

# SOCIALIST PRESS



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## Follow haulage drivers FINISH OFF CALLAGHAN!

The Callaghan-Healey leadership of the Labour Party now hangs like a dead albatross round the neck of the workers' movement.

Its policies are contemptuously thrown aside by millions of workers now in struggle over pay; hopelessly discredited among the 1½ million workers and youth on the dole; and rejected by both TUC and Labour Party conferences.

If not overthrown, these policies will pave the way to a certain defeat for the Labour Party in the coming General Election and the return of a Thatcher government which is already threatening vicious attacks on trade union rights.

### Closed

Yet on Monday, while 70,000 lorry drivers dug in for their third week of strike action, 1½ million public sector workers stopped work, and a massive 60,000-strong demonstration formed up to march on the Houses of Parliament demanding an end to poverty wages in the public sector, TUC leaders were to be found closeted once more with Callaghan.

The talks that took place, however, point more to the wretchedness of the TUC leaders than to any possible salvage operation to restore the authority of this government.

The succession of retreats and defeats it has suffered on the imposition of Phase 4 has escalated rapidly.

### Collapsed

Last week alone, in a desperate effort to head off the growing militancy of the public sector workers, and to ease the way for a settlement of the road haulage strike, the government collapsed on three major fronts:

\*Callaghan declared that the 5% limit would be waived in the case of low paid workers on less than £70 per week—and replaced by a £3.50 (8%) minimum increase.

\*As this concession failed, the National Water Council offered water workers a 14% pay deal.

\*And, as industry began to grind to a halt, Prices Secretary Hattersley conceded that Road Hauliers Association employers would not be penalised for paying the full TGWU claim to the striking drivers.

But these concessions have not stemmed the flood of wages militancy—and millions move workers are waiting on the outcome of the present struggles



PHOTO: Carlos Augustino IFL

First wave on the high tide of wages struggle—the Ford strike

before their claims fall due. Nor can the TUC leaders feel confident that they can control this growing movement.

Whether it be the unofficial tanker drivers' strike, the emergence of powerful unofficial strike committees in the lorry drivers' strike, the unofficial walk-out by Manchester water workers, or the refusal of ambulance crews to man a free emergency service for hospital management, again and again the working class is showing its independent strength and tending to brush aside those official "leaders" that try to stand in its way.

### Tory support

This situation frightens the wits out of the Tories. The last thing Thatcher's reactionary crew of NAFF-style union busters wish to confront is a tidal wave of working class militancy on their election to office.

This is why Thatcher, for all her rabble-rousing, has steered well clear of any calls on Callaghan to resign—instead offering full Tory support for any anti-union legislation introduced by Labour's scab cabinet, while the Tory press and mass media bulge to bursting point with hysterical anti-union propaganda designed to whip the middle class into a frenzy.

As sections of public sector workers continue to clamour for

all-out indefinite strike action for their £60/35 hour week claim (in place of Fisher's bankrupt plan for "selective" regional stoppages) the battle lines are drawn for major industrial and political battles.

### Conference

The Callaghan cabinet has time and again clearly shown itself to stand on the employers side of the barricades.

In fighting now to destroy the remnants of Phase 4, and win a decent standard of living, public sector workers and every section of the trade union movement must demand that trade union leaders and 'left-wing' Labour MPs launch an immediate campaign for the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

An Emergency Labour Party Conference must be convened to dispose of these right wing traitors and adopt a programme of socialist policies on which to fight the General Election.

### Power

But there should be no reliance on the willingness of such reluctant leaders to fight.

The haulage drivers' strike has already demonstrated beyond doubt the power of the working class to conduct its own struggles: the emergence of local strike committees which have controlled the passage of only selected supplies through

picket lines points the way forward for other sections of workers in struggle.

Any attempt by union officials to wind up or bureaucratically control these committees must be rejected; and in fighting for all-out action on their pay claim, public sector workers must also elect committees to control the provision of emergency cover—subject to the condition that troops are kept out of this dispute.

These strike committees should also take the initiative to invite delegates from local stewards committees, union branches and working class political parties to join with them in forming councils of action to organise mass picketing and the supervision of emergency services and supplies.

Those 'left' Labour MPs who claim to oppose Callaghan must be called upon by strikers and trade unionists to assist the fight for such councils of action, and to take up the demands raised by them.

Those 'lefts' that refuse to take up such a fight effectively line up in support of Callaghan, and must bear equal responsibility for opening the door to the return of a Tory government.

The crying need in this situation is for the construction of a principled, revolutionary leadership in the working class—a task the Workers Socialist League has set itself.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

## Scab kills picket: call a national strike!

Amid one of the most frenzied and coordinated witch-hunts ever conducted by the British press and mass media, 28-year old Bob Watson was run down and killed last Friday by a scab lorry driver who refused to stop at an Aberdeen picket line.

Two days earlier a mob of workers at Cadbury's Bourneville factory in Birmingham had been worked up into a hysterical and violent attack on a peaceful picket of striking lorry drivers—to loud applause from the press and employers.

The gutter press coverage of the present round of pay disputes, and in particular its onslaught on picketing has been calculated to provoke outbursts like this from the most reactionary and confused layers of the working class and, most especially from the middle class.

But rather than take the obvious step of defending and strengthening the picket

lines against such attacks, last week saw TGWU leaders retreat under pressure, to the point of issuing the now famous "code of practice" through Regional offices.

This represents an attempt by TGWU officials to impose conditions and limitations on strike committees which have until now run the strike with an extraordinary efficiency and discipline.

But the impact of this step lies more in the fact that it tacitly concedes that picketing is a "problem" to be "tackled" than in the provisions contained in the code itself.

The death of Bob Watson and the attack on the picket line at Bourneville are matters of concern to the entire trade union movement and the TGWU in particular.

The TGWU leadership must be pressed to call a national strike of its entire membership in protest against the killing and to make it absolutely clear that control of the movement of supplies for the duration of the lorry drivers' strike remains in the hands of the strike committees in each area.

Meanwhile the fact that the Road Haulage Association continues to refuse to concede the TGWU demand for a £65/35 hour week highlights the criminal exploitation of haulage drivers by these cut-throat cowboy firms.

The TGWU must be forced to take up a serious fight to force the nationalisation of these firms, without compensation under workers' management as part of a planned, nationalised transport system.



Strike official Kitson

## INTERNATIONAL



# ITALIAN STALINISTS WOBBLE ON TIGHTROPE

Italy's paper-thin veneer of political stability threatens to tear in the face of irreconcilable class contradictions beneath the surface.

The most acute source of conflict is the growing struggle over wages, now erupting as new three year wage contracts fall due for renegotiation for 10 million workers throughout Italian industry.

Most workers receive some protection from inflation (now 12% a year) from the limited sliding scale which Italian capitalists tried unsuccessfully to abolish last year.

The dire situation of Italian capital is illustrated by recent calculations by the ex-Governor of the Bank of Italy that the rate of return on industrial investments has fallen to 6% compared with a 16% effective interest rate.

This situation has led to a severe decline in industrial investment.

In order to prevent unemployment from rising even further than its present level of 1½ million, the government is running a gigantic deficit equal to 16% of the National Product.

## Decline in demand

The only apparently healthy aspect of the economy is the balance of payments surplus—but that is largely the result of the decline in the demand for imports caused by the slump in investment and real wages.

As part of a proposed 3-year "economic recovery programme", the minority Christian Democratic government is now trying to prevent workers from getting any wage increases or reductions in hours beyond the continuation of the partial sliding scale.

The working class has other ideas, which are most clearly reflected in the claim lodged by the engineering unions for a £20 a month wage increase and a cut in hours to 36 without loss of pay.

This claim has incurred the public hostility not only of the government but also of its main prop, the CP.

CP leader, Enrico Berlinguer, is now further out along his political tight-rope than ever and showing signs of slipping.

His slavish support for the right-wing Christian Democratic government has now evidently lessened the CP's control of its trade unions, whose bureaucratic leaders are finding it impossible to restrain their own rank and file and who are rapidly losing members to the autonomous unions.

Yet at the same time Berlinguer finds that however pleadingly he stretches out his hands

along the wire to Andreotti and his Cabinet they will not grasp it.

They will not give him the ministerial positions he wants.

Caught in this way between his disillusioned base and a less than completely grateful ruling class to whom he gives essential support, Berlinguer has once again started making noises about leaving the parliamentary majority and returning to parliamentary opposition.

This is, of course a necessary part of the myth Berlinguer has to try to build up that his support for the Italian Tories is "conditional".

If the CP really went into opposition that would almost certainly precipitate early general elections.

The opinion polls at present suggest that the Christian Democrats would make large gains at the expense of the CP.

In spite of this both parties seem anxious in the current crisis to avoid elections, probably because they would give an expanded opportunity for the expression of mass hostility to the pro-capitalist austerity policies of the undeclared CP/Christian Democrat coalition.

The safest prediction at present is still that the agreement between the two largest political parties will once again be patched up in the interests of avoiding the threatened complete breakdown of social stability.

At the present time it is not only the growth in the wage struggle which is undermining the "historic compromise" but also a sudden new outburst of terrorist actions from the right with retaliation from the left, and the new prospect of an open struggle on the issue of abortion.

Last year an open fight on this explosive question



Berlinguer

was avoided by a parliamentary deal between the CP and the Christian Democrats for a new law which granted extremely limited rights to legal abortions.

Neither of the main parties wants to revive the issue.

But the small petty-bourgeois Radical Party are trying to collect the half million signatures needed to have a referendum on their

proposed complete liberalisation of the abortion law.

While the major parties of the 'historic compromise' certainly want to avoid a general election they may before long be forced to call one simply to forestall the even worse prospect of a referendum on abortion.

Either way, Italy's political atmosphere is rapidly becoming more explosive.

# Bureaucrats fall out over Kampuchea invasion

As the Vietnamese Stalinists consolidate their invasion of Kampuchea (Cambodia), the rivalries within the camp of world Stalinism have flared up with a new intensity.

Forces supporting the toppled government of Pol Pot are conducting a rearguard action in the mountainous west, with their backs to the Thai border.

As Vietnamese troops were pulled out of Kampong Som to be deployed inland and further along the coast, the Khmer Rouge moved in to recapture the port.

But their occupation lasted only a few days, and effective military resistance to the invasion now seems to have been broken in all but a few isolated areas.

## Second 'liberation'

The workers and peasants of Kampuchea now face a second Stalinist 'liberation' under the puppet government of the Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation.

The forms of restriction and suppression they will be forced to endure at the hands of their new bureaucratic masters in Hanoi will differ from those they suffered from the primitive Maoists of the Khmer Rouge.

But the content of political oppression will remain the same.

Yet the fate of the Kampuchean masses is not in itself a question of any importance to the Stalinist leaders, let alone to the imperialists.

For them, misery and poverty, starvation and death weigh nothing against the bureaucratic self-interest of the one, or the profits of the other.

Cries of dignified and well-bred indignation have broken from the lips of the imperialists.

But Carter and his breed have wisely elected to keep their distance from an area where their attentions have not been too popularly received in the recent past.

The move by the Romanian bureaucracy to condemn the invasion did not represent any sudden turn to proletarian internationalism by these diehard Stalinists.

Their concern was not with the democratic rights of the Kampuchean people, and above all it was not with the struggle for socialist revolution.

In the fall of Pol Pot, Ceausescu and his clique saw an example of the fate that could befall a national bureaucracy which fell out of step with more powerful neighbours in the Kremlin bloc.

The implications were not lost on the Romanian leaders, who have been driven into increasing conflict with the other members of Comecon and the Warsaw Pact.

Ceausescu's example was swiftly followed by Tito's Stalinist bureaucracy in Yugoslavia.

Their complaints were even backed up by the regime of North Korea, where the bureaucracy has so far attempted to remain neutral in the conflict between Peking and Moscow.

Such open disagreements can only add to the delight of the



Kampuchean envoy Sihanouk with Andrew Young

imperialists as they seek to rip apart the solidarity of the degenerated workers' states.

But this latest development seems to have proved too much for the Albanian Stalinists, coming so soon after they had 'discovered' that both the Soviet and the Chinese bureaucracies were counter-revolutionary.

Not noted for his reticence, Albanian leader Enver Hoxha has preserved a discreet silence this time round.

At the same time as the Vietnamese invasion has revealed yet again the tensions between national sections of international Stalinism, it has also produced further shifts in political alignment in eastern Asia.

The capitalist government of Thailand has attacked Vietnamese aggression, and provided

assistance for Kampuchean refugees.

But the Thai government has stepped definitely short of harbouring Khmer Rouge military opposition to the new regime.

## Stifle war

Its aim has been to forge closer links with the Chinese bureaucracy, partly for trading purposes, but also to stifle the guerrilla war within Thailand and that has been supported by Peking in the past.

The Chinese Stalinists may well feel that the loss of a poor, unstable and embarrassing ally in Kampuchea is only a small price to pay in its search for intimate alliances with the reactionary pro-imperialist regimes of south-east Asia.

# LYNCH LAW: MURRAY APPEAL THROWN OUT

Marie Murray, convicted with her husband Noel of the non-capital murder of Garda Michael Reynolds and at present serving a life sentence has at last had her appeal heard at the Court of Criminal Appeal in Dublin.

As we outlined in *Socialist Press* 124 the Murrays were the victims of a judicial frame-up.

Last Tuesday the Appeal Court not only dismissed Marie's application against conviction but refused her leave to appeal to the Supreme Court.

The appeal, like her trial, was a farce.

In two hours flat the Appeal Court confirmed the trial judge's contention that whether Marie's constitutional right had been violated or not was "irrelevant", unless the violation was conscious and deliberate!

Marie had been convicted on the basis of a statement made under threats and intimidation.

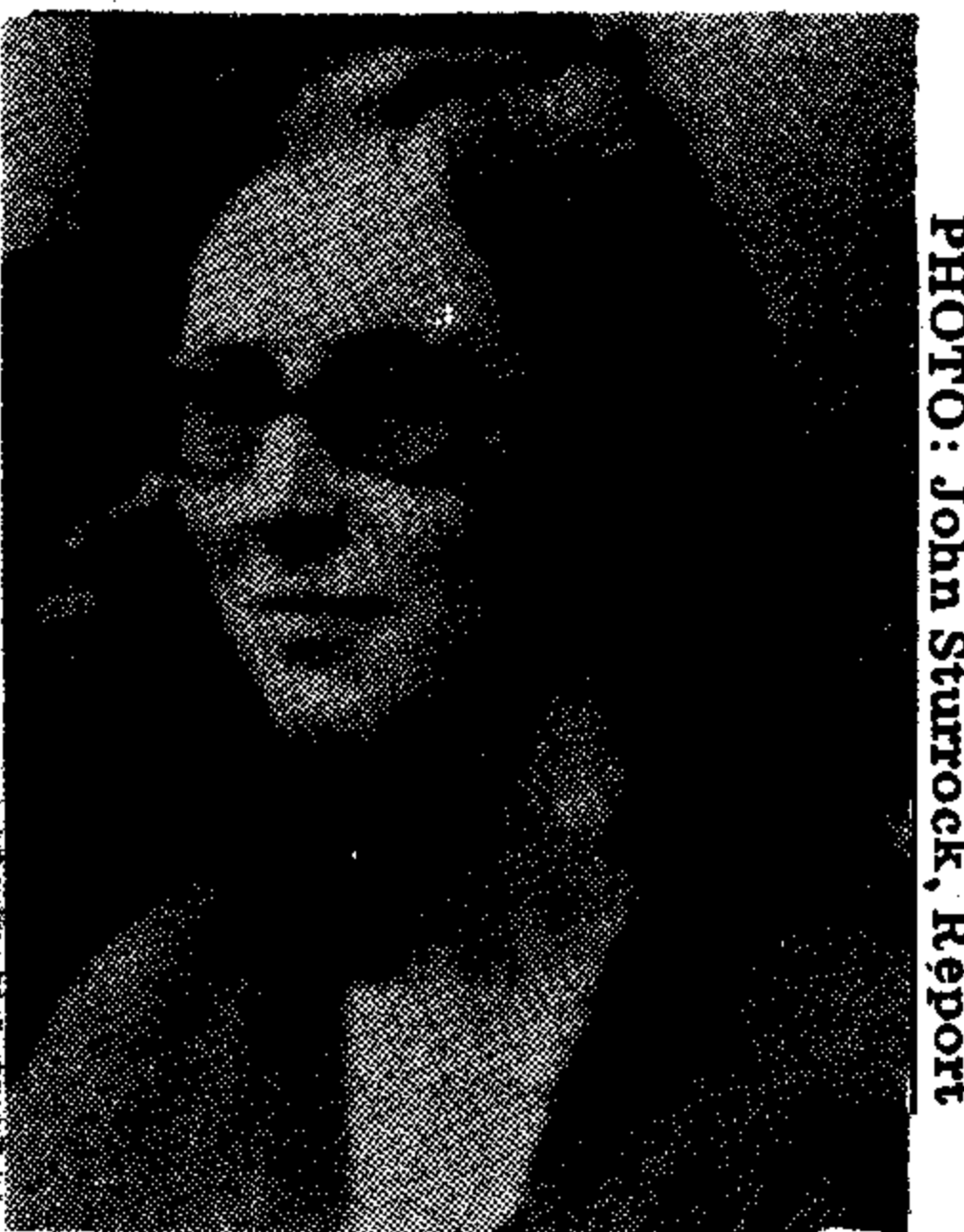


PHOTO: John Sumrock Report

Marie Murray

Next door she could hear her husband being tortured. She claims she was told he would die if she did not sign.

The appeal was even more farcical in that the court looked at Marie's alleged statement in which she is supposed to have claimed that her gun went off while she was trying to free her husband.

Ballistic evidence showed that the bullet which killed Garda Reynolds was not fired in the manner Marie is supposed to have claimed.

Therefore, the appeal was denied.

At the appeal Marie was not allowed to speak.

Even her "counsel" had little to say and, as a member of the Murray family said, he seemed to be there simply to give a legal rubber stamp to the proceedings.

Meanwhile, while Marie was in court her husband Noel was in the Curragh Military Detention Centre where he and other prisoners have been 'on the blanket' protesting against prison conditions.

Nothing has been heard from them since news of their protest came just before Christmas (see *Socialist Press* 130).

INTERNATIONAL

# RISE AND FALL OF A TYRANNY

The following paragraphs show how one of the most repressive dictators of modern times gained power—and how he lost it again.

It is a story of conspiracy and terror on the side of the Shah and his unscrupulous friends—of suffering and courage on the side of the masses of Iran who were forced to live under the tyranny.

It is a story which exposes the treacherous nature of both imperialism and Stalinism.

It is a story which reveals the overwhelming strength of mass struggle while at the same time it emphasises the necessity for revolutionary leadership in the fight for socialism.

