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SPANISH GENERAL STRIKE

On the spot report from MADRID See Back Page

EGA OCCUPIED Details of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital Work-In See Page 11

Leyland plans penalty clauses

The non-elected ad-hoc committee of shop stewards, set up under the British Leyland Ryder proposals to mastermind the first steps towards corporation-wide wage bargaining has been sworn to secrecy.

But their agreement with management not to divulge to the members they represent proposals from management affecting the wages and conditions of 100,000 workers in the Cars Division, was shattered at last Saturday's meeting of the BMC Combine Committee.

DOCUMENT

The revelations came from John Power, delegate from the Service Division, who said that, although he is not on the ad-hoc committee he had seen the management document.

The shop stewards in his factory had met and had rejected the proposals.

He told the meeting that in return for certain fringe benefits management were asking for a no strike clause.

This would mean that almost all the fringe benefits would be disqualified if more than four hours strike action took place in any three month period.

These are proposals on the lines of the infamous Ford agreement where holiday entitlements for the whole Ford labour force were wiped out if a strike took place in any one plant.

REBUKE

Power's sharp intervention brought gasps from the meeting but a rebuke from the chairman - Communist Party Stalinist Derek Robinson - who is on the ad-hoc committee.

He accused Power of 'sharp practice' for revealing the plans and made it clear that he would not allow the meeting to vote on the issue.

Confidential documents have become a feature of so-called 'participation' in Leyland.

It is clear that withholding

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DEMAND LEFTS

FORCE HEALEY-CALLAGHAN TO RESIGN!

The ruinous policies of the right wing Labour government - the succession of wage cuts, spending cuts, sackings and speed-up, all enshrined in the Social Contract - have brought the Labour Party two shattering by-election defeats, and driven some workers to the length of a protest vote for the Tory Party.

RESPONSIBILITY

The responsibility for this must be nailed fairly and squarely on the right wing Callaghan-Healey clique that dominates the Cabinet whose every policy starts from the preservation of the profits of private employers - no matter what the price paid by the working class they were elected to represent.

And while the Labour right wing wields the axe on workers living standards to the delight of the International Monetary Fund and British employers, the Labour 'lefts' stand by, mute and impotent - trooping obediently into the Parliamentary lobbies to vote support for every aspect of Healey's economic and industrial policy, taking occasional time out on weekend anti-cuts rallies to mouth phrases on 'socialism'.

Their loyalty far outpaces that of the right wing who have shown they will, without hesitation, withdraw their support from

government bills they disagree with.

Even the crushing defeats at Workington and Walsall could stir not the least spark of resistance in the 'lefts', or bring them to voice what must now be the central political demand within the Labour and trade union movement: **FORCE CALLAGHAN AND HEALEY TO RESIGN!**

Instead, while the 'left' mumbled embarrassed calls for conciliation, it was Healey who went on to the offensive - to blame the 'lefts' for the defeats

