

SOCIALIST PRESS



INSIDE THE
JAPANESE
CAR UNIONS
Centre pages

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6 per cent limit is only the start of WAGE CUTS TILL 1984!

From appalling—to even worse!

That's the prospect in view for the living standards of millions of public sector workers if the Tories are allowed to get away with their plans on wages.

Several weeks ago the Thatcher government announced a 6% limit on pay increases in the public sector.

Since prices are currently rising at 16% this means a real fall in living standards of more than ten pence in the pound for some of the country's lowest paid workers.

The Tories had thrown down the gauntlet to the workers' movement.

Crumpled

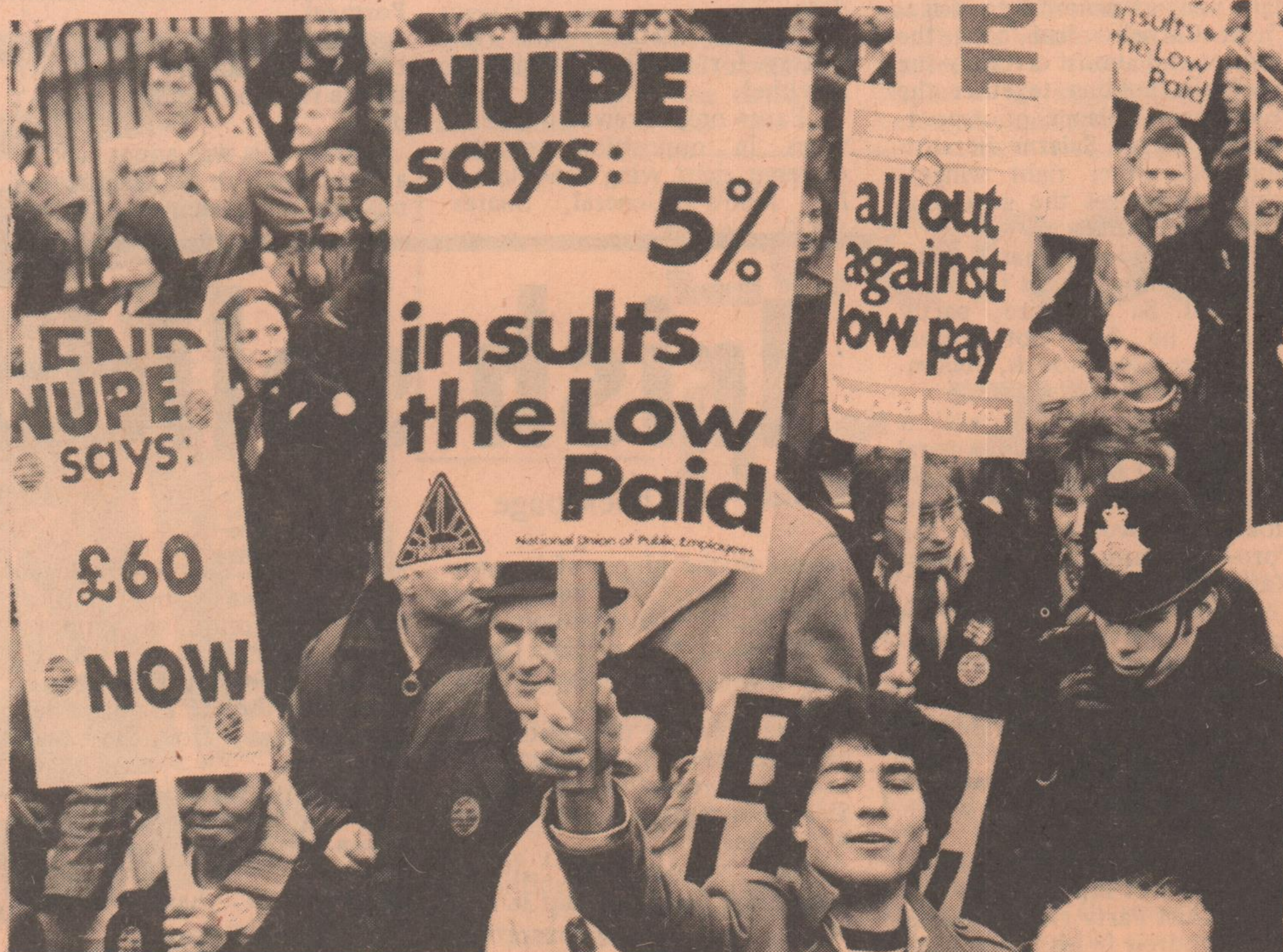
But what did the union leaders do? Throughout the public sector they immediately crumpled before the arrogant stand taken by the Tories.

Instead of preparing for all-out strike action to smash the 6% limit and bring down this savage government of bankers, industrialists and profiteers, top union officials made only vague blathering speeches.

Seizing on this weakness, the government has now revealed plans to extend the 6% limit for another year: and to follow it, in April 1982, with even more vicious pay restrictions!

In other words, this year's 10% cut in real wages will be followed by another, and another until . . . the labour movement is mobilised to throw Thatcher and her thieving cabinet out of office!

Nor is it simply on wages that the Tories plan to swing the axe again. Already they have



Mass struggles against Labour government's 5% limit toppled Callaghan

left a trail of wreckage across the country.

Millionaire minister Michael Heseltine proposes to cut spending on old people's homes, schools, youth clubs and roads. His henchmen in the Housing Department are planning even more cuts in council housing. The list is endless.

So outrageous are the Tory plans that they are refusing to make them public.

But so too are Labour council leaders, who have been issued with the draft proposals!

Jack Smart, Labour leader of the Association of Metropolitan Councils, said that the plans should be kept confidential.

If not, he "feared" there would be a backlash from left-wing Labour councils!

It is high time that there was a backlash against this government—which is hated and detested throughout the workers' movement.

But right wing Labour councillors, union leaders and Labour MPs have no intention of allowing such a mass struggle.

They would sooner allow social services and living standards to be destroyed than mount a fight to bring the Tories down.

That this is not the feeling of the working class was underlined by the huge November 29 anti-Tory march.

A leadership must be built that is able and willing to lead workers in a struggle to defeat this government—if there is to be anything left of our living standards in 1984.

Help us build that leadership.

Defend Longbridge 9!

Nine workers, four of them shop stewards, have been sacked from BL's Longbridge plant. Two more have been given two weeks' suspension without pay.

The sackings mark a new crackdown by BL as Edwardes takes full advantage of the subservience of the trade union leaders that was demonstrated so clearly in the sell-out of the wage review.

If Edwardes is successful, these victimisations will trigger an all-out offensive by management and lead to similar victimisations in other plants.

Already an onslaught on manning levels is underway as management makes use of the "bonus" scheme ratified under the 6.8% agreement.

And at Rover in Solihull, management have announced 200 compulsory redundancies who are to be selected by them.

Victimised

The nine Longbridge workers were victimised last Wednesday when they were called to what was described as a management "inquiry" into the riot which took place in the plant two weeks ago.

The riot had been clearly provoked by management when

they laid off production workers over a dispute involving the supply of seats from the trim shop.

They knew that workers were bitter over the sell-out of the pay claim and hoped to turn the production workers against the trim shop.

The plan misfired and the workers turned on management instead.

When those accused arrived at the "inquiry", which was significantly held in a management building off the plant, they were told it was not an inquiry at all but a disciplinary hearing—and nine of them were

Continued page 11



Worse still to come—Thatcher

First victims— local gov't workers

Further evidence that the Tories will stick vindictively to their 6% pay limits emerged last weekend.

The Chancellor, Sir Geoffrey Howe, told local authorities that they would have to finance the proposed firemen's pay settlement by offering other local authority workers even less than the 6%, or by redundancies.

The Tories have also said that the 2% extra award paid to local government white collar staff as part of last year's review must now be paid for out of the 6%.

Two strong sections of workers are now engaged in pay negotiations—30,000 water workers, demanding a 30% increase, and 18,000 ambulance drivers who will be demanding an increase similar to that won by the firemen.

Meanwhile leaders of a million local authority manual workers are still stalling on negotiations on their claim for



Howe

a "substantial" increase. Since less than 6% is not in any way "substantial", there is nothing left to talk about.

Union leaders should instead be calling mass meetings at once to prepare for all-out strike action, and calling on every other union in the public sector to fight by their side in the struggle to destroy Thatcher's pay limits.



POLAND

From back page

bogged down in a major economic crisis of its own and embroiled in a seemingly endless and costly war aimed at crushing opposition to its puppet government in Afghanistan.

The economic strains of military intervention in Poland would also bear down on the Stalinist bureaucracies of the other Warsaw Pact countries.

They, too, face their own economic crises and share the Kremlin's fear that their own working class will follow the Polish example in fighting for independent trade unions.

The military manoeuvres and preparations: the campaign against the Polish oppositionists in the Stalinist official press throughout Eastern Europe; and the atmosphere of crisis whipped up by the Warsaw Pact summit are plainly designed to serve a dual purpose.

On the one hand, the Stalinist leaders hope to frighten Polish workers into submission.

On the other hand, if they fail, then the groundwork will have been laid for an actual military invasion.

The fact that invasion is still only being held in reserve was underlined by the decision last week of the Soviet leadership to make a hard currency loan of \$1.1 billion to the Polish

bureaucracy. East Germany, too, has apparently offered a substantial interest-free loan.

And Polish Party chief Kania has been sent back, with ringing—if unconvincing—declarations of confidence, to sort out the problems of preserving bureaucratic control.

A special plenum of the Party's 240-strong Central Committee was held, which issued a stern warning that "the fate of the country and the nation is at stake."

For the Stalinist bureaucracy of course the most important issue at stake is their own position of power and privilege.

As one Party member pointed out to *Newsweek* magazine, if genuine reforms along the lines demanded by workers were carried through:

"There are a lot of people who are going to lose their fur coats and Mercedes cars. They will do anything to restore the status quo—even welcome the Russians."

First of the Polish bureaucrats to offer an advance welcome to Russian invaders was the new propaganda chief Jozef Klasa, who declared that:

"If the threat to socialism was real, if power passed from the hands of democracy to anti-socialists, then Polish communists would have the right and the

duty to seek help from their socialist allies."

Klasa does not just speak for himself. It is estimated that at least 50,000 Communist Party functionaries at present derive their privileges from their bureaucratic mismanagement of Poland's nationalised economy.

This is on top of the hundreds of thousands of factory managers, police and army chiefs and administrators.

Fat salaries

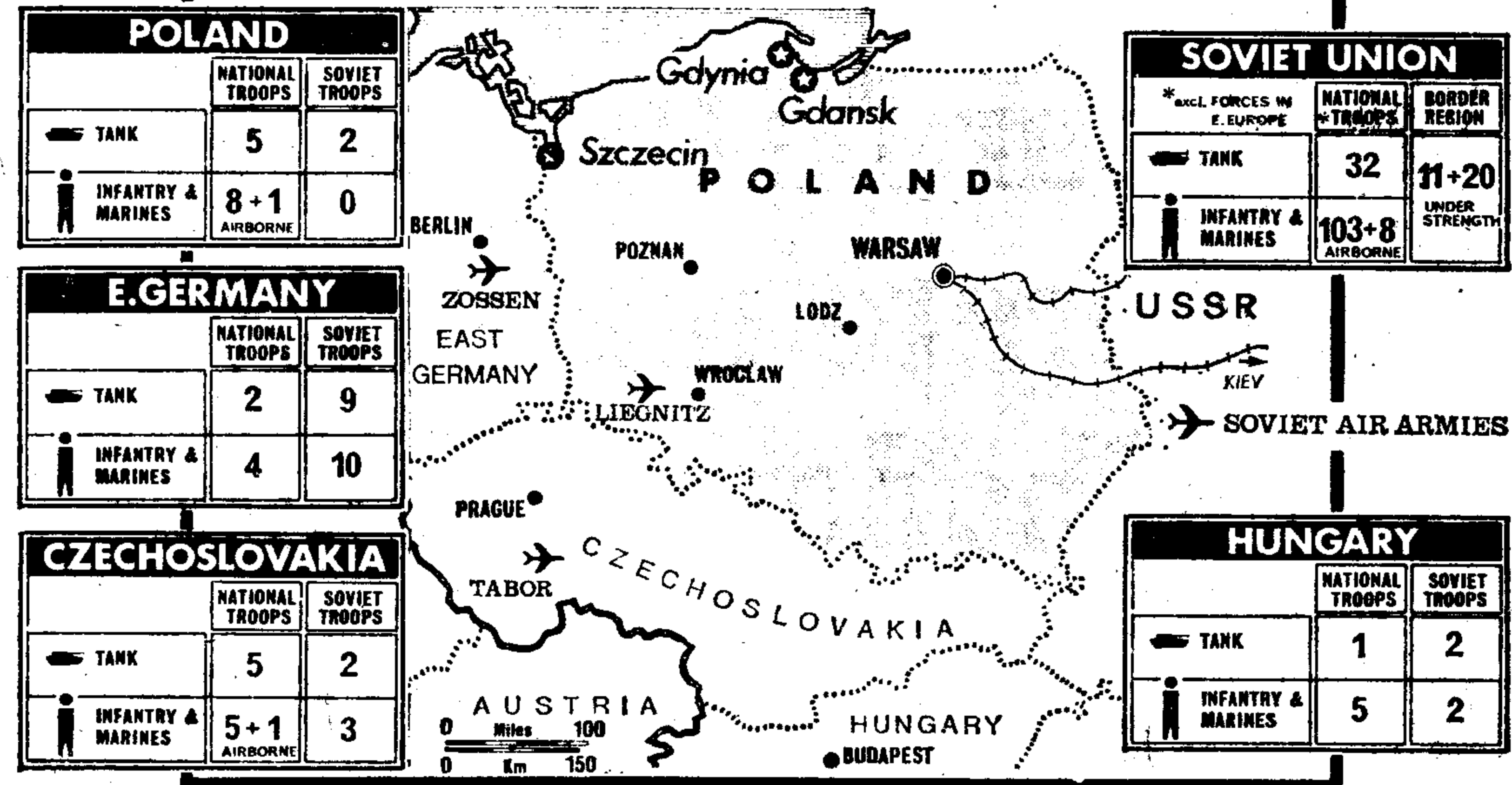
None of these bureaucrats wishes to see Polish workers stripping them of their fat salaries, comfortable houses, limousines and special shops—or calling them to account for their disastrous economic policies.