Finally it is a story which is not yet over. The Shah's absolute power can probably never return.

But his massive army still exists, and his vast secret police and the host of

politicians who owe their position to him remain.

The struggle must now be redoubled in Iran to search out and destroy every remnant of the power not only of the Shah and his political dependents but of the capitalist system which they represent.

This historical moment which is opening up today in Iran is as significant as that which began in February 1917 in Russia, or in 1930 in Spain or in April 1974 in Portugal.

A closer parallel can be seen in the mass movement of workers, peasants and students which overthrew the tyranny of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia in 1974.

That revolutionary upsurge foundered through the absence of a revolutionary leadership, and the military dictatorship of the Derg stepped forward as the agent of counter-revolution.

The much bigger struggles

in Iran will only be settled in favour of socialism as a result of the construction of a Trotskyist revolutionary party basing itself on the strategy of permanent revolution and a programme of democratic and transitional demands as set out in the Transitional Programme. Those that today profess to lead Iran's masses—the Islamic religious leaders or the bourgeois National Front—are the enemies of socialism.

The burning question of socialism or counter-revolution in Iran today will be decided in a struggle against these anti-socialist leaders—a struggle which will be fought out within what has already become one of the largest mass political movements in history.

Already in the turbulent events of the last year sections of the mass movement have spontaneously resisted the religious and bourgeois leaders when they have compromised in

the fight for the removal of the Shah.

Only recently there have been reports of at least one large workers' demonstration under red banners which threw off religious banners and prevented Khomeini supporters from shouting their slogans.

Such events show that an organised revolutionary leadership exists but that the potential for it to be built exists.

The spontaneous revolutionary actions of Iran's masses which have in one year destroyed a tyranny backed by nearly every power in the world must now be directed towards the building of a conscious, disciplined socialist party which can lead the fight of the masses to its complete victory and prevent what will otherwise be the inevitable counter-revolution.



## His Road to Power

### LOSS OF A FRIEND

The fall of the Shah is an incalculable political and economic loss for imperialism.

After 1963 the Shah's regime was selected by US imperialism and then by the Wilson Labour government of 1964-70 to take over the police role of imperialism in the region.

Wilson's policy of withdrawal from East of Suez (enthusiastically supported by the Labour 'lefts') was based on a deal with the Shah that he would take over Britain's policing role.

His troops, for instance, have intervened against the liberation movement in Dhofar, whose reactionary ruler was previously under British protection.

In return for this role, the Shah has been given free rein in internal political repression



## STALINISM AND THE SHAH

The Shah's tyranny owed its birth and its long life partly to the treachery of Stalinism.

During the war Stalin conceded Iran to the Western 'sphere of influence'.

As in Western Europe he ordered Stalinists in Iran to support the imperialist stabilisation of the country.

Stalin's troops walked out of the nationalist republics of Kurdistan and Azibijan which were then reconquered with much bloodshed by the Shah's imperialist-backed army.

During the 1940's the Iranian Communist Party (the Tudeh Party), and its allies in Kurdistan and Azibijan, became mass parties with wide popular support.

US agents believed that the Tudeh would have won any free elections taking place at the end of the war.

Stalin ordered these parties to support the imperialist stabilisation but to demand an oil concession to the USSR on the same lines as the one

granted to the capitalists.

Such a policy lost much of the party's mass support and played into the hands of the Mossadeq nationalists.

In 1953 it ended up by tail-ending these nationalists, even though Mossadeq had declared the party illegal.

During the dictatorship the Tudeh has been the victim of severe repression.

In its policies it has done anything except develop an independent proletarian position.

Its present position is for a class collaborationist alliance with the National Front and the Islamic leaders.

In the 1960s it even tried to form an alliance with a former head of SAVAK who had fallen out with the Shah!

In the 1960s the USSR, in spite of the anti-Soviet tone of the Shah's policies, began to develop a new alliance with the dictatorship.

The Kremlin sold arms to the Shah and bought natural gas from him.

Its propaganda began to support him, a line only ambiguously abandoned a few days before the Shah's departure.

In 1976 the Tudeh Party was forced to close down its opposition radio station in Bulgaria when the Bulgarian bureaucracy signed a trade deal with the Shah.

The Chinese Stalinists have been verbally even more slavish in their support of the Shah.

### Honoured ally

The position of the Iranian masses has not made them hesitate to see the Shah as an honoured ally against Moscow.

In 1975 Mao Tse-tung feted the Shah's sister Ashraf in Peking.

And in his recent world tour Chairman Hua Kuo Feng chose Iran, in the midst of the mass agitation against the Shah, as one of his only three stopping places.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that none of the Stalinist parties—pro-Moscow or pro-Peking—have yet managed



Brezhnev

to gain a significant following in the present mass upsurge.

The most politically conscious of the Iranian masses recognise their historically treacherous role and will now be searching for an alternative.

1905-11 The "Constitutional Revolution" in which the national bourgeoisie attempt to reduce the power of the reigning Shah—of the Qajar dynasty. After many upheavals ends in failure.

1921. After the effective collapse of central government in the aftermath of the imperialist war and the Russian Revolution, with the encouragement of the British imperialist government of Lloyd George, a group of army officers staged a military coup and restored central authority. These officers had been trained by the Imperial Russian Cossacks; their leader was Reza Khan.

1925. Reza Khan deposes the Qajar dynasty and declares himself Shah (King) founding the "Pahlavi dynasty".

1941 Reza Shah, who supported Hitler, was deposed by joint occupation of Iran by the British and Soviet armies.

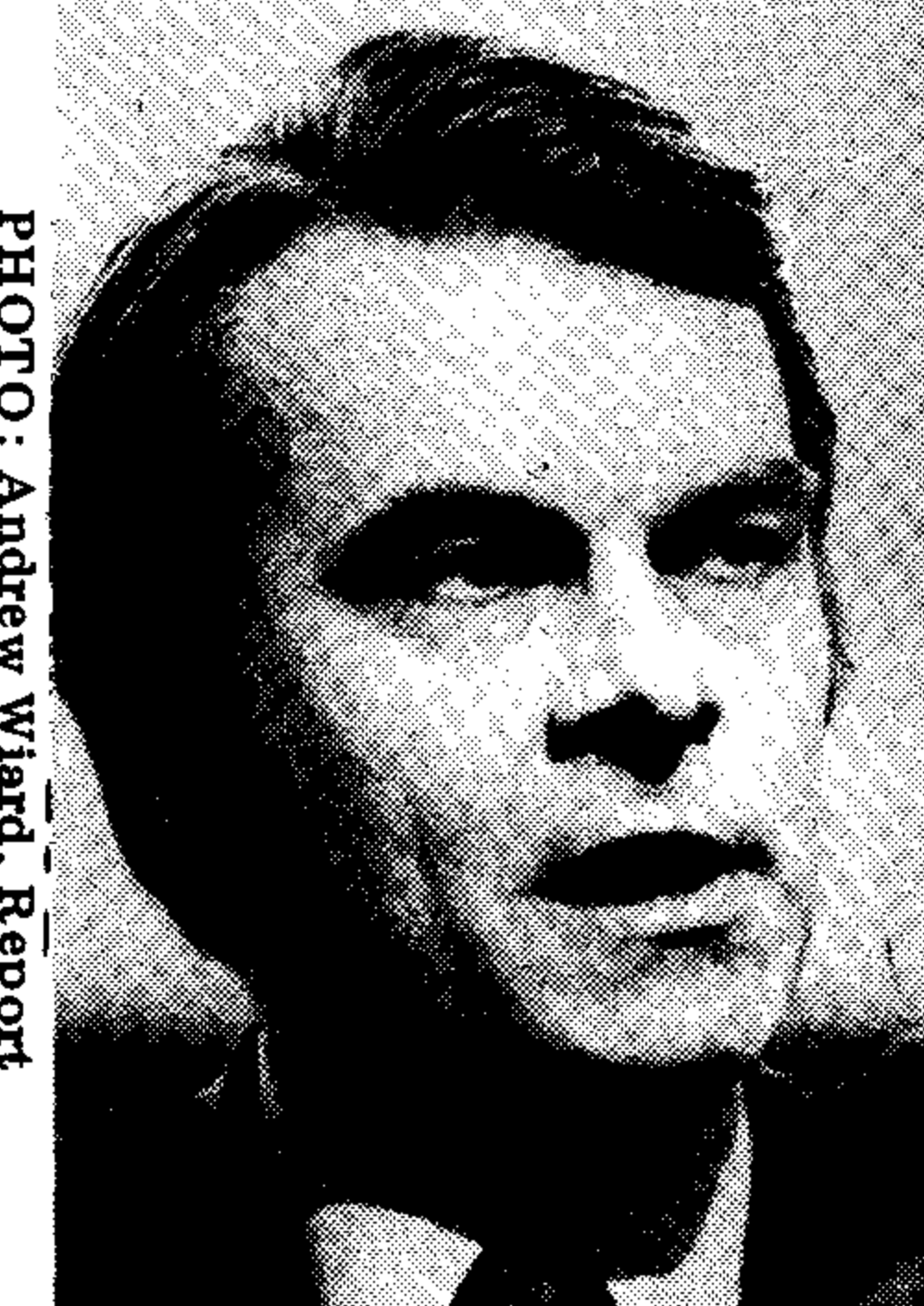
1943-45. The counter-revolutionary deal dividing up the post-war world between imperialist and Stalinist spheres of influence "awards" Iran 90%-10% to the imperialists.

1945-46. Reza Shah's son restored by imperialists to throne as constitutional monarch. To placate USA, the Soviet Union withdraws its support from the Kurdistan and Azibijan republics set up under Soviet protection during the war. They collapse and the new Shah and his government restore central control.

1951-53. The bourgeois National Front government led by Dr. Mosadeq tries to take action against imperialist interests and comes into conflict with the Shah, an imperialist puppet. The Shah goes into temporary exile. With the help of the CIA and the Iranian army leaders he seizes power in a coup. So begins the 26-year tyranny.

1963. Popular opposition to the Shah's regime leads to a closer agreement with British and US imperialism and a change of policy. Very limited social reforms are instituted, demagogically called the "White Revolution". The apparatus of the police state is strengthened and Iran is converted into front line of military and political defence of imperialism in the Middle East and beyond.

1977-79. After 14 years of ever more bloodthirsty police state, new signs of opposition from workers, intellectuals and Islamic leaders, followed from January 1978 by mounting street demonstrations and strikes. This unstoppable mass movement forces the Shah into exile.



Owen

and sold the arms with which to carry it out.

The British government has sold him more tanks than are possessed by the British army.

Labour ministers like Fred Mulley, David Owen and Frank Judd have been especially strong exponents of this policy.

The Carter administration and the British Labour imperialists openly supported the Shah's tyranny to the bitter end in the name of "Western interests".

# GARNERS: A YEAR OF SABOTAGE

## The union officials

The Garners strike is a year old—but nobody will be celebrating.

A year on strike is not a time to celebrate but to look back, draw a balance sheet of the forces involved, examine the lessons of a year in struggle so as to sharpen the political weapons taken into the struggle in the weeks ahead.

## The Stalinists

Staden's treachery implicates more people than the Region 1 Committee.

The Communist Party, which for months took an ambivalent attitude towards the strike, limiting its support to individuals on the picket line and occasional supporting articles in their paper, have been thrown into disarray by the fact that the person doing the most to destroy this strike and sow dangerous precedents for future struggles is one of their own members, Sid Staden.

To answer criticisms levelled at them over Staden's treachery the CP have had to do a cosmetic job.

We have seen CP secretary McLennan and National Organiser Cook on the picket line on Christmas Day and a brief guest appearance two weeks ago of Party chairman McGahey.

But far from sealing off the strike from their members, these token gestures are leading them further into the web spun by one of their own members.

The GLATC-called mass picket on December 8 saw CP member Tom Durkin arrested for being seventh on a picket line.

The contradiction of a leading Stalinist being arrested through the treachery of fellow Stalinist Staden opens the chance not only of exposing CP class collaboration but also of demanding increased support from both the leadership and the membership of the CP itself.



Ron Todd

PHOTO: Andrew Wiaard, Report

Shorter did, reluctantly, promise a series of factory tours to raise money, but these soon petered out, and at all times strikers were accompanied by regional officials or Abrahams, with all money going first to regional treasurer Westbrook.

### Loans

The strikers discovered to their amazement that two previous £10 handouts by the Region (on top of their pitiful £6 per week strike pay) were actually loans.

Money sent to Region 1 for the strike was going straight into Westbrook's coffers and being withheld from the strike committee at the discretion of the Region.

This procedure also applied to a £2,000 contribution from the GEC.

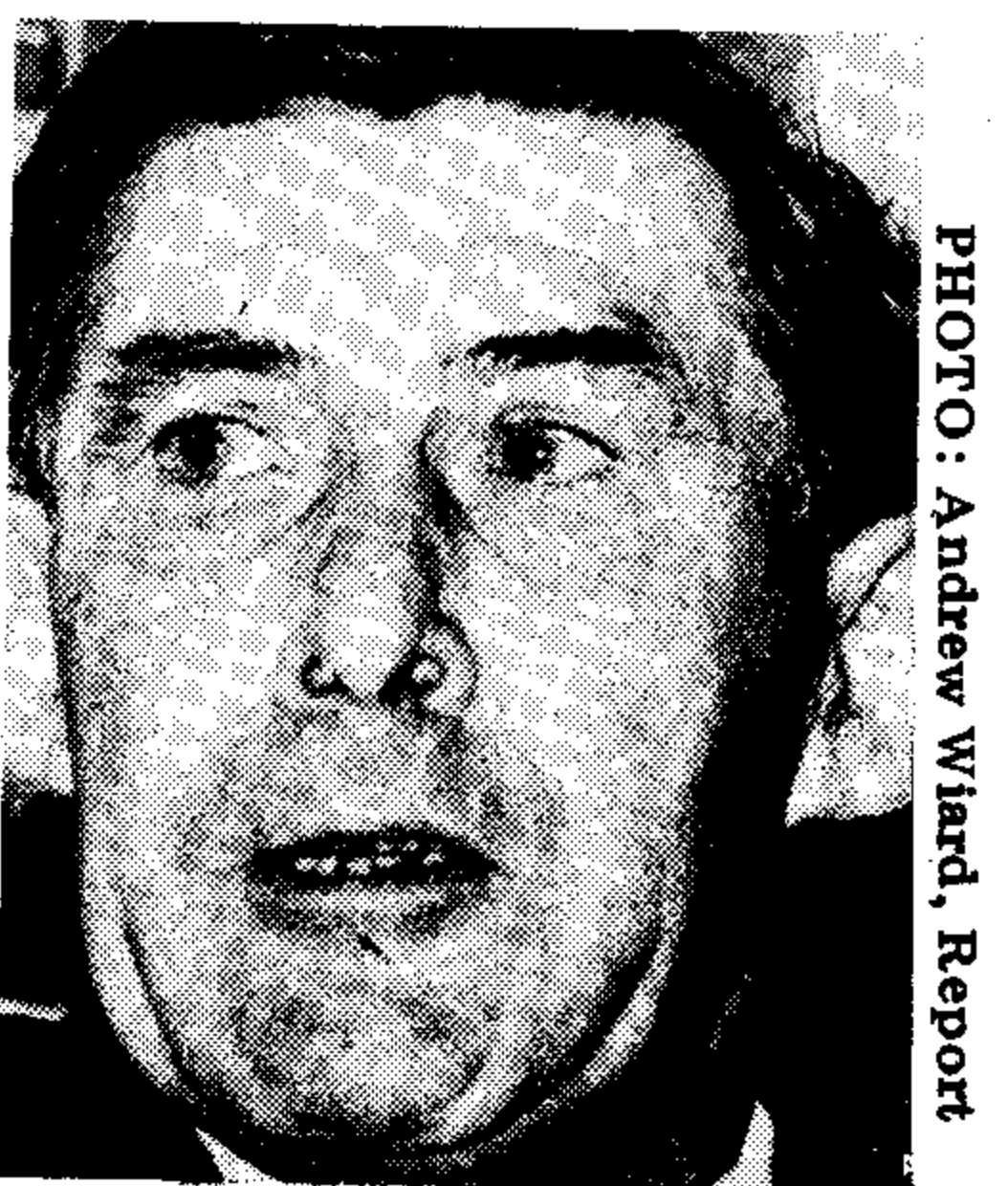
As a result, for ten months the TGWU gave the strike committee a miserly £6 per week, only recently raised to £12.

The question of picketing has vexed the Regional Committee since the beginning of the strike; they have left the strikers isolated and vulnerable to scab violence.

*In twelve months on strike there has not been one delegation organised by the Regional leadership on the picket lines!*

This has been compounded by the most far-reaching betrayal of all—when Staden actually reached an agreement with the police to limit picket line numbers to six.

This is the clearest indication that Staden and Shorter have no intention of mobilising forces onto the picket line.



Guest picket McGahey

PHOTO: Andrew Wiaard, Report

## OUR ROLE

**Workers enter into struggle in order to defend their living standards—not in order to become revolutionaries.**

As Grunwick and Sandersons have shown, however, unless such a political development is made, the strike will be forever tied to the bureaucracy, whether that be "left" or right wing.

These strikes show that in the context of capitalism in crisis the bureaucracy is incapable of mobilising the forces needed to win the democratic right of union recognition.

But however great the treachery, workers do not spon-

aneously break from reformism. They need to be convinced of an alternative programme and a perspective to win.

Such a break must be fought for by revolutionaries alongside practical work to strengthen and sustain the day to day struggles of the working class.

We believe the role of the WSL in this strike, both on the picket line, in the unions and in *Socialist Press*, has been crucial to the development of a principled leadership not simply in the Garners struggle but in the labour movement as a whole.



