies' statement does not list a single demand from Trotsky's Transitional Programme.

DISMISSED

Indeed when the Trotskyist demand for a sliding scale of wages was fought out in the TGWU pay debate, *Socialist Challenge* dismissed it in a scant two paragraphs.

RAG BAG

Clearly, this, the cornerstone of Leninism and the only means of ensuring disciplined unity in action, would offend the rag-bag of anarchists, syndicalists and semi-



Angry Polish workers attack a local CP headquarters

But while stressing its call for "unity" and "democracy", *Socialist Challenge* nowhere calls for centralism.

Stalinists which the paper hopes to draw around the IMG.

Such a severe and wholesale lurch away from the principles and method fought for by Trotsky must have a disturbing impact on those layers within the IMG that think of themselves as Trotskyists.

It is up to them to examine the long-term consequences of this "turn" within the IMG itself.

Meanwhile the Workers Socialist League remains determined to proceed with the political tasks that now confront the working class—the building of a principled leadership cadre within the working class and the struggle for reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

AGAINST SUCH 'UNITY'!

JOE QUIGLEY LOOKS AT THE IMG - BIG FLAME ELECTORAL PACT

"Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the worker's cause needs is unity of Marxists not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism."

So spoke Lenin in April 1914 on the eve of the first imperialist war. The consequence of tolerating within the ranks opponents of Marxism, of failing to split with distorters of Marxism was the collapse and destruction of the Second International.

Today on the eve of big battles in the heartland of capitalism, the cry for unity goes up. "Unity" behind the Social Contract. "Unity" behind the TUC's attempt to police wage control.

judgement chills to the marrow a whole range of groups who parade themselves before the class as "revolutionary".

Instinctively feeling their irrelevance to the needs of the class they consolingly huddle together for bodily warmth and attribute their own retreat in front of the gathering storm, as a retreat by the class itself.

Thus it is no coincidence that the very week that the Miners and the TGWU Conferences left the Labour-Liberal government policy on wages in tatters, the self-proclaimed Trotskyist IMG and the semi-syndicalist, semi-Stalinist Big Flame signed an electoral pact.

The basis for this "unity" was quite accurately described by a Big Flame spokesman as a recognition

A draft IMG-Big Flame election programme hammered out at the "unity" conference in Birmingham was taken to Liverpool for public debate on July 13.

It is obvious from examining this draft that so promiscuous has the IMG's unity mongering become that they were prepared to allow Big Flame to virtually write the whole of the programme for the sake of getting them in an electoral alliance.

The programme's centre piece is "don't rely on politicians, our strength lies in our own struggles" which of course sounds very radical but is in fact a green light for avoiding any challenge to the existing leadership.

UTOPIAN

Beginning with the utopian demand of asking the capitalist class "for a guaranteed decent standard of living" the draft goes on to say 'no' to public spending cuts, 'no' to unemployment, 'no' to racism and 'no' to the Social Contract.

But as the draft also says 'no' to opening the books and to a sliding scale of wages and hours, it effectively closes the door on the only programme that can defend workers and mobilise a struggle against the existing leadership.

Instead we are offered a £50 minimum wage and a 35-hour week which, because it contains no commitment to action now, can and will secure the support of the bureaucracy.

An "independent income for all women is in fact the reactionary claim of wages for housework. "No subordination of education to industry" is simply fatuous, designed no doubt to attract into the alliance the "stop the world I want to get off" alternative lifestyles who imagine that an education system can be separated and operated for different purposes than the economic system that produces it.

Given that the meeting was being asked to endorse this cottage pie of utopian, reformist and reactionary demands it was to be expected that any stand made for Marxist principles would receive a hot reception.

of the Workers Socialist League that was where the platform concentrated its fire.

Big Flame unleashed a stream of petty-bourgeois hysteria which attacked the Transitional Programme in general and *Socialist Press* in particular.

The IMG sat cowed and silent



... go ahead everywhere and in the most vigorous manner with a split, a split and again a split."

Lenin after 1905

as their new found allies fulminated against the need for theory, denouncing the unfortunate member of the IMG behind his literature stall for bringing his worthless garbage, his unreadable and unread books with him.