They would sooner see a Russian invasion crush the working class and restore to them the political power on which their wealth depends.

Their willingness to invite in such heavy-handed assistance has been increased by the movement demanding an extension of democracy and accountability within the Communist Party itself which finds itself increasingly estranged from the working class. A recent survey shows that less than one-fifth of the Central Committee are workers.

And with around one million

THE WARSAW PACT'S DIVISIONS



Financial Times

Party members having joined Solidarity, the demand for rank and file election of delegates to the Congress have been growing and some local branches have been considering the unheard of step of tabling resolutions in opposition to the leadership line.

Meanwhile Lech Walesa and the leadership of Solidarity have responded to the Kremlin's sabre-rattling.

Included in the deal which secured the release of two

arrested Solidarity members and the lifting of a General Strike threat was an agreed six-week moratorium on strike action.

Walesa has been fighting tooth and nail since then to have this deal ratified and upheld.

Quietly ditched

The Solidarity demands for a probe into the power, the budget and the privileges of the secret police are likely to be

quietly ditched by Walesa, who from the outset regarded them as an embarrassment.

But as Poland's economic crisis gallops ahead and the food queues lengthen, Solidarity leaders will find it increasingly hard to hold the workers in check.

Kania, Brezhnev, other Stalinist heads of state and the imperialist leaders are all plainly praying that they succeed.



Sa Carneiro

Death disrupts plans of Portugal's right wing

The death of Portuguese Prime Minister Francisco Sa Carneiro in an air crash is likely to have such a profound effect on Portuguese politics that it is hard to believe that someone did not plan it.

In its aftermath, his chosen Presidential candidate has been defeated, and his successor as Prime Minister has declared the intention of the newly-elected right wing government to resign.

Sa Carneiro had been the inspirer and almost certainly the lynch-pin holding together the reactionary alliance of supporters of the old Salazar dictatorship and other right wingers which composes the governing Democratic Alliance.

Freitas do Amaral, the deputy premier, lacks the authority of Sa Carneiro, partly because he does not possess his predecessor's tough, uncompromising political manner.

As a comparative 'wet' it appeared doubtful if do Amaral would insist so much, as Sa Carneiro did, on the impossibility of working with the "pro-Communist" president Ramalho Eanes.

In the event he has taken the easy way out—by simply resigning from office!

Partly, of course, Sa Carneiro's uncompromising position had been part of his efforts to get Eanes defeated in the Presidential elections which took place last week.

Eanes' election campaign, in which he was supported by the Communist Party (whose candidate withdrew in his favour) and most of the Socialist Party with the exception of its main leader Mario Soares, had made numerous concessions to the right-wing politics of Sa Carneiro.

Revised

Eanes had already agreed for instance, that the post-1974 constitution should be revised to remove the clauses which commit Portugal to "socialism".

Eanes' victory, against the Democratic Alliance, perhaps owed something to these compromises and perhaps also some-

thing to Sa Carneiro's death.

It also owed a lot to the refusal of the workers' parties to stand an independent candidate.

But it certainly was no victory for socialist policies of any kind.

Eanes only received workers' votes in opposition to the extreme right wing candidate—his fellow General, Soares

Carneiro.

The Presidential election result continues to leave deep social conflicts unresolved in Portugal.

That these are only just beneath the surface was shown by the reactions to Sa Carneiro's death:

When this was announced to a large open-air Eanes election meeting in Lisbon the crowd



General Carneiro

spontaneously broke into applause and cheering—before they were silenced into "respect" by the Stalinist and reformist leaders!

And when President Eanes turned up at the funeral as head of state, he was hissed and booed by the right-wing mourners.

Irish solidarity

From back page

caught in the pincer of its own contradiction. The big names that signed the humanitarian demands in the summer have deserted as the hunger strikes started.

The London demonstration on December 7 from Hyde Park to Kilburn rested heavily on the Sinn Fein supporters and on the left groups.

The 4,500-5,000 strong march was not large. But it was bigger than the demonstration called by the Committee for Withdrawal on November 15.

Moreover there was a seriousness and sense of urgency about the demonstration which has been completely lacking from previous mobilisations.

A contingent of about 75 marched behind the WSL banners.

Conspicuously absent were the banners of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

The most urgent task now is to turn that movement away from big-name liberals into the labour movement.

There is no short cut as

implied by the RCT slogan 'What do we want? Political Status! When do we want it? Now! How do we get it? Strike!'—especially from groups who, like the RCT, turn their members away from the labour movement.

Blacking campaigns have to be built; a movement for strike action has to be worked for; bureaucrats who have signed Charter 80 have to be challenged.

The basis for a demonstration massively supported by the trade unions and Labour Party wards has to be worked for now.

All those on the march were serious about not wanting the hunger strikers to die.

Only such an orientation into the labour movement has the perspective of building a campaign in Britain which can save them.

We call on all readers to raise emergency motions in union branches, Labour Parties and other workers' organisations to that effect.

March

in support of the H Block hunger strikers
Saturday 20 December
Assemble 1.30 p.m.
All Saints, Manchester

Meeting

Socialist Press
Socialist Organiser
Public meeting
Defend the Irish Hunger Strikers
Friday 12 December
Camden Centre
(Behind Camden Town Hall)
Kings X, London
7.30 pm.

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INTERNATIONAL

EARTHQUAKE SHAKES

ITALIAN LEADERS

If there were a Richter scale for politics the needle of the seismograph in Italy would be straining towards disaster point in the aftermath of the massive earthquake of November.

The appalling loss of life and injury during the earthquake is more than matched by the suffering of those who survived.

The difference is that the living sufferers—thousands of starving, homeless and sick people—are increasingly ascribing their sufferings not to acts of God but rather to acts of God's political party, the Christian Democrats who have dominated Italian government since 1948.

Unprepared

The government showed itself woefully unprepared for such a catastrophe, in spite of recurrent experiences of major earthquakes in Italy.

Its relief programme has been inadequate, late and unfeelingly implemented to the extent that even among the peasants of the small southern villages it has aroused mass resistance.

Instead of using its resources to distribute adequate food, temporary homes and medical services to the badly hit areas, the government has ordained that everyone should climb into army lorries and helicopters and be carted off to empty hotels around the coast.

This plan has been brutally offensive to those who have lost family and friends and wish to grieve in the surroundings where they have always lived and in company of their fellow survivors and to begin to rebuild their homes.

Old people especially have been refusing to move in response to the government's wishes—preferring to stay where they are in the appalling living conditions provided for them by the government.

By the end of last week, of 178,000 homeless only 783 had agreed to move into the hotels offered by the government.

They also suffer callous and cynical exploitation at the hands of the profiteers (mostly run by the Mafia) who have gained control of the black market in food, drinking water and other needed goods.

Basic food was selling in the villages for four times its normal cost last week. One journalist reported that beer was the price of champagne.

Widespread organised looting and even body snatching was also reported.

The Mafia are also in control of a high proportion of trade in building materials, construction contracts and temporary housing.

The scandalous deficiencies of the relief operation led the State President Pertini (a former leading member of the Socialist Party) to make a TV and radio broadcast, without informing the government, bitterly criticising the government's record of "relief".

Pertini's surprise broadcast produced crisis and perturbation in Forlani's shaky Christian Democratic government—Italy's fortieth since the war.

The Interior Minister, Virgilio Rognoni was stung into offering his resignation, which Forlani later persuaded him to withdraw.

Forlani was forced into calling an emergency meeting of representatives of the parties of his coalition government to see whether a basis still exists for



the continuation of his government.

For the moment it is staggering on—but amid increasing speculation that not only is its particular life at stake but so also is the life of the present parliament, elected only 18 months ago, and perhaps even the life of the First Italian Republic itself.

Weaknesses

The weakness of the government has been seized on by the Stalinists of the Italian Communist Party.

They have not only stepped up their verbal opposition to the Christian Democrats—linking this with a new suggestion for a 'left' alliance against the Christian Democrats—but they have also organised their own relief operations for the earthquake victims.

Far from losing, as many predicted, support for its opportunistic use of the earthquake, the CP appears to have gained.

The deficiencies of the relief operation have come on top of major financial scandals about tax payments on oil revenues which are implicating virtually all leading members of the

Christian Democrats.

In a declaration published last week the Communist Party said weightily:

"The truth is that all this calls into question not simply the responsibility of one or a few ministers, or of the present government, but a system of power, a conception and a method of government which has produced and will continually produce ineffectiveness and confusion in the working of the state organs, corruption and scandals in the life of the government parties and impunity for the guilty."

The CP went on to suggest that:

"a proposal for a new government be submitted to a discussion of all citizens and call on the political forces with the necessary weight and conscious of the risks which are now faced by the democratic system and by the parties on which the Italian republic is founded."

But the Communist Party itself has not been untouched by the crisis of authority which has followed the earthquake.

This is because the Mayor of Naples is a Communist and Naples is the largest city affected by the earthquake.

Although the destruction and death were not so severe in Naples as in the mountain villages, many buildings were made uninhabitable and as a result tens of thousands of people have become homeless.

But on numerous occasions people have been removed from their homes and provided with no immediate alternative.

As a result, the homeless have mobilised themselves and 20,000 of them have occupied 120 schools and other public buildings often against the opposition of city government officials—including members of the Communist Party.

Massive burdens

Maurizio Valenzi, the Communist Mayor, is threatening to take over unoccupied flats, houses and even convents.

But he has still shrunk from taking the necessary concrete measures.

Even before the earthquake there were 15,000 homeless in Naples. Now there are an additional 50,000 and many refugees are arriving from the country villages.

In Salerno the 8,000 homeless before the earthquake have

been joined by 8,000 more.

All these problems arrive in a situation where the masses are already labouring under massive economic burdens of high unemployment (in Salerno it is 16%) and fast inflation now greatly fuelled by the post-earthquake profiteering and black marketeering.

The bourgeoisie has been increasingly thrown into crisis by these events which have called even further into question the future of parliamentary democracy in Italy.

It is no coincidence therefore that the post-earthquake crisis has allowed the army to try to present itself as the only force capable of sorting out the situation.

And it has been encouraged in this by a growing number of leading politicians.

The government minister in charge, Zanberletti, has dismissed local administrators and replaced them with generals.

It can only be a matter of time before they say that if the army is the best answer to the problems in the earthquake-stricken mountains, it is the best answer to the problems in Italy as a whole.

It was Naples' Communist Mayor who said "this earthquake will have social consequences which have only just begun".

He could be more correct that he thought.

Economic gloom for Zionist rulers

Whilst Israeli chief of staff, General Rafael Eitan, boasts that war between Syria and Jordan would be to Israel's advantage, there can be little enthusiasm felt on the economic front by the Begin government.

The last month has seen a no-confidence vote survived by only 57 votes to 54 with fewer than half the 120 members of the Israeli parliament, the Knesset, supporting the ruling Likud block headed by Begin. The source of the confidence vote was the soaring inflation level now around 130% with forecasts for the last quarter predicting further rises to reach an annual average of 160% or even more.

Ezer Weizman, a former defence minister and member of Begin's Herut party voted no confidence in his own government and was promptly expelled by Herut.

Further embarrassment followed with the Minister of Religious Affairs Aharon Abu-

hatzeira being charged by the Attorney General of receiving bribes.

In addition to the burden of inflation close to one third of the Israeli budget is spent on defence and almost another third is repaying and servicing foreign debts most of which were incurred to pay for defence needs.

Finance Minister Hurvitz, attacked from all sides for his failure to stem the rise of inflation, has suggested that the respite afforded by the Gulf War should be used to think of ways to cut the defence budget.

Any such respite for the Zionists is a further testament to the inability of so-called 'progressive' Arab governments and petit-bourgeois leaderships to consistently fight Zionism and actively support the Palestinians.

Zionist propaganda in Britain argues that to be anti-Zionist is to be anti-Jewish. The economic chaos of Israel provides an unprecedented opportunity for British workers to counter this lie.

With even the UN voting by 200 to 1 (Israel) against the recent shootings of unarmed students in the West Bank, we must argue in the labour movement that Zionism as a political theory holds no future for Jewish workers based as it is on the racist notion that anti-semitism is inherent in workers.

Such theories, and the resulting 'separate state' for Jews are alien to socialists who fight racialism and anti-semitism by attacking the exploitative nature of the system with the unity of the working class.

Economic want

Socialists should take every opportunity to show that a Zionist Israel, created in 1948 by the massacre and expulsion of the Palestinians, has not provided the promised safe home for world Jewry. The only reality for Jewish workers is one of war and economic want with millions wasted on defence to guarantee the continued repression of the Palestinians.

The first duty of socialists must be to fight with the Palestinians for their right to national self-determination. As part of that fight a struggle must be taken up to win layers of Jewish workers to the fight against Zionism.

For their part the Palestinians have constantly denied any suggestion that they wish to drive the Jews into the sea, as Israeli propaganda claims.

A socialist Palestine can only be built after the break-up of the Israeli state and its replacement by equality of political and social rights for Arabs and Jews.

In achieving this end we should strive to learn the lessons of the Gulf War and the West Bank resistance.

Only the Palestinian workers and peasants themselves can be relied upon to fight consistently for their self-determination.

If this fight is to avoid being tied to the coat-tails of the various petit-bourgeois Arab leaderships a powerful Trotskyist movement must be built in the Middle East.