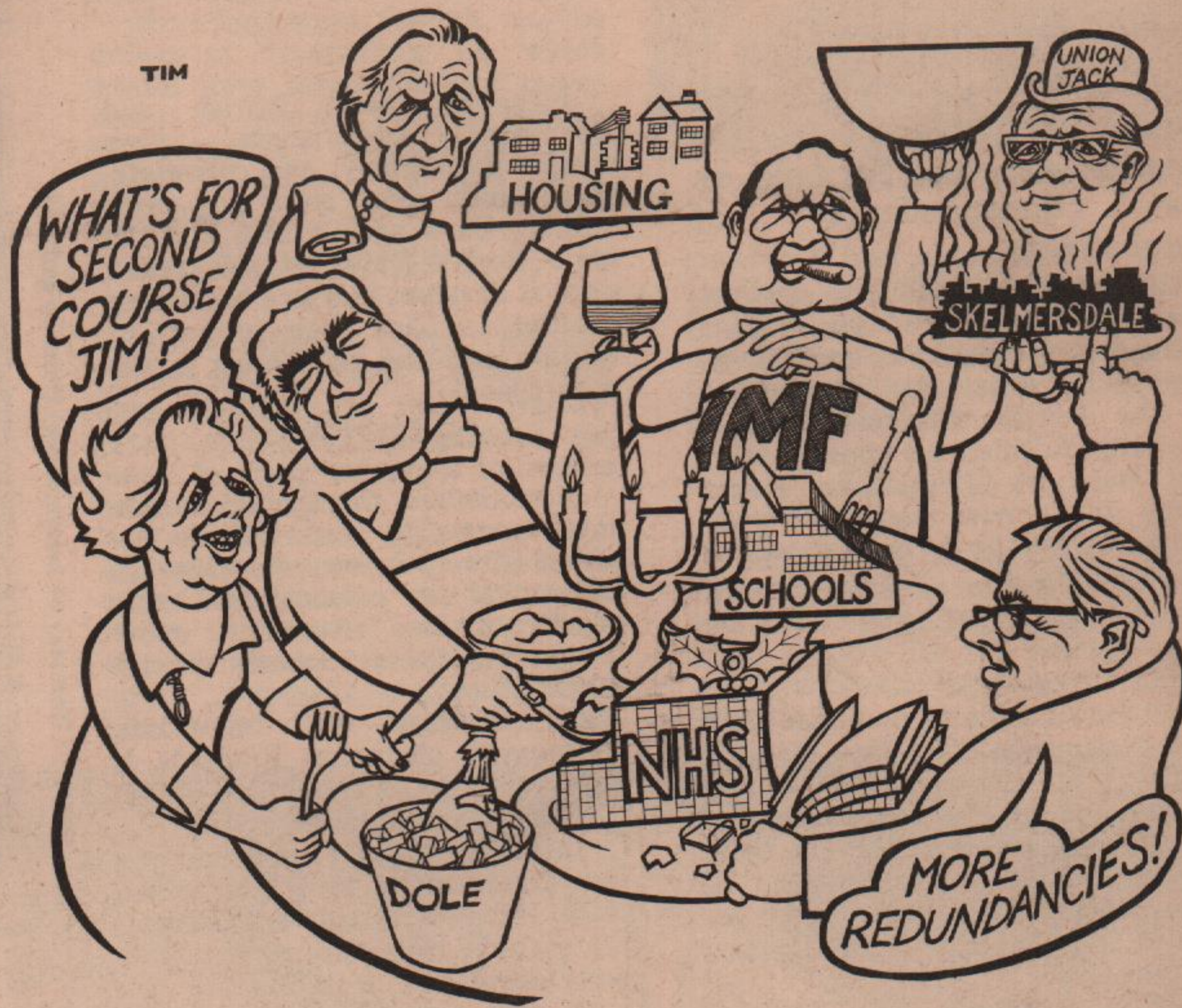


Gormley

and to demand they toe the line already accepted by the TUC leaders.

Healey's hard line was taken up also by right wing miners' leader Joe Gormley, who expressed the

TIM



and speed-up; and the massive feeling against the cuts which will be shown in the November 17th national demonstration.

These movements in the working class are barely being held in check by the TUC leaders with the help of local union officials and collaborationist convenors.

Increasingly they are breaking out into strikes and even occupations, over wages as in the Grangemouth dispute, or against the cuts - with the unanimous vote this week to occupy the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in London to prevent its closure.



'Left' cabinet minister Benn - no lead in fight against leadership.

And the pressure escalates with every increase in the cost of living - the 4 1/2% pay deal has already been taken by inflation after only three months while prices are now rising at an annual rate of nearly 28% - along with every new round of spending cuts and capitalist rationalisation.

In this climate even the most feeble spark of leadership from the lefts in the fight to remove Healey-Callaghan and end the Social Contract could create conditions for an outburst of struggle sweeping through the workers movement.

But in doing so it would of course put the 'lefts' themselves in the firing line. They would be called upon by the working class to lead the struggle in defence of living standards - which in this period means putting forward a developed programme of policies

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unease of the wage-cutting TUC leaders, struggling to contain rising resentment and militancy among their members when he called on Healey and Callaghan to either control their left wing or to "clear the air" by going to a General Election!

SACRIFICE

Gormley of course has been in the forefront of the TUC leaders calling for sacrifices to "save the Labour government".

But he clearly now senses that this appeal has worn away to nothing within the working class - where day after day the impact of the Labour government implementing Tory policies is eroding living standards and building up a real hostility to the Social Contract.

In this, if nothing else, Gormley is right. The Tories should take no comfort from the votes they acquired from Labour in these seats.

NO SUPPORT

They may be votes of confusion, but they are votes which reflect not support for the Tory programme of more cuts and more unemployment - but a rejection of these policies implemented by a Labour government.

This can be assessed by the more open manifestations of working class militancy - the pressure on the wages question in the factories; rank and file resistance to management ultimatums

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



ZIMBABWE: Talks Fiasco

Geneva, the Mecca of wealth and hypocrisy is an appropriate place for talks on the 'independence' of Zimbabwe.

These talks continue to perform the task they were designed for... achieving nothing 'nice and slowly' for the black masses of Zimbabwe.

The British 'Chairman', Ivor Richards fulfilled his allotted tasks last week by announcing almost every day a new reason for postponement of the formal sessions of the conference.

SIDETRACK

The latest is his attempt to sidetrack the unanimous demands from the 'Nationalist' side for a definite date for independence, into discussions on the composition of an 'interim government' - a body whose political character is meaningless when the period for which it is 'interim' is left floating in the air.

More generally, the task of Richards and of the Geneva conference is to gain time for imperialism to regain its footing in Southern Africa, to remove Smith and replace him with African politicians acceptable and loyal to imperialism.

This task must be undertaken under conditions where the Smith regime has lost effective control of large areas of the countryside to the guerrilla forces, and where the Salisbury government - desperately struggling to retain support in the white population - was nonetheless forced to admit last week that 'several thousand' new guerrilla fighters are established within the borders of Zimbabwe.

Although both British and American imperialism have accepted, publicly and privately, that Smith must soon go, every military blow against him is at the same time a blow at their plans, since it devalues him as a bargaining counter to back their support of Nkomo and the right wing in the negotiations.

OBJECTIVE

Nonetheless, the Geneva conference, merely by sitting there, has gained its primary objective of entrapping the political leadership of the divided liberation movements into the quicksands of such 'negotiations'.

As everyone well recognises, conference chairman Richards is only formally an employee of the British Foreign Office.

In reality he acts as errand-boy for American imperialism, which plays the central role in attempting to hold back the revolution in Southern Africa.

A new dimension has therefore been added to Richard's task by Carter's election. Kissinger's role as world-wide flying negotiator is now over, and arrangements must be made to handle the Zimbabwe issue during the interregnum.

PROFESSION

The Labour government's Foreign Office plays its part by providing a professional procrastinator. But equally important was last week's statement in Dar es Salaam by Dick Clarke, Chairman of the US Senate's African affairs sub-committee, that when the Carter administration takes office in Jan-

PHOTO: Courtesy of International Defence and Aid



ZAPU liberation forces

uary it should:

"...take a frank position in favour of armed struggle if all other negotiated settlements [sic!] fail."

LIBERATION FORCES

This was accompanied by a suggestion that the US government might give material help to liberation forces. Such statements, of course, commit Carter to nothing whatsoever, now or in the future.

But what they are intended to do is relieve at least temporarily, pressure on the Nationalist delegates to quit the conference by building the illusion of a basic shift in American policy.

At the same time such statements serve as camouflage for the role of US diplomacy and the CIA

in the rest of Southern Africa, especially in Angola.