When another WSL member attempted to speak the true character of these libertarian "anti-sectarians" was revealed. The platform refused to let him speak.

His persistently raised hand stood out as eloquent testimony against the fraudulent unity being fostered and pressure from the meeting forced the chairman to back down.

No debate on the way forward could develop from lowest common denominator politics. For pointing this out the WSL incurred the wrath of the meeting.

It is to be hoped that after such gatherings some members of the

PRESS GANG

MUCKIN OUT THE YARD

Within one week number of Scotland detectives convicted of corruption or perjury rose to Reginald Maudling and other MPs were criticised business connections Poulson, and Lord Ryder back an 'unauthorised gift' £49,000 from Reed International.

On all sides highly polished reputations lay in soiled tatters. Even Don Revie swapped the wicket of international soccer for the international capital.

The police corruption squad showed that the Porn Squad, Regional Crime Squad and the squads were riddled with policemen handing out favouritism in direct proportion to the return.

The *Sunday Times* said: "It emerged from the trials for almost a decade corruption only invaded the upper echelons of Scotland Yard but became part of the system itself—instigated, encouraged and sternly protected by some of the most senior police officers in the land."

FRAME UP

It is not just the Porn Squad who for one reason or another have fallen foul of their local police station suffer everything from petty harassment to full scale frame-up, blackmail and violence.

Even the Police Federation's own magazine—*Police*—has been carrying letters from low ranking constables complaining that senior officers seem to have an unhealthy connection with the masonic movement, and that local masons seem to have an immunity from arrest.

Not that the Press is worried about this. For them the corrupt are ended with the sentences.

The *Daily Express* boasts: "The television interview with Sir Robert Mark reminded us all how much we owe to our police forces..."

The fact that these men who have tried and convicted shows there are many more honest cops than bobbies. It shows that Sir Robert's reforming zeal at the Yard brought results.

In many countries police corruption is taken for granted. But here. We still have the capacity to be shocked."

Robert Mark himself has other things on his mind. Like workers who use industrial muscle to win their demands, and according to his TV remarks, worse than murderers.

BENT COPPERS

Compared to that a few bent coppers more or less is just petty crime.

The *Express* has in any case devised a sure fire answer to the outside chance that any muck police might get caught out.

Provide more money. "Not just to give them a good rise soon, but to put the policeman in a high income bracket soon." (And let us not hear any nonsense about wages rising ruining the economy).

The high pay argument was successfully not all that long ago over MPs. A proper salary, it was said, would remove any possibility of clash between parliamentary and business interests.

Which brings us back to Maudling, Cordle and Roberts—three MPs for whom a parliamentary pay packet was not enough.



A previous example of unprincipled unity—the Alexandra Palace Rally on Equal Rights for women—no mention of the Social Contract from the platform.

The treacherous role of the labour bureaucrats becomes more glaring as the working class surge forward. In such circumstances the clear responsibility of revolutionaries is to intervene against these misleaders with a programmatic alternative.

It is only in the severe test of the struggle itself that the working class will learn to differentiate one programme from another, one banner from another—in short really discover amongst all those different tendencies claiming the right to lead it, who its real friends

on the part of both groups that the working class is in retreat. (*Socialist Challenge*, July 7, page 7).

Big Flame have recently produced a pamphlet virulently attacking Trotskyism, composed of old Stalinist slanders plus more recent empty verbiage on work processes and consciousness devoid of practical content.

But given the speed with which the IMG seems to be abandoning any pretence to uphold Trotskyism, an alliance with such people should not cause too much embarrassment. Especially when on the question of



The first demonstration of the Lewisham 21 Defence Committee was attacked by fascists and took place under the protection of the police! The Defence Committee has called a further demonstration for Saturday 23 July, assembling at 3pm at Lewisham British Rail station.

ISLINGTON 18: SAVE FRAMED YOUTH

A public meeting on the 18 black youth facing frame-up charges in Islington was attended by over 50 people last week.

A resolution addressed to the judge condemned the whole way in which the trial had been conducted, refusing to give a fair hearing to the youths and their parents.

Progress in mounting the labour movement enquiry on Saturday July 23 was also reported.