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Letter

'Justice' in the Free State

Dear Editor,
I would like to draw to your attention an important legal development within the so-called Irish "Free State".
Following the death sentences passed in 1976 on Noel and Marie Murray the Dublin branch of the Association of Legal Justice issued a statement which stated that the sentence was "particularly reprehensible because it was passed by the Special Criminal Court, a court composed of government-appointed judges having no judicial independence, which sat without a jury and which so abused the rules of evidence as to make the court akin to a sentencing tribunal."
The Director of Public Prosecutions responded by bringing contempt proceedings against two officers of the Association for "scandalising the court".
Some freedom of speech for a "Free State"! But more was to follow. Since the contempt charge was initiated a legal battle has been raging over the right of Noel and Marie Murray to have the case tried by a jury.
The President of the High Court, Mr Justice Finlay decided the issue in favour of the DPP and argued (in July 1978) that he was entitled to try the case and impose a penalty without a jury.
The defendants, knowing the way Irish laws are twisted to suit the government were prepared for this so they made sure that their comments on the case would be so graphic and detailed that under the Constitution which allows for trial by jury in serious cases of alleged contempt they must be given a trial by jury.
Even the most law-abiding, brainwashed, "anti-terrorist" jury would throw out the contempt charge when they heard the evidence and the conduct of the Murray case, the suppression of the testimony by vital defence witness R. Stenson who beyond any doubt was so badly tortured by the heavy gang that he was too ill to appear in court.

If trial by jury is allowed the whole farce of the Murray trial will be laid bare for all the world to see.
Even if the Supreme Court should find a face-saving verdict for the government it will mean that fresh publicity will have been given to the Murray case which the government is desperate to keep in the past.
I feel confident that the Supreme Court won't dare to trample underfoot all legal justice in Ireland.
But, of course, if necessary the government can use the Act passed by De Valera in 1936 (when he believed that all the judges and clergy were fascists and he feared a coup by Duffy and his followers) altering the Constitution so that the government when it so desired could throw out the Supreme Court decision, remove the judges and replace them with more reliable, handpicked 'yes' men.
I don't think that Charlie Haughey, noted for being a contortionist, can work his way out of this one.
I would be very grateful if all leading pro-justice for Ireland papers at home and abroad would reprint this letter because it might make people more conscious of the real face of justice in the "Free" State which I would say was no better than Franco's Spain.

Yours,
Willie Moloney
Coventry



Haughey

Recently the Supreme Court has been considering the appeal from the defendants to be tried by a jury and after a three-day hearing reserved its judgement. At the time of writing, the judges have yet to announce their decision.

Virtually every thinking man or woman is increasingly concerned these days at the threat of nuclear war.

The American war budget under Carter has risen to over \$160 billion each year. Reagan is committed to increase it still further—and to establish the basis for an American "first strike" against the Soviet Union. Thatcher's government is a willing assistant to the American warmongers. It has offered bases for the new Cruise missiles, and promised to spend £5,000 million on a new American missile system.

Such resources are spent freely by the capitalists in a time of recession because they see military repression as the one sure way of preserving their system of exploitation and private profit.

The capitalists wish to ensure that the underdeveloped economies remain dependent upon the capitalist world market—providing them with cheap raw materials and sweated labour, at the expense of chronic poverty and political repression for their own peoples.

And the capitalists wish to preserve their investments and political authority by propping up reactionary dictatorships and

authoritarian regimes throughout the world which guarantee continued supplies of oil and other crucial commodities.

Most obvious on a world scale is the military backing by British and American imperialist governments to the Arab sheikdoms in the oil states.

But, much nearer home, the British army is far more actively engaged in a daily round of repression in the six counties of Ireland in a bid to crush the war of national liberation.

The working class is an exploited class. It does not own the factories, the banks or other means of production. It has no interest in perpetuating the capitalist system of production for profit.

In fighting to end this system, workers' natural allies are their class brothers and sisters internationally.

That is why workers must not be neutral on the question of war, or side with their "own" ruling class.

In every instance we must take a stance in opposition to the capitalist class and its agents.

We must fight for unconditional defence of those nationalist movements fighting to throw off the shackles of colonial rule or pro-imperialist dictatorships.

This does not mean of

course that we necessarily support the policies or tactics of those currently leading the fight against imperialism.

To take Ireland as an example, we defend unconditionally the right of the IRA to struggle against British rule; but we give only the most critical support to the IRA as an organisation, insofar as it actually advances that struggle.

Programmes

We stand unambiguously for the defeat of British imperialism in Ireland: the question is over the necessary programme and tactics to secure that defeat.

Similarly we resolutely oppose imperialist intervention into any country—whether it be a Middle East oil state, a Central American republic like El Salvador, or the Mobutu dictatorship in Zaire—without in any way supporting the existing capitalist regime in those countries.

We recognise that in the last resort the only way to prevent such action is through action of the working class in the imperialist countries themselves—through strikes, blacking and the fight to organise soldiers into rank and file committees that will oppose the war.

And in the case of a war between two imperialist coun-

tries or semi-colonial regimes, our position must be for such agitation by the workers' movement on both sides—to turn the war into a civil war against each ruling capitalist class.

We fight above all to defend and maximise the revolutionary strength of the working class, and to defend the gains that have been made in the struggle against imperialism.

At the forefront of these gains are the nationalised economies of the workers' states, which remain as the fruits of the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

Workers must stand unconditionally for the defence of the workers' states against imperialist attack, while fighting at the same time for the political overthrow of the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies.

As Labour and trade union leaders line up in collaboration with British employers in their demands for nationalist import controls and in support for the war in Ireland, it is vital that the voice of internationalism is strongly and consistently raised in the workers' movement.

Only a revolutionary party, equipped with an international programme for the overthrow of capitalism can carry through such a fight.

Tenants' anger at Banbury rent rise

By Councillor Dick Jones

Despite the cold weather, over 300 angry tenants turned up on December 1 bringing petitions, spontaneously gathered, with over 1500 signatures, to lobby councillors against the proposed £3 rent increase in Banbury.

They picketed Banbury Town Hall as the councillors arrived for the Housing Services Committee meeting.

Own ideas

Although Committee chairperson Cllr. Doreen Smith agreed to accept the petitions before the meeting, the council refused to admit all the tenants to the meeting, claiming there was not sufficient room for more than 20.

However, the lobby had its own ideas on how to change their minds.

They marched around to the other side of the building, and shouted their indignation outside the committee room

window.
The meeting then had to be adjourned to a larger hall upstairs to accommodate everyone.

Once inside, the tenants waited patiently throughout the meeting, hoping for the rent increases to be discussed.

When finally it became obvious that it was not going to be discussed, the meeting erupted, disrupting the committee for 15 minutes.

After the meeting I interviewed the ex-Mayor of Banbury, Labour Councillor Colin Taylor, and Tenants Action Committee Secretary Dave Ramsay.

DJ: Can you explain simply how this rent increase has come about?

Colin Taylor: According to the Chief Executive, there are three main components. First, an initial deficit of £75,000 caused by accounting errors.

Second, a massive leap in the number and cost of repairs being carried out.

This problem is essentially due to the use of outside contractors, over whom the council

has no control.

They don't know what repairs have been done, nor what they should cost.

Finally, the Treasurer expected the interest rates to drop long before they did.

DJ: What should the council have done in your opinion?

CT: Mismanagement of the account goes back a long way. At every election the Tories crow about having kept down rents and rates, instead of letting them rise gradually with inflation. Then suddenly there has to be an almighty bump up.
DJ: What did you think of the turnout?
Dave Ramsey: I thought it was very good considering the weather.

DJ: What were your objectives for the lobby?

DR: Originally to make our presence felt by the numbers sitting facing them. This must be the first time in years that anything's happened in Banbury—the Tories must have had quite a surprise.

Secondly, we wanted to hand in the petitions which had been gathered from all over the area.

When we presented them to Doreen Smith (the chairperson of the Housing Services Committee—DJ) she promised to "give them the consideration

they deserve", adding "considering that they come from such a wide area."

DJ: What do you hope to achieve with the petition?

DR: Well, we want to the Housing Services Committee to think again on these swingeing increases, especially with the impending increases from central government.

DJ: What further action do you have planned?

DR: If it comes to it, we are all prepared to withhold the increases. However, we hope that it won't come to this.

DJ: Is there anything you'd like to say in conclusion?

DR: In the short time we've been going, we've laid down solid foundations, and received lots of spontaneous support.

Rent payers should not have to bear the total cost of the Council's mistakes.

We're not going to be scapegoats, and be punished for someone else's stupidity.

We tenants did not get the estimates wrong, nor were we the ones who failed to check them at the proper time, and we have no intention of paying for their mistakes.

*Messages of support, donations and details of similar experiences to Tenants Action Group, 253 Bretch Hill, Banbury.

PLP, UNION CHIEFS MOVE TO CRUSH LABOUR RANKS

By John Lister

The majority of Labour MPs have nothing but contempt for the wishes and views of the rank and file Party members who put them in office.

This was confirmed once again last week as a slate of wretched right wingers took eight of the top twelve places in the elections for Foot's Shadow Cabinet.

Also elected were three of the most right wing members of the Tribune Group (leadership contestants Peter Shore and John Silkin, and former Ireland torture-chief Stan Orme) as well as that aspiring 'left' man-on-the-make Neil Kinnock.

Kinnock alone out of the top twelve has sufficient popularity among rank and file party members to secure a place on Labour's National Executive Committee.

Foot will now choose his shadow ministers from as sleazy a bunch of reactionaries as you could wish to meet.

Barbaric policies

They include Roy "Butcher" Mason, whose barbaric policies in Ireland have provoked the current hunger-strike by republican prisoners in Long Kesh; William "Nukes" Rodgers, the spokesman for the Gang of Three who, almost alone in the labour movement openly favours the continued imperialist weapons build-up; and Merlyn "Southall" Rees who as Home Secretary fostered the police SPG and supervised their brutal and murderous attacks on anti-fascists and on Grunwick pickets.

There is every indication that Foot, with his right hand man Dennis Healey, is well pleased with this result.

Foot will be better able to exploit the remnants of his former 'left' image if he is able to shelter behind a hefty right wing majority on the Shadow Cabinet.

Real leader

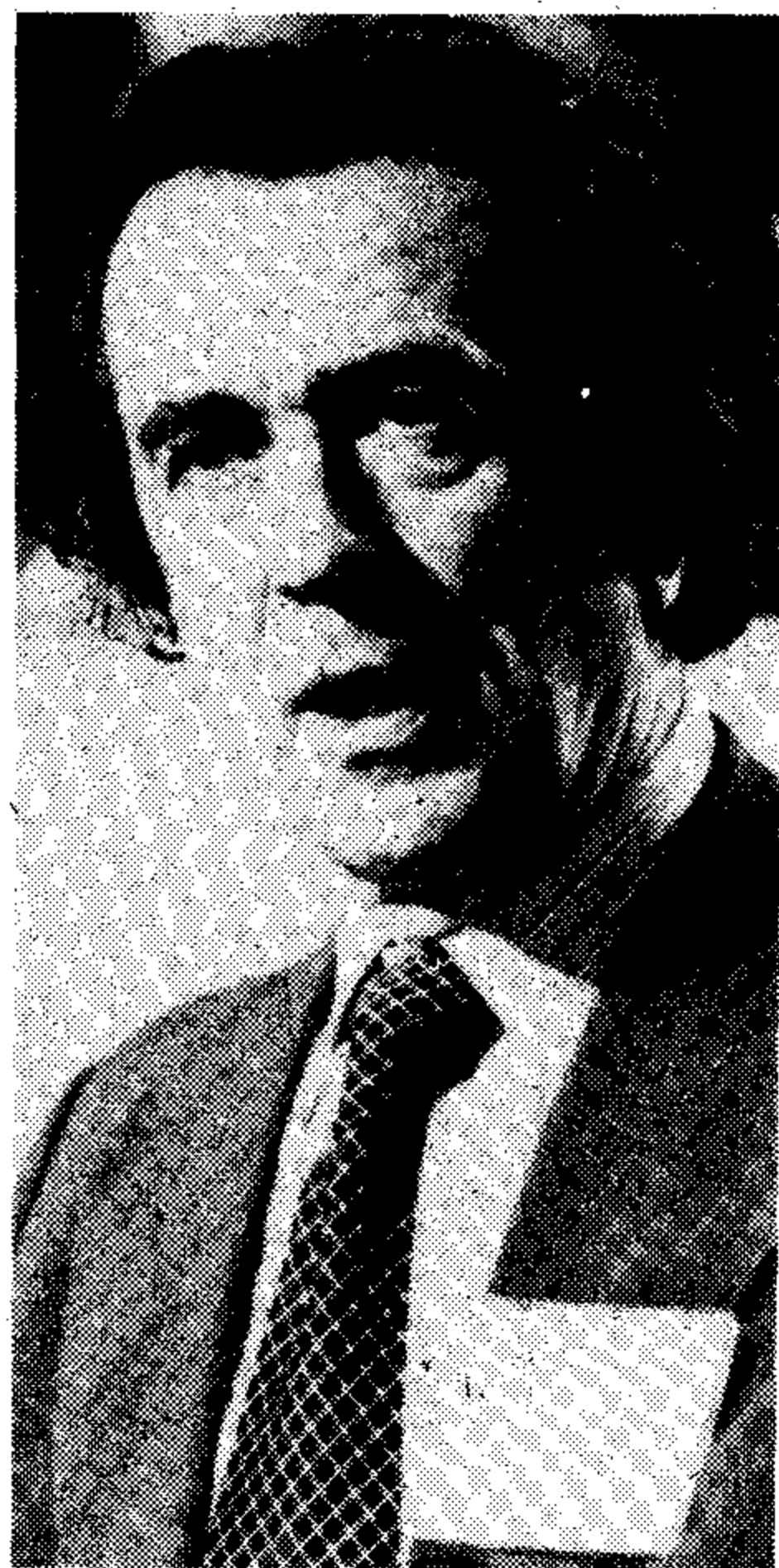
Effectively Healey thus becomes the real leader of the Party, while Foot will emerge from time to time to give a rousing speech that may persuade some party militants that left wing policies might eventually prevail.