There, US backing for puppet 'liberation' forces now continues in the operations of UNITA in the southern part of the country, bordering on the northern zone of Namibia (South West Africa) from which the population has been removed by South African troops.

For those who held any illusions that there was a 'peaceful' road to independence and self determination for the Zimbabwean black majority, the Geneva talks have proved a complete fiasco. They must be ended at once - and the Labour government forced to stop talks with the Smith racists - and arm the African workers.

CHINA CHARGES MOUNT UP

The list of charges levelled at the group of 'leftists' ousted from the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is beginning to resemble the mountain of accusations which Stalin piled up against his political enemies in the course of the Moscow Trials.

"Responsible" for the disastrous effects of earthquakes in North China and Peking; "plotting" to overthrow the regime by a coup d'etat and set up their own dictatorship; "guilty" of attempts to disrupt production by insisting on a too rigid adherence to railway schedules; "coordinating" deliberate plans to hold back industrial output levels, "organising" plots for the restoration of capitalism in China...the charges against Chang Ching and her "accomplices" have now reached ludicrous proportions, culminating in a "revelation", at the end of last week that Mao's widow sat in a villa playing poker and refusing to set out for Peking after she had been urgently summoned to her husband's death-bed.

NEWLY DISCOVERED

The barrage of denunciations and newly discovered incidents put out by the Chinese state propaganda machine and repeated - almost without variations - by lower level Stalinist functionaries throughout the country, can serve only to bring into disrepute and contempt the present ruling bloc.

plained why crimes and plots on such a scale, extending over such a long period of time, were not discovered earlier by Mao and his "ever-vigilant" state security services or the army apparatus.

NON-EXISTENT

And the answer, of course, is that they never existed. The present political smokescreen however almost certainly serves a definite, but less direct, political purpose for Hua's regime.

In destroying the 'gang of four', so closely tied by personal connection to Mao himself, the chiefs of the bureaucracy hope to provide themselves with elbow room to revise Mao's own policies in practice, but without, of course,

any public acknowledgement of this.

SOVIET UNION

Top of the list for changes is likely to be relations with the Soviet Union, where the repeated official and unofficial overtures put out publicly by Moscow can be explained only by a tacit encouragement from Peking.

And it is certain that, with the Chinese bureaucracy requiring, for domestic consumption, some evidence of change in the state which they were until recently denouncing as 'social fascist' the question of a rapprochement with China will become an important factor in the infighting in Moscow over the succession to Brezhnev.



Common friend to both so-called 'right' and 'left' wing factions - disgraced ex-President Nixon. Neither faction offers any principled road to workers.



IRELAND

TWO REPUBLICANS Noel and Marie Murray will soon be hanged on trumped up charges after a no-jury trial in which the main evidence against them was their own 'confessions' extracted under torture.

There could be no clearer case of the rightward movement of the Dublin government than the action of the 'Special Criminal Court' with its three judges.

The press in Ireland has blanked out any reporting of this case which shows that it is not some chance use but the stepping up of a campaign.

Meanwhile, British government policy towards Ireland made dramatic advances into the Nineteenth Century on November 8th when the 'Irish Party' represented by Frank Maguire gave his vote in the House of Commons to the government who were then able by a majority of one to guillotine debate on the Shipbuilding Nationalisation Bill.

"Saved by the IRA" was the Tory reaction to the intervention of a man whom British imperialism had once interned.

What the British government 'sold' in return for Maguire's vote was a matter of speculation but Frank MacManus, the former Independent Republican MP for Fermanagh had no doubt as to what Maguire should demand.

He hoped that Maguire was not only negotiating for the rights of political prisoners, Republicans who are being tortured in British jails, but also for the transfer of prisoners to Northern Ireland, the retention of political status for prisoners in the North, more jobs for his constituents in Fermanagh and a declaration of intent from the government.

"Playing his cards for all they were worth" as MacManus put it, included neither the unequivocal demand for the immediate withdrawal of troops from a country they have no right to occupy nor the rejection of parliamentary horse trading with imperialist butchers.

Yet these negotiations are conducted at a time when both Dublin and London governments are weak and jittery in the extreme. The Dublin government as the junior imperialist partner displays a condition that can only be called paranoic in its relation with its critics.

While it prepares to hang two political activists on trumped up charges on the one hand, the Minister of Posts O'Brien goes as far as to cut off the telephone of a truculent writer on the other.

Even the President, the supposed head of state is quickly cut down to the size that the hysterical ruling class considers appropriate for their constitution. President O'Daileigh went no further than the Pontius Pilate like gesture of referring the draconian emergency legislation to the High Court to test its legality.

This marginal crack in the ruling class ranks produced from Defence Minister Donegan the opinion that his head of state was a "thundering disgrace". Hopeless constitutionalists removed from the realities of the class struggle waited for Donegan to do "the gentlemanly thing" and resign.

The needs of the ruling class at a time of world wide upsurge of working class militancy puts all constitutionalists and their constitutions in their place. And it was O'Daileigh who got the boot.

U.S. ELECTIONS

BUREAUCRATS BACK 27% CARTER



AFL-CIO leader George Meany

"I'm gonna be President when I grow up." A common place declaration for American kids, reflecting the "American dream" of equal opportunity for all, and which would seem to be borne out by Jimmy Carter's spectacular rise from obscurity to the Presidency of the most powerful imperialist country in the world.

But behind Carter's magic is a collection of cheap tricks - cheap old tricks. He owes his victory to the old 1932 Democratic coalition of Franklin D. Roosevelt - the votes of the South, the blacks, immigrants, Catholics, Jews, and trade union members.

MACHINES

And it was the "machines" of the Democratic Party and the AFL-CIO trade union confederation which got out the votes on November 3rd to give Carter his 51%-48% majority of the popular vote - though only a meagre 27% of those eligible to vote in fact supported Carter.