This will investigate police behaviour towards black youth in the Islington area.

It will also investigate the general conditions facing black people, in housing, employment, schools, youth provision, the juvenile and magistrates courts and the legal aid system.

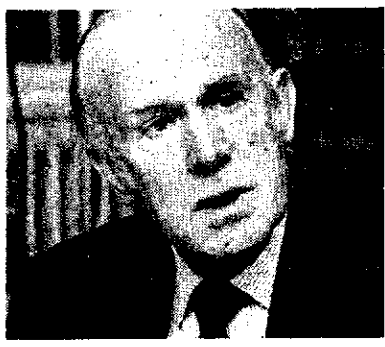
Ernie Roberts (AUEW), North London AUEW, NW London EETPU, TGWU (ACTS), Central London ASTMS and two Labour councillors have agreed to take part and the Defence Committee is expecting the participation of other local organisations which support the campaign.

These include Islington Trades Council, Caribbean Labour Solidarity, North London Teachers Association and Central Islington Labour Party.

The Defence Committee has correctly called for a labour movement enquiry rather than one set up by the Police Commission or 'independently' by the Government.

Several Communist Party-dominated organisations such as the Trades Council and the Teachers

RYDER: DEMAND INQUIRY



Ryder

Association have proposed such an enquiry, but all those directly involved in the Defence Committee know full well that no 'fairness' could be expected from the system of law or police.

This they know from the rigging of the trial of the 18, particularly the way in which the defence barristers have conspired with the prosecution, judge and police, over plea-bargaining, and, after immense pressure, persuaded three of the younger youths to plead guilty on minor charges of conspiracy.

IMPLICATED

These pleas implicate the older youths, and, with the trial likely to end in a full fanfare of racist publicity just before this year's Notting Hill Carnival, it is clear that the prosecution and defence are 'conspiring' to deliver maximum sentences.

The Defence Committee has also quite consciously called for delegates from labour movement bodies rather than simply inviting individuals.

By this means they hope to force through the maximum involvement of working class organisations, all too many of which have ignored the position of blacks up till now.

MOBILISATION

In the past Islington has seen massive working class mobilisation, including the Stalinists, against the National Front. Now it must be forced to carry out this enquiry and fight on policies to improve the whole position of blacks.

In this way also unemployed and alienated youth can be brought into class struggle to fight on a programme of demands which show the way to the socialist solution to their problems.

Much needed donations to, and information from: Islington 18 Defence Committee, 161, Hornsey Road, London N7.

SCHOOL STUDENT CONFERENCE

If a struggle is not maintained against the domination of the Young Communist League, the National Union of School Students will wind up a middle class pressure group locked in endless "debates" with the DES and Shirley Williams.

This is the inescapable conclusion from this year's NUSS Conference held last week at Middlesex Polytechnic.

The new President, tacitly supported by the YCL, received two-thirds of the votes at conference, though the returning officer himself admitted to giving confusing instructions on the ballot—resulting in 10 spoiled papers out of 74.

YCL members had also prepared a new policy statement, which failed to tackle teacher unemployment and a number of other questions.

WSL comrades called for amendments to be incorporated into the

"When money comes as a gift there is no way of knowing whether it comes from Woolworth's or a hole in the ground."

That is how Lord Ryder—chairman of the National Enterprise Board—shrugged off his still unexplained £46,500 gift from a Canadian firm, revealed last week.

As far as Lord Ryder is concerned the money was simply a present that went wrong—not because he should never have received it, but because it has been paid by the wrong firm!

He thought it had been paid by Canadian Forest Products Ltd, a firm he did not even work for, and repaid the money when he discovered that it had come indirectly from Reed Paper Ltd, a subsidiary of Reed International (of which Lord Ryder was chairman for more than a decade).

RESIGNATION

Now the gift has been added to the long list of sensations which have absolutely nothing to do with Ryder's resignation from the NEB. Like the slush fund allegations and the Bewbush land deal affair we are expected to believe that this latest revelation has nothing to do with his sudden decision on July 2 to quit on August 1.

Another nice coincidence is that the original request for the money to be paid to Ryder was in December 1974—the same month as Ryder was appointed to start his inquiry into the future of Leyland. He was paid £47,000 a year as a chairman of Reed and £31,850 a year as chairman of the NEB.