Police charge at Garners pickets

PHOTO: Mark Rusher, IFL

## THE CAPITALIST

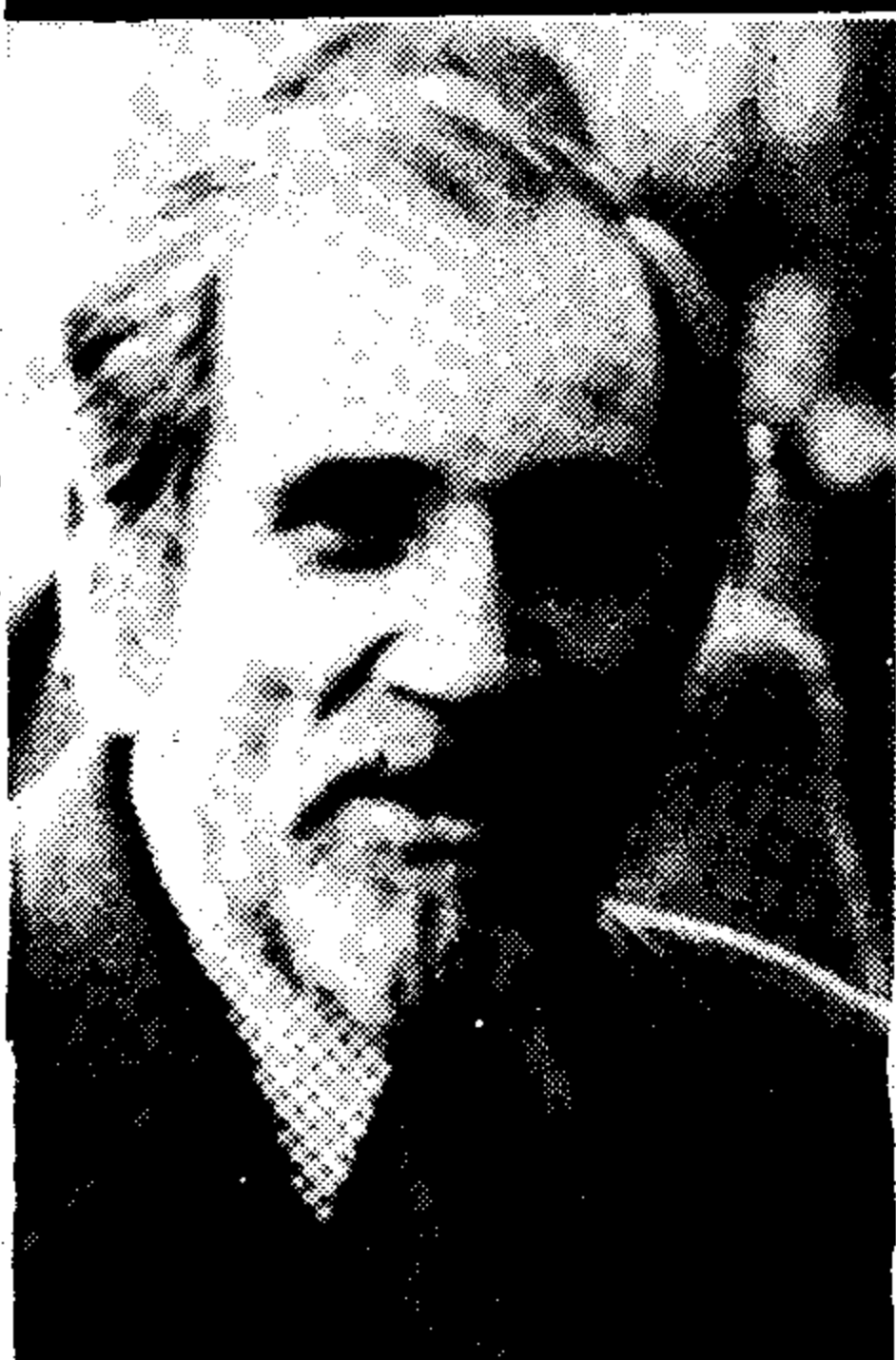


PHOTO: Andrew Wiaard, Report

When Cyril Margolis provoked a strike by sacking 84 trade union members, he believed that the whole affair would be over in a couple of weeks.

Why should he think otherwise? He knew how servile TGWU Catering officer Abrahams had been in negotiations throughout 1977; and he had George Ward's example in front of him.

So he threw ACAS out, threw the union out and declared war on the pickets.

For the next five months Margolis maintained a stony silence, refusing to refer to the strike even in internal company bulletins.

However, during the summer the effect picketing was having on trade was reflected in grow-

ing scab violence (which culminated in armed assaults on pickets throughout July and August).

At this point Margolis tried another tactic. Aware of the miserable support given to the strikers by the TGWU he approached them for negotiations to end a dispute which was endangering their "left" reputation as much as his profits.

But in accepting and recommending his offer of 16 jobs back and a ballot for recognition at a future date, the union reckoned without the independent strength of the strike committee.

Much to the frustration of Margolis and Regional organiser Shorter, the strikers totally rejected this monstrous sell out and reaffirmed their policy of no return to work without recognition and reinstatement.

Secret negotiations must have continued however, because at the end of November Margolis suddenly declared that he was breaking off all talks with the union.

On the strength of an internal scab ballot which went (not surprisingly) against the union he embarked on a December offensive in a desperate attempt to kill the strike.

Pre-meditated scab attacks were organised to physically smash the picket line. At the same time Margolis opened up a press witch-hunt to pressurise the TGWU to call the strike off.

His latest attempt to kill the strike has had the hallmarks of NAFF.

Legal threats have been made against the CPSA secondary blacking. George Ward's favourite Tory MP, Gorst, has intervened in Parliament.

And a leading part has been played by the *Telegraph* and *Express*.

All this points to the heavy involvement of the right wing of the Tory party and NAFF.

If Margolis can rely on the help of NAFF, other employers, and the police, he has always been sensitive to the fact that the leadership of the TGWU are as keen to kill this strike as he is.



Shorter

From the moment George Abrahams pulled 84 workers out on strike and then went on holiday for two weeks it has been clear that the Regional leadership had no intention of mobilising a fraction of its 500,000 members to win the strike.

After six weeks on strike the Region realised that it couldn't win without a full scale fight but promptly offered Margolis a deal to call off the strike in return for a second ACAS ballot!

Margolis, who had already thrown out one ballot, contemptuously dismissed this treacherous compromise as yet a further indication of the weakness of the union.

At this critical point, however, a new strike committee was elected at a mass meeting of the strikers.

### Regional levy

The new committee immediately introduced a series of policies which would win the strike.

- 1) A Regional Levy, to raise £36 a week strike pay;
- 2) Delegations from the Region's 500,000 members to man picket lines all week, mass pickets every Saturday;
- 3) Secondary blacking;
- 4) No return to work without union recognition and reinstatement.

The crucial development of a new, politically conscious leadership, has kept this strike alive. But it was seen as a threat by the TGWU bureaucracy.

The first phase of their struggle against this new leadership saw Regional Secretary Todd and Executive member Nicholson move in to block all attempts by the strike committee to get their policies supported in the TGWU.

### Refused to print

This at times sunk to almost farcical levels. For a whole period Abrahams refused to print the policies on strike bulletins and Nicholson even blocked an attempt to circulate the 1,600 branches within Region 1 with a letter calling for support for the strike committee's policies.

The two Garners support conferences were turning points in the relationship between the bureaucracy and the strikers.

Regional organiser Les Shorter was howled down by over 200 delegates at the second conference when he denounced mass picketing and claimed that one picket at each restaurant was sufficient.

From then on it became imperative that the Region kill this troublesome strike as soon as possible.

Under Shorter and newly appointed Regional Secretary Staden, they combined a series of secret negotiations with Margolis with attempts to destroy strike committee independence by taking control of all finance and picketing.

### Failed

Shorter and Staden failed in their attempt to foist a sell-out on the strike committee.

But on finance they refused to discuss the possibility of a Regional Levy—falsely claiming that it was against the rules.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

# Fisher grabs 'Militant' lifeline

One of the most accomplished arm-wavers in the labour movement is NUPE leader Alan Fisher.

His heart-rending oratory against the evils of low pay at the Labour Party conference drew tumultuous applause from all sides.

But since these flights of rhetoric last October Fisher and his fellow bureaucrats in the leadership of the public sector manual unions have been conspicuous by their silence.

The November review date for over a million public employees came and went without any call for action—despite the fact that a powerful lead had come from the Ford strike.

## Vague talk

Instead there was vague talk of raising a cash levy to finance individual NUPE sections in "selective" strike action.

The low-paid bakers were called out on strike, demanding 26% increases: Fisher, the man who played such a key role in isolating last year's firemen's strike, again sat tight.

Even provincial journalists—few of whom have the industrial strength to halt production of their newspapers—went out in pursuit of their £20 claim. Still no action from Fisher and Co.—who merely called a single 'Day of Action' for January 22.

The New Year brought a flurry of action—from tanker and haulage drivers, and on British Rail.

But the NUPE Executive at its January meeting even voted against making 22 January a national Day of strike Action, and decided not to meet again until February!

Fisher had all this time talked of nothing more than the token Day of Action coupled to "guerrilla" strikes, to be carried out at half-cock, while the majority of the public sector's 1.4 million manual workers continued working normally.

Despite this inaction, pressure was growing within the ranks of NUPE—branch resolutions were coming in calling for indefinite strike action from January 22, an unofficial walk-out by water workers took place in the Manchester area, and a decision was taken by London ambulancemen to withdraw even emergency cover on that day.

Fisher's 'left' credibility was in danger of cracking. His line and that of his fellow public sector bureaucrats was emerging as far to the right of his membership.

The possibility of sections of workers breaking from their illusions in Fisher's verbal "militancy" was growing, on the very eve of what threatened to be an enormous January 22



Placards—but no fight against the cuts from NUPE leaders demonstration.

But then along came *Militant*, Labour's self-styled "Marxist" paper which has so often come to the rescue of the soiled reputation of Labour Party 'lefts' and TUC fakers.

Seeking opportunist gains among public sector workers, *Militant* offered Fisher its front page to say what he wanted, without fear of criticism.

Fisher, remembering how on the notorious November 17, 1976 Day of Action against the cuts, *Militant* had provided him with a similar opportunity to disguise himself as a defender of the social services, gratefully seized the chance.

His article clearly

opposes the necessary strategy of all-out strike action:

"The Executive Council of NUPE has called on all its members to support the Day of Action on January 22 and to take part in selected industrial action from that date".

Such selective action makes military scabbing on the strike a virtual certainty, and minimises the chance of victory.

He goes on to avoid any examination of how it is that workers that he claims to represent are now receiving what he terms "poverty line wages which have plunged our members into a nightmare struggle to keep their heads above water."

## Pay sell-out

Certainly the existing wage levels in the public sector are low: but a major share of the blame for this must rest on successive sell-out pay deals hatched year after year by Fisher and his fellow bureaucrats ever since Fisher's betrayal of

the hospital ancillary workers' strike under the Heath government.

Fisher concludes on a 'left' note by pointing out that:

"The battle to beat the 5% guidelines and win a £60 minimum wage is part of the general struggle of the whole movement to build a socialist society".

But like the tame cat "Marxists" of the *Militant* group themselves, Fisher refuses to draw out the political reality of the public sector pay fight.

The "whole movement" is not fighting to beat the 5% or to build a socialist society: on the contrary, the entire Callaghan-Healey cabinet—Wedgewood Benn and all—have been fighting might and main to uphold the 5% limit and to prop up crisis-ridden British capitalism at the expense of the working class.

In challenging these limits, public sector workers are in effect challenging the Callaghan leadership—a conflict that Fisher and the TUC have struggled might and main to avoid.

A serious fight to improve the living standards and jobs of public sector workers and to defend the crumbling social services

demands a campaign to throw out Labour's reactionary right wing leaders, and for the building of a principled, revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement.

In such a fight the real political positions of the 'left' talkers could be revealed.

Fisher, like the *Militant* group and the Labour 'lefts' refuses to take up any such campaign without which socialist policies in the Labour Party are impossible.

## Agency

Nor does he even sketch out a convincing plan of action to win public sector workers' immediate demand of a £60 minimum for a 35 hour week.

His wretched opportunism and that of his unpaid advertising agency, the *Militant* group, must be rejected by public sector workers.

Instead a leadership prepared to mobilise the full strength of the union in the fight and to link up with other sections of workers on strike or coming into struggle over pay, must be built in NUPE and among the best elements in the Labour Party.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Militant Group—platform for opportunists

# BLOODY SUNDAY MARCH

Seven years ago on 30 January, 1972 a Civil Rights demonstration of approximately 20,000 people marched from the Catholic Creggan estate towards the centre of Derry.

The march was banned from the city centre and was stopped by troops on the outskirts of the Bogside.

When a minor riot developed the troops, the 1st Parachute Regiment, responded not with the usual rubber bullets and CS gas but with real bullets.

They killed 13 unarmed civilians, including children and old men—most shot in the back as they fled.

It was a brazen and premeditated attempt by the British Tory government to intimidate the Catholic working class off the streets.

But the response was the opposite. All over Ireland the Catholic community was outraged. There was a three-day strike in Derry and a one day strike all over the North.

Workers downed tools and demonstrated in Dundalk, Cork, Galway, Limerick and in Dublin, where the British



PHOTO: Derek Speers, IFL

Butcher Mason

Embassy was burned down by a 30,000 crowd.

A week later a march in Newry drew 60,000 people. And new forces began to filter into the Provisional IRA which, for all its inadequate political programme, offered a fight against British imperialism.

This coming Sunday Provisional Sinn Fein will mark the anniversary of 'Bloody

Sunday' with a march starting at Speakers Corner, Marble Arch at 2.30 p.m.

This demonstration takes place in the year of the tenth anniversary of British military intervention in the six counties—ten years in which countless republican and socialist militants have been harassed, interned, tortured, imprisoned, beaten and murdered.

In solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle that has continued in Ireland since that date a contingent of Workers Socialist League members and supporters will join this march, though our political disagreements with the programme and methods of Provisional Sinn Fein are well known.

We urge Socialist Press readers to join the march behind our banner. Our slogans will be:

\*Restore PoW status to political prisoners. Support the gallant blanket protests in Long Kesh and Armagh jail!

\*Support the war of liberation in Ireland. Self-determination for the Irish people!

\*Troops out now! An amnesty for political prisoners

\*Kick out butcher Mason and the Callaghan cabinet! For an Irish workers' republic!

# PRESS GANG



On the same day that Aberdeen picket Robert Watson died under the wheels of a scab lorry, BBC's PM programme conducted an interview with the chairman of the employers' association in which he urged the 'public' to attack picket lines with umbrellas and handbags.

The *Sunday Telegraph* carried a front page picture of a woman carrying a placard which said "Death to the secondary pickets". Most of the gutter press have also carried favourable reports of attacks on picket lines.

It is becoming clear that the press is preparing—should all else fail—to throw their weight behind bands of fascists and petty bourgeois supporters and direct physical attacks on picket lines.

The press is the whip which drives on the Tory wagons. Half their pages resound with calls for the weight of the law to be used against strikers—the others with the more savage sound of calls for all kinds of repression, whether legal or otherwise.

In running on ahead of their Tory masters, the editors often make themselves look ridicu-

ous. But they remain a powerful focus for the NAFF leadership of the Tory party.

The targets will change. Already as talks began between TGWU officials and the Road Haulage bosses, the focus switched to the one day strike by public sector workers, and in particular the refusals of the London ambulance drivers to provide emergency services. Both the *Express* and *Mail* found the same headline—No Mercy!

The task for the press is to create the conditions for a decisive shift in the balance of forces—whether through legal repression or fascist pogroms.

To do that any amount of lies and distortion are justified. Last week the *Daily Telegraph* gave the text of the leaflet they alleged had been left by 'Socialist Workers' in transport cafes.

The leaflet, clumsy enough to be comic, declared that they should not worry about the pensioners and that if prices went up they could always 'slap in another claim'.

The *Sunday Telegraph* under a headline "How Leftist groups took control of picket lines", complained that the strike had been taken over by the rank and file of the union.

The strike committees 'who

include members of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers party" were accused of such criminal acts as calling mass meetings without the knowledge of the officials and issuing instructions on official union paper.

One 'official in the north' told the *Telegraph*:

"We have no control at all. Only today I took in three instruction sheets from head office to the strike committee and not only did they tear them up they told me to 'Get stuffed'."

The *Sunday Telegraph* also quotes Derrick Hornby, president of the Food Manufacturers' Federation, as saying:

"This strike was carefully planned and orchestrated six months ago. Who by? The SWP. I have no doubts about that."

By the end of the article the Socialist Workers Party (which in reality has little strength in the TGWU) has become socialist workers (small letters) on picket lines.

By whipping up violence against Trotskyists and then equating all pickets with Trotskyists, the *Sunday Telegraph* and its friends aim at stoking up the flames of fascism.

# Who are the Teamsters

ONE OF THE unions whose collaboration in the next few months is essential to the preservation of President Carter's wage control policy in the USA is the two-million strong International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The IBT has become an international by-word for mobster connections and corruption, and is a classic example of a workers' organisation which has become entirely run by a reactionary, utterly parasitic, bureaucracy.

On these pages we are reprinting two articles from a 1977 issue of *Convoy*, paper of the rank and file opposition grouping Teamsters for a Democratic Union, which run through the record of two major Teamster heads.

For all their lack of a clear political perspective these articles provide a useful insight into the kind of apparatus to be fought if the US working class is to break from its alliance with the parties of US capital and enter the road of revolutionary struggle in defence of its living standards.

They also show the lack of any democratic channels through which the demands of the IBT membership can make themselves felt through the union.

But the strategy of using court actions and writs which the TDU have adopted in their fight against the Fitzsimmons/gangland leadership is one which carries enormous dangers for the US labour movement.

At a time when politicians of both the Democratic and Republican parties are simply longing to get their hands on the organisations of the working class and render them totally impotent, any call on the state to intervene in the union's affairs is highly suspect.

TDU presidential candidate Pete Camarata has established a murky record over the last two years, time and again invoking the machinery of the US capitalist state to assist his struggle against the union leadership.

Camarata himself is a man of considerable courage. He has endured physical beatings and countless threats in his fight to oust Fitzsimmons.

Many of the TDU's several thousand supporters are also militants with the courage to face up to savage threats.

But in fighting such a bureaucracy there is no substitute for the patient, principled mobilisation of the union's membership *independently of the capitalist state, its courts and its police.*

This fight must also be combined with the fight to break the union from the two capitalist parties and for the building of a Labour Party based on the trade unions and on a programme of socialist policies.



Hoffa in 1946: he worked

## Jackie Presser: businessman/bureaucrat

A major contender now jockeying for the top job in the Teamsters is 16th Vice President Jackie Presser.

Presser is presently spending much of his time lining up his support and his local associates are bragging that they will soon be moving from Cleveland to the milder climate of Washington D.C.

Jackie has inherited his positions, his wealth, and his power from his father, William Presser. Groomed for his posts from the start, Jackie doesn't have an old school record of violence like his Dad or Roy Williams.

But his record shows he'll be continuing the family tradition.

### Businessman

William Presser began as an employer, a businessman. He began in dry cleaning and later set up a juke box management association in Cleveland.

Then he organised a union—not to protect employees, but to keep competitors out of his juke box business. The union became Teamsters Local 410 in 1951. If any other company tried to compete with Presser's business, his union would put the muscle on them.

Presser's operation made a big impact... on the employers. Detroit employers asked him to set up a similar racket for them and paid him \$5,000 cash.