Why did the AFL-CIO and the local Democratic Party apparatuses join forces to get Carter elected?

Because for the American working class the main issues of the campaign were inflation and unem-

ployment - issues which open up the whole question of class interests and the inability of the American two-party system to represent anything but the interests of the capitalist class.

NO ILLUSIONS

The union bureaucracy has no illusions that Carter has any loyalty to them; his record in opposing the unions in the South demonstrates his position.

No, they acted in self defence, to prevent the American working class from taking up the call for the building of a Labour Party.

Even the tiny and sectarian Workers League (US sympathising section of the International Committee, led by the British WRP), were able to pull nearly 20,000 votes for their 14 congressional candidates nationally.

And in one industrial city in the mid-west their autoworker candidate polled 4,000 votes in support of a break with the Democratic Party and the building of a Labour Party.

VULNERABLE

This illustrates clearly the vulnerable position of the trade union bureaucracy and the Democratic Party as the capitalist crisis deepens.

And Carter's election will only

make things worse as he tries to cope with unemployment, inflation and rising oil prices.

There is no sleight-of-hand trick which will enable Carter to convince the American working class that he is representing their interests as the crisis forces him to adopt policies which protect US capitalism and the stranglehold of the trade union bureaucracy.

BETRAYALS

Just as in Britain the betrayals of the Labour government and TUC leaders provide the conditions where workers can be broken from their old leadership, so the return of the Democrats to the Presidency and their enormous majority in Congress lays the basis for exposing their deceptions and the class nature of their party.

hearted support of Ronald Reagan.

More important, though, was the defeat of Proposition 14, which would have given clear-cut recognition of labourer's rights (collective bargaining, secret balloting in union elections) to the farm workers.

UNION RIGHTS

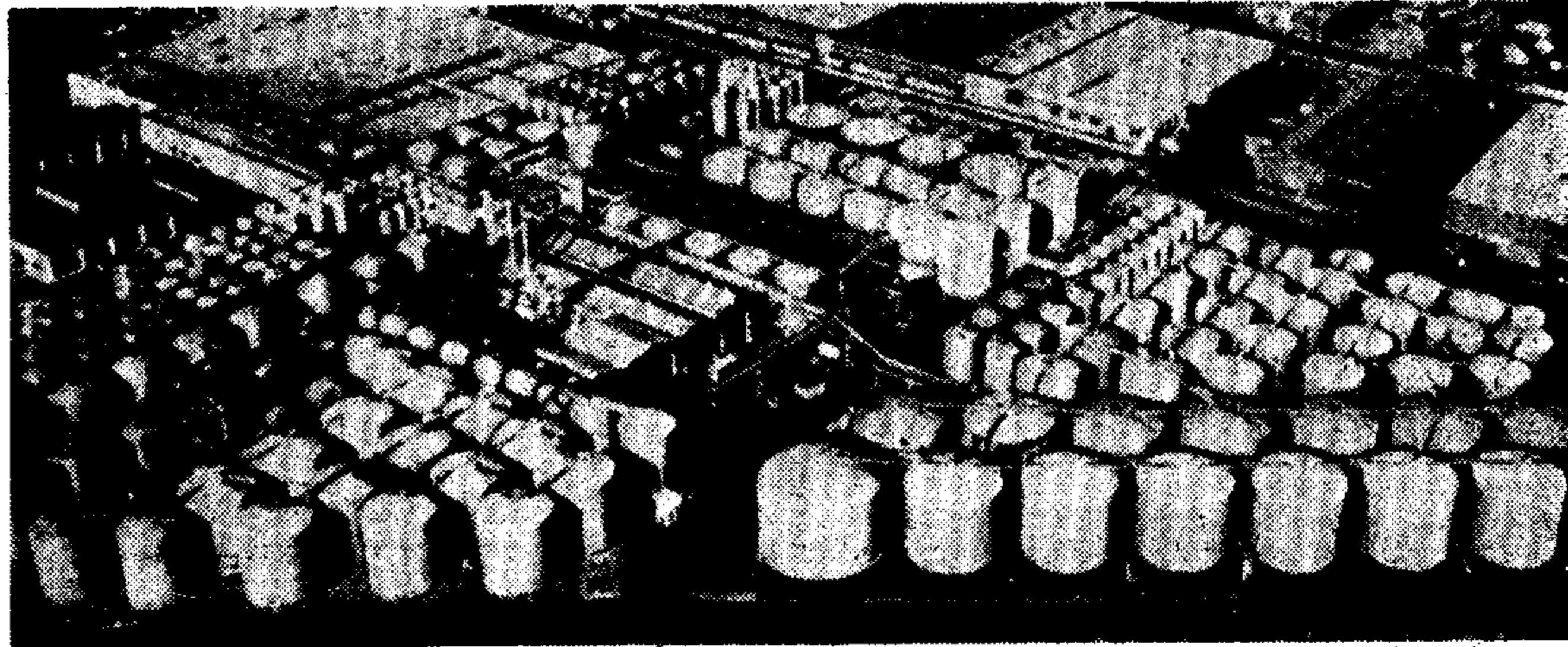
The United Farm Workers (UFW), led by Cesar Chavez, have been fighting the union bureaucracy and the big growers for years in their attempts to secure basic union rights.

Yet they have failed to draw wide-scale support from the trade union movement. A State-wide strike in support of the farm workers would crush the growers' power overnight - much more effectively than legislation can

activists is best represented by Tom Hayden, ex SNCC leader, then Weatherman, who this year joined the Democratic Party to stand in the primaries against the incumbent Democratic Senator.

ERRORS

Hayden and his wife Jane Fonda failed to learn the lessons of the 60s and thus the old errors live on in their support for the limited campaign of the UFW through the legislature.