Workers in all National Enterprise Board firms as well as those employed by Reed International will no doubt follow with particular interest such details about the payment as are allowed to emerge.

NECESSARY

One question that they might like answered is why the gift was thought necessary in the first place? What made Ryder think that there

was nothing wrong with the 100,000 Canadian dollar payment from Canadian Forest Products?

Although Reed Paper Ltd and CFP jointly owned pulp and paper factories, Ryder never worked directly for CFP.

Yet he said: "It seemed a logical reward for 11½ years service with a company as large and as prosperous as CFP."

To put this in context it is the equivalent of a British Leyland transport driver receiving a £49,500 thank you, not from Leyland (which would be a ludicrous enough proposition) but from the garages he delivered the cars to.

The man who arranged the payment—R.W. Billingsley—has now retired to his vast estate outside Toronto where employees threaten journalists who turn up asking questions.

Billingsley owes his rapid promotion inside Reed Paper Ltd to Lord Ryder's interest in his career, and it was Billingsley who arranged the 'present'.

Workers will want to know what made this successful businessman put his career at risk arranging the pay out.

APPROACHED

When he first approached CFP the company refused to make the payment according to their executive vice president Ron Longstaff and only changed its mind when it was told that they would be reimbursed in full by Reed Paper Ltd.

Another question still to be answered is why—if everything was so innocent—the money was actually paid through neither of these companies—but through a shadowy "offshore" company, organisations that are set up because they are able to exist in a twilight world as far as taxes and disclosure are concerned?

Why too does the boss of CFP insist that the payment was not a thank you, but a straightforward gift—in flat contradiction of Lord Ryder's statement that it was a "post retirement gratuity"?

BLUNDER

The Daily Mail blunder over the forged letter implicating Ryder in the 'slush fund' allegations has led to court actions which will inevitably delay the truth about the funds themselves being revealed for years if at all.

Ryder is protesting innocence about the £49,500 payment, the executives of Reed International are saying nothing and the one man who presumably can clear the matter up, is holed up on his Toronto ranch.

If ever there was a clear cut case for a workers inquiry into the truth around all these allegations it is now. Workers would not put up with the kind of long winded explanations now being offered. They will want to know quite simply who was being paid what, by whom and why.

EMBARRASSING

The capitalists are all too aware of how embarrassing this kind of revelation can be. As the Observer Business News complained, "The chief danger is that the general public, which isn't in the habit of receiving £49,500 gratuities (tips) assume that such purboires (tips) are showered about like confetti in the higher echelons of industry."

Paying back the gift is neither here nor there. "I'll take it back", is the plaintive cry of every shop lifter stopped outside the supermarket. However innocent he may be Lord Ryder has come under suspicion. A workers inquiry into every aspect of the NEB, Reed International, Leyland and other

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 active 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.

MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

HEATHROW PAY: STRIKE VOTE

Shift workers employed in the engineering and maintenance section of British Airways at Heathrow Airport will meet on Friday to vote on a resolution for strike action from Monday 25 July.

Since the AUEW strike at the Airport in support of the claim last April, there has been little progress.

The strike ended when management agreed to negotiate the question of shift pay claim without insisting that payment should be based on the introduction of new shift patterns.

CHANGED

But once the strike was over they changed their position and made their offer on shift pay which conceded most of the workers' demands, conditional on the unions accepting new shift patterns.

A totally ineffective one-shift-a-week strike was initiated by the shop stewards and backed by a mass meeting but the action only lasted two weeks.

Last week, at the first ever meeting of stewards from all unions represented in the engineering and maintenance section of British Airways—the AUEW, TGWU and EETPU—a motion calling for strike action at a time to be decided was amended to fix the date for strike action as next Monday.

If Friday's mass meeting endorses the stewards' recommendation, the strike could have very important consequences.

The government has a declared aim of limiting increases in average earnings over the next year to 10% and will clearly seek to hold wage increases down to that level in the public sector of which British Airways is a part.

However, with British Airways facing their busiest season, the strike will undoubtedly put enormous pressure on management.