In this context Eric Heffer's public statement declining in advance any moves by Foot to co-opt him onto the Shadow Cabinet must be welcomed by

Labour activists.

Heffer has correctly pointed to the political complexion of the Shadow Cabinet majority, and declined to be bound by their policy decisions.

Tony Benn—whose failure by two votes to reach the top 12 was partly the result of his own absence in the USA—must be called upon to take a similar stance.



"Nukes" Rodgers

Benn has already gone too far down the road towards collaboration with Foot, declaring in advance of the January Special Conference that he will not stand against Foot for the Party leadership, no matter what 'electoral college' system is adopted.

And by putting himself forward for election to the Shadow Cabinet, Benn (as did Heffer) certainly helped foster illusions that the Foot leadership is somehow likely to be more left wing than the Callaghan clique—of which Foot was a crucial part!

The fact is that right wing Labour MPs, and growing numbers of right wing union bureaucrats, now see in Foot the possibility of confusing and defusing sections of the left—and thus reversing the steps towards Party democracy that were taken in the Blackpool conference in October.

"Compromise"

Block votes are being lined up to back a ludicrous "compromise" formula on the elec-

toral college that would give at least 50% of the votes to the reactionaries of the PLP. The AUEW leadership last week even called for MPs to have 75% of the votes.

And in the constituencies, union leaders are manoeuvring to sabotage the new procedures for reselection of MPs by "packing" those GMCs where right wingers are likely to be ousted.

The EETPU has recently amended its rules to allow the union bureaucracy to appoint "delegates" to GMCs without reference to their local branches.

Already the secretary of Bermondsey GMC has written to complain of the appearance of such EETPU delegates sent in—despite objections by local EETPU members—to prevent a left wing successor being selected after the retirement of Bob Mellish MP.

GMWU officials are apparently engaged in similar moves to crush the new democratic procedures by sending platoons of hand-picked right wing goons into GMCs as "delegates".

Such brazen right wing "entryism" can scarcely be expected to attract the kind of publicity attached to Lord Underhill's notorious witch-hunting report on the Militant group, though its practical effect on Labour Party policy is likely to be infinitely greater than the opportunist propaganda peddled by Militant supporters.

But it is increasingly clear that the Blackpool conference decisions represented far from a decisive victory for Labour left wingers: the January Conference seems set to produce major setbacks in the fight for democracy.

The battleground in the fight for socialist policies is thus far wider than the restructured arena of the Labour Party: it must embrace the trade unions as well as the tens of thousands of unorganised women workers, youth and others now seeking a way forward against the Tories.

That is why a revolutionary leadership must be built with urgency if the bureaucrats are to be confronted and defeated.



Top of the poll: Hattersley (left) with Dennis Healey

PRESS GANG



The press has been under scrutiny this week. The footloose gangs who harass and chase have been reprimanded.

The victim wasn't the NUPE steward at Great Ormond Street Hospital.

In fact it was the woman suspected of being added to the royal gravy train who has been followed by a drooling press corps for weeks.

Her defender was no less than the Queen of England—who decided that the *Sunday Mirror* had gone too far.

The sound of editors tugging forlocks drowned out the *Sunday Mirror's* own defiance.

Harassment will continue, but Charles' maybe future wife has been declared out of bounds.

As one victim escaped under royal protection, a former Fleet Street hero headed for his coffin.

The death of Sir Oswald Mosley brought a string of platitudinous editorials saying what a pity that a brilliant man should be tainted by fascism.

They didn't always think so. The *Daily Mail* campaigned for Mosley under the headline 'Hurrah for the Blackshirts' until Mosley demonstrated he was a dwindling force in politics, having been met with physical opposition from the working class.

"Clarity"

Things don't change much. Enoch Powell for years has exercised the same pull of fascination on the press as Mosley once did.

Behind a shield of tolerant disapproval the press commends his "brilliant mind", his patriotism and his "clarity"—thus bolstering his racism.

Since leaving the Tory Party Powell has ruled out serious

support for himself and has come out with demands increasingly embarrassing for the bourgeoisie.

Supported

His hatred for the Pope is a case in point.

The *Daily Mail*, forced to defend the Pope's visit (after all is not the Pope a foremost weapon against the Provisionals?) proves that a reborn Mosley would still find his supporters amongst the bourgeoisie.

"The great sadness about Enoch Powell is that so brilliant a political thinker should constantly detract from his own influence—which is, or should be, very salutary on many matters—by a quite extraordinary lack of realism and proportion."

Now if Powell had only married royalty he might have got somewhere.

Lambeth Conference January 31

Tories bail out flopped fund

When Lord Mountbatten was blown up in his boat nearly 18 months ago the media had him dubbed as one of the most popular figures of the ruling class.

Hours of TV and radio time, acres of newsprint detailed his achievements, his lovability, and the reverence with which he was regarded.

Then a Mountbatten Memorial Trust was launched under the patronage of Prince Charles, another folk hero according to the media.

But—like the Airey Neave memorial fund—it flopped. The masses failed to respond and the obscure United Nations college in Glamorgan looked like failing

to cash in on the old tyrant's grisly death.

As anyone who watched the recent Ludovick Kennedy series on Mountbatten can confirm, Mountbatten—if he had been alive to supervise his own memorial fund—would by now have sacked the Prince of Wales and demoted half the Lord Lieutenants of Britain.

But the government has come to the rescue. As it imposed the 6% pay limit and discussed whether it could break the link between old age pensions and the Retail Price Index, it calmly announced a £100,000 government grant to the fund.

Nice to know that the public spending crisis does not apply to memorials to imperialism.



Lambeth leader Ted Knight

The Tory announcement of a further two years of rigid wage controls in the public sector add still further urgency to the struggle for mass action against the cutbacks in local government spending.

In Lambeth, local authority trade unionists from the AUEW and TGWU have taken the lead in calling for strike action to last "a minimum of two weeks" from February 2 (as reported in last week's *Socialist Press*).

This stand has been supported by the Lambeth Labour Council. It is the first substantial initiative for industrial action against local government cuts—and the Lambeth unions are calling for workers all over the country to join them in the fight against the Thatcher government.

Meanwhile the Lambeth steering committee has changed

the date for the recall of the delegate conference, which drew together over 700 trade unionists and Labour activists on 1 November.

To give additional time to win wide support, the recall conference has been postponed from January 17 to January 31 in London.

This means that it will be held on the eve of the Lambeth strike, and just one week after the Labour Party Special Conference.

Turning point

As such the Lambeth conference will take place at a crucial turning point in the struggle for action to defeat the Thatcher government.

We urge all readers to raise this conference in their unions and Labour Parties and to fight now for the widest possible strike action throughout the

Further details of the Lambeth campaign and the recall conference, and requests for speakers from the Steering Committee to attend local meetings should be addressed to: Local Government in Crisis Steering Group, c/o Room 103, Lambeth Town Hall, Brixton Hill, London SW2 1RW. Tel. 01-274 7722 ext 2066.

workers' movement from 2 February.

***CORRECTION:** Last week's report wrongly stated that Lambeth NALGO had voted to support the February 2 strike. This was based on false information. While the 1,750 NALGO members are committed in general to act against the cuts, they will not be discussing this specific strike call until next month.

HOW UNION LEADERS SCREW DATSUN WORKERS

Organisational Structure of the Labour Union

Let us begin our analysis of labour-management relations at Nissan by examining the organisational structure of the Nissan Workers' Union.

One especially noteworthy aspect of how the union is organised and administered is the procedure for electing union representatives. Referring to the balloting system for election of union officers, the union's charter prescribes in Article 27 that they should be elected through "direct and secret voting by the members".

'Secret voting'

Theoretically, "secret voting" should mean a voting system in which a member is free to choose a candidate of his own choice without interference from any other persons. Actually, however, the election of Nissan Workers' Union's officers is far from secret.

In the first place, at each election both the percentage of voters who cast their votes (99.72-99.99%) and the percentage of votes gained by the elected officers (98.58-100%) are unusually high.

Second, the very high percentage of votes obtained by each elected officer is due to the fact that ordinary union members cast their votes under close surveillance. Let me cite some members' testimony.

Mr. Z at Nissan Motor's Oppama Plant states:

"When we vote, we are asked to gather around the supervisor's desk in a group of several at a time and write out our voting slips right on the spot, on the desk, in front of everybody. The desk is an ordinary office desk of about one metre in width. And standing beside the desk are the election administrators, I mean, the assistant manager and the shop steward, who watch closely to see if we write down the right name."

Mr. Y at the company head office states:

"If blank votes or invalid votes are found, the shop steward is forced to submit a written apology to the top union leaders. That is why he keeps an eye on how we fill in the voting slips. He even fills out the ballots for new employees, saying that they miswrote the characters or that they may not know who the candidates are."

As these accounts of ordinary members show, surveillance of voting in union elections at Nissan is a common practice.

Table 4. Elections of Nissan Workers' Union Standing Committee Members

Date of election	No. of committee members to be elected	No. of candidates	No. of eligible votes	% of votes cast	% of valid votes	Average % of votes gathered by a successful candidate
August 1972	182	182	59,908	99.72	99.08	98.58
August 1973	193	193	63,653	99.75	99.08	98.59
August 1974	198	198	65,131	99.78	99.32	98.83
August 1975	205	205	66,115	99.94	99.44	99.00
August 1976	210	210	67,719	99.97	99.74	99.48
February 1977	7	7	9,333	99.99	99.85	100.00
August 1978	218	218	71,737	99.96	99.90	99.69

Notes

1. Tabulated from Nissan Workers' Union Hatten Nyusu (Development News), Nos. 445, 463, 465, 480, 491, 495, 522 and 545.
2. "Average percentage of votes gathered by a successful candidate" refers to the percentage of valid votes.

Voting figures in "secret" ballot

One rationalisation for the surveillance is that the existence of votes critical of the union leadership would "reveal disunity in the union to the management." Another more interesting reason is that low-ranking supervisors and union officers intervene in the balloting to protect themselves.

To allow critical votes to be cast in their own election districts would mean that their control over the rank and file members is ineffective.

Written apology

If the voter turnout is low or if votes critical of union leadership are cast, the shop steward in charge of the district is forced to submit a written apology called a "summary statement of resolution" to the union, and is criticised for neglect of duty.

It is then only too natural for the low ranking union officers to intervene in the election process and see to it that the union members under their charge refrain from casting votes critical of the union leadership.

Structure of Labour-Management Relations.

The present organisation of labour-management relations at Nissan since the big strike of 1953 consists of three components: collective bargaining; consultation; and "proposals" on personnel affairs. Each of these channels of labour-management relations has the characteristics as explained below.

a) Collective bargaining: To

begin with, collective bargaining at Nissan Motor is essentially a medium for determining "distribution" of the wealth produced. It is also a forum for "negotiations between labour and management" on the "conditions of labour such as wages".

More specifically, it is the channel for negotiations on the annual spring "wage increase", summer and year-end "bonuses", reduced working hours, older retirement ages, etc.

What is important to note here is that the "production" and "distribution" of wealth are mechanically treated separately on the basis of an understanding that both labour and management share a common interest in increased "production" of wealth, and that the interests of the two parties can differ only with regard to the question of how that wealth should be "distributed".

Full attainment

Second, let us look at the prototype of collective bargaining practiced at Nissan since the defeat of the 1953 major strike.

The series of collective bargaining carried out in the two periods from 1955 till the oil crisis resulted in "full attainment of the increase demanded".

Typical examples of collective bargaining are those held in the "struggles for periodical wage increases" (from 1964

these were renamed "wage struggles").

What is especially striking about these cases is that they all resulted in "full attainment of the increase demanded"; the wage increments "demanded" by labour were completely identical with the amounts "agreed upon" by management.

Two sessions

What is more, each year collective bargaining sessions were held only twice: the first meeting was for the union to explain its request, and for the company to present its views; and the second meeting was for the company to present its proposed wage increase which was exactly the same as the union's demand.

"Full attainment of the increase demanded" after only two sessions of collective bargaining—this is the prototype of collective bargaining at Nissan.

Third, what are the reasons for this type of collective bargaining?

One is that the process of collective bargaining actually consists of very carefully arranged sub-processes, i.e. prior information gathering by both the union; collective bargaining; negotiations on details at the secretarial level; and final agreement.

Furthermore, these preparatory contacts take place, often behind closed doors, between the company officials in charge of labour management and the "career" union officers (i.e. those union leaders who once held positions in the department in charge of labour management), and sometimes even between the company's top executives and chairman of the Jidosha Roren (Federation of Japan Automobile Workers' Unions—FJAWU) Shoji Ichiro and other top union leaders.

However many stages there may be in the process of collective bargaining, that alone cannot ensure "full attainment of the increase demanded".

Achieved fully

That the union has always been able to achieve its demands perfectly at the tables of collective bargaining and through other preparatory negotiations without meeting any serious opposition from the company can mean only one of two things.

Either the union is in a dominant bargaining position and the company is powerless; or the union, even before enter-



Datsun workers take a tea-break



On the production track

ing into collective bargaining, has a full knowledge of the amount of wage increase it will be able to obtain, and thus deliberately refrains from requesting more from the company.

Judging from the balance of power between labour and management that has prevailed in Japanese capitalism since the mid 1950s, and especially at Nissan since the defeat of the Nissan Local of the National Union of Automobile Workers in the 1953 strike, the former possibility may be precluded.

It should also be kept in mind that there has never been a strike at Nissan in the past 25 years.

We are left with the latter possibility: "full attainment of the increase demanded" has been possible only because the union has always kept its demand at a level acceptable to the company.