Wine storage tanks in California - UFW fighting officials and growers

Thus the fight for the American Labour Party is just beginning, and must continue alongside the fight to oust the corrupt UK labour bureaucracy.

The Presidential election has overshadowed the numerous other state-level decisions taken by voters on November 3rd.

For example, in California - the centre of student rebellion in the 60s - the present leadership void enabled forces of reaction to win two victories.

First voters elected to the Senate the Republican right-winger S.I. Hayakawa, aged 70, best known for smashing student-faculty revolt as President of San Francisco State University, and for his whole-

ever do.

But this has not happened. Instead the Anti-Proposition 14 growers coalition triumphed, paying for an advertising campaign which played on the fears of petty-bourgeois small property owners by suggesting that if the Proposition was accepted it would mean invasion of their farms by union organisers.

If the forces of the left (and especially the Socialist Workers Party, US sympathising section of the 'United' Secretariat) had fought in the 1960s to draw the student movement into working class struggles on a principled basis there would be some foundation laid now for united action against Hayakawa and the grape growers.

But the fate of the student

We support the UFW's call for a world boycott of all California table grapes, but we also call for a campaign which will unite the farm workers with other sections of the working class in California (and nationally) in strike action to win these basic union rights for a especially oppressed section of the working class.

We intended to analyse the vote for the SWP but no figures have yet been published. However they did succeed in getting on to the ballot in 30 States, collecting over 600,000 signatures to do so.



Workers from all the major Skelmersdale factories recently demonstrated outside the Courtauld factory, due to be closed as part of Courtauld's 'rationalisation' plans. Delegations came from Peter Blond, Hartwell Hosiery, Dunlop Turtle Wax, and among the banners carried on the demonstration were Dunlops T&GWU, Skelmersdale Trade Council, Skelmersdale Communist Party and Skelmersdale Unemployed Workers Committee. A factory gate meeting took place to protest against the closure, which will raise the level of unemployment in the town to 25%.

THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class in opposition to the betrayals of both "left" and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay - demands which at the 1975 T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy. In today's fight against the TUC's 4% pay cutting deal with Healey this demand for a sliding scale of wages (rising according to the rising cost of living as assessed by trade union committees) is the essential basis of consistent opposition.

In the Health Service WSL comrades have led the struggle for a sliding scale of NHS spending, for the start of workers' control of the service (beginning with opening the books of the Health Authorities), along with the fight to end all private practice. Perhaps more important we have led the growing call for strike action to defend the NHS against the cuts and to implement these policies, fighting those like the ASTMS and NUPE leadership who substitute the words for the action.

In London this policy has already won a big response with the one-day action against the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital - when 2,000 hospital workers in the area struck and 400 marched to lobby MPs against the cuts.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry and against all forms of "workers' participation" have won mass responses.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment, calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement.

The WSL is the only movement that fights consistently for transitional demands, going beyond mere trade union militancy to pose the political issues to workers.

In doing this our comrades have been forced also to lead struggles for trade union democracy against the bureaucratic manipulation of the Stalinists and right-wing.

But our struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the international struggles of the working class and moves to rebuild the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So while many interventions in Britain have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme*, there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Trotskyist Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

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

OBSCENE POLICE SQUAD IN COURT



Bradford police prepare to attack anti-fascists.

To the thousands of workers and youth who have first hand experience of the police forces' strikebreaking, picket-beating, intimidatory role, the news that a team of six 'porn squad' policemen are now on trial charged with corruption should come as no surprise.

The 'porn squad' men's names will simply be added to the growing list of nationally-known detectives and special detachments found guilty or under investigation for various forms of corruption.

ROTTEN

So rotten are the leading echelons of the force that it was revealed in the current trial that when one of the accused, Sergeant Kilkerr, attempted to make a clean breast of things to his commander at Scotland Yard, he found that his commander himself was already awaiting trial!

The corruption and the perversion of even the most basic forms of 'justice' which are being revealed — generally years after the events themselves have passed — stand in stark contrast to the consistent and firm stand of the police in defence of the employers and against the struggles of the working class.

NO SOFTNESS

No hint of softness or corruption is to be found in the police attacks on picket lines (their protracted efforts to secure the jailing of the Shrewsbury pickets

being the clearest example); their attacks on demonstrators (from Red Lion Square to the Right to Work March); their attacks on individual militants (the so-called "justifiable homicide" of union militant Liddle Towers, beaten to death in Newcastle; the Irish and other suspects held and interrogated under the so-called Prevention of Terrorism Act); their readiness to attack revolutionary groups (the raid on the Workers Revolutionary Party); or their daily harassment and intimidation of working class youth and in particular the immigrant community (the Notting Hill "riot").

In each of these cases the real class role of the police as armed defenders of the rule of capital through repression of the working class comes through loud and clear. Only in between such events do the police fill in time booking drunken drivers or searching for stolen handbags.

HYPOCRITICAL

But wherever one section of the bourgeoisie seeks to flout the hypocritical "morals" of their own system, corruption reigns in all quarters — whether it be drug peddlers, porn-brokers, shady stock brokers or embezzlers.

This is the lesson to be taken from the 'Porn Squad' case. The police are obscene. Under socialism the police force would be disbanded and replaced by workers' militia and defence squads, answerable at all times to the workers' movement. Until then, the corruption will continue.



Notting Hill youth indicated their view of the police.



The Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy.

SEVEN WEEK SAFETY STRIKE

Five cleaners at Holbrook Annexe of North East London Polytechnic are now in their seventh week of strike. Their GMWU organiser McCall has refused to go beyond making the picket official.

By this means he has cut the cleaners off from strike pay and from strike support from other GMWU members in the Poly.

But the spirit and determination of the cleaners is stronger than ever and shows the underlying militancy of workers against the bureaucracy's attempts at sell outs.