The strike would also certainly open up the whole question of the struggle for large pay increases since the substantial amounts involved in the shift pay claim come on top of a Stage Two settlement agreed at the beginning of the year.



DESPITE A LARGE LOBBY and a 17,000 name petition, the Liverpool Area Health Authority decided at a special meeting on 15 July to go ahead with the closure of Mill Road Maternity Hospital.

Only 11 out of 24 AHA members bothered to turn up to the meeting, and the vote was only carried by a majority of one.

This decision reflects both the manifest inadequacy of the maternity units at Sefton General and Broadgreen where patients are to be transferred and also strong pressure from the unions and even consultants to resist the closure.

Since the Liverpool AHA decided to carry on with its policy of cut-backs in all hospitals, NUPE has staged two lightning 24-hour strikes.

However, on the Mill Road issue, there has been a damaging public disagreement between Colin Barnett, NUPE official, and the

Mill Road Action Committee.

Barnett announced that workers would stage a work-in if the Mill Road closure went ahead. But the Action Committee said they had never considered this.

The responsibility for this confusion rests with Barnett, who had not called a meeting of the Liverpool Steering Committee, composed of 40 stewards from various unions, for three weeks, and resists any suggestions to elect a committee which can call meetings and keep all members informed.

Further, he ignored the policy of the Steering Committee to demand that the AHA reveals its plans to a committee of trade unionists.

Full discussion must urgently take place with the Mill Road Action Committee and other stewards in the area, so that plans for a work-in at Mill Road can be drawn up.

Pickets banned by court

The Courts struck a heavy blow at the strikers at the Trust Houses Forte's Night Out Theatre Restaurant in Birmingham last week when two of the regular pickets were banned from picketing.

This outrageous decision came at the end of a Court hearing into charges arising out of assaults by scabs on eight pickets in April.

Immediately after the assaults the TGWU issued private summonses against the scabs concerned.

Five weeks later the scabs issued their own summonses, alleging assault by the pickets—an obvious move to create the maximum amount of conflicting evidence in court.

The ploy worked, for at the end of the hearing the stipendiary magistrate ruled that there was not enough evidence to convict anyone of anything.

Despite this the magistrate bound over two of the pickets for £100 for one year—and ordered them to stay away from the Night Out.

NO EVIDENCE

Since there was no evidence to convict either of them of anything, the only "crime" they could have been guilty of was that of picketing.

Both had been regular pickets during the five months the strike has been running. This is the second illustration the Night Out strikers have had of the class bias of the Courts and other institutions of the state.

In May ACAS conducted an investigation into the sacking of Pat McGuire, whose victimisation began the strike.

The strikers have never been shown or even told the contents of the ACAS report, because it obviously did not favour the strikers.

A further blow has been the discovery that the supposed arrangement between the TGWU and Equity—by which Equity members would not renew their contracts with the Night Out—amounts to nothing.

Initially the strikers were told by Alan Law, TGWU Regional Official in charge of the strike, that the Equity ban would become effective from August 1.

Later he said the ban would begin from September.

It has now been discovered that Equity never at any time issued instructions to members about not appearing at the Night Out; that therefore Equity members are continuing to sign up for the Night Out; and that the Night Out has artists booked up till January!

BLACKING

These setbacks only reinforce the need for a total Regional black on THF if the Night Out strike is to be won.

The Saturday evening mass pickets are due to resume from July 20. But although they must be fully supported, without the blacking the mass pickets will be a mere gesture.

The Hotels branch of the TGWU in Oxford has passed a resolution to be sent to the next Regional Committee meeting, condemning the full time officials sell-out of the strike at Trust Houses Forte's Randolph Hotel and calling on Regional Officials to implement a total black on THF to ensure the success of the Night Out strike.

Other branches should follow this lead.

Donations to the strike fund should be sent to the Night Out Strike Committee, c/o Pat McGuire, Transport House, Broad Street, Birmingham.

Red faces Food strike

OFFICIALS OF THE AUEW are showing red faces after a decision in the High Court last week.

The union executive had bureaucratically expelled two head office workers out of the AUEW to pacify the leaders of Apex which wanted to recruit them. One of the two had actually had his AUEW membership proposed by John Boyd, the general secretary.