'Consultation'

b) Consultation: Among consultation activities, those directly concerned with working conditions are called "consultations on the details of the production system."

At Nissan, consultations dealing with the production system are held at four levels: a central consultative meeting which meets twice a year

HELP MANAGERS

ERS

Beneath a cover of nationalist frenzy in their demands for import controls, British trade union leaders are in full-scale collaboration with management at British Leyland and other British car firms — assisting in the imposition of closures, speed-up and pay sell-outs like the recent betrayal at BL. It is interesting therefore to examine the parallel problems of leadership which confront Japanese workers at the giant Nissan (Datsun) corporation. We reprint below extracts from an investigation by Yamamoto Kiyoshi of Tokyo University into 'Labour-Management Relations at Nissan Motor Co. Ltd.'



Up-market Datsun on sale in Britain

... long-term and biannual ... a sectional meeting on production which meets approximately twice a year as a means of communication between company executives and union representatives on matters having to do with production for the company as a whole; a production conference held once a month between company and union officers actually in charge of operations to decide the production schedule for the month; consultations on the details of the production system held a month at the plant level to discuss how to implement the decisions made at the "production-liaison conference". This is especially noteworthy

that concrete decisions on such matters as the size of the required workforce, working hours and intensity of labour are made at the plant level "consultation on the details of the production system".
c) The system of "proposals" on personnel affairs: Unique among the three components of the structure of labour-management relations at Nissan is the system for "proposals" on personnel affairs. Under this system, the company makes a concrete "proposal" to and obtains a "consent" from the union regarding which union members should be promoted to which specific managerial and super-

visory posts.

Although the general principles of personnel policies are a subject of discussion at the central consultative meeting, the company seeks the union's consent on exactly "who" should be promoted to "which" posts.

Unilateral authority

This system presents a sharp contrast with the dominant pattern of postwar Japanese labour-management relations. In most cases, management has had unilateral "authority over personnel affairs" as part of its "management rights".

This system for "proposals" on personnel affairs extends from the "appointment" of workers with responsible positions and their "transfer", to promotion of irregular employees to regular employees. In administering the system for "proposal" on personnel affairs, the company gives priority to personnel management based on operational needs and the skills of the workers concerned.

However, the union insists that personnel policies should give utmost priority to "one's record of union activities" and "one's standing in the union hierarchy" (which supposedly serves as an indicator of "leadership capacity").

What is more, the company's "proposal" is often opposed, rejected and replaced by a counter-proposal from the union. The union tries to gain influence in the company by putting "former Standing Committee members" not only in the posts of low-ranking supervisors but even in the ranks of "company executives".

At the same time, the fact that those active in the union are given priority in promotion in the company's hierarchy is used by the union as powerful leverage to induce the rank and file members to pledge loyalty to the union.

Concealed

However, how this system is implemented and what criteria are involved are concealed from

ordinary union members.

Decisions are made behind closed doors through negotiations between top union officers and management. In this sense, the "proposal" system is hardly an opening wedge for the workers to encroach upon the "management rights" through autonomous activities.

It is simply a convenient way for a handful of union leaders to impinge on a "management right" as it exists under the present economic system.

3. Changes since the 1973 Oil Crisis.

As we have seen above, the structure of labour-management relations at Nissan Motor is substantially different from the standard organisational arrangements of industrial democracy.

High growth

Yet in the period of extremely high growth for the Japanese automotive industry and Japanese capitalism as a whole which lasted from 1955 up till the oil crisis, various contradictions inherent in this peculiar labour-management relationship at Nissan were not brought out into the open.

However, the sharp changes in the economic environment that have been ushered in by the oil crisis of November 1973 have begun to shake this relationship.

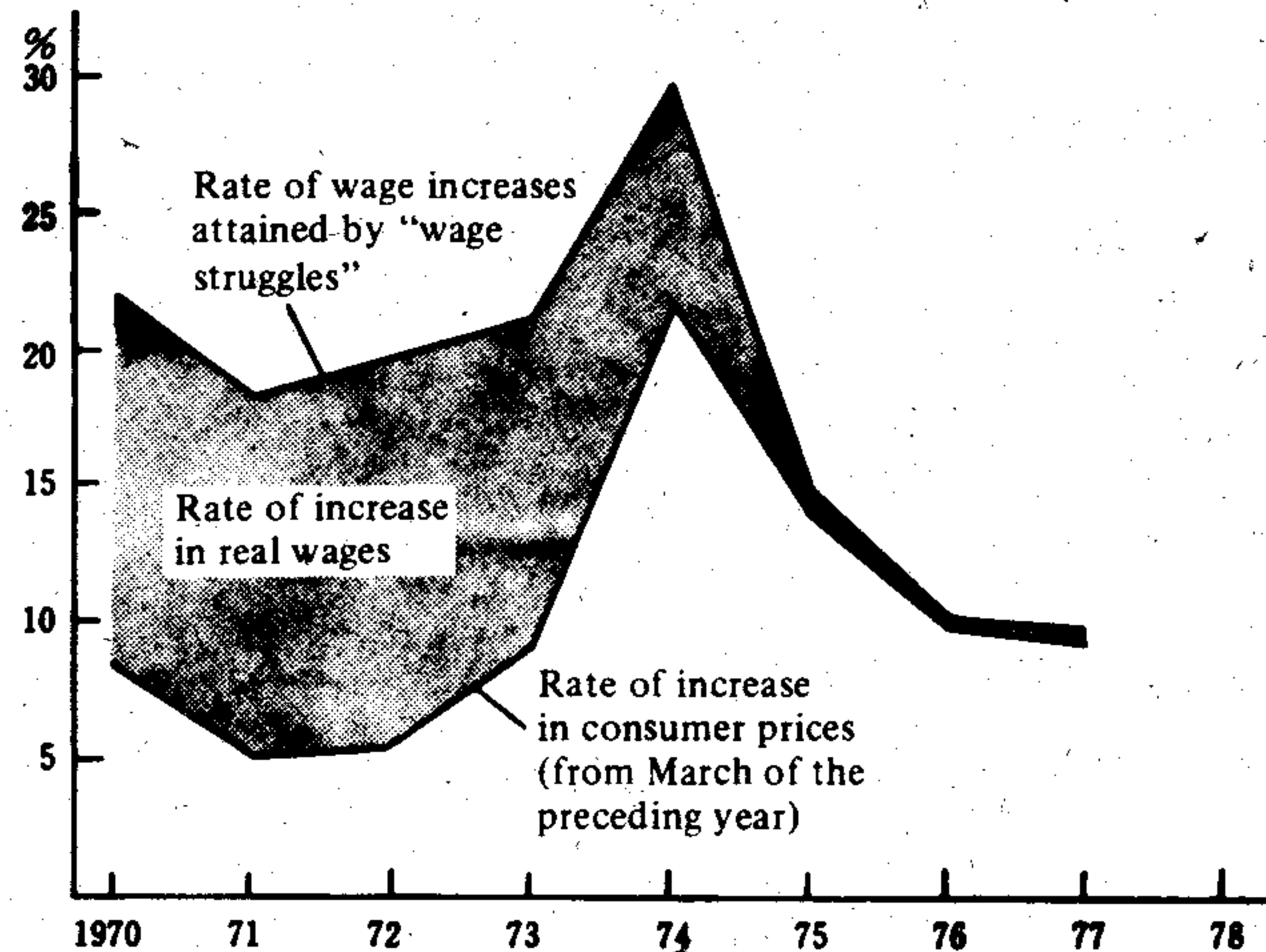
It is true that the structural arrangements have not yet explicitly changed. Yet underneath its unchanged facets, we can clearly identify various changes taking place in labour-management relations.

a) An end to "full attainment of the increase demanded": 1) The "wage struggle" is central to collective bargaining at Nissan, but "full attainment of the increase demanded" is no longer the rule.

It was only till the spring "wage struggle" in 1974, the year after the oil crisis, that the union managed to attain all its demands. Since 1975 it has been able to obtain only between 55 and 80% of the wage hike proposed.

The old system of "full

"The Rate of Wage Increases Attained by "Wage Struggles" at Nissan and the Rate of Increase in Consumer Prices



Gone are the days of rising real wages in Datsun

attainment of the demanded increase" has ceased to function.

2) Previously, collective bargaining was concluded with only two meetings, but the number of meetings has steadily increased: 3 times in 1973; 4 times in 1974; and 5 times in 1975, 1977 and 1978 without including the negotiations held between FJAWU chairman Shoji and the executive officers of the Nissan Workers' Union and the company executives.

3) The wage increases achieved through these prolonged negotiations are drastically different from earlier years. An increase in real wages of more than 10% per year, which was once a reality, is now almost impossible.

Especially since 1975, the union has barely managed to prevent a decline in real wages.

Whatever increases have been attained through the "wage struggles" are only intended to compensate for that portion of real wages which are daily eroded by soaring inflation.

Participation

b) Movement for union participation in management: A significant change is also taking place in the way consultation is conducted. Consultation activities since 1955 have been geared primarily to the improvement of labour productivity.

Needless to say, the objective of improved labour productivity was the curtailment of costs.

But in the process of high economic growth, cost reduction was achieved only as a byproduct of rapid investment in facilities.

In striking contrast, however, since the oil crisis the reduction of costs has become a major objective, as evidenced by the "Movement for Cost Reduction" now underway at Nissan. And efforts are being stepped up to mobilise the workers ideologically toward this end.

The most typical example of such ideological mobilisation is the "3-P Movement" (the 3 Ps stand for productivity, participation and prosperity).

What is noteworthy about this movement is that in its implementation special emphasis is placed on the ideology of "participation".

Now that real wages have ceased to increase, it is no longer possible to whip up and maintain the morale of the workers by means of economic incentives.

Motivation

Thus, in order for the company to mobilise the workers effectively for more efficient operation, it must motivate the workers by other means. This is where the ideology of workers' participation in management comes in.

c) The system of "proposals" on personnel affairs: The future of the system of "proposals" on personnel affairs is also

uncertain. In the period of high economic growth, when new plants were built one after another and the scale of operations steadily expanded and created additional posts for managers and supervisors, the situation was quite favourable for union participation in personnel affairs.

Under the new situation, where openings for such executive posts no longer increase rapidly, thereby shutting up the opportunities of promotion for many workers, the union will find it increasingly difficult to intervene effectively into personnel policies.

Closed doors

Workers are sure to demand that promotion should be based on more impartial and equitable standards. In the face of such a demand, the system as it is practiced today behind closed doors and with priority given to union leaders will inevitably be modified.

In fact, the union's policy on personnel affairs does not command much support from the rank and file members. It cannot withstand the company's policy of controlling personnel administration as part of its efforts to rationalise management and strengthen the managerial hierarchy.

Ever since the oil crisis, labour-management relations at Nissan Motor have undergone some profound changes. The economic environment has changed, and accordingly the institutional framework for labour-management relations, i.e., collective bargaining over wage increases, consultation, and the system of "proposals" on personnel affairs, are all changing.

New system

But what specific form the new system of labour-management relations will take is still anybody's guess.

This will depend on a set of factors including: the type of personnel management policy to be instituted by president Ishihara of Nissan Motor who is gaining increased control over the company's management in place of board chairman Kawamura; the activities of rank and file union members in opposition to the present union leadership; and the way union leaders exercise control over discontented elements.

However these and other factors develop, labour-management relations based on "mutual confidence", which Nissan has been so proud of for a quarter of a century, now face a turning point.

NEXT WEEK
The economic exploitation of Datsun workers

Reprinted from Tokyo University's Annals of the Institute of Social Science, no 21.

MOSLEY: THE FASCIST

BARONET

The late and unlamented Oswald Mosley was a most unusual sort of fascist.

He was not just an empty demagogic tubthumper like Mussolini, an adventurer and a refugee from the socialist movement.

Nor was he, except for a short time, an enthusiastic racist like Hitler or Goebbels.

It is true that Mosley was an ex-socialist like Mussolini, an errant member of the aristocratic caste like d'Annunzio.

He also had a particular notion of his own personal superiority and various other forms of psychological motivation not without significance.

However, we can leave such matters to gossip columnists and capitalist newspapers. For us there are other interesting things to be said.

'Landed gentry'

Mosley after all was the fifth baronet. (This means that he became Sir Oswald as a result of the great achievement of being the eldest son of a great grandfather who had bought a title from George III in 1781).

He also inherited a large tract of land plundered and exploited by his family in the area of what is now Greater Manchester.

He was thus a representative of the 'landed gentry', one of the most important and persistent groups in British society and politics.

The social layer which spawned Mosley did not suddenly disappear from the English political scene after the bourgeois revolution of 1640.

Nor did they get wiped away by the extension of the parliamentary franchise in 1832, 1867 and 1884.

They remained as the main social base of the Tory Party and the chief provider of MPs until well into the twentieth century.

Mosley thus came from a very long tradition when he became Tory MP for Harrow in 1918.

He then had the added asset of a war record and a limp, acquired from an injury sustained falling out of an aeroplane when trying to learn how to fly it.

He was not simply a representative of his class, but a conspicuous one.

He married Cynthia Curzon, daughter of one of the most aristocratic, vicious exploiters of the colonial peoples both as Viceroy of India and leading Tory politician.

The King and Queen were both present at this wedding in 1920.

It was the 'social event' of the same year which through the 'Jolly George' boycott and the Council of Action, British workers expressed their opposition to the imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

Disorientation

It is important to realise that these were days of great political disorientation for Britain's ruling class.

The Russian Revolution had swept away some of their blood brothers.

The Labour Party in Britain seemed capable of winning a majority in Parliament.

The traditional structure of British ruling class politics was under threat. No longer could Liberals alternate with Tories as ruling class parties directly devoted to balancing the interests of the various factions of the bourgeoisie.

This situation presented a dilemma for many of Britain's ruling groups.