ASBESTOS

The strike finally broke out after a summer of lies and provocation by the employers over the use of asbestos in alterations being made to the building.

First the contractors came in and threw out thousands of pounds worth of equipment into a skip, from a department only set up two years ago.

Then they began to saw up undampened asbestos and left it lying around.

Both the Polytechnic Safety Officer and the Factory Inspector denied there was any danger and the builders maintained it was "plasterboard".

The final straw came when the

cleaners were asked to clear up all the builder's mess, provided by their superior with only cold water and liquid soap to do the job. By this time one of them had already spent three weeks in hospital and four more off work with a disease which seemed clearly related to the asbestos dust.

REGISTER

The cleaners began an immediate picket, demanding a register of all people who had entered the building since June, that a unionised industrial cleaning firm should clear up and that the safety of the building should be established by a GMWU analyst.

Now their demands have grown to include the reinstatement of the cleaners sacked during the dispute, full back pay, and that the Poly should employ only unionised cleaners.

RECORD

Wally Sutton, a former Newham councillor, secretary of the Polytechnic NALGO branch, Assistant Services Officer and as such supervisor of the cleaners, has also had his anti-working class record dragged in the mud.

For years he has exploited the cleaners to the extent of forcing

them to provide their own cleaning materials such as broom heads.

He has consistently refused to provide coverage for absent staff or to reassess the pay structure as the annexe building has been reorganised and made more complicated to clean.

The cleaners' struggle lays an important basis for a systematic opening of the books of Newham Council and the Polytechnic to reveal their anti-working class practices.

And the demand for inspection of the sealed asbestos by a GMWU analyst approved by the cleaners establishes the essential principle that it is only by independent action that workers can establish safe working conditions.

Other unions in the Poly such as NUS and NATFHE have correctly pledged their support to the cleaners.

Contributions to the cleaners who are on a 16-hour-a-day picket with no strike pay are desperately needed and should be sent to:

Holbrook Cleaners Strike Fund, c/o 46, London Rd., Plaistow, London E13.

LETTER:

The Left Press and the Wages Conference

Dear Comrades,

The report in *Socialist Press* 46 of the Conference organised by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, left out an assessment of the interventions made by the International Marxist Group (IMG) and the International Communist League (ICL).

Since these two organisations have both printed assessments of the conference in their respective papers, *Red Weekly* and *Workers Action*, it would be useful to take up their main points.

One of the most striking features of the IMG's action at the conference was their sheer arrogance.

Despite a clear request from the Organising Committee for amendments to the main resolution to be from trade union bodies the IMG turned up with a tiny handful of representatives on the morning of the conference who issued a string of amendments, at lunchtime, in the name of their political organisation.

A number of those who attended the conference felt the Organising Committee was more than generous in allowing these amendments to be put.

While the IMG speaker referred to the programme advanced in the resolution as "a set of excellent demands we fully agree with" (though not to the extent of bringing any forces to the Conference!) the thrust of their amendment was away from these demands, which he agreed "require consistent propaganda and explanation."

CATCH-ALL

Instead attention was focussed on the IMG's catch-all concept of a 'class struggle tendency' consisting of all those willing to fight wage controls, mass unemployment and public sector spending cuts.

The follow-up report in *Red Weekly* spells out in detail what lies behind the IMG's "class struggle tendency". If only the

conference organisers had not put forward policies "such as the sliding scale of wages" it might have been possible to commit the Stalinist and reformist leaders to a fight, says *Red Weekly*.

Precisely what sort of fight could these people have been committed to?

The importance of tying the struggle for democratic procedures in the unions and the Labour Party to the need for an alternative leadership seems lost on the IMG.

Indeed the purpose of the conference — far from being "to launch a broadly based united front campaign against attacks on union democracy" (*Red Weekly*, 4.11.76) — was to focus attention on a sharp rightward shift in the trade union bureaucracy.

The resolution presented by the Organising Committee linked that shift to the all round attacks on the working class and centrally to the question of wage control.

FOCUS

The conference was thus, first and foremost an attempt to focus on the whole range of attacks on the working class and provide a clear political programme around which these attacks could be fought.

The *Red Weekly* report concludes with the observation that the recall conference "could be of considerable use in allowing militants to discuss their experiences of fighting for the action programme adopted by the conference".

It is to be hoped that the experience of some struggles by the IMG for that programme will be brought in a serious fashion, along with, perhaps, some people, to the recall conference.

The first thing which needs to be said about the ICL's intervention is that, unlike the IMG, their amendment was submitted seriously — through a trade union branch.

Both in their contribution to the

conference and in their report in their paper *Workers Action*, the ICL attacked the assessment in the Conference resolution that the central development in the working class over the next period will be the cracking of the pay code:

"...to declare that this, and by implication only this, is going to happen, leaves you unprepared for equally possible happenings." (*Workers Action*, No 34).

Two points need to be made here. It is not the job of revolutionaries to wait for "possible happenings".

The Organising Committee resolution was based on actual real life events which have taken place — the UCATT conference vote, the miners ballot and the seamen's pay settlement.

The assessment of the rightward shift by the bureaucracy was likewise based on unprecedented moves against those who have sought to defend the interests of workers — the attack on trades councils, the removal of Hull docks stewards' credentials, the victimisation of four Leyland stewards at Cowley.

The conference was organised to begin a fight back. What has the ICL done to organise a fight back?

Secondly, it is simply not true that the conference was blinkered on wages. The resolution provided the beginnings of a programme to fight all attacks including the cuts in the social services.

Indeed, emergency resolutions were passed in support of the November 17th anti-cuts demonstration and the struggle in defence of jobs at Export Packing Services, Banbury.

In short, the Organising Committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement has shown itself ready and willing to throw its weight behind sections of workers involved in a wide range of struggles.

K.W., Coventry.