The two clerks in the union head office, presumably noting the union's complete subservience to the courts, went to law and Mr. Justice Brightman of the Chancery Division overruled the union executive.

It might be easier for Scanlon and Boyd if they invited the High Court to set up a division inside the union offices. Then they could ask permission before taking any decision whatsoever.

IN THEIR FIRST STRIKE FOR 32 years, TGWU members in Batchelors Foods factory at Sheffield have been out since July 7 demanding payment of a 10% wage increase agreed prior to Phase 2.

Pickets up to 40 and 50 strong are manning the gates from 6am to 11pm, despite the obvious reluctance of TGWU local official Jim Holmes to pursue the claim.

Management are refusing to discuss with the TGWU and threatening to close down the factory in a clear bid to intimidate the strikers.

The factory is part of the giant Unilever combine. Should the closure threat be pursued by management, it must be occupied, and a trade union committee established to look into its financial dealings with Unilever.

Donations and messages to: Batchelor Foods Strike Committee, c/o Vincent Knight, 42, Grunsall Crescent, Sheffield 6.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Heathrow engineers' strike meeting, April this year.

Nursery kept open

Determined action by supporters of the Oxford City Nursery Campaign this week reprieved a nursery class from closure at the eleventh hour.

Part of the vicious cuts planned by the Tory County Council has been plans to cut 80 nursery places—saving £20,000.

Where exactly the axe was to fall was to be decided by a secret working party set up—and given delegated powers—by the Council earlier this year in order to rationalise the whole Oxford school system.

In spite of surveys carried out by the Nursery Campaign which provided ample evidence of the need for nursery places in the area, rumours soon abounded that the nursery class in the South Oxford Middle School was to be closed on July 15.

The two Labour Councillors sitting on the working party, Tony Williamson and Olive Gibbs, would not supply information, saying they were bound by confidentiality.

The parents of the children affected—18 four-year-olds—decided to march to the council offices on July 12 and demand to



Tory leader Streatfield

substance.

They were informed that the offices were awaiting a letter from the DES on the legality of the closure.

Since nursery education is covered by the 1944 Education Act statutory closure notices are not necessary but the case is less clear where the nursery is part of a normal school.

the Council for the disruption of the lives of the children and their parents—many workers would have had to give up their jobs and stay at home with the children again—incensed the parents.

They proceeded to make plans to occupy the nursery on the Friday afternoon at the end of term should closure be announced.

The City Nursery Campaign was mobilised behind these plans and many parent groups thrown up in support of the recent teachers' strike also pledged their support.

On the morning of Friday 15, parents and supporters lobbied the working party meeting and were met by the extreme right Tory Councillor Brigadier Streatfield and Mrs. Barlow.

The Tories were left in no doubt about the determination to defend nursery education and the disgust at the cynical disregard for the education needs of pre-school children.

Streatfield announced his intention to close down all nursery schools since he "does not believe children should be in school until the age of five".

However, the success of this lobby was announced later when

the nursery open for another term and to issue a closure notice which can now be fought through public procedures.

The Nursery Campaign not only won a term's reprieve for the class but delivered a significant blow against the Tories' secret committee.

INCLUDED

A further step forward came when the National Union of Teachers Divisional Committee voted on Monday—by a narrow margin and against the views of the officers—to include nursery defence in their current dispute.

The effect of this however was no more than a promise from the union official of legal advice to the Nursery Campaign and assistance in writing a "strong" letter to Shirley Williams!

The latest plans for action in the county by the NUT are for a half-day strike on September 5, followed by protracted strikes in certain areas of the county.

There are still no plans to extend strike action throughout the whole county.



of the new situation. The central question now confronting the working class is that of leadership. The efforts of union leaders, 'left' talkers and Stalinists will be to divert the spontaneous militancy and strength of the working class and to preserve the coalition government. Against this perspective we advance a clear programme to direct the mass movement towards the most central political issues.

In the wages debate at the TGWU Conference a crucial struggle was carried through both to direct the main attack on the platform and to put forward the demand for a sliding scale of wages as a conscious alternative to wage controls.