He expanded to Youngstown, Ohio and set up Joseph Blumetti as head of Local 377 to handle the racket there. Blumetti suffered a federal conviction, but Presser got him a job later as "collections manager" for the Central States Pension Fund.

After Youngstown, it was Cincinnati and then Buffalo.

When Presser moved up, he turned Local 410 over to his associate John Nardi. Nardi worked closely with the Pressers in Joint Council 41 until he was killed in a fight for control of the Cleveland mob. He was blown up by 16 sticks of dynamite in the Joint Council parking lot in May, 1977.

### Big businessman

William Presser began as an employer and grew to be a big businessman. In 1972, for example, he acquired \$100,000 worth of stock in Bally Manufacturing the leading slot machine maker. Eighteen months later Presser, a trustee of the Central States Pension Fund, voted to loan Bally a

whopping \$12 million at a bargain interest rate.

Presser had his scrapes with the law, too. In 1953 he and John Nardi were convicted of restraint of trade.

In 1954 an employer testified that he had paid Presser \$650 per month for labor peace. Presser served time for destroying union records.

### 'Ill-health'

In 1971 he pleaded guilty to shaking down employers for labor peace, but didn't go to jail this time because of "ill health".

But Presser's biggest business was our union. First he hired his relatives. Today, he and his son and other relatives are among the highest paid union officials in the world. In 1976 Presser held seven paid Teamster jobs and got \$145,541 for them.

Salaries were never enough for him though—at one point he borrowed \$24,117 from the Teamsters Credit Union and used four autos that belonged to the union as collateral!

Presser also pioneered the Teamster practice of "severance funds". His local, Joint Council and Ohio Conference severance funds are reportedly well into six figures.

### Unlimited expenses

Further, Presser has, according to the Joint Council 41 bylaws, the right to travel anywhere, any time with his wife at the expense of the members' dues. His expenses can include all travel, lodging, entertainment, and miscellaneous expenses!

Until 1976 Presser was a trustee of the Pension Fund.



No messy manual work for Jacky Presser, unlike his members

Under Fitzsimmons he was reputed to be "the man" to see about pension fund loads. Of the \$400-700 million that is reportedly missing from the Fund, it is anybody's guess how much ended up in the Presser family.

Presser may have gotten a little impatient with all these ways of making profit from our union and taken to stealing directly from the treasury. In 1971 he was indicted for embezzling union funds, but Fitzsimmons reportedly contacted President Nixon to have the government weaken his case and let Presser off.

In 1969-70 it was William Presser who helped Fitzsimmons win control from the imprisoned Jimmy Hoffa. And now that Fitzsimmons is on the way out, he has in mind winning control for his own son—Jackie Presser.

### Surprise

Jackie Presser was brought into the family "business" first in the Hotel and Restaurant Workers. Then in 1966, Jackie was given a surprise by his dad—a brand new local.

Local 507 was chartered and Jackie Presser became its secretary-treasurer. Its membership was drawn from various other locals and since then most Teamster organising in Cleveland has been directed into 507.

In 1976 local 507 absorbed three other locals—Local 555, Local 545, and Local 752, an "independent" local under Presser's assistant Andy Suckart. Suckart has been convicted of hijacking a truckload of nickel.

Local 507 now has over

9,000 members.

Meanwhile, Jackie Presser has rapidly inherited his father's power and positions. After the 1976 IBT Convention, William Presser resigned as an International VP to have Jackie step in. He did the same as a Pension Trustee.

### Six salaries

Jackie is still an International VP, but he had to resign his pension post under Labor Dept. pressure. He has become the head of the Teamsters' propaganda machine and its retiree program. His six Teamster salaries paid him \$192,629 in 1976.

Jackie Presser is an unusual Teamster in that he is a millionaire. Not only does he hold six IBT positions but more importantly than our dues money is the wealth he accumulates through his businesses.

Dominating the Ohio Conference of Teamsters comes in handy for Mr. Presser's enterprises.

Presser owns 202.5 shares of the Cleveland Commercial Truck Trailer and Auto Repair Co. This small outfit has managed to get three-quarters of a million dollars in business from Teamster employers over the past five years.

Presser's little truck repair shop has gotten some \$100,000 of business in five years from subsidiaries of Leaseway Transportation, a Cleveland based corporation that is the fourth largest trucking company in the US.

Presser finds no conflict of interest in this set-up apparently. In fact, he is a business partner with Robert Moss, a Leaseway Vice President, in a liquor company.

Jackie Presser is also in the restaurant business, or rather his wife Carmen Presser is, through ownership of the Dining Towers Inc. and the Forge Restaurant. Again, Presser finds no conflict of interest here although until last year he was the principal officer of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Local 10!

### Family tradition

Another curious thing is that Teamsters Local 507, controlled by Presser, has given over \$10,000 in business to the Forge Restaurant over the past five years. Another partner in the restaurant is Anthony Hughes, the recording secretary of Local 507. No conflict of interest here, it's all in the family tradition.

- For missing pension money
- Theft of democratic rights
- Sweetheart contracts

### TEAMSTERS FOR A DEMOCRATIC UNION

Another one of Jackie Presser's businesses, the Eastgate Coliseum, needed a little help in the early sixties and received three loans from the Pension Fund totalling \$1,056,477. With Jackie's dad a Pension Fund trustee it was probably easy to get.

This was a good deal for the Pressers, but bad for the rank and file. That's because in January 1964 the Pension Fund had to bring foreclosure proceedings against the Eastgate Coliseum for non-payment.

Presser's union affairs and business affairs are so intertwined, it's hard to sort them out, even for Presser himself. In 1973 his accounting firm reported to the Labor Department "in view of Mr. Jackie Presser's many positions in labor unions and labor groups and the effect

of these same labor unions and labor groups on other labor unions and labor groups make it extremely difficult to assess all indirect relationships and determine the status of each and every interest."

Jackie Presser, millionaire businessman, naturally has a business philosophy.

### Full-page ad

The Ohio Conference of Teamsters paid \$5,000 to run a full-page ad in the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* last year to attack the TDU and the rank and file. In it, Presser also told us, "We go along with the philosophy of private business, which is basically: if you have a demanding executive job with major responsibilities, you should be appropriately rewarded." And

# rs' gangster leaders?



h gangsters on business deals

## ucrat

"rewarded" is what Presser is. The only problem for the membership is, if Presser lives like a business executive, thinks like a business executive, and IS a business executive, then how can he represent us against the business executives that employ us?

Since Jackie Presser aspires to represent all 2.3 million Teamsters, we should look at how this business man represents his Ohio brothers and sisters.

Many Local 507 members fear their own union BA more than they do their boss. These BAs include Jack Nardi, son of the murdered gangster John Nardi, as well as a couple of heavies who are drawn, not from the ranks of Local 507, but are rewarded for service in other Cleveland locals.

More BAs could be hired, except that Presser and Harold Friedman, the top officers, draw a quarter of a million dollars a year between them just from the local treasury in salaries alone!

### Nowhere to be found

In 1977 in Local 507 hundreds of cab drivers saw the Yellow Cab Co. eliminate their jobs and replace them with "leasers" and steal their pensions to boot.

Presser stood by with his pal cab owner Arthur McBride, even though he lost hundreds of members. When TDU members and other cab drivers organised a strike and later a suit to get drivers their pensions, Presser was nowhere to be found.

Also in the past year a "driver leasing" sweetheart arrangement was brought in at Fisher Fazio, Ohio's largest grocery warehouse.

While the drivers are not represented by Presser's own Local 507, hundreds of inside workers are. And as head of the Joint Council, no major deal is concluded by Teamster officials without his approval.

Some 50 drivers are on the street in this deal and awaiting a hearing since the NLRB has brought charges against the employer.

So there you have the picture of Jackie Presser, who has followed the family tradition of using our union and our pension fund as a personal business.

## Crisis in the Teamsters See inside pages 4&5



MEMBERSHIP SPLIT HURTS Lose Close One in Detroit

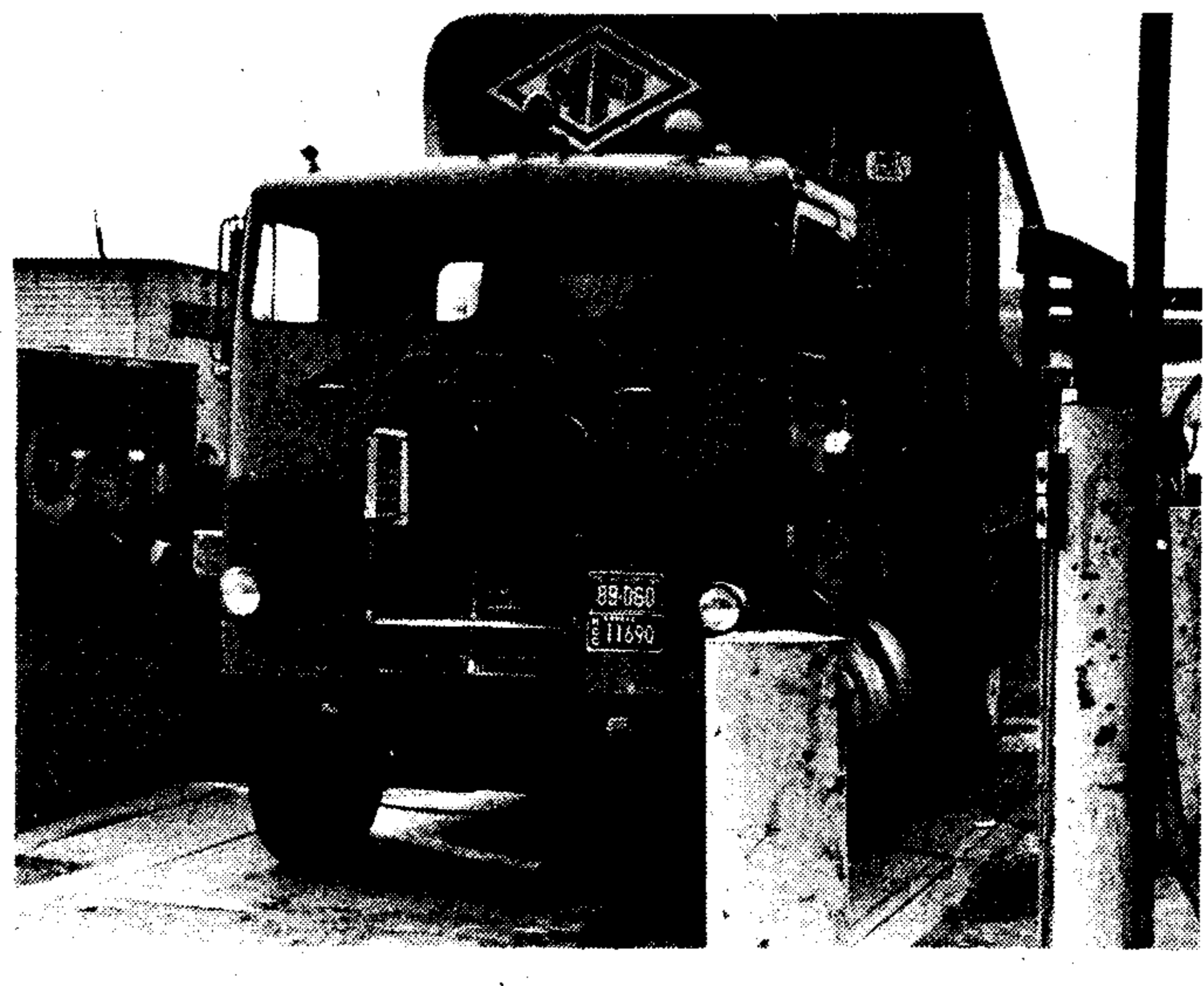


**THE TDU SLATE**  
The TDU slate for the upcoming election is being discussed in a meeting in Detroit.

**IBT ELECTION RULES CHANGED**  
The International Brotherhood of Teamsters has changed its election rules.

**Long Beach Local 692 Model Bylaws Bombed**  
The model bylaws for Local 692 in Long Beach have been bombed.

**INSIDE CONVOY**  
A list of news items from the Teamsters' perspective.



Teamsters at work

agreements through the grievance procedure is growing, and so is the number of grievances that go down the drain at the JAC in Chicago. And it's Roy Lee Williams who calls the shots.

Some of these sweetheart deals have been profitable for Williams and his friends. In Kansas City, union officials Hayes, Clevenger and Robert Williams took \$2,000 from Paul Byers Transportation to "hold down the price" for the company in negotiations. Hayes admitted he arranged \$300 monthly payments.

### Pay-off

Stanley Stanhope, a BA in Williams' Local 41, took \$1000 from Ideal Truck Lines allowing the company to fire two men. The company also paid \$200 a month for "labor peace" (no grievances). When he went to jail, the local raised his salary!

Roy Williams was one of the first Central States Pension Fund Trustees. If the fund has become "the bank of organized crime", then it is men like Williams who have made it so.

A 1971 Labor Dept. investigation reported that Williams is "under the complete domination of Nick Civella". Civella is head of the syndicate in Kansas City, currently in prison on a gambling conviction.

In 1973 Williams was promoting a Legal Defense Benefit Program to the members of Local 41. Williams drafted a letter on Union stationery which said that if the members were interested, the union would try to negotiate a \$4 per month employer contribution to a fund which would entitle members to up to \$2500 in legal services each year.

In reality, of the \$4, \$1 was to go to organized crime figures around the country and \$1 would go in kickbacks and finder's fees to various union officials who promoted the program. This would involve big money, since it was projected that premiums would total some \$100 million—leaving \$50 million to the syndicate and hungry union officials.

Williams letter was never sent, as word of the scam leaked out to law enforcement officials. The Internal Revenue Service has launched a criminal investigation of Williams in relation to this attempted fraud.

### Never convicted

Roy Williams has never been convicted, but that doesn't mean he hasn't been a crook. His record in his positions reads something like this:

- \* His opponents in the local and Joint Council beaten and bumped off.
- \* Between \$400 and \$700 million missing from the Central States Pension Fund.
- \* Thousands of dollars of dues money spent of officials' personal cars and homes.
- \* Negotiation of freight and UPS agreements where membership lost real wages and conditions declined.
- \* Thousands of dollars accepted from employers for special deals and "contract relief".

For Roy Williams to become IBT General President would simply be to continue the status quo. It would be the same old deal—a rotten one for IBT members!

It was Williams who had major responsibility for the negotiation of the National Master Freight Agreement and the Central States UPS agreement in 1976. And it is Williams who picks the committees and gives the go-ahead on the phoney changes of operations, appeals of "relief" from the contract, and changes in work rules.

It was Carl Yaeger, Williams' Special Assistant, who bargained away Interstate Systems road dispatch rules last year.

It was Williams and Roy Lane who sold out the Schneider drivers and forced them on percentage.

The number of companies who get these substandard

# Roy Williams: Kansas City climber

Like Frank Fitzsimmons, Roy Williams was a creation of Jimmy Hoffa.

In 1954 Hoffa, then head of the Central Conference, made Williams temporary head of Kansas City Joint Council 56 while Orville Ring, President of Local 541 and JC head, was on sick leave.

Rather than returning, Ring quit his posts and Williams became top dog. Hoffa could be very persuasive.

Williams' cronies in running the Kansas City Teamsters were Floyd Hayes, who stepped aside as President of Local 41 so Williams could take over; Ernie Anderson, who succeeded Ring as head of Local 541; and Stanley Clevenger, Hayes' bodyguard.

With the rise of this quartet to union power in Kansas City, there began a wave of terror to stifle any opposition.

Emmett Eslinger, a former President of Local 541, was found with his head crushed and throat slit. Some members had been urging him to oppose Anderson.

\* Hayes and Clevenger were indicted for beating up Glenn Saunders, a union dissident, right in the union hall.

\* Jack Henderson, who had openly protested that members were unable to speak at Local 41 meetings, was shotgunned through an open window of his home on April 13, 1959.

\* Don Enloe, son of O.B. Enloe, a former Local 41 President, decided to challenge Williams' man, Cecil Bennett, for Sec.-Treas. of Local 41. He was beaten by two men shortly before the election.

\* At the Bennett victory party, Tomas Hutson, who had tried to challenge Williams' vice-presidential candidate but who was disqualified, was beaten up outside the union hall.

### Embezzlement

But these methods were not only used against dissident opposition. In 1962 Williams and Hayes were indicted for conspiring to embezzle union funds. Roy got off, but Hayes got four years in jail.

Hayes decided to turn states evidence to get a reduced sentence. That meant testifying against Roy Williams. On June 11th, 1964, while leaving a bowling alley with his wife, Floyd Hayes was shotgunned to death. His wife was wounded. The killers were never caught.

### Stop at nothing

Roy Williams' record for democracy in the union is told in these stories of his various opponents—a history of union members beaten, bloodied, broken, even blown away.

A source close to the government's investigation of Kansas City racketeering said of Williams, "He is a ruthless man who'll stop at nothing".

When Williams isn't blowing his opponents away, he's bending the rules to keep in power.

Elected for a five-year term as President of Local 41 in 1954, he decided not to hold another election until December 1960, almost 7 years later, on the grounds that the bylaws

were not approved until 1955. In 1957 Williams returned Hoffa's favor of "giving him Kansas City" when he chaired the credentials committee of the IBT Convention that year. He "gave" Hoffa the Presidency of the IBT.

Senate investigators found that according to the union's own records, 56.2% of the delegates were selected illegally, and the legality of another 39% was questionable. Only 4.8% of the people who elected Hoffa were legitimately there.

In 1962 Roy Williams was indicted for conspiring to embezzle union funds. The scheme involved billing various service stations, restaurants, contractors etc. for work supposedly done for the union.

The work was either never done, or done for officials personally, not for the union. Williams was not convicted because the main witness against him was a convicted thief whose credibility was not believed.

In 1972 Roy Williams was indicted for embezzling \$16,148 in union funds. The indictment was the work of a US Justice Dept. Strike Force, but Judge John W. Oliver declared the strike force had no power to operate in Missouri and threw the indictment out.

### Positions

Roy Williams holds the following IBT positions: International Vice-President, International General Organizer, Chairman of the Freight Division, Chairman of the Central Conference, Chairman of the Central Conference Grievance Panel, head of the Missouri-Kansas Conference, President of Joint Council 56 and President of Local 41. His salaries totalled \$168,000 in 1976.

It was Williams who had major responsibility for the negotiation of the National Master Freight Agreement and the Central States UPS agreement in 1976. And it is Williams who picks the committees and gives the go-ahead on the phoney changes of operations, appeals of "relief" from the contract, and changes in work rules.

It was Carl Yaeger, Williams' Special Assistant, who bargained away Interstate Systems road dispatch rules last year.

It was Williams and Roy Lane who sold out the Schneider drivers and forced them on percentage.