For Lloyd George, former

ALAN CLINTON looks at the record of the aristocrat Tory turned Labourite turned fascist who died in Paris last week.

proponent of social reform and imperialist war, this meant forming a tiny party mostly from his own family.

He tried with no success to employ methods of 'social engineering' to capitalist slump.

For the likes of Asquith, it meant trying to hold onto the 'traditional' values of Liberalism in a world where the pacifism of John Bright and the uncomfortable populism of W.E. Gladstone were long since dead.

For most rank and file Liberals it simply meant going over to the Tories, especially after 1931.

However, for others the way out was different. They became the 'middle class recruits to labour'.

Morel and the semi-pacifists came over as supporters of nineteenth century bourgeois solutions for the great problems of modern capitalism and imperialism.

They helped to create the foreign policies of the Labour Party which persist to the present day.

Grand plan

For Mosley there was another variant. He came over to Labour as someone who knew a grand plan for the capitalist crisis without socialism.

He became an early advocate of Keynesian-type solutions to unemployment and depression, advocating policies of public works, deficit financing and much else.

There was a particular atti-

tude in the Labour left of the late 20s and 30s of which Mosley became a proponent.

Some of the same set of policies for state-induced capitalist expansion won support from such as George Lansbury who soon afterwards was Labour leader, and from Ernest Bevin, of the TGWU, most important union leader of the time.

Notions abounded on such lines as a 'House of Industry', representative of capitalists and unions, to replace the House of Lords.

Left credentials

They were close to concepts of the 'corporate state', but they were led by many who died with impeccable left credentials—like Alf Purcell, member of the TUC General Council during the 1920s and Secretary of the Manchester Trades Council in the early 30s.

This combination of semi-corporatism and incipient Keynesianism—a sort of evolutionary socialism without class struggle—was the political trajectory of Mosley.

It is vital to remember that the only other socialist alternative available in 1929-30 was the ultra-left lunacy of the Communist Party, reflecting Stalin's 'Third Period' policy, which said that social democracy and fascism were 'twins'.

There is some congruence between Keynesianism and fascism, but there is no necessary relationship.



Mosley

As a matter of fact Keynesian policies have been carried through *not* by the fascists, but by the reformists who remain the strongest proponents of these ideas right up to the present day.

It is not without significance that Mosley found a sympathetic biographer in Robert Skidelsky, a Jew and an extreme right wing social democrat.

But this is not to say that all such people move in that same direction.

So Mosley got a following within the Labour Party for his 'radical' solutions to capitalist crisis.

It was this conjuncture that created Mosley's abortive 'New Party' of 1931 and then went on to the British Union of Fascists thereafter.

Very quickly this became a movement that aimed not for the parliamentary majorities it could not achieve, but for the brutality, racism and street fighting by which it tried to show its power.

Support

At the time of advanced capitalist crisis after 1931 this perspective had the support of significant sections of the capitalist class.

It was not the old dogmatic anti-semitism of the likes of Lees and the other 'pure' fascists, but a demagogic populist movement owing something to its origins in the labour movement and more to the pattern set by Mussolini.

It was not only the *Daily*

Mail that shouted 'Hurrah for the Blackshirts'.

Mosley's lack of real support was because the ruling class had no need of him.

They got the 'strong government' they wanted through lies and bribery in the 1931 General Election. Mosley could be spewed out and left all by himself to his fancy dress parades.

As Mosley increasingly went onto the streets for his support, built up the anti-semitic campaigns and the organised thuggery of the 1934 Olympia meeting, he became a useful tool for some of the purposes of Britain's rulers.

The Public Order Act of 1936 which they passed allegedly to stop the disorders he was fomenting, was really aimed at limiting the activities of demagogues, socialists and trade unionists, and has almost always been used to this purpose to the present day.

Mosley himself tried in later years to deny, in defiance of all the evidence, that the movement had been anti-semitic.

He really did say that some of his best friends were Jews.

He even tried to deny that children had ever been thrown through plate glass windows in the East End of London and that houses had been fire-bombed.

These statements are belied by the very attitudes taken by Mosley in later years—his advocacy of surrender to Hitler in 1940, his new campaign in Jewish areas of London in the late 40s and his efforts to exploit racial hatred of black

immigrants in West London in the late 50s.

This last brought Mosley into direct continuity with the present day fascist organisations.

Reign of terror

In his heyday in the 1930s only Mosley embodied these measures which capitalism needs to have in reserve.

He alone, if anybody, would have brought a restoration of "strong government", based on a racialist reign of terror, and slave camps for trade unionists and socialists.

This was an option which the ruling class had not found it necessary to use in order to defend their privileges and their system—yet!

Mosley's roots in the landed aristocracy were in a social group which has still by no means disappeared from the British political scene.

In days gone by the same mobs of lumpen proletarians and depressed petty bourgeois were bribed to scream for King and Country.

These are the ancestors of the 'patriots' who scream against the 'enemies within', like racial minorities, trade unionists, communists and homosexuals.

They may yet need another Mosley, after the one that is dead.

Racist hatred

We can be certain that if they do it will not be an egregious ignoramus of the Tyndal or Webster variety, but another well-bred individual who will show the racist hatred that is just under the skin of our most cultured rulers.

They will show the same bruised self-confidence that will try to lead a 'mission' based on everything that is inhuman in order to preserve the last vestiges of their putrifying system.

Such characters are there still inside that same rotting woodwork from which Mosley emerged—the same aristocracy, the same officer corps, the same errant labour bureaucrats.

Only the destruction of the system that sustains them will ensure that none of them will ever crawl out again.



Mosley's supporters confronted by workers in Battle of Cable Street, 1936

VIOLENCE against women

Last week's centre page article looked at the problem of rape and the necessity for the workers movement to take steps to eradicate this aspect of women's oppression.

This week MARY ANNE TODD looks at the problem of battered women—the victims of so-called "domestic violence".

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of women who endure regular violence—battering—in the home.

Unlike births, deaths and marriages the figures are not kept. Unlike many other forms of crime the police are notified in only a small proportion of cases—and in many of these violence is brushed aside as a domestic "tiff".

Individuals—both the violent men and the intimidated, degraded woman victim—are generally anxious to conceal rather than reveal the facts.

And this is the more so because the violence takes place *within* the home. The number of battered women, like the tens of thousands of unemployed married women who do not sign on, are an "invisible" statistic.

Social stigma

Being a battered woman carries a social stigma similar to that of being a victim of rape. In each case society tends to penalise the *victim* rather than the attacker. To seek outside help is seen as violating the supposed sanctity and "privacy" of the family unit.

Indeed, who should you report it to? The police, guardians of the capitalist state and defenders of its established institutions, are committed to *upholding* the family unit.

Their prejudices—examined in last week's article in the context of rape—also emerge in their attitudes towards battered women.

For the police, the explanation to violent attacks on women is most often that "she asked for it" or that "they enjoy a bit of rough handling now and then."

In the majority of cases battered women are wives. They are seen as the property of the husband—subordinate to his requirements both economically and physically.

Thus the law says that a man cannot be charged for raping his wife. It is assumed that in marriage a woman surrenders her body to her husband.

If a wife is battered, a sense of blame, of failure is attached to her. She is regarded as not having made a good wife. She and her children are viewed as part of a "problem family".

Suspect

In the National Women's Aid Federation pamphlet "The Myths About Battered Women" they tackle the question of the "problem family":

"The concept of the problem family is itself a suspect one. The definition of a problem family hangs on the existence of a majority of 'normal' families where all is peace and harmony.

"It defines the 'problem' in terms of the dynamics and often the inadequacies of the particular family, without any appreciation of the economic and social circumstances and consequent mental stress that many families and particularly women find themselves in.

"So powerful is the idea of the stable family that it masks the reality of just how many people do not live in such arrangements, and of those who do live in nuclear families all of those do not experience them as

"Well, he just started shouting and bawling and then he just called me names, you know, swearing at me. He kept punching my face all the time, it was my nose . . . He made me stand in the middle of the floor. He wouldn't let me go to bed and I was screaming and he just kept punching my face."

"Just that he always said to me, if you ever divorce me and I find out you're staying—another man's staying with my wains—you'll be dead. I'm really, I mean, I'm really terrified of him, you know. I've got more guts now than I've ever had, I mean, I've got more guts in here (Women's Aid Refuge), but I'm still terrified of him. If I'd see him now, I'd run a mile, I would really run a mile."

Quoted in Spare Rib
June 1980

being happy and stable.

"The idea that the family is a haven in which women can bring up their children is made nonsense of by the fact that as much as 25% of reported violent crime is "wife" assault and that women are safer on the street than they are in their homes".

Contained within this statement is a very real cause of battering. It is in families under stress where the greatest threat of battering occurs.

Working class families are, under the present capitalist crisis, being put under enormous and growing stress as jobs, housing, wages and social services are cut.

The psychological blow of being made redundant, a feeling of worthlessness and degradation, make many men take out their frustrations and despair on their "nearest and dearest".

Women having to cope on a reduced income, with their own jobs gone and having to exist with their husbands in the house all day challenge perhaps for the first time the fact that they get no help with the housework or the children or that he spends too much on drink.

The tensions grow and violence is inflicted—with women as the victim.

So why don't more women simply pack their bags and leave?

To answer this question it is necessary to look not only at the enormous social pressures on women to remain within the family unit—it is also necessary to understand the huge material problems faced particularly by working class women in seeking a home and safety elsewhere.

Of course every government—Labour or Tory—agrees that it is awful that women are attacked in the home.

But there is no state institution that will come out openly and urge women who are subjected to abuse to leave home. This would undermine the family as a basic unit of capitalist society.

This is why every post war report on social policy—on divorce, on homosexuality, on social services—stresses the need for policies to protect and reinforce the bonds of the family unit.

The more support women seek from the state, therefore, the more they are headed back into the home where the violence takes place.

Privileged layers

It is only certain privileged layers of middle class women who can with any ease contemplate simply moving out and setting up a new home.

The current housing shortage, the high price of accommodation, the lack of council housing (now at a complete standstill) means that only women with substantial incomes of their own or property in their own name can hope simply to move into a new home.

Similarly few women can avoid or feel able to face up to the inevitable confrontations, delays, interrogations, and queues involved in obtaining social security after walking out on their husbands.

And for working class women who feel they might

find a job there is the problem of finding childcare—with nurseries closing down and other facilities axed by the Tory cuts.

In addition there is the fear of further violence at the hands of the deserted husband—who all too often will come searching with renewed fury for a wife who moves out.

A real contribution towards understanding and resolving some of these problems has been made by sections of the feminist movement.

They—often with little or no help from the organised labour movement—have concentrated on the fight on behalf of battered women.

They have established over 100 refuges and a support system in various centres across the country.

Yet the problem is beyond the scope of such resources. The refuges are themselves often in a precarious position in regard to funds, premises and legal restrictions.

They are almost invariably overcrowded. And there remains the problem of adequately defending them against vengeful husbands seeking to vent their anger on their absconded "property".

"Property"

These problems must be resolved through a fight *within* the labour movement. In the first instance it is important to raise discussion throughout the workers' movement on the concept of the woman or wife as the "property" of a man.

In many cases the most backward views are perpetuated by trade union and Labour bureaucrats while of course they find a receptive echo among broad layers of male workers who have already been conditioned by centuries of male sexual domination, by their education, by daily media propaganda, and by their own family upbringing.

Challenge myths

The fight must be taken up to challenge the central myths that justify sexual oppression. And at the same time steps must be taken to provide the material basis to tackle the problem of battered women.

This requires the extension of the system of women's refuges to a state-funded system under workers' management, with adequate staff and counselling facilities to help the often desperate women who turn to them.

It requires a fight to defend and extend nursery facilities and to secure full employment for women as well as male workers, in order to provide economic independence for all women.

It requires the expansion of council housing programmes to make special accommodation available for women who wish to escape from violence in the home—protected by alarm systems against violent attack.

Such policies are achievable only through the defeat of the Tory government which is committed to policies that further intensify precisely the

material pressures that are now driving more and more desperate men to resort to domestic violence.

But steps that can be taken immediately include the involvement of local trades councils in the support and physical defence of women's refuges, and the mobilisation of civil service unions, in discussion with local women's organisations, to seek means of ending the harassment of battered women seeking social security and ensuring adequate staffing to deal with battered women.

Violence against women has continued for centuries, based on the inequality of the sexes. It pre-dates capitalism, and will not be immediately eradicated by the nationalisation of banks and industries.

This century however has seen huge advances in birth control and abortion techniques that for the first time offer women control of their fertility—and the chance to determine their own lives in a way previously impossible.

But only through the measures made possible by a socialist planned economy can the material conditions be created for women to achieve full social equality.

Only in a socialist society will violence and abuse to women be seriously tackled as a social problem and not brushed aside as the individual failings of "abnormal" or "maladjusted" men.

It is in offering this perspective that Trotskyists can help advance the struggle against sexual oppression.





REJECT FBU 18 MONTH DEAL!

The FBU Executive will go to a further recall conference this week in a bid to foist onto their members a pay offer which effectively ends the agreement won in the nine week strike of 1977-78.

The offer—widely reported as a victory, giving firemen their full 18.8% claim—is nothing of the sort.

The link between FBU pay and the upper quartile male manual workers' wage is broken: instead firemen have been offered 13% backdated to the review date of November 7 and another 5.8% in April.

The employers have also made it clear that they wish in future to change the fire service pay review date to April.

Divided

Thus, though the FBU Executive now deny it vehemently, it seems most likely that if the offer is accepted, there will be no more pay settlements for firemen until April 1982!

Indeed though they are now pressing the case strongly, the FBU EC was itself divided on the offer when first they discussed it.

Eight votes went for rejection—and eight for acceptance. Only on the casting vote of the chair was the offer carried as EC policy, and the first of the one-day strikes which they were mandated to call was cancelled.