RESPONSE

A third of the conference voted for this policy, indicating that it is beginning to draw a mass response.

Our role in developing the pay struggle is therefore crucial.

As the government wields the threat of raging inflation and chaos, our reply is that wages can only be defended by linking them to the rises in the cost of living, as assessed by elected trade union committees.

Wherever this policy is adopted we advocate the development of prices committees, to establish a cost of living index independent of the biased figures quoted by Healey.

As struggles for these demands develop, we must aim to draw together the strength of all sections of workers in struggle through the fight for *councils of action* rooted in this mass movement.

CONFERENCE

In line with this perspective we call for a recall conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement to be convened as soon as possible.

As a block across the path of the struggle to regain and defend living standards comes the Callaghan-Steel government.

We must bring right into the wages struggle the need to remove Healey and Callaghan, the open spokesmen of the ruling class within the labour movement, and to establish a government based on the interests of the working class.

For three months the 'left' Labour MPs have diplomatically refused to acknowledge that the coalition government exists.

Now they have all greeted with approval Healey's proposals for continued wage cuts—fooling themselves that this represents a leftward turn.

In fact the Labour leaders are only moving closer into alliance with the Liberals to throw their weight *against* the wages struggle.

POSTURE

The Labour 'lefts' may be prepared to posture on the Grunwick picket line.

But they are not prepared to call for extended postal blacking or in any way develop the independent struggles of the working class, let alone align themselves with the struggle to break the Social Contract and break the coalition government.

There must be a fight both in the trade unions and in the Labour Party for the demand that the Labour 'lefts' break from Healey and Callaghan and the coalition government and take upon themselves the task of establishing a socialist programme for the next general election.

EXPOSE

In this way their 'left' postures can be exposed in the course of the class struggle, and the way opened up for the construction of a new leadership within the working class.

We call for a lobby of the September Congress of the TUC with the demand that there be *no* undercover wages agreement with the government; *no* 12 month rule; and *full support* declared for any section of the working class in struggle.

18.7.77.

LIVING STANDARDS . . . Cont'd from Front Page.

with the CBI, Healey will back employers in their fight to hold down wages.

And from the union bureaucracy will come continual stalling the watering down of legitimate claims, the sabotage of official and unofficial action and unceasing efforts to shackle the working class to the requirements of a crisis-ridden capitalist system.

The idea floated by some Labour ministers of using an amended price code to forbid any price increases attributed to wage rises outside the government target shows the perspective of the government.

They intend to use the threat of economic chaos, roaring inflation and mass sackings to intimidate those fighting for wages.

But the Healey-Callaghan policy has one fatal flaw—it satisfies nobody:

*The TUC are unlikely to see in Healey's proposals any chance of cobbling together even the vaguest agreement on wage targets—though they will attempt to uphold the 12 month rule.

*To the mass of union members faced with the constant erosion of living standards, the tax cuts offer nothing.

*And the Tories, together with the ruling class as a whole, clearly have no real confidence in Callaghan's ability to control this latest move by the working class.

But nor are the Tories confident of their own ability to contain the present situation.

MILITANCY

Suddenly aware of the scale of militancy they would confront

from the working class on wages and union rights should they topple the Callaghan government, the Tories have encountered obvious divisions within their own ranks.

WILTED

From an all out onslaught on the rights of trade unionists ten days ago, in which nearly every Tory front-bencher was sounding off demands for legislation to restrict picketing, and legal action against the postmen, the Tories have wilted away to the level of Whitelaw's pathetic appeal for Rees to seek a *voluntary* "code of conduct" on picketing.

Indeed Labour minister Booth, in promising new laws on picketing, now stands to the *right* of many Tory statements.

Even the extreme right wing within NAFF have descended from threats of civil actions against the Cricklewood postmen to sneaking around the country late at night posting illicit mail.

The Tories had clearly planned to use Grunwick as a set-piece in their preparations for an all-out bid for power.

FALTERING

Yet now they are visibly faltering in these moves and pulling back from any call on the government to resign—even after the disastrous Labour showing in the Saffron Walden by-election.