The number of companies who get these substandard



Teamsters protest against murder of striker by scab lorry driver



Fitzsimmons

# Nursery nurses must join fight for child-care facilities!



A major problem facing the campaign for nurseries is the divisions and rivalries between the existing forms of provision.

Nursery schools run by education authorities, day nurseries run by social service departments, private nurseries and workplace creches, playgroups and childminding are all financed and administered separately and differently.

The pay, conditions and training of the workers involved are also different, as are their trade unions.

One of the demands of the London Nursery Campaign, now taken up by NUPE in its Under-5's Charter is for an integrated system of training for all under-5's workers and in particular for the abolition of the Nursery Nurses Education Board.

## Self appointed

This reactionary, sanctimonious body is self-appointed and responsible to no government department or Minister.

It runs on the money it collects in from examination fees and it controls the syllabus from which nursery nurses, 'girls of good character but low intelligence' are trained in Further Education Colleges.

The London Nursery Campaign, and now NUPE, have severely criticised this syllabus which includes courses with such antiquated titles as 'A Study

of Man and his Environment'.

Its moral overtone is expressed in such aims as 'to examine the rights and responsibilities of the individual in relation to the home as the basic unit of society'.

There is great stress on 'normal' developments in children and on 'normal' patterns of family life, although the majority of children in day nurseries are from single parent families and they come from a diversity of ethnic backgrounds.

The students study such 'problems' as 'old age, mental health, single parents and illegitimacy'.

Day nurseries provide the closest approximation to

the full day care that working parents need for under-5's.

They take children from birth, open from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., provide breakfast and tea as well as lunch, make provision for afternoon sleep, include laundries and are in some boroughs a free facility.

During the war they were widespread, and an essential part of the capitalist war effort, allowing mothers of small children to work long hours producing profit for the war-mongers.

But immediately after the war, state grants were withdrawn and the vast majority of day nurseries were forced to close.

They were suddenly to become a merely residual service for the worst 'problems'.

A Department of Health circular issued in 1968 refers back to and reasserts a circular of 1945, the year the NNEB was established.

It says that day care should be restricted to 'children who, from a health point of view or because of deprived or inadequate backgrounds, have special needs that cannot otherwise be met'.

It reaffirms:

"the view of medical and other authority that early and prolonged separation from the mother is detrimental to the child and that wherever possible the younger pre-school child should be at home with the mother, and that the needs of older pre-school children should be met by part-time attendance at nursery schools or classes".

The source of this 'authority' is not specified.

Clearly the view running throughout nursery training that nurseries are only a second best solution to home care, and that the children in nurseries are 'problem' children from 'inadequate' backgrounds reflects the state purpose in making the provision.

It permeates the way in which day nurseries are run and it explains much of the hostility to full day provision for under-5's and also the low status of nursery nurses themselves.

The London Nursery Campaign and NUPE are

NUPE poster—what do they have to offer nursery nurses?

now campaigning jointly for the adoption of a new syllabus with less emphasis on the physical development of children and more on their creative and linguistic development and with a more broad-based and liberal approach to social questions of the family, parental roles and cultural influences.

They are calling for this to form the basis of an integrated training scheme for all under 5's workers under one government department.

The trouble is that the campaign is being waged exclusively through 'parliamentary' means.

NUPE is trying to get its MPs to raise the question in the House of Commons; the TUC is calling for a Royal Commission; NUPE has also held a conference of hand-picked 'experts'.

Yet nursery nurses themselves, bored stiff by the existing course, kicking against the petty tyrannies of day nursery 'matrons', afraid of failing their exams if they express independent views or 'cause trouble', are eager to fight.

600 turned out for a conference on the NNEB last February organised by the London Nursery Campaign.

Many left after the introductory speeches, and many more expressed their frustration at the lack of

action. Nursery nurse participation in the nursery action groups around London is scant.

The nursery nurses themselves must be mobilised into action.

They should be directed to organise a campaign in their colleges for the adoption of the new syllabus using the tactic of occupation.

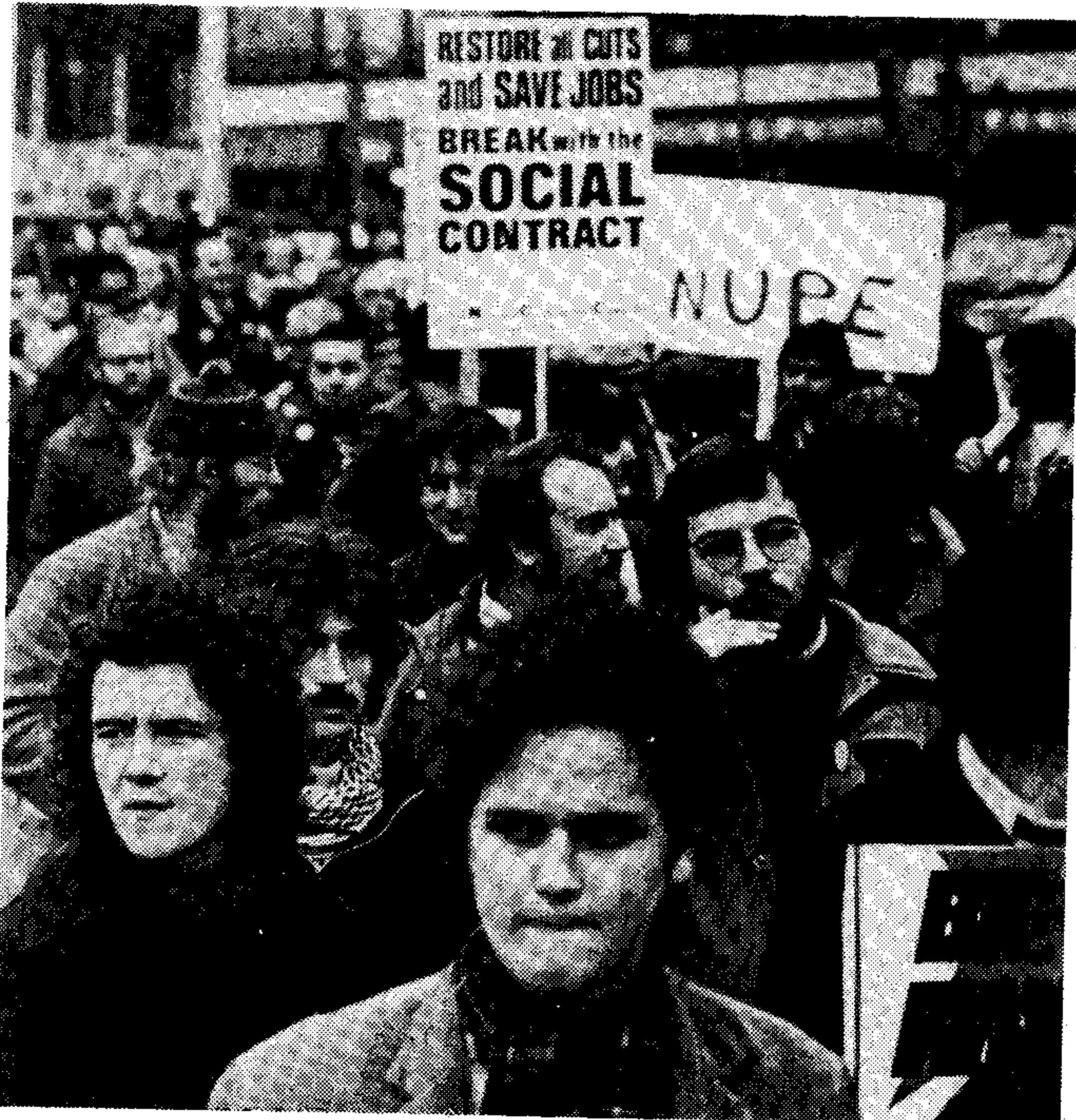
Local authority further education sub-committees, other education unions and education committees should be lobbied and also NUPE MP's to insist on action now.

Such a perspective of developing the independent organising and trade union abilities of nursery nurses and bringing them into the forefront of the campaign is the last thing wanted by such NUPE officials as Reg Race and Ron Bickerstaffe, who have so far 'lead' the campaign.

It could only be carried through in sharp conflict with the NUPE bureaucracy.

But it would result in a rapid political education of nursery nurses and a transformation of day nurseries.

It should be linked with an active fight for the extension of nursery provision and an increase in nursery nurse studentships.



# TUC MOVES TO PROSCRIBE CACTL



Len Murray

The Campaign Against the Criminal Trespass Law has issued a call to all affiliated bodies to send delegates to its next National Co-ordinating Committee on February 3 to discuss recent moves by the TUC to witchhunt the campaign.

CACTL's affiliation list includes, ACTT, AUEW (all sections), NUAAW, NUSM-WCHDE, SOGAT, North West Region TUC, 150 union branches and shop stewards committees, 70 trades councils, 32 Labour Parties, the LPYS, the NUS, 63 student unions and 45 community, legal and housing organisations.

The Campaign has

recently been working for regional conferences in each area to publicise the need for occupations and the danger to the whole labour movement of recent moves against the right to picket.

## Discourage

The TUC however has instructed its Regional Councils not to cooperate with CACTL as the culmination of concerted attempts to discourage unions from affiliating to the Campaign.

This 'instruction' has never been discussed by the TUC General Council nor by its relevant committee.

The arguments used vary from place to place but include such things as: that CACTL is an "unofficial" campaign and that the TUC is worried about the extent

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



of its support; that criminal trespass is a national issue—not a concern of the Regions; that there are a number of other issues on which Regional Conferences could be organised; and that CACTL's policies go further than those adopted by Congress.

Such bureaucratic manoeuvring clearly amounts to a form of backdoor proscription and as such should be resisted by

the whole labour movement.

Socialist Press has political differences with CACTL on many points but we urge our readers to oppose these reactionary steps by the TUC bureaucrats.

Regional conferences based on the labour movement would provide important platforms for raising demands for occupation coupled with supporting

The last CACTL conference strike action against closures in industry and the public sector.

The latest outbursts against picketing by both the Tories and Callaghan also mean that this basic right must be defended from the attacks of both the employers and union leaders who seek to restrict strikers to token pickets.



# A FIRST STEP TO AN OVERDUE DISCUSSION

By a Socialist Press Correspondent

Last weekend saw the leaders of the International Marxist Group make a tentative, but possibly important, first step towards a long-postponed discussion with the Workers Socialist League on the political problems and historical divisions that have arisen within the post-war Trotskyist movement.

WSL representatives were invited to attend an IMG day school on the 1953 split and the 1963 "reunification", in which the speaker was the leader of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International, Ernest Mandel.

And, in the discussion, WSL Executive Committee member John Lister was given a short time to put forward some of the positions of our movement.

Pointing out that the WSL discussion document on these historical questions, entitled *The Poisoned Well*, had been submitted to both the IMG and the USFI for reply nearly a year ago, comrade Lister attempted to show the link connecting today's political and programmatic differences between the IMG/USFI and the WSL to the historical problems that have faced post-war Trotskyism.

## "Internationalist"

Reminding the school that, unlike the WSL, the USFI to this day characterises Castro's regime in Cuba as an undeformed workers' state, surmounted by a "revolutionary", "internationalist" leadership, comrade Lister drew attention to the fact that this position effectively lines up the USFI alongside the Cuban and Soviet-backed Ethiopian forces currently attempting to crush the Eritrean liberation struggle.

And, stressing that in 1953 the leadership of the Fourth International, headed by Michel Pablo, had failed to call for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops sent to suppress the uprising of workers in East Berlin, comrade Lister denounced the failure of *Socialist Challenge* to call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

Even these two obvious examples, argued comrade Lister, are enough to show that the confusion of 1953 and the Cuban revolution are still a factor in the political line taken today by the USFI.

Unless these political problems were discussed objectively and openly and the necessary lessons drawn, there could be no consistent proletarian class line fought for by the USFI leadership or its sections.



Trotsky

USFI sections may well exist and even grow, but they would not be up to the task of leading revolutions.

Challenging the repeated argument put forward by both Mandel and other IMG speakers that, whatever mistakes had been made by Pablo and others in 1953, there had been no actual crossing of class lines, comrade Lister alluded to Trotsky's writings *On the Trade Unions*, where he states clearly:

"Independence from the influence of the bourgeoisie cannot be a passive state. It can express itself only by political acts, that is, by the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

"This struggle must be inspired by a distinct programme which requires organisation and tactics for its application.

"It is the union of programme, organisation and tactics that constitutes the party.

"In this way, the real independence of the proletariat from the bourgeois government cannot be realised unless the proletariat conducts its struggle under the leadership of a revolutionary and not an opportunist party."

(Pathfinder ed. p.16)

What Trotsky says here of independence from the bourgeoisie is equally true in asserting the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie's agents within the workers' movement itself—the parasitic Stalinist and reformist bureaucracy.

If the Trotskyist movement proves itself unable in the test of events to put forward a political line independent of the Stalinist or reformist bureaucracy, then it proves itself unequal to the task of revolutionary leadership—whether or not it actually goes over to the side of the bourgeoisie, argued comrade Lister.

We turn to the study of the historical crisis points of the Trotskyist movement precisely in order to steel our forces and train our leadership to the point where we do not fail a similar test.

## Time limit

This point could not be amplified in the time limit imposed at the school, but is of considerable importance.

USFI leaders today claim that agreement on programme for the "big political questions" now arising is sufficient, and that there is nothing to be gained by looking back to the crises of 1953 and 1963.

The IMG has taken this one step further and declared it a "point of principle" that they will not, as they put it, "vote on history".

But of course in upholding the USFI as the political and organisational continuity of Trotskyism they are—whether they like it or not—voting on historical questions.

They are in practice declaring support for the positions adopted by Mandel and Michel Pablo against which, in 1953, the American Socialist Workers Party, followed by the British section and the French grouping around Pierre Lambert, issued the Open Letter proclaiming a public faction.

They still insist that it was the signatories of the Open Letter who were in the wrong; that they carried through what was an organisational and not a political split; and that the

political questions raised were of little or no substance.

The latest IMG booklet on the Fourth International actually claims that 'Pabloism' was no more than a myth.

This, for all its weaknesses and avoidance of politics is an established position on history which the USFI is forced to defend in order to argue that it is today the Fourth International. So the reluctance to discuss these questions is not because the USFI has no position on them.

Nor is it because Lenin and Trotsky brushed aside historical lessons.

Lenin ordered copies of *Left Wing Communism*, con-



East German workers fight Kremlin tanks in 1953

Vietnamese invaders storm into Cambodia, 1979

taining his historical balance sheet of the struggles of the Bolsheviks, to be distributed to every delegate at the Second Congress of the Comintern.

In doing so he set out to turn the attention of delegates to the method of Bolshevism, its absolute insistence on the political independence of the working class, the leading role that class has to play in the struggle for socialist revolution, and the variety of tactical means and manoeuvres whereby the working class can be freed from the influence of reactionary bourgeois, petty bourgeois or reformist leaders.

Trotsky, too, set out in *Lessons of October* (1924) mercilessly to dissect the lessons of history in order to fight the ghastly errors being committed by Communist Party leaders, in particular in Germany.

This remained Trotsky's method in the fight for the continuity of Bolshevism.

## Method

Refusing to accept the view that the Stalinist leaders were simply making a series of isolated "mistakes", he insisted on probing the method behind these mistakes, and on fighting for the forces of the Left Opposition to take a clear position on them.

For instance in 1931 he wrote:

"Without a clear understanding of what happened in England in 1925-6, neither Communism as a whole nor the Left Opposition in particular will be able to make its way to a broad road." (*Marxism and the Trade Unions* p.35).

The disastrous tactical manoeuvres carried out in 1925-6 by the Stalinised British Communist Party under the

direction of the Kremlin bureaucracy led to the British CP virtually dissolving itself into the mass Minority Movement and tail-ending the TUC General Council even as these traitors prepared to sell out the 1926 General Strike.

Trotsky insisted that behind this tactical blunder lay a fundamentally wrong method of approach to the building of revolutionary leadership in the working class.

## Roots of opportunism

Time and again in his writings Trotsky returns to this question, patiently explaining not simply that the Stalinists had adopted a false opportunist policy in relation to the trade union bureaucracy, but explaining also the roots of that policy:

"One of the psychological sources of opportunism is a superficial impatience, a lack of confidence in the gradual growth of the party's influence, the desire to win the masses by organisational manoeuvres or personal diplomacy.

"Out of this springs the policy of combinations behind the scenes, the policy of silence, of hushing up of self-renunciation, of adaptation to the ideas and slogans of others; and finally, the complete passage to the positions of opportunism.

"The subordination of the CP to the Kuomintang in China, the creation of workers' and peasants' parties in India, the subordination of the British party to the Minority Movement, etc. etc.—in all these phenomena we see the same method of bureaucratic combinationism which commences with a superficial revolutionary impatience and finishes with opportunist treason." (p.37).

Others of Trotsky's writings trace through the material roots

of this false, conservative approach within the still forming Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union.

He examined the process through which the Communist International, founded by Lenin in 1919 to provide leadership to the international workers' movement, had become simply a crude extension of the increasingly conservative foreign policy of the Stalinists.

And as a result of this consistent analysis of the historical degeneration of the Comintern Trotsky was able correctly in 1933 to point to the absence of even a ripple of concern within its ranks at Hitler's crushing of the powerful German workers' movement as unmistakable evidence that the Comintern was now 'dead for the purposes of revolution'.

In setting about the task of constructing a new, Fourth International, Trotsky insisted that such an international must fight for absolute clarity:

"The chief historical instrument of our epoch is the party of the proletariat. This instrument must be forged of the best steel, well tempered and sharply ground. Only if such an instrument exists is it possible to work successfully upon the raw historic material".

We regard this as the correct approach to the fight for revolutionary leadership.

## Absolute truth

In demanding a reexamination of the issues involved in the 1953 split and the analysis made of the Cuban revolution, the WSL has no intention of attempting to trace some kind of "thin red line" of absolute truth reaching down to our tendency today.

On the contrary, as our

document *The Poisoned Well* makes abundantly clear, we are convinced that none of the parties to the 1953 split or the "Reunification" was wholly correct in its understanding of the contradictory role of Stalinism in the post war overturns of capitalism—though some drew less dangerous conclusions than others from their mistakes.

But nor are we neutral on the major political issues that arose in 1953, which in our view raised the whole question of how the programme of Trotskyism could be developed and defended in the light of the contradictory role of post-war Stalinism.

## Adequate foundation

Rather than awarding belated medals or slaps on the wrist, we are concerned today with the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International on a theoretical foundation firm enough to equip its sections to mobilise the working class independently of the various Stalinist, reformist and petty bourgeois nationalist leaderships.