WHAT NEXT AFTER NOV 17?

No matter how many thousand workers turn out today on the demonstration and lobby of Parliament against the cuts in public spending (and it looks as if the demonstration will be by far the biggest since those against the Tory Industrial Relations Act) the question remains: how can the struggle be taken from this one-off show of strength into the fight to prevent the cuts themselves?

13 UNIONS

Today's demonstration has been supported by thirteen major unions nearly all of which are in the public services — though the march has won the support of the NUM, ASTMS and AUEW (TASS), as well as London and Home Counties Region of the T&GWU.

Yet none of these unions have organised full scale stoppages, even for this one day. The CPSA leaders who originally called for a one-day strike backed away in horror



An earlier one-off display by the bureaucracy: 4,000 joined a lobby and one-day strike against the cuts called by the NUT in Oxford.

from the prospect of such widescale action against the cuts.

And in NUPE, where 'left' talking General Secretary Alan Fisher has announced a national policy of 'guerilla strikes' against the cuts there has been a conscious refusal to call a stoppage today.

Instead of action these 'leaders' seek to substitute printed placards, special trains and 'left' rhetoric — knowing this will not stop further cuts, but hoping against hope it will at least let off steam among their membership and allow the officials a few more months peaceful co-existence with the Tory policies of

this Labour government.

The huge response to today's demonstration within the working class shows clearly that it is possible to mount an all-out fight against the cuts with the full support of the membership. The major block to this is the union officials, with their craven support for the 'social contract' which couples wage cuts with spending cuts and sackings.

Every blow against the social contract is a blow against the cuts. Every struggle against the 4½% pay deal, against sackings and speed-up, is part of the struggle against the cuts.

But the question within the public sector unions like other unions is the development of a new leadership prepared to fight the social contract, and prepared to mobilise the membership in strike action in defence of jobs and the social services.

ACTION

Trade unionists in every Local Education Authority, every Area Health Authority and every sector of the public services must therefore unite around a programme of action to force their national leaders either to fight the cuts or to stand aside for those who will.

This means wherever jobs, conditions or services are threatened — whether by 'natural wastage' or outright sackings — there must be indefinite strike action, with a call to the local labour movement for action in support.

The demand must be for the rejection of all cuts, the full restoration of the level of spending in every sector, together with a sliding scale of spending — rising to keep pace with inflation as assessed by trade union committees.

Such committees must be fought for through the unions in every area. Their task is to vet the expenditure, the plans and the manning levels within the public services at a local level. To do this they must fight for access to the concealed up-to-date accounts and future plans of local administrators.

PROFITS

This will reveal which suppliers are profiting from the public sector and the need for them to be nationalised, under the management of elected workers committees, without compensation.

At the same time such investigations will provide the basic knowledge for drawing up of a work plan for the expansion and improvement of the public services in line with the needs in each area.

Local strike action is vital therefore not only to challenge and halt the cuts at local level, but to force the national union officials and the Labour government to take these policies for the defence of the public services as a whole.

The task of public sector shop stewards committees, working closely with trades councils and other major industrial unions in each area must therefore be to coordinate and lead such actions.

CUTS COMMITTEES

Those local Cuts Committees and other rank and file bodies set up around defence of the social services must therefore be directed towards this struggle.

Without strike action by the workers directly involved in the public sector, the cuts will never be halted, no matter how many marches and protest meetings are staged.

CUTS

Enfield Students Sit-In

Overwhelming support was won for a motion criticising the leadership of the National Union of Students for sabotaging the struggle of students against education cuts at a meeting of the Enfield branch of Middlesex Polytechnic last week.

The motion also called for a two-day occupation of the Polytechnic's administration centre to indicate the willingness of students to fight all cuts, and in particular the recent attacks on overseas students.

The government's plans are to make colleges police and spy on the 53,000 overseas students in Britain. This is simply a back door plan to introduce further immigration controls, as well as a part of a major attack on educational facilities for all students.

JOINT CIRCULAR

A joint circular issued by the Home Office and the Department of Education and Science spells out the policy that overseas immigration officials are to be given sweeping powers to conduct academic "tests" of college applicants, and inquire into their personal, family and financial back-

ground.

Colleges in Britain would be asked to collaborate with this snooping by providing the Home Office with details of the students' attendance and informing on any students who overstay.

£20 MILLION

Coupled with these moves is the warning that the DES must raise another £20 million from fees in 1978, and that overseas students' fees as a result could rise to over £1,000 per year.

Such policies obviously jeopardise students from poor families who are studying at Further Education Colleges because there is no adequate education in their own country.

It is against this background that the real treachery of the Broad Left NUS leadership can be seen. They have mounted no serious fight against these attacks.

As a spokesman for the overseas student group who initiated the occupation campaign told *Socialist Press*:

"General discussion doesn't resolve anything. We want some action. They all want to brush things under the carpet, hoping it will all be forgotten.

But we are not going to be brushed aside. In fact quite the

opposite — the occupation shows that the students are going to fight independent of their leadership."

On the planned occupation he said:

"The struggle in defence of overseas students and against racism is part and parcel of the struggle against the cuts and anti-working class policies of the Labour government."

It is for this reason we have got enormous support from the British students in this occupation and delegations and telegrams of support from colleges all over Britain."

DEMONSTRATION

In the occupation meeting on Thursday it was decided to occupy up to November 17th, when students should join the national demonstration.

A motion was passed calling on the NUS to hold a coordinated national campaign of strikes and occupations against the cuts, demanding the 'left' MPs who oppose the cuts vote against them in Parliament.

By our own correspondent.