Thatcher herself issued no call for a general election even at a mass rally of 15,000 Tories in Blenheim last Saturday, showing that the Tories are all too aware

Since our last issue we have received £202.61 towards the £3,000 Special Fund making a total to date of £1323.21. We have only ten weeks to raise the outstanding £1700 so no time must be lost in taking up the fight for this finance which is essential to our plans to launch the weekly Socialist Press in October.

We want to be well past the half way mark by the time we next go to press. Meanwhile, our thanks to the following for donations received: Winsford £10; Oxford bookshop workers £2; R.B. £13; Cowley car workers £30.60; R.E. £5; East London £13; South London £20; P.C. £15; K.V. £5; Hackney £26.13; Sheffield £20; Oxford £28.

Our regular Monthly Fund has got off to a better start this month with a total so far of £321.06. But there is no room for complacency. Every effort must be made to ensure that the full amount is collected.

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NOW STOP THE PRESS!

Journalists on strike at Darlington are still surviving on the crumbs of verbal support from print union leaders.

Two weeks after NGA officials promised full support to the 108 journalists on strike for a closed shop, the chairman of the TUC's Printing Industries Committee, Bill Keyes, has come out with a statement of his own.

"It is my personal view that we have no alternative but to give specific support to the journalists which would escalate the whole thing."

NUJ members' reaction to this statement must be tempered by the knowledge that the only result of NGA 'full backing' guarantee has been less support than before.

It was Bill Keyes too who inflicted a major blow against NUJ morale last week by sabotaging the mass picket that had been called on Friday night to stop the paper.

Up to 1,000 NUJ members, printers and other trade unionists had agreed to attend. Two days before the picket, General Secretary Ken Morgan rang the strikers to say that if they did not call it off he would declare it unofficial, opening it up to mass arrests.

He said that Keyes had told him he did not want another Grunwick.

The result was that all but 150-200 of the pickets stayed at home on the night. Leeds alone had

promised 160 trade union members.

The factor that looks like becoming most like Grunwick is the time it is taking the officials to move. Already the strikers have been out for seven weeks.

At 'talks' with Westminster Press last week, the NUJ top officials even agreed that the venue should be kept secret. With Keyes they begged the employers to show them some way out.

But Westminster Press are so deeply committed to preventing a strong union operating among their journalists that Keyes will have to stretch ingenuity to breaking point if he is to avoid calling printers at Darlington out on strike when the PIC meets on Friday.

That meeting will no doubt ignore the NUJ members other demand for blacking throughout the group of copy written to get round the NUJ action.

LEAKED

In this respect the officials are doing precisely what the employer hopes. A secret document leaked from Westminster Press head office reveals that their main objective is to prevent the action spreading to print workers at other offices.

The employers have also instructed editors to run opinion columns declaring that a closed shop for journalists would open up the Press to political pressure!



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

MAINTAIN FORD CLAIM!

The presentation of the Ford workers' pay claim by Moss Evans, TGWU General Secretary-elect, completely accepts the latest arguments of the government and the CBI. All that is disputed is the precise figures.

Evans says that the claim for a 15% increase with fringe benefits (noticeably the stewards' demand for cost-of-living increases gets no mention) is 'socially responsible'. He went on to say that he interprets Healey's 10% pay ceiling as applying to the country's total wage bill.

In other words Evans agrees that if Ford workers get their 15%, some others should get much less. This specifically breaches the TGWU conference decision for completely *unfettered* collective bargaining.

Meanwhile Evans has hired a city stockbroking firm to analyse Fords accounts, to check that the firm can pay the full claim. This concedes that pay claims should be tailored to the problems of the employer and not the needs of the working class.

The very claim has now been by-passed by the situation, and it is certain that Evans will negotiate it downwards towards Healey's norm.

Ford workers must insist that the full claim, cost-of-living clause and all is maintained.

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coach was able to gain access with little resistance.

Nevertheless, George Ward, the factory owner, and his loyal backers in the National Association for Freedom and the Tory Party leadership had received one more bitter lesson to dwell on alongside their humiliation at the hands of the Cricklewood postal workers.

The clear success of such independent working class action has shown the way for the strikers' victory.

This strength must now be used to press for an immediate extension of the postal blacking of Grunwick if the dispute is to be brought quickly to a successful end.