That theoretical foundation was not laid down in 1953. Nor were any of the unresolved problems answered in the opportunist "agree to disagree" formulae of the 1963 reunification.

By refusing to make any serious critical reexamination of the false positions of the past, the USFI, whatever its facade of "orthodoxy" at the moment is building on sand.

## Not circulated

Last weekend's school enabled these problems to be broached for the first time with many of the IMG members present.

Many of them still have not been circulated with copies of *The Poisoned Well*.

The document was submitted last year by the WSL on the invitation of the USFI as part of the pre-conference discussion material prior to the USFI Xth World Congress.

But it now seems unlikely that any moves will be made by the USFI to circulate the document internationally.

Such is the reluctance of USFI leaders to discuss any aspect of their own history.

But hopefully last weekend's small beginning can at last mark the start of a serious discussion of the source of the obvious political differences between the IMG/USFI and the WSL.

Such clarification is essential if there is to be any hope of establishing a principled basis for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.



# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## Journalists: the good news and the bad

Provincial journalists returned to work on Monday at the end of a seven week strike with the obvious gains weakened by the terms of the settlement.

Although the strike bust wide open the original 5% offer and made big gains in pay for some sections of journalists, the strike ends with 28 journalists at Nottingham sacked and the union proposing not to lift a finger to help them.

### Direct input

The journalists work for the *Nottingham Evening Post*, whose boss Paul Carew forced in direct input type-setting four years ago and destroyed the organised print unions. As soon as most of the NUJ members

on the paper joined the official national strike he declared them sacked.

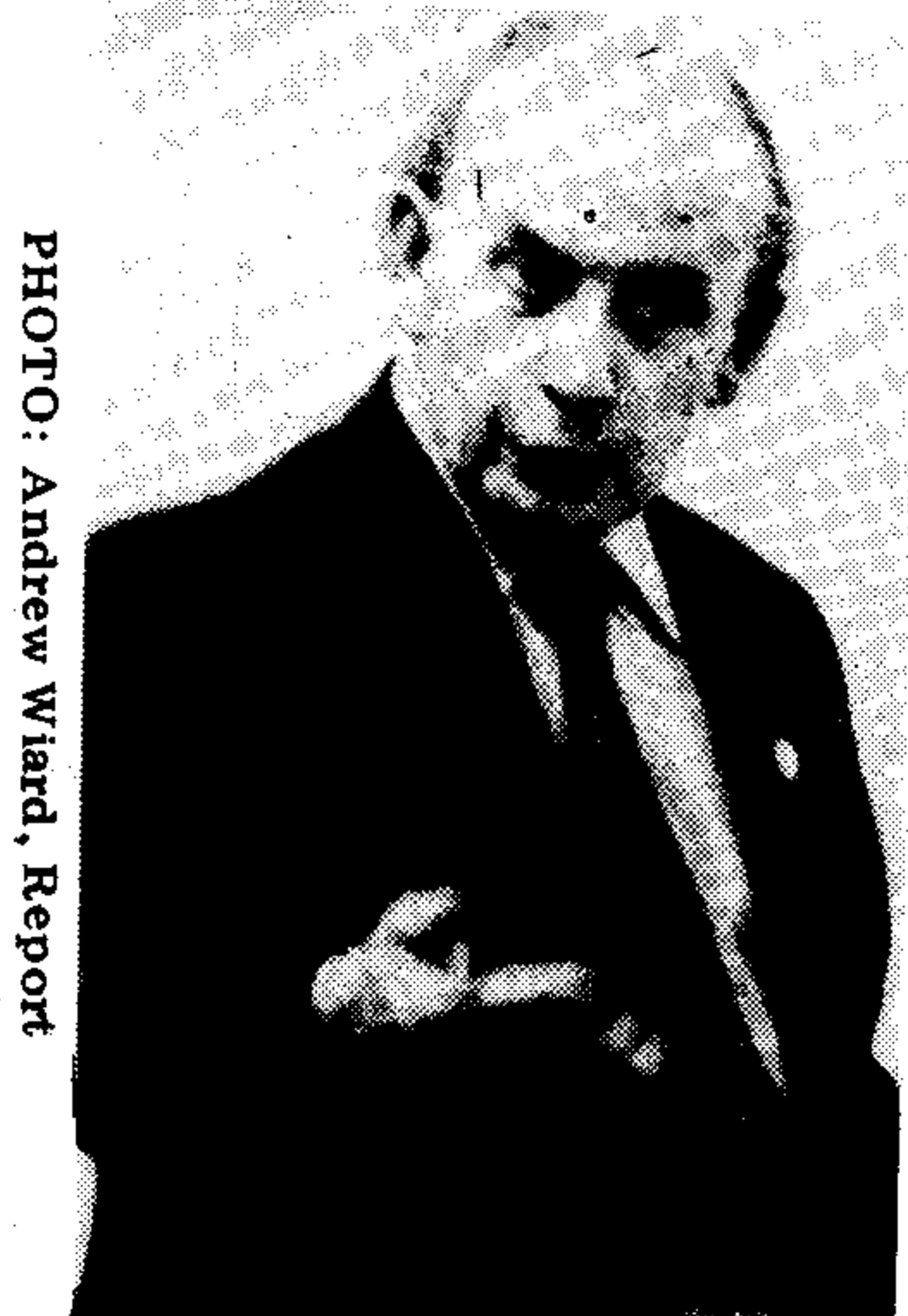
National officials had assured strikers that their jobs would be defended, but put the 14.5% pay offer out for voting without telling the membership that the Nottingham workers remained sacked.

At the London meeting of chapel representatives called to decide on the outcome a resolution from the Oxford chapel—that there should be no return to work until the employers guaranteed no victimisation—was defeated by about two to one.

This vote—in the face of a plea from the Nottingham chapel that the motion should be supported—was carried through after National officials said it was a hopeless gesture and that

the Nottingham strikers had known what would happen to them.

Although a speech from the General Secretary, Ken Ashton, was greeted with a mixture of silence and derision, the meeting was swung by Mike Bower, Northern Organiser, who stood as the 'left' candidate in the last elections for the



Defender of the deal—SOGAT leader Keys

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

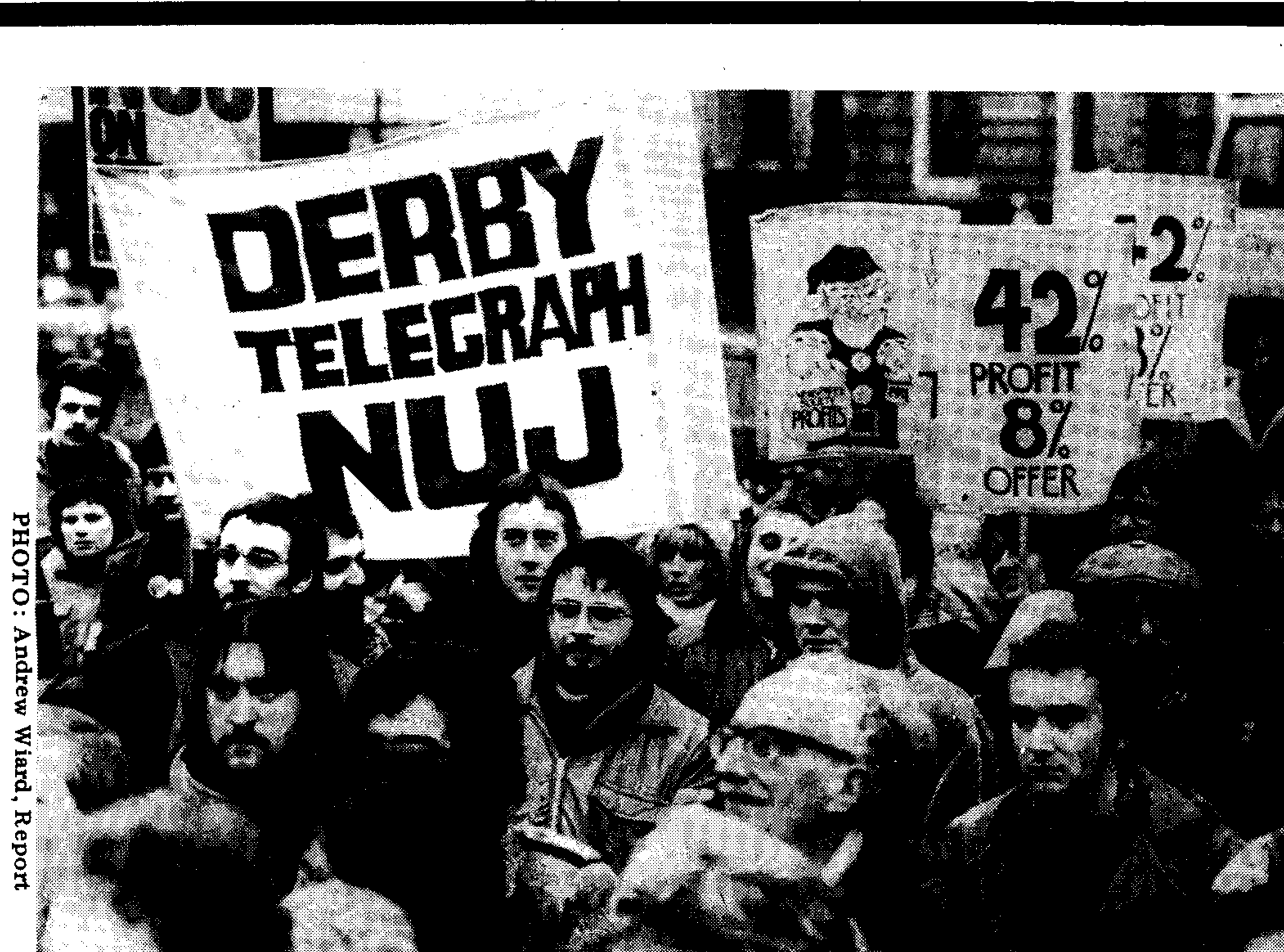


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Striking journalists demonstrate through Nottingham

General Secretary.

For 15 minutes Bower played on the 'weakness' and 'tiredness' of the strikers, and told FoCs that however they voted they would find their members returning to work.

In fact in those chapels which had discussed Nottingham before the meeting there had been general agreement that the strike could not end until they were reinstated.

Oxford FoC Peter McIntyre told delegates that although members had exercised their option to call off an offensive over wages after gains had been made in

seven weeks, they could not allow the union to come under attack in this way.

Nottingham FoC, Kevin Hill, said that if their sacking went ahead, all other sections could be at risk in future years.

### Union paper

After defeating the resolution union officials then gave enthusiastic backing to a 'local campaign' to get the strikers reinstated which involved opening an office in Nottingham and starting a paper supposed to 'compete' with the giant firm.

Although the campaign pays lip service to blacking action it is relying on TUC officials (one of whom shared responsibility for agreeing to the sackings), to cut off supplies to Carew.

Even at this stage the only way to reinstate the Nottingham strikers is by strike action throughout the Newspaper Society chapels, mass pickets and a fight for blacking. Such policies are now being passed by chapels supporting the Oxford motion.

## OFFICIALS HELP AXE SINGER JOBS

Union leaders last week successfully piloted a reactionary scheme, involving 560 redundancies by March and a longer-term cut of 2,000 jobs, through a mass meeting at the Singer sewing machine plant at Clydebank.

Management had drawn union "representatives" into joint talks on their £8 million rationalisation plan, and relied heavily on union bureaucrats to railroad the finished scheme through a hostile workforce.

Last month a meeting voted to reject the "rescue" proposals.

But as union officials recalled the mass meeting they made it plain that they would withdraw support if workers stuck to this position.

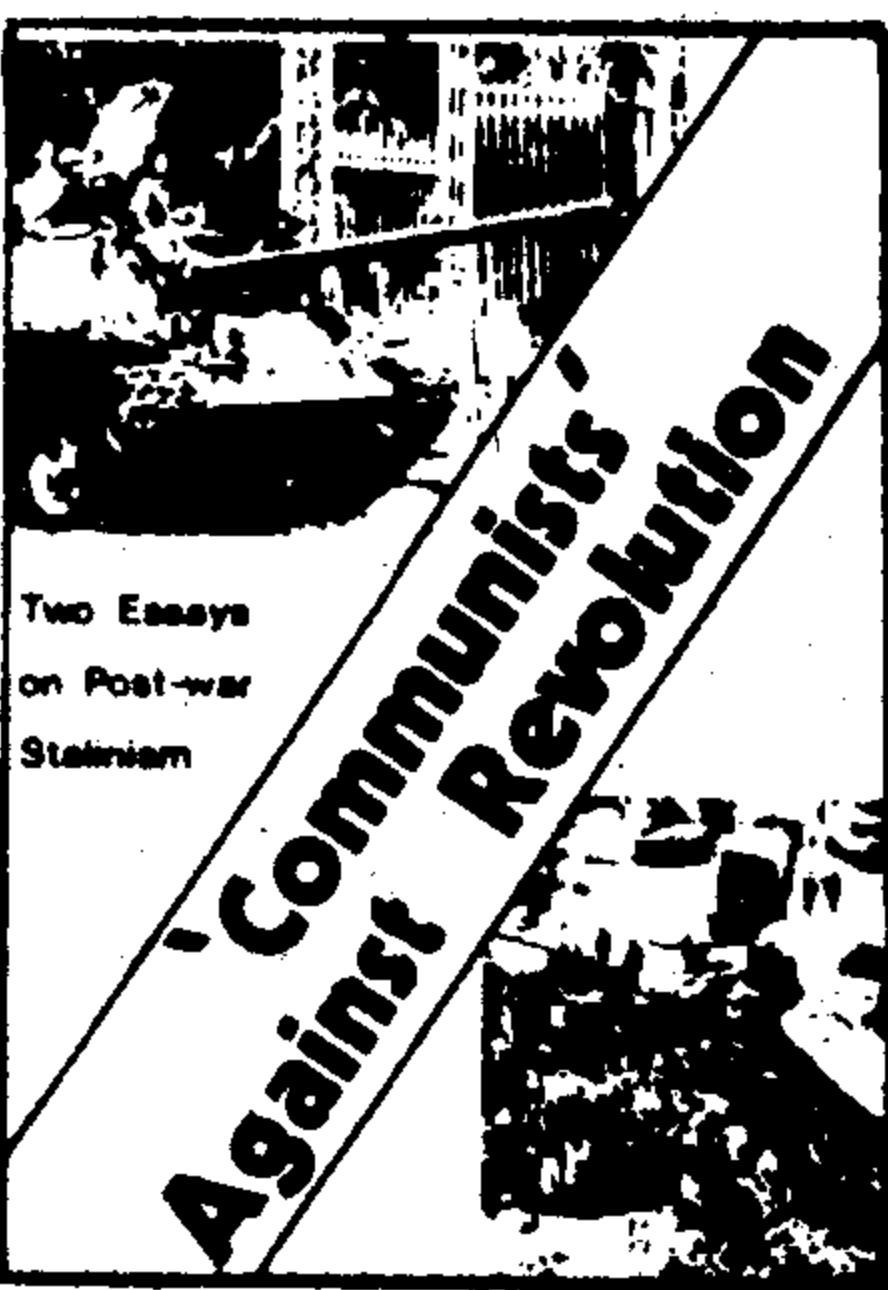
Right wing AUEW official Gavin Laird went on to claim, laughably, that the proposals did not give Singer management a blank cheque for speed-up.

GMWU bureaucrat Ken Baker went even further,

and declared that the meeting had a "duty to the community" to endorse the axing of 2,000 jobs and submit to wholesale speed-up.

With plant convenor Hugh Swan supporting the deal, arguing that the sackings would be by "natural wastage", there was no alternative perspective put forward to the Singer workforce; the only answer to the management/union ultimatum is to occupy the plant in defence of all jobs and demand the opening of the books of this multinational, to show the case for the nationalisation of the "loss-making" Clydebank plant without compensation under workers' management.

## GET YOUR COPY



'Communists' Against Revolution, containing the little-known 'Theory of Structural Assimilation' by Tim Wohlforth, is the book on post-war Stalinism that Mandel and Healy would not publish or discuss.

Make sure you get your copy — available at £1.75 plus 20p p&p from:

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

# Why you should join the WSL

Quite frankly, we're unique!

We're the only movement that fights patiently and relentlessly for the building of a Trotskyist party capable of mobilising the working class in the struggle for state power and the establishment of a socialist society.

In doing so, the WSL alone does not shrink from head-on battles with the existing leaders of the working class — whether these be 'left' talking Labourites union bureaucrats, or Stalinists of the Communist Party.

In these battles we set out to prove to workers both in theory and in practice the necessity for a new leadership and for a programme of transitional demands which, starting from today's problems and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers in

struggle to grasp the need for socialist revolution.

For this reason, though we are smaller than some self-styled 'revolutionary' groups, the WSL has featured in the forefront of pay struggles in British Leyland, in the fight against the sale of jobs by TUC leaders, in the struggle against the cuts, in unionisation struggles, and in the fight against bureaucratic dictatorship within the unions.

This method of approach — rejecting any descent to simple trade union militancy, and any form of concession to the counter-revolutionary reformist or Stalinist bureaucracy — is of course essential for the working class not only in Britain but internationally.

In taking up international issues the WSL points out not only the obligation of British workers to support the Irish liberation struggle and revol-

utionary struggles such as those in Iran and Southern Africa, but also the necessity for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International as the organising centre of the world party of socialist revolution.

The WSL is not the biggest movement on the left in Britain nor is it the easiest to be a member of. But in its approach to both theory and practice it is the only really serious revolutionary movement.

When you look at the struggles now under way and the problems faced by the working class, the necessity for a principled leadership is unmistakable.

WHY NOT JOIN US? Fill in the form below for more details, or approach your local branch, who will gladly supply more information about our programme, policies, and perspectives.