The revised offer from management came in the face of massive support for the action both within the FBU and from the labour movement. The TUC had declared support: so too had the Fire Officers' Association which had supervised army strikebreakers during the last strike.

Dissipated

Even small breakaway unions supported the FBU action—while the Retained Firefighters Union's call for scabbing was being flouted by its own local members.

Yet this strength has now been dissipated by the EC's failure to proceed with the first one-day stoppage and the widespread confusion on the nature of the offer.

Few workers realise that the employers have insisted on attaching a "statement of intent" to the offer, which includes a call to examine manning levels and a declaration that redundancies cannot be ruled out.

Own time

Discussions will be sought on more effective use of manpower including:

- *Rota systems—less rest days off duty.
- *Variable manning.
- *Whole time/retained firemen to be on call in their own time.

*Loss of agreed rest days.
*Work routines: more inspections by firemen (meaning a cut in fire prevention staff).

*Travelling expenses—a fringe benefit could be lost.

*Tradesmen's work—firemen having to do tradesmen's work (building maintenance etc) on their fire stations.

The FBU EC have meekly put out a statement answering the employers—but made no call to reject the deal.

Instead they have claimed that "there are no strings attached to the pay offer. They are not conditional on the union accepting redundancies or other forms of worsening conditions."

Many brigades are not convinced. They are prepared to reject the offer. The claim can still be won if the action is pressed forward without delay.

RED YOUTH 27
November/December issue
Articles on hunger strikers/Tories/Gays/Labour Party/Lenin Import controls/Unemployment/Sneaks and Leaders
8 pages—10p from SYL, BM Box 5277 London WC1N 3XX

Ford bosses call for no-strike agreement

Following the Leyland lead, Ford management are continuing to tighten the screw on the shopfloor workforce.

They are sticking to their wage-cutting 9.5% pay offer, which was thrown out last week by mass meetings at all the major plants.

And they are now refusing even to negotiate any further unless union leaders and shop stewards give a written undertaking that they will help enforce the company's new dictatorial disciplinary system.

They want an explicit commitment from stewards to allow strikers' jobs to be filled by scab labour from other departments: and they are demanding that stewards enforce the official disputes procedure.

This latest ultimatum from Ford bosses shows their contempt for the feeble gesture by Terry Duffy and the AUEW who gave the company a month's strike notice.

Duffy is not demanding an improvement in the miserable pay offer: nor is he opposed to the vicious attack on union rights and working conditions embodied in the new disciplinary procedures.

He is seeking simply an hour off the 40-hour week—to bring Ford into line with the 39-hour week due to be introduced by the engineering employers next autumn.

But the reticence of other union leaders in the Ford pay claim almost makes Duffy look like a militant. Ron Todd, TGWU national organiser, has talked of a trade-off involving increased productivity in exchange for an improved offer.

But Ford have now made it clear that they are intent on forcing through an increase in productivity—thus laying the



Ford workers rejected 9.5% deal

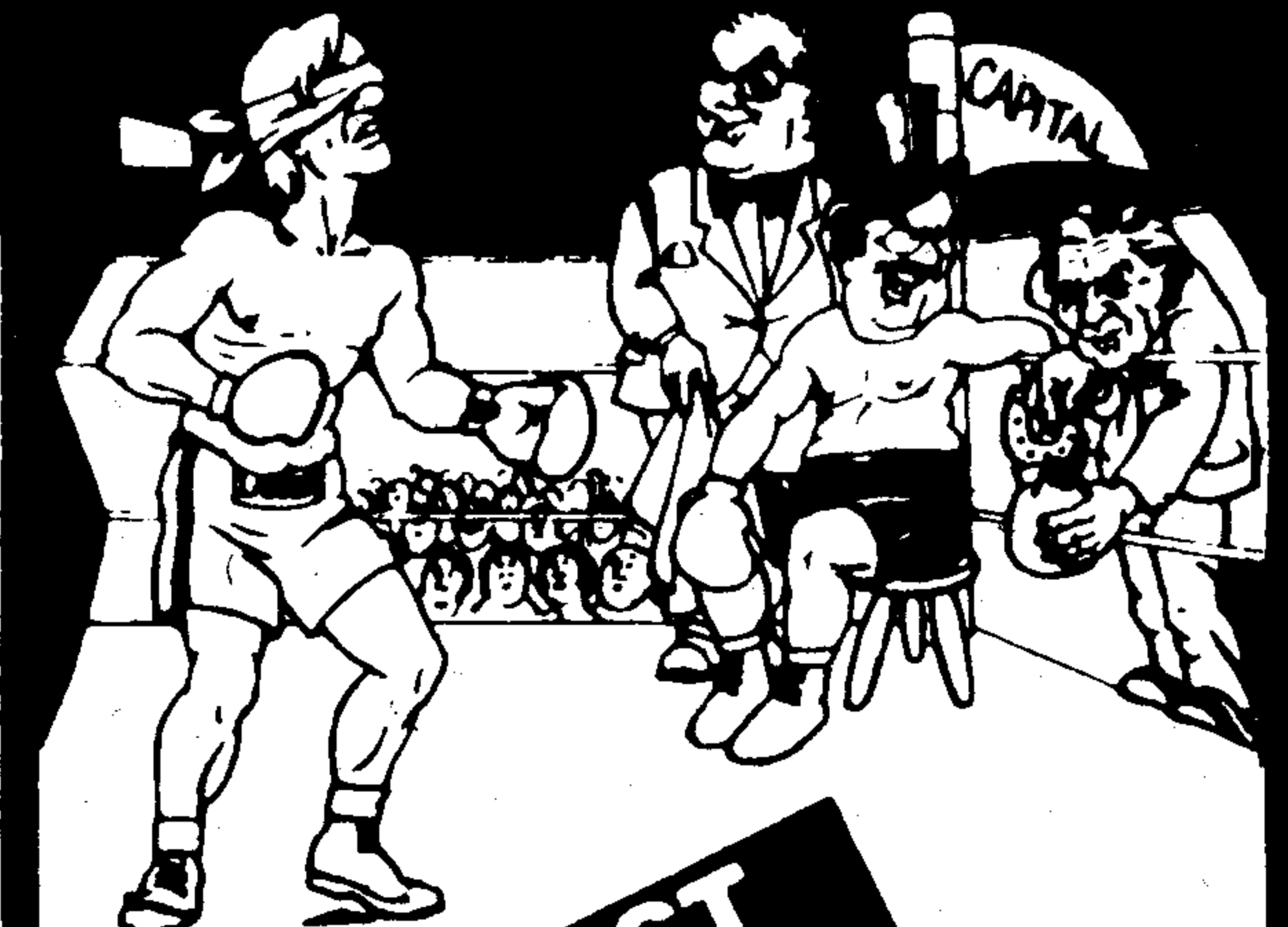
basis for redundancies—without paying a penny piece above 9.5%.

Management know that union bureaucrats like Todd are as hostile as they are to unofficial strikes over which they have little control. They are exploit-

ing this factor to the full.

It now falls to the workers on the shop floor to construct a leadership capable of exposing and combatting the bureaucracy and waging the fight to defend jobs, conditions and living standards against a ruthless employer.

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DISCUSSION BULLETIN No. 2

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JOIN THE WSL!

With workers by the thousand taking to the streets to oppose Tory policies there is plainly no lack of militancy in the organised working class.

Yet the existing trade union bureaucrats and Labour leaders—whether right or 'left'—have no perspective to offer those workers prepared to fight in defence of jobs, living standards, social services and democratic rights.

These can only be defended through policies which start from the independent interests of the working class, which, as an international class, has nothing to gain and everything to lose from attempts to restore the profitability of their "own" employing class.

In a period where the contradictions of the anarchic capitalist system force the wholesale closure and destruction of the productive forces of society, only a socialist planned

economy on a world scale offers a way forward.

To achieve such a perspective a leadership is needed which, in today's struggles fights to advance workers beyond trade union militancy, protest politics and illusions that capitalism can be abolished through parliament.

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist movement fighting day in and day out to build such a principled leadership in the working class in Britain.

Internationally, we are affiliated to the newly-formed Trotskyist International Liaison Committee, which fights for the reconstruction of the Fourth International and the building of revolutionary parties in every country to lead the struggle against imperialism and against the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies in the deformed and

degenerated workers' states. We invite all readers of Socialist Press to seek more details of the WSL and its work, and to join us in the struggle for socialism.

Please send me more details of the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....
Address.....

Send to WSL: BM Box 5277, London WC1N 3XX

LONGWORTH HOSPITAL OCCUPIED

If these workers
can do it, you can do it!

On Tuesday December 2 Longworth Hospital for geriatric women was occupied by the staff.

The majority of workers at the hospital are members of COHSE.

COHSE has a national policy of occupation of threatened facilities—on paper, that is.

For over 2½ years Longworth Hospital has been under the threat of closure but during that time not one COHSE official came to the hospital to actively encourage the staff to occupy.

This was left to the staff themselves. Fortunately when the closure was first announced the COHSE branch had a very active assistant secretary, Jo Coxhead, who had been involved in the South Oxford Nursery occupation and who had responsibility in the branch for the Longworth section.

She immediately organised a meeting with the COHSE steward at the hospital and they adopted the policy of occupation when the closure date was announced. They established a very strong Longworth Hospital Support Committee.

Unionised

At the same time as the closure of Longworth was announced the closure of the major geriatric hospital in Oxfordshire—Cowley Road Hospital—was also proposed.

This was a much larger hospital, centrally situated and known internationally for developments in geriatric care.

Cowley Road was strongly unionised by NUPE, with the senior shop steward, Betty Ward, being a National Executive member of the union.

When the closure of Cowley Road was announced the Community Health Council (not NUPE) organised a meeting. It was attended by over 300 people—but the only recommendation to come out of it to save Cowley Road Hospital was a petition.

NUPE organised *nothing*—just one meeting with management. On Trades Council, on the Joint Trade Union Committee of the NHS unions, the NUPE officers said Cowley Road was a matter for the internal affairs of NUPE.

They hotly argued that the workers there did not want to fight, and that the closure was not even a cut!

Cowley Road Hospital is now closed. It is standing empty, desolate, despite the



Inside the occupation

thousands of signatures on the petition.

A Cowley Road Support Committee was set up, but it soon became evident that Betty Ward was concentrating her energies not in fighting closure plans, but doing everything in her power to fight and discredit the Support Committee—as a bunch of troublemaking “politicos”.

With their own NUPE stewards doing nothing to fight the closure, busy organising transfer deals and smear campaigns against the Support Committee, the workers were made confused, demoralised and though in complete opposition to closure, without the necessary leadership and encouragement could not organise the very big step of occupation.

The workers at Longworth are fully aware that though it is easy to have the policy on paper for over two years, actually establishing an occupation is no automatic, easy process.

It requires a lot of advice, patient work developing confidence, and a substantial shift in the consciousness of workers,

developing the necessary control to remove the authority of management and replace it with the authority of the occupation committee.

If any section of workers had the odds against them in establishing an occupation it was this group.

The hospital itself is a couple of miles outside of Longworth village, small and isolated in rambling grounds, with many entrances.

The main gate is a good distance from the hospital itself, in the woods, which makes look out and picket duty from the main body of the hospital impossible.

Therefore, a 24 hour picket has to be maintained in the woods, where there is no light or shelter.

The hospital itself is run like a large family institution. Challenging the nursing officer is like challenging the head of the household.

The sisters, who are hostile to the occupation have had years of having their autocratic authority respected through the use of intimidation.

The women who work at the

hospital work on a multitude of part-time shifts to fit in with both child care arrangements and when they can get a lift into the hospital from their homes in outlying villages or with other part-time jobs in the local schools.

Many have large families, and therefore heavy commitments in the home.

Getting a meeting of all the staff is a complete impossibility.

Therefore the occupation had to be declared by one shift, before the intention got back to management, and could only later be explained to the others!

The occupation requires many different meetings to get the involvement of staff on all the different shifts.

Sometimes members of the occupation committee find that they are the only ones on a certain shift with hostile sisters and unsympathetic trained staff.

The confidence, strength and determination of the workers from the occupation committee is noticeably shifting the whole response in the hospital day by day from one of suspicion, indifference or hostility to the



occupation to one of support and help.

The major factor in this is that the care of the patients is not in anyway being impaired.

The strength of hospital occupations is that by law while a hospital has patients in it, it *must* be serviced, supplied, staff *must* be paid, and full medical cover *must* be given.

The central question is therefore keeping the patients in the hospital.

Without an occupation there is nothing stopping the ambulances driving in and removing patients from the AHA-controlled hospital under instructions from the AHA.

Once a picket is mounted on the gate, however, and support for the occupation is declared by the ambulance union, then the drivers are under instruction by their union not to cross the picket line for any purpose which could threaten the occupation.

The central task for the occupation is therefore to prevent patients being moved out.

In order to do this the picket must obviously be maintained. But we have seen in the past how those picket lines have been smashed through by scab ambulances.

A sufficient threat must be posed to the AHA to prevent them employing these tactics.

This threat can only take the form of *strike action* throughout the NHS in the area, backed up by supporting strike action from industrial sectors determined to preserve their health service.

This is the aim of the occupation committee.

It is not an easy thing for part-time women workers—some of whom have not even attended union meetings before, and who have had years of playing a set role in the family, now to spend their days doing their very arduous shift in the short-staffed hospital, as well as consolidating the occupation there challenging the upper echelons of management and now coming out every night to speak to trades councils, union meetings and public meetings.

But they are determined having got so far, and done so much, not to give up.

They are fully aware of how much is at stake. Representatives from the St. Benedicts Hospital occupation have come down several times over this past week to give support and advice to the Longworth workers.

They, like the Longworth workers are determined that this

occupation should not follow the same pattern of isolation and defeat as their own and so many other occupations.