NALGO Gen. Sec. Drain



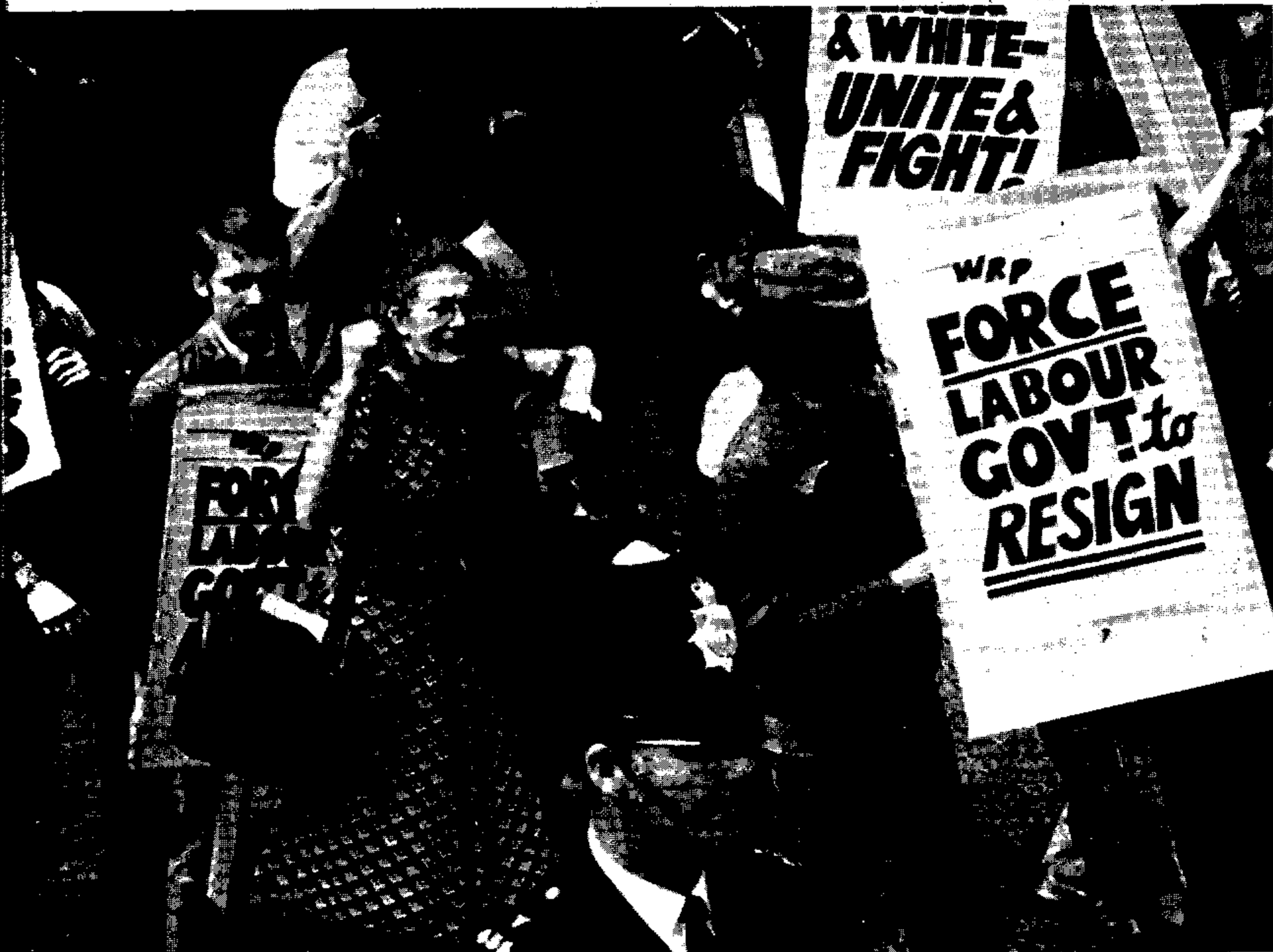
NUPE Gen. Sec. Fisher

W. Midlands strike call

WEST MIDLANDS NUPE IS organising a one-day strike against cuts on December 1st. The strength of feeling among NUPE members is shown by a massive turn-out of 600 at the Coventry branch meeting called to vote on the strike proposal. In Rugby there will be a demonstration on December 1st — the first in the town for years.

However, the NUPE leadership

seem keen to keep the December 1st strike and November 17th national demonstration separate. Coventry, the November 17th demonstration will be attended by shop stewards and volunteers on a call for total one-day strike action and a mass turn-out on November 17th demonstration has been issued.



Actress Vanessa Redgrave proclaiming WRP's sectarian policy of 'Bring down the Labour Government'.

The main body of the first three parts of this document have detailed some of the theoretical differences that emerged between the British WRP leadership of the International Committee and the General Secretary of the Greek section. The final two parts begin to draw together these strands and to show how philosophical and theoretical differences are related to a sectarian method and the past isolation of the Trotskyist movement - and how they found expression in the actual events of the split in the Greek section.

It is a fact that during the first International School last September, the secretary of the Greek section disagreed radically with Kantian dualism which was served up there as dialectical materialism by the leaders of the WRP.

But the disagreements were not limited to the level of philosophy. Interwoven with the philosophical were the political questions, and in the last analysis they are summed up in the gap between the method of Lenin and Trotsky and the propagandism of the petty bourgeois Healy sect.

The necessity for a decisive break with propagandism becomes all the more urgent as the economic crisis deepens, and it is *this* necessity that lies behind the crisis in the International Committee.

This was the question posed in the split with the OCI, the work of the Blick-Jenkins group on the WRP and the split with Thornett.

PURGE

The same questions lie behind the crisis of the Workers League of the USA and the purge of its secretary and founder, Tim Wohlforth.

Within the new situation propagandism had become unbearable and the successive crises, the fractional struggles and splits posed that question independently of the solution proposed by anyone.

All the splits in the Fourth International have taken place in relation to the Transitional Programme.

In the past this was because those who were unable to bring the Programme into the mass movement