## MORE DETAILS

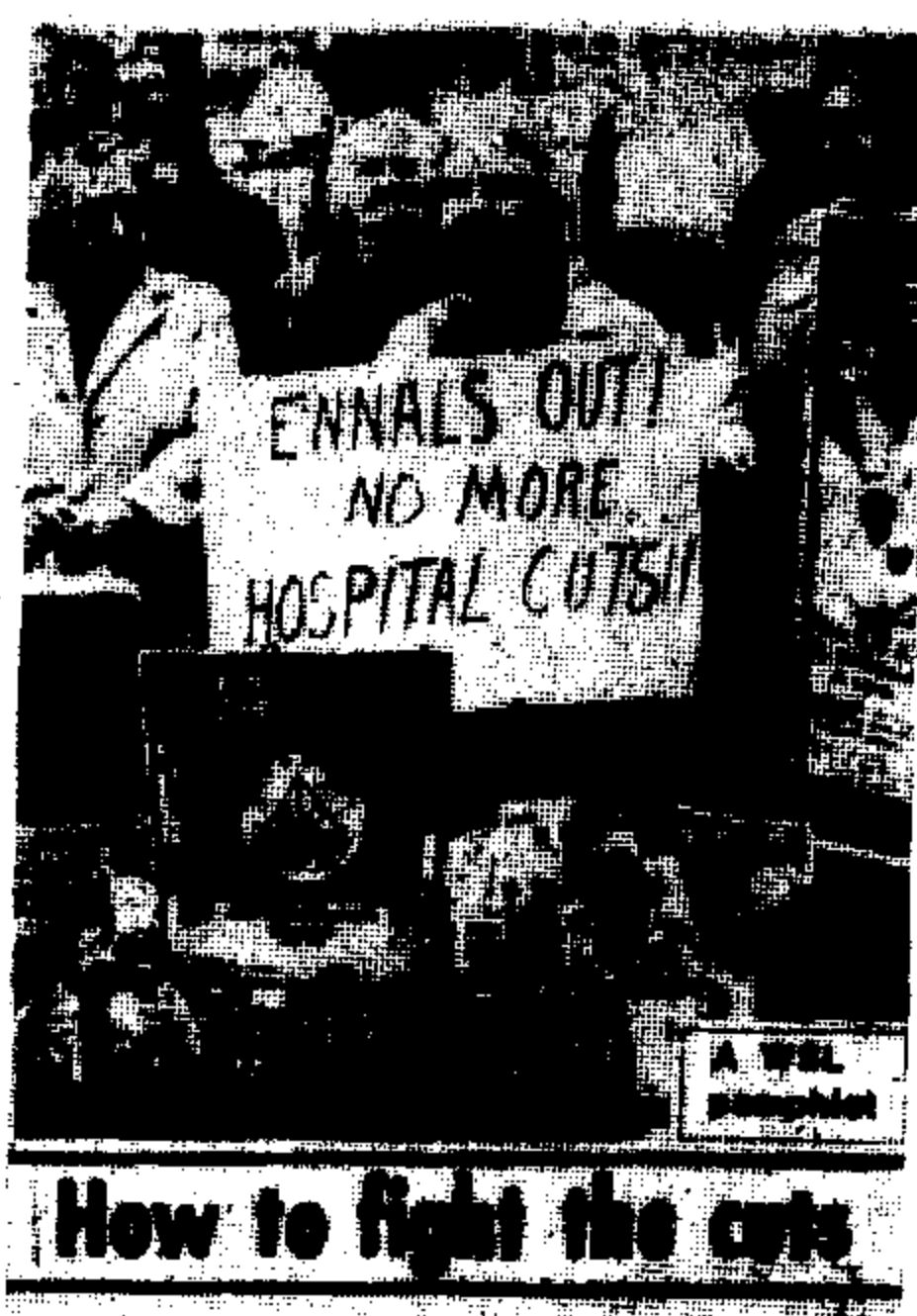
Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

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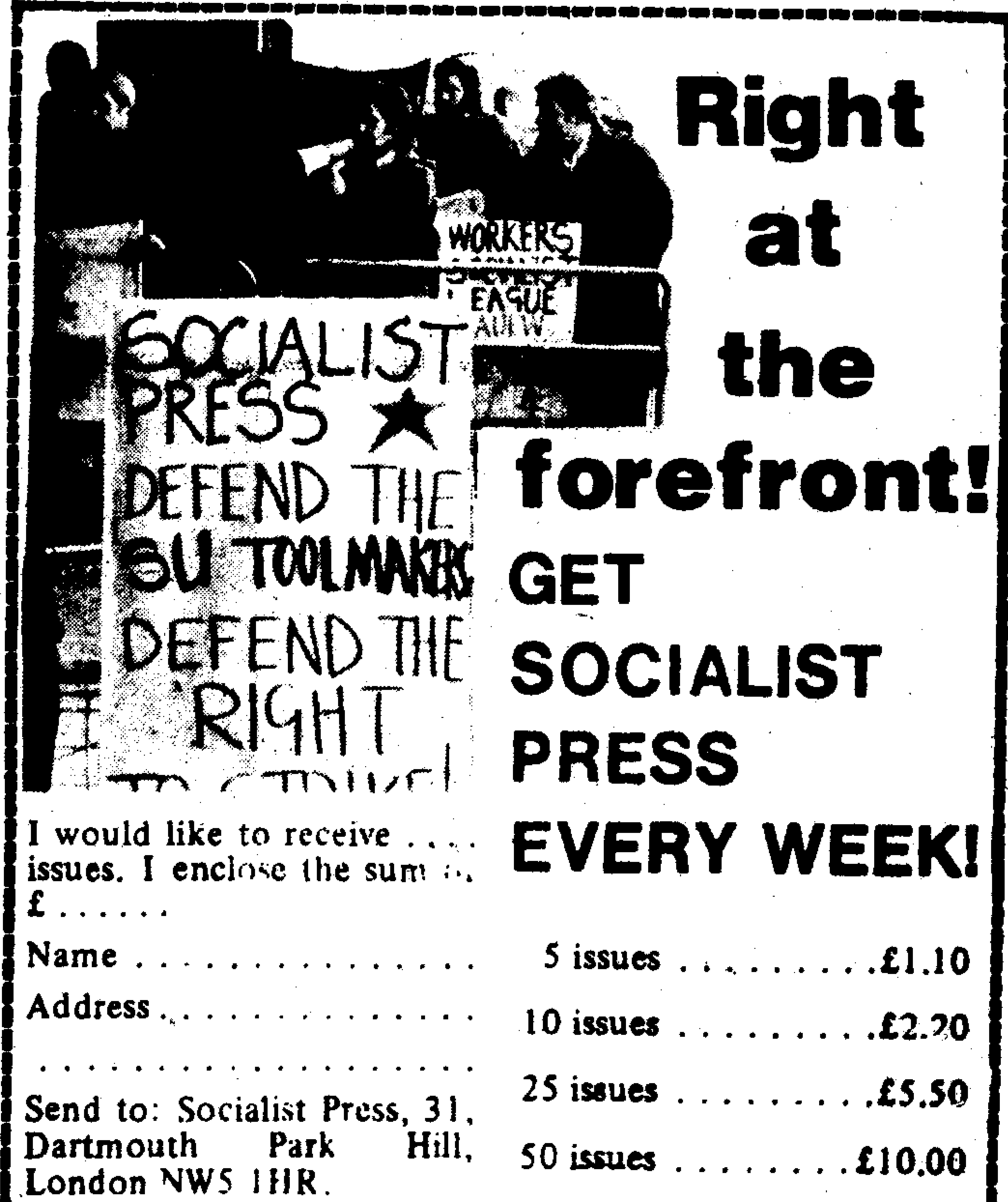
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## THE KEY TO THE CUTS FIGHT!



The booklet which spells out the policies necessary for all-out struggle against the cuts, drawing on practical experience at the EGA and the Oxford Nursery Occupation.

30p plus 10p p&p from the WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill London NW5 1HR.



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# Step forward for motor industry workers

Last week's CDLM car-workers conference called to discuss the "Crisis in the Motor Industry" was attended by 40 carworkers and was highly successful.

The reason for calling the conference was explained by the chairman.

Every struggle in which programme was fought for within one particular sector led to the necessity for unifying with other carworkers.

In Chrysler the solution to the takeover and closure threats couldn't just be centred on "Open the books" within that firm leading to its nationalisation.

Such a policy would lead to the nationalised firm competing against workers in privately-owned Ford and Vauxhalls.

It is necessary to direct towards the nationalisation of the whole motor and components industry and banks as part

# workers

During the strike they put out weekly bulletins, but the bureaucracy did nothing to involve the membership.

Workers were discouraged from picketing and only two series of mass meetings were held after the seventh and ninth week of the strike.

### Still meeting

The speaker said that he himself didn't think the committee had turned enough into the official union movement.

The committee was still meeting.

This report was followed by one from Vauxhalls given by an Ellesmere Port worker.

He described the run-up to

Vauxhalls such as lack of information from the Joint Negotiating Committee were the same as Fords.

The Leyland report was taken after the lunch-break. This went into the background to the 1978 review, explaining how the bureaucracy had removed the plant's leadership in Cowley Assembly in 1974, how they had fought back and re-won their positions.

The run-up to the review was described, and the fight against the acceptance of corporate bargaining, with the battle centred on the Cowley Assembly Plant. The powerful campaign around the "Leyland stewards for the 1978 Review"

ranging, containing a report from BMC Service, from Lucas' CAV plant at Acton and from Longbridge.

One of the Ford workers urged that we should not overestimate ourselves: "we can't pretend to be what we are not".

This defeatist view was answered by a Leyland worker, who pointed out that at the same time we must also realise what effect just a small group had had on the whole Leyland review.

There was also discussion of the failure of the Ford group to fight for the demand of a cost

# OCCUPY DUNLOPS!

Less than a year after the closure of British Leyland's Triumph plant at Speke, Merseyside, with the loss of 3,000 jobs, and only months after the announcement of plans for a further 500 sackings at the other Triumph plant, Speke workers face a new attack.

The giant Dunlop corporation has decided to slash back its tyre manufacturing operation and to close down its Speke plant, sending 2,400 more workers to join Merseyside's thronging dole queues.

Elsewhere, 440 workers are to face the chop in the Fort Dunlop plant in Birmingham; 250 at Inchinnan in Scotland and, in further rationalisation moves, Dunlop's Waltham Abbey factory producing sports equipment is to close—throwing 458 workers out of a job.

But no Dunlop worker is safe. Management has coupled these savage redundancy plans with an ultimatum to unions to improve productivity in every plant.

occupation of the plant—and demoralised the thousands of workers ready to fight to save their jobs.

In Dunlop the stewards must call an immediate mass meeting and adopt at once a programme for the defence of all jobs in the company by:

\*Occupation of the factory.

\*Election of a committee of trade unionists to demand access to the employers' books to examine Dunlop's real strategy for rationalisation and speed-up and the causes of its supposed "losses".

### Supporting action

\*Fighting for combine-wide supporting action based on the policy of work sharing on full pay in place of the company policy of sackings and combine-wide speed-up.

\*Demand that Loyden and other 'left' MPs lead a fight inside the Labour Party and in Parliament for the nationalisation of Dunlop, without compensation and under workers' management—fighting for the removal of the job-cutting anti-socialist Callaghan-Healey leadership.

### Essential

With the bitter lessons of the sell out of jobs at the Speke Triumph plant still ringing in their ears, Dunlop workers must take determined steps to resist these moves.

Local 'left' MP Eddie Loyden has already talked about an occupation of the plant.

This step is essential in the fight to defend the threatened jobs. And Speke workers are strongly placed to demand full scale union backing for such action—since TGWU convenor Stan Pemberton is chairman of the union's General Executive Council!

### Fatal weakness

The fatal weakness in the struggle against British Leyland's closure plans was that officials, convenors and stewards wasted precious weeks and months in blustering general statements, token protests and futile talks with management.

To the very last moment they refused to call for



Ford strikers demonstrate

of a planned socialist economy. The chairman's opening remarks were followed by a report on Fords by a member of the Ford rank and file combine committee.

### No information

He described the build up to the 1978 strike—and the continuous battle to get the £20 claim in opposition to the right wing who argued for a "substantial" claim.

Once the claim was adopted no information was put out by the bureaucracy.

The "Ford rank and file combine committee" put out a continuous stream of leaflets into all the main plants as well as distributing claim badges and tee-shirts.

the Vauxhall's review. Here, the bureaucracy had done nothing but play up problems that were obviously there.

In Liverpool where workers had just seen the closure of Leyland's Speke plant, Vauxhall management was saying Ellesmere Port was not profitable and threatening cutbacks.

Quite obviously this was different from Fords.

The chance of a joint fight with Fords was sabotaged by Ellesmere Port's TGWU convenor, who said workers had to "watch their step" because of the state of the company.

The Vauxhall speaker described the fight against this line around the demand for "opening the books", but this battle had been unsuccessful.

Many of the problems in

committee, leafleting and meetings, and the turn into the official machinery was explained.

The speaker then showed how the union bureaucracy both reformist and Stalinist then battled successfully, after the Drews Lane strike to get back to corporate bargaining.

Even though there was a 2-1 ballot vote for the 5% the militancy was rising rapidly now that the haulage and tanker drivers have won at least 15%.

One inescapable conclusion from the reports and from the discussion was that any move to get a fight off the ground in the motor industry came at once up against the twin barriers of the right wing and the Communist Party.

The discussion was wide-

of-living clause in the wage agreement.

The conference then voted to add "Defence of manning standards" and "For a 35-hour week" to the CDLM's programme.

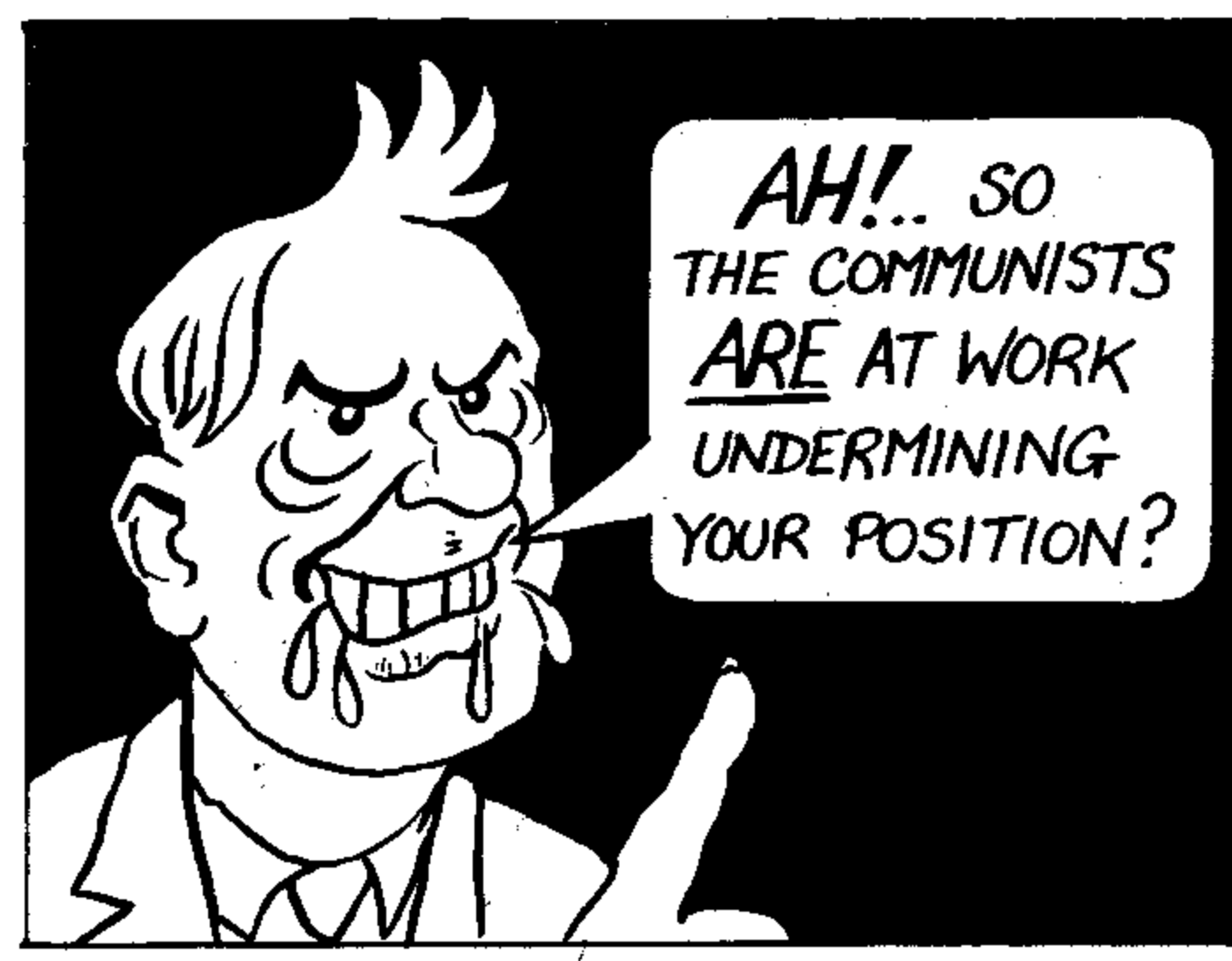
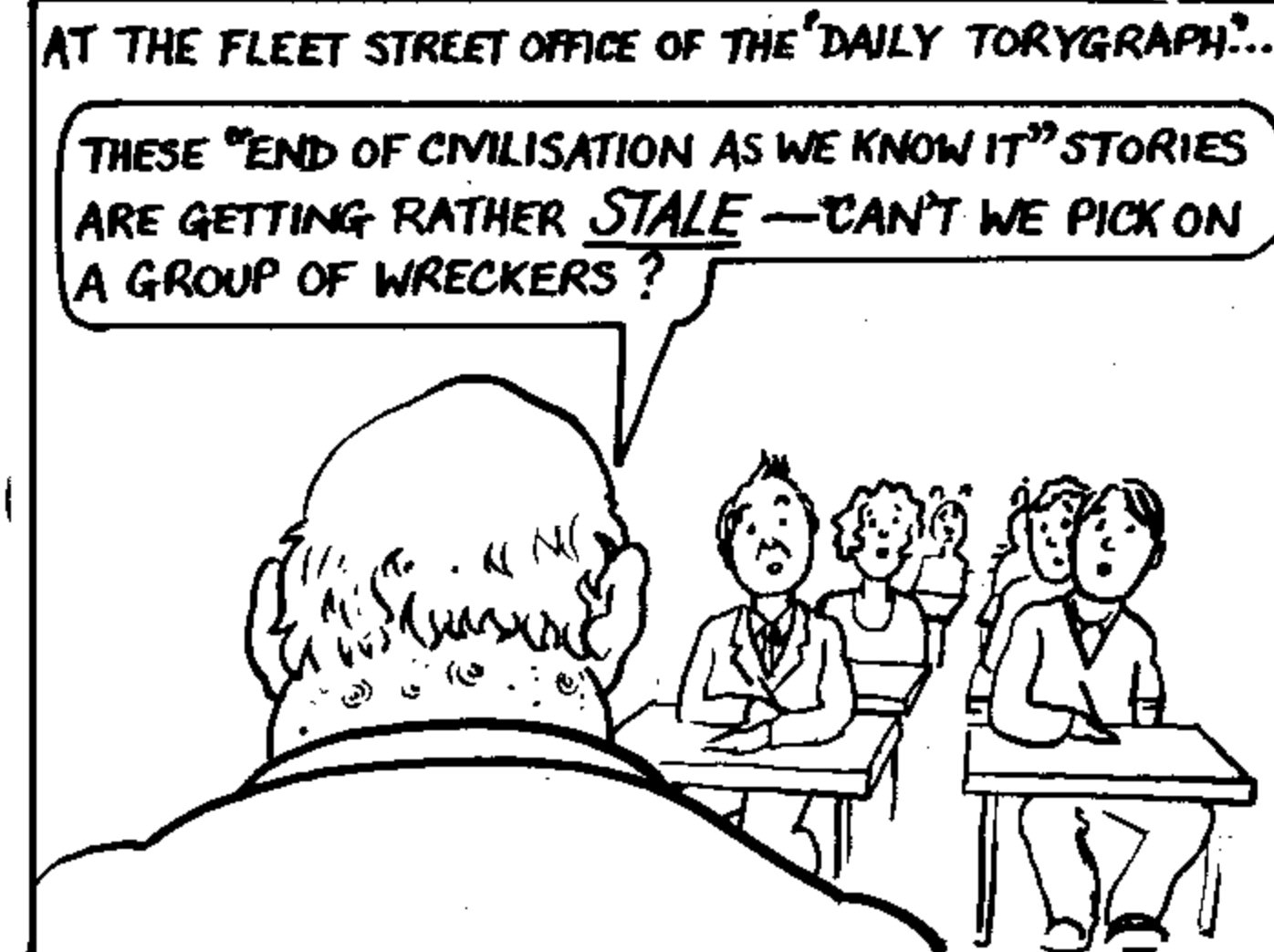
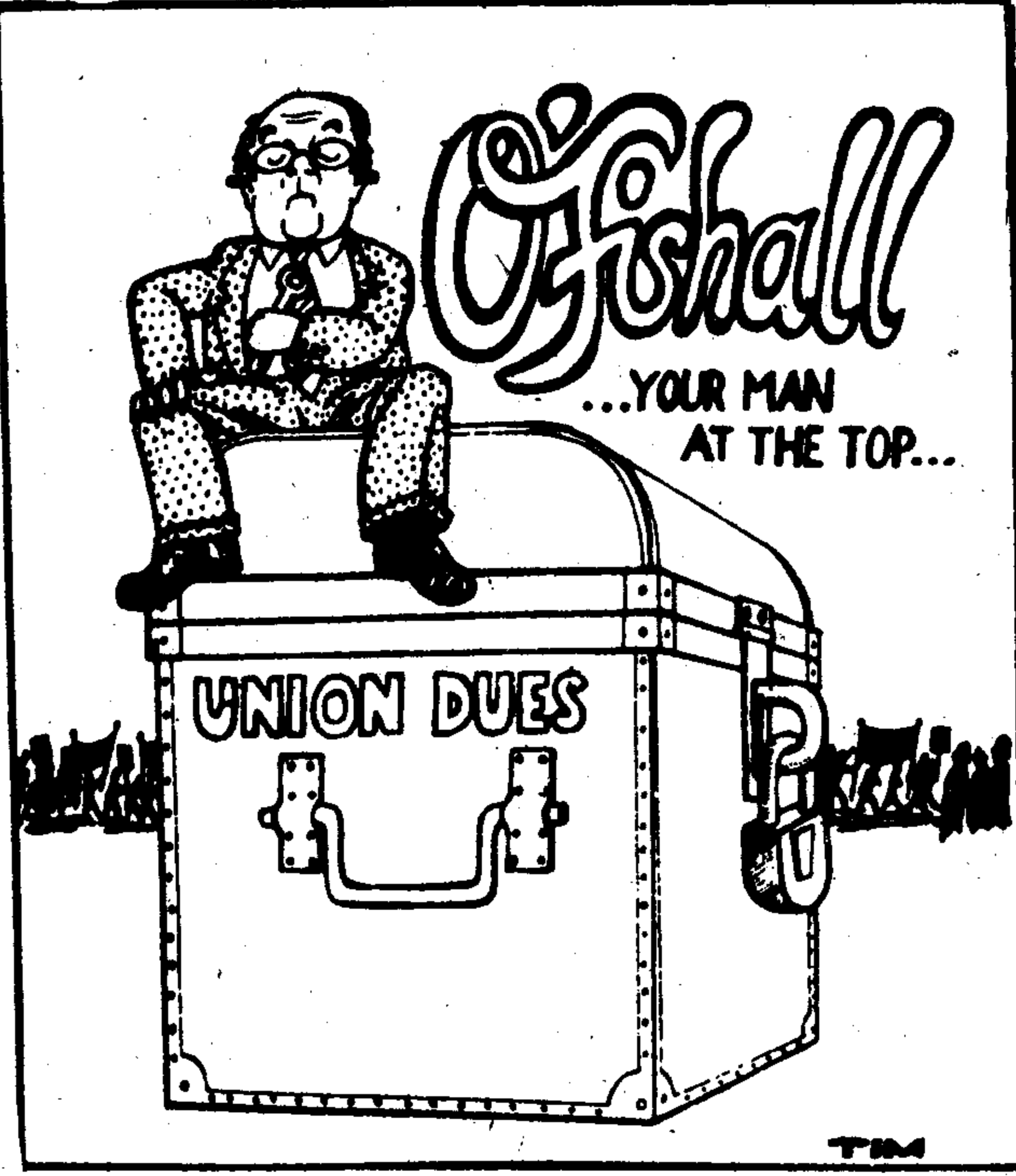
It was agreed that a pamphlet on the crisis in the motor industry would be produced and that there would be a further conference in about three months time.