The national leaders of NUPE, COHSE and NALGO, for all their cluckings of sympathy, have not yet utilised one bit of the strength of their members in strike action to halt the cuts.

AHAs are confident up and down the country that they can quite literally get away with *murder*—for how many of the sudden deaths of patients evicted from Hounslow and St. Benedicts Hospitals are due to their brutal actions?

The full weight of the labour movement outraged by the callousness of management in these actions should have been mobilised in strike action in defence of our hospitals.

The AHA in Oxfordshire are relying—like other AHAs—on vacillating, weak-kneed betrayals from the COHSE leadership.

Suspended

Within two days of the occupation being declared the COHSE officials recommended that the occupation be ‘suspended’ on the basis of an agreement from the AHA to have “full consultation with COHSE before moving patients”.

The argument was worthless. The AHA continued to declare its determination to close the upper floor of Longworth and ultimately the whole of the hospital.

The COHSE members of the occupation committee immediately voted unanimously to reject the proposals, stating they hadn't gone so far to turn back now for nothing.

The COHSE officials now know that selling this occupation out is going to require a bit of thought.

The AHA are aware of this too.

Lady McCarthy, the AHA chairwoman is on the GMC of the local Labour Party.

(She is also a supporter of the ‘Gang of Three’ and an ardent witch-hunter in the Oxford Labour Party).

She is vicious in her determination to break-up the NHS in Oxfordshire, in particular the “cinderella” services for geriatrics.

Noticeably, it is Dr. Ken Williamson, chairman of the Longworth Hospital Support Committee, that she and fellow witch-hunters are determined to refuse to allow to join the Labour Party.

McCarthy is probably the most notoriously anti-working class figure in the local Labour Party—but already fellow right wingers are moving in to protect her and to attack the hospital occupation.

This they are finding virtually impossible to do. Oxford and District Trades Union Council has given its unanimous support and union branches including the right-wing led 5/60 Branch of the TGWU at Cowley have begun to send money and give practical support.

Must win

The communities of Longworth and surrounding villages are sending up pickets. Whole families can be seen doing gate duty.

It is vital that the discrepancy is exposed throughout the Labour Party between those Labour and trade union leaders carrying out the attacks on the working class and those fighting for socialist policies.

The Longworth Hospital occupation must win and be a beacon for those fighting to defend health services.

Longbridge

sacked!

An appeals hearing was scheduled for the Friday. Immediately they heard the news, Wednesday's night shift on trim and Metro assembly struck.

On Thursday morning they mounted a picket on the gates.

But that morning no lead at all was given by the Works Committee.

Word was passed around the tracks from leading members of the Works Committee advising them to work normally and await the outcome of the appeal.

Later in the day the Works Committee decided to advise night shift workers on Thursday to work normally in order to “avoid being isolated”.

At the same time they did their best to confuse workers and defuse resistance by setting out to “persuade” management

to postpone the appeal for one week whilst the *trade unions* carried out an inquiry into the incident.

Full time officials and convenors are now set up on the plant conducting this inquiry.

The nine victimised workers meanwhile are suspended to full pay and denied access to the plant.

As every militant knows, suspension on full pay is the kiss of death to a victimised worker. It isolates the worker from the workforce and, by ensuring that he receives full wages, makes it doubly hard to secure strike action in his support.

The Longbridge sackings are thus following the well-worn path of a classic union-busting victimisation. Exactly similar tactics of delay and confusion were used by Duffy and the AUEW leadership to carry through the victimisation of

From page 1

Longbridge convenor Derek Robinson a year ago.

These victimisations must be stopped. There has as yet been no joint shop stewards meeting called in Longbridge to discuss the victimisation, one must be called immediately.

Action must be called in defence of the nine before it is too late.

TGWU members

The four stewards victimised are all members of the TGWU.

Moss Evans, arguing that shop stewards must be defended, correctly sanctioned official strike action in defence of Derek Robinson—who was a member of the AUEW.

Evans must now be forced to immediately do the same to defend the four stewards and four other TGWU members if they are not all fully reinstated at Friday's appeal hearing.

Xavier sacked

Meetings designed to extend the strike action in defence of NUPE Branch Chairman Conway Xavier are taking place as we go to press.

Xavier was sacked without notice from his job as Deputy Head Porter at Great Ormond Street Hospital as a result of management moves to push action in defence of a porter sacked at Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Hackney.

The immediate walk-out by around 100 NUPE members in his defence was met by scabbing organised by the hospital's Head Porter—who is chairman of the local COHSE branch!

The NUPE Area Health Committee is to meet tomorrow to discuss action to prevent this victimisation.

FT sackings

THE victimisation of 20 machine managers halted production of the Financial Times on Sunday night. The 20 men had been fighting for renegotiation of their house agreement.

SOCIALIST PRESS



Rover workers vote to occupy

Management at the BL Rovers SD1 plant in Solihull have informed the trade unions of their intention to enforce 200 compulsory redundancies.

This is after they have achieved only 150 of the 350 redundancies they want by voluntary means.

This has been turned into a frontal attack on the trade union movement by their decision that those to be made redundant will be selected by management on the basis of such criteria as "skill" and "time keeping".

The Joint Shop Stewards Committee called a mass meeting last Friday which voted to oppose the redundancies and to occupy the plant in defence of jobs if necessary.

Meanwhile officials have organised a further procedural meeting for December 15.

It is unlikely therefore that the redundancies can now be implemented by management before the Christmas holiday.

POLISH STALINISTS GET ONE MORE CHANCE

Threat of invasion

After the warning bells of an impending invasion of Poland had been ringing for a week in the world's capitalist press, the Warsaw Pact summit appears to have given Polish Party leader Stanislaw Kania a brief breathing space to put his own house in order.

The danger of a military

intervention is plainly very great.

But there is no doubt that on all sides such a move would be seen as a last desperate resort—a confession that the Stalinist leaders in Warsaw had lost all hopes of controlling the militant Polish working class.

For the Kremlin leaders the cost would be dramatic. To subdue a hostile population of 35 million Poles they would

need a huge force—possibly as much as 30 divisions.

They would be met by a barrage of active and passive resistance within Poland.

And there would be economic, diplomatic and military reprisals taken by the imperialists—including still greater military spending by the American warmongers, the complete abandonment of arms reduction negotiations, further restrictions

or even an abrupt end to trade, and even steps by the imperialists to further arm the reactionary Afghan guerrilla armies, arm the Chinese, or possibly blockade Cuba.

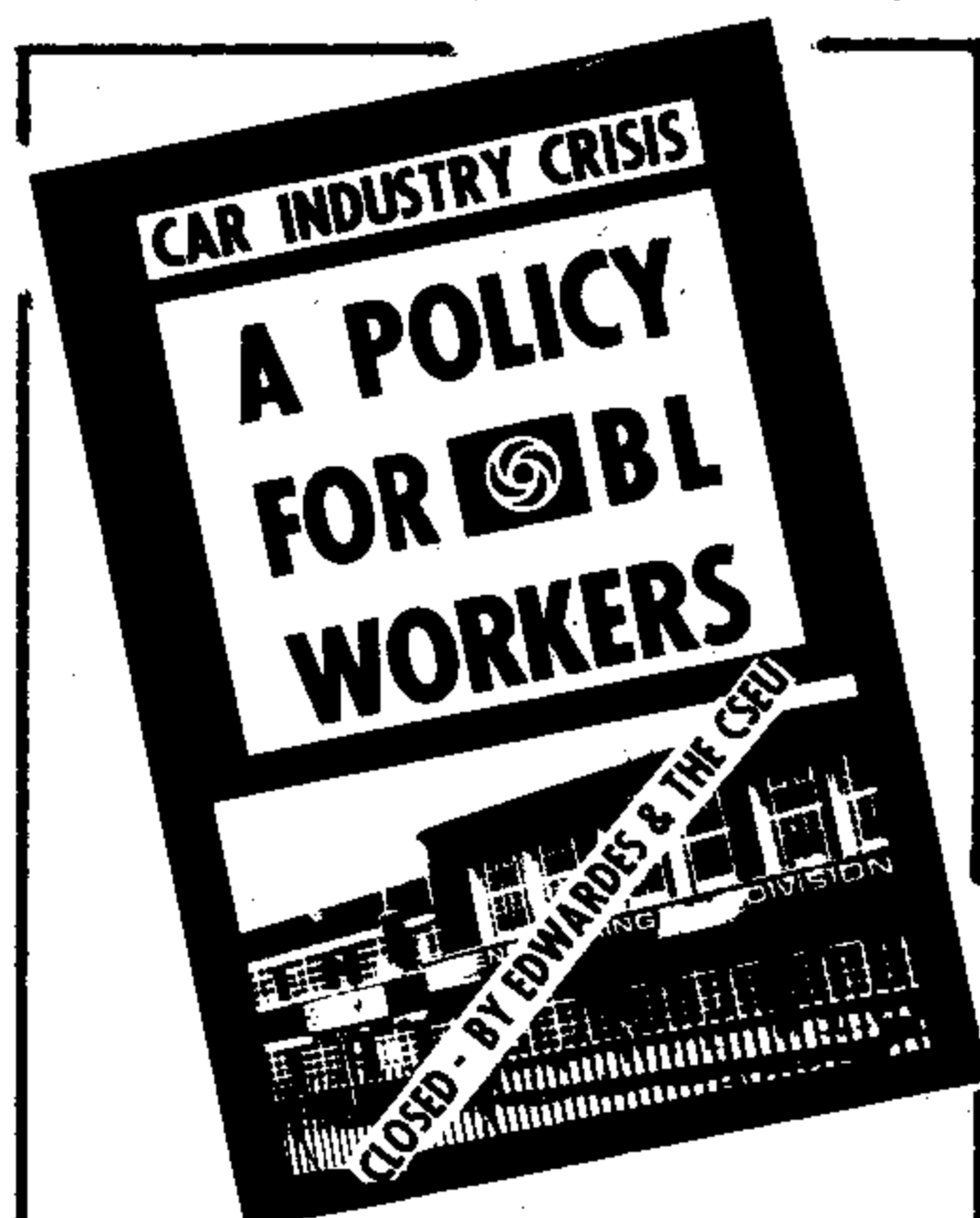
Such external problems would add to the mounting internal pressures on the Soviet bureaucracy.

Already Brezhnev's gang is

Continued page 2



Kania



Available, price 42p including postage, from WSL, BM Box 5277, London WC1N 3XX.



Rally brings Fund to £1815

An anonymous donation of £300, a pledge of £80 from BL workers' back pay next weekend, £20 from Scottish supporters and a splendid collection of over £212 at the Workers Socialist League 6th Anniversary Rally last weekend helped to push the final figure of our £1,500 Special Fund well over the top to a total of £1,815.

We know that some further donations are still in the post to us: they will be added to the Special Fund. We thank all those readers who have lent their tangible support to our fight for programme and principle in the labour movement, and given so generously to our appeal.

But the work to be done in

the next year demands ever greater resources.

Leadership

Speakers at the rally showed from many angles the necessity for revolutionary leadership:

- *challenging the pro-imperialist line of the Labour and union bureaucrats on Ireland.
- *championing the fight against the oppression of women and struggling to draw unemployed women from the isolation of the home into active politics.

- *organising youth in the struggle against unemployment, racism and army recruitment.

- *spelling out a perspective for the political overthrow of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe.

- *offering a lead in the fight against hospital closures and public sector cuts.

*leading the fight in the car industry and the trade union movement in general for policies that lead towards full-scale mobilisation to bring down the Tory government.

In every instance our movement is able to offer practical guidance based on a body of experience.

As the possibilities grow for a fight to defeat this government, so does the scale of the betrayals carried out by the labour bureaucracy.

Expand

The tasks of a revolutionary movement therefore multiply.

We need to go forward in the next twelve months to develop and expand every aspect of our work in Britain and on a world scale.

We need *your* help. We need donations—however large or

small—to our £850 Monthly Fund. We need to expand the sales of Socialist Press, Woman Worker and Red Youth.

We need above all to grow as a movement: we urge every reader to consider joining the Workers Socialist League to help us take forward the fight for action against the Tories.

Now is a time for decision. Let *your* decision be to play an active role in the fight to defend the working class against the most brutal government and the most treacherous leadership since the 1920s.

Send your donation to:
Socialist Press Monthly Fund
BM Box 5277, London
WC1N 3XX

Thousands back 'H' Block struggle

Rioting in Derry; the biggest demonstration against the British army in Dublin for eight years; the first stirrings of a growing movement on the H Blocks in Britain—the headaches for Thatcher and for Haughey grow.

The ten hunger strikers—seven men in the H Blocks of Long Kesh and three women in Armagh Jail—have sparked off a wave of struggle against the brutality of British rule in the north.

The demonstration in Dublin saw 40,000 marching in support of political status.

Nervous Gardai lined the route to the British Embassy which was burned to the ground in 1972.

The size of the march is reported to have taken the police and the organisers by surprise.

In the north and the south of Ireland strikes have taken place in support of political status and a national day of action was being planned for December 10.

Talks

Thatcher—and half the senior end of her cabinet—were attempting to put together talks with Haughey before that date.

Deals, compromises and buy-offs will doubtless be attempted in the few remaining days that now separate the seven men from their deaths and the few weeks that the women have left to live.

But the attempts to black out growing support for political status are falling apart.

The fight is not just a humanitarian question. The hunger strikers are political prisoners—they are prisoners of war.

Brutality

The no-jury courts torture brutality and fabricated evidence that lead to their imprisonment are themselves symptoms of the sectarian state.

The case for political status rests however on still firmer ground and cannot be diluted by 'prison reform' or by lying (such as changing the prison uniform and calling it 'civilian clothes').

The support in the north is overwhelming, with demonstrations every week and tens of thousands of pounds flooding in to the National H Block Committee, which has now been extended to include Armagh.

In Britain however, action in support of the hunger strikers is still limited.

The Charter 80 campaign is

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