Whilst there remain obvious differences in the political direction of the leadership of the Ford group from that of the WSL which is at the centre of the CDLM, this conference was a big step forward in bringing carworkers together to discuss around the programme necessary for workers in the motor industry.

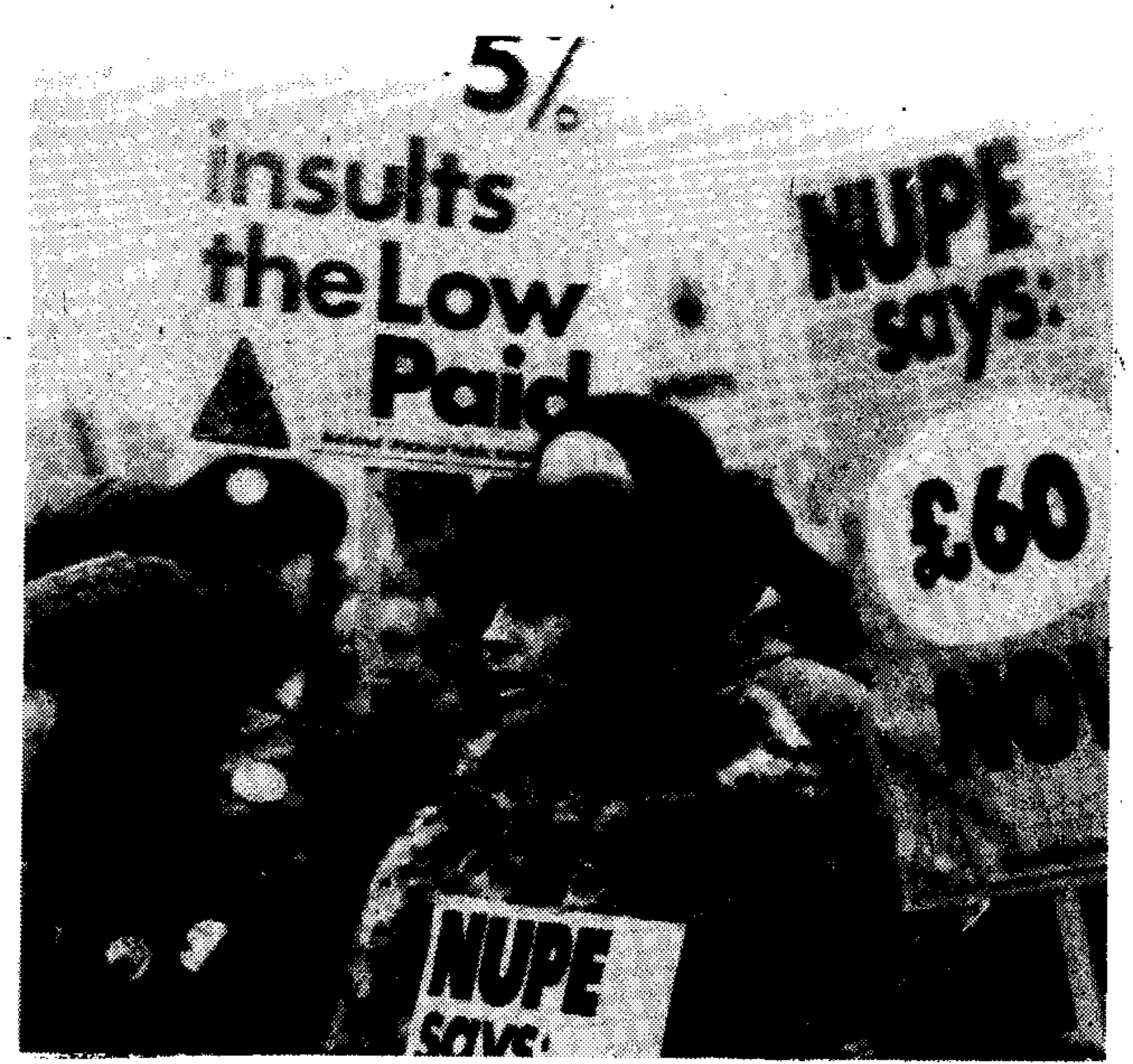


Evans—his chairman under sacking threat

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE OXFORD**  
**Public meeting**  
*How to win the Public Sector workers' claim*  
**Speakers from Public Sector unions**  
**THURSDAY FEB 1**  
**8.00 p.m.**  
**East Oxford Community Centre, Princes St.**



# SOCIALIST PRESS ★



## After Jan. 22:

# ALL OUT FOR FULL CLAIM!

In the biggest co-ordinated strike action since the 1926 General Strike, 1½ million public sector workers on Monday demonstrated their bitter hostility at years of poverty wages.

60,000 joined a huge column of protestors in a march to the House of Commons. Thousands more manned picket lines outside hospitals, ambulance stations, schools, colleges and other workplaces.

Driven on by Callaghan's admission in Parliament last week that those receiving less than £70 per week can

be described as "low paid", and encouraged by the 14% pay offer made to 30,000 water workers, more and more sections have also been demanding that their leadership drop their bankrupt strategy of calling only "selective" strike action, and call an all-out strike.

Frustration at an appalling lack of leadership in this pay fight has reached a high point in the ambulance service.

Rather than adopt a clear policy of indefinite strike action, with emergency cover provided under the control of strike committees, convenors in the London area at first coupled the ultra-left call for a com-



Demonstrators on January 22

plete stoppage of all services on January 22, followed by only a programme of half-

hearted work-to-rule action—including a ban on paper-work and answering emer-

gency phones.

Under pressure from the press, the convenors backed down on Sunday from their "total stoppage" call, and substituted a plan for emergency cover to be provided on a voluntary basis, without pay—in other words without charge to the management.

Frustrated beyond endurance at this collapse ambulance branches one after another voted for a complete walk-out, leaving only two stations in London providing any cover at all.

### Dangers

Management have attempted to capitalise on this situation by threatening to lock out any section of ambulancemen that implement the work-to-rule policy of not directly answering emergency phones—thus threatening to close down the whole ambulance service.

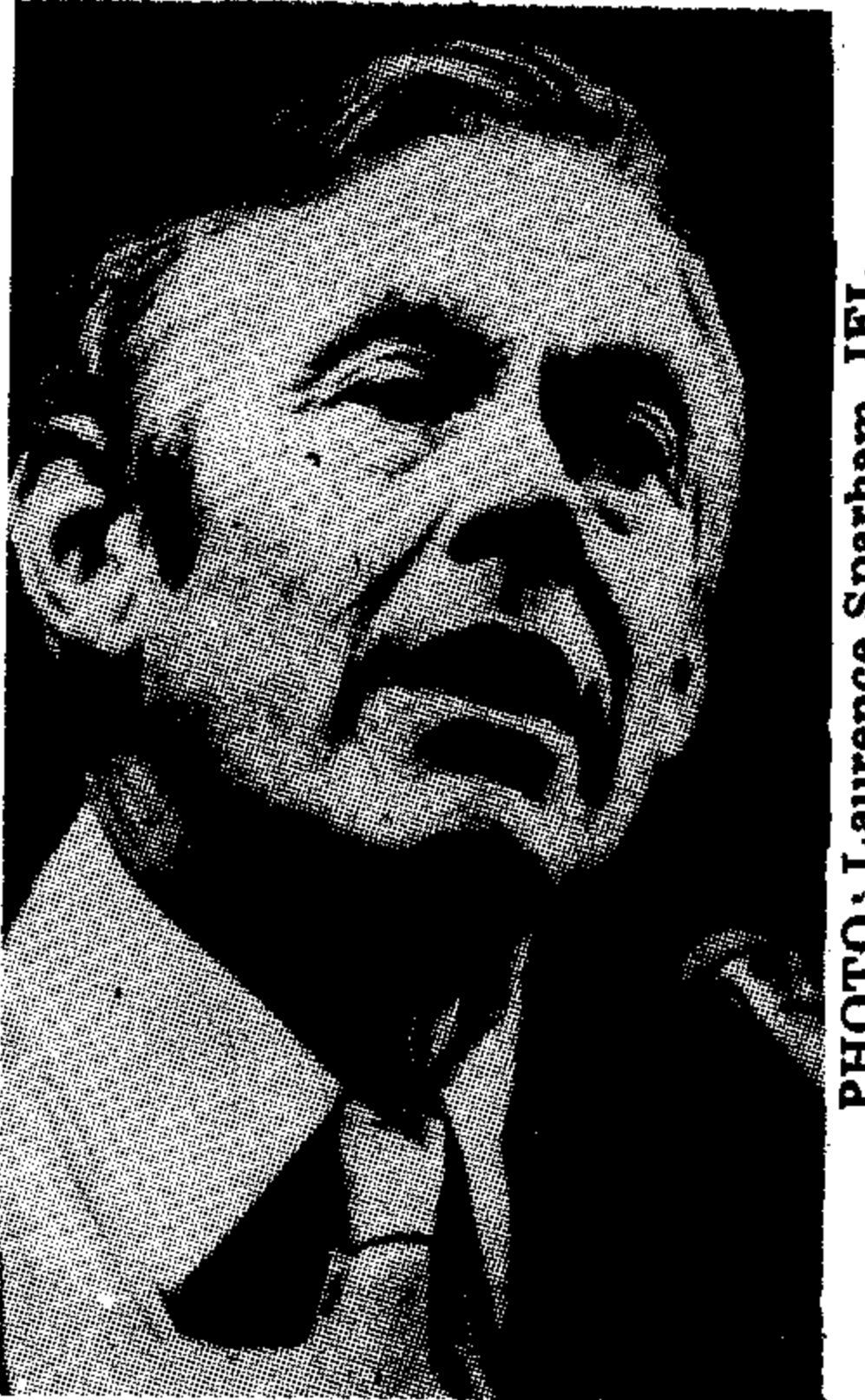
"Selective" and partial action of this type always carries such dangers—and has been proved time and again to be ineffective in pay struggles in the public sector.

Meanwhile, even while holding back from the necessary action, NUPE leader Fisher has happily admitted his belief that the public sector workers will not win their £60/35 hour week claim "all at once".

Nor has he outlined any call for a cost-of-living clause in the new agreement to protect wage levels against inflation.

And none of the public sector union leaders has spelled out the necessity for a sliding scale of government spending on the social

services (rising in pace with inflation) if these essential services are not to be pruned back and thousands of jobs lost as a result of the government conceding wage increases while maintaining cash limits on local authorities.



Fisher

Workers in both the public and private sector, including those who have recently fought wages battles and those about to take on the employers will reject the press and TV campaign to dub Monday's action 'Black Monday' and recognise it as a limited, but nevertheless important development in the struggle against low pay.

The urgent need now is for public sector workers to link up with other sections of the trade union movement, particularly with other workers in struggle, to form councils of action in which the mobilisation of the working class against the reactionary Callaghan-Healey government can be taken to a higher level.



# What next after Shah's puppet?

The Shah of Iran has gone on holiday, leaving his house in some disorder.

The political vacuum created by his departure has yet to be filled. Dr. Shapour Bakhtiar, the heir appointed by imperialism, has still to establish any authority beyond the hopeful trust of the Shah's own officials and agents.

Neither the army generals, nor the religious leaders, nor the masses have shown any willingness to accept his government as an answer to their demands.

In the largest demonstration seen so far in Tehran, 1½ million people marched through the streets on Friday to denounce the new government as illegitimate and called on soldiers to join with them in the mass movement.

This mobilisation had been achieved by the religious leaders, whose

demand for an Islamic Republic' apparently met with little opposition.

Announcing his imminent return from Paris to Iran, the Ayatollah Khomeini also revealed the existence of an 'Islamic Revolutionary Council', prepared to take control of the state, and promised the creation of a 'popularly-based constituent assembly'.

But Khomeini has risen to his present position of strength only by basing himself on the strength of the oppressed masses in their forward movement, and above all on the strike action waged by the organised strength of the working class.

The dangers of that contradiction haunt both.

Bakhtiar and the military leaders.

The generals have been given strict instructions by the Carter administration not to move against the new bourgeois government at this stage.

But if Khomeini makes a bid for power, relying on the strength and militancy of the workers and peasants, there can be no doubt that the army would move swiftly in a bid to crush the insurgency.

They gave a foretaste of the methods and barbarity they would use, when troops rioted in Ahwaz and Dezful (cities in the oil-fields) and killed dozens of demonstrators who were demanding the abdication of the Shah.

The oppressed masses of Iran now face dangers on three fronts.

If they are to defeat the threat of reaction from the army or from Bakhtiar's pro-imperialist government then they must break from the dominance of the religious leaders in a fight for the socialist programme that alone can meet their needs and aspirations.

- \*Build armed workers' militias!
- \*Create workers', peasants' and soldiers' committees!
- \*For a constituent assembly!
- \*For a workers' and peasants' government!
- \*In the factories and oil-fields: expropriate the capitalists and occupy!
- \*In the countryside: expropriate the landowners and occupy!
- \*In the army: refuse to obey the officers! Join the workers in setting up militias!
- \*Sack Callaghan, Owen and Mulley, the Shah's friends!

## FUND

Once again, a good week for the monthly fund with £165.70 arriving in the office during the last seven days. This included £15 from supporters in Denmark and £3.15 from a collection at a WSL public meeting in Aylesbury.

With one week to go to the end of the month a huge effort will have to be made during the next few days if we are to raise the outstanding £198.67 and reach our target of £600 by the end of January.

All donations should be sent to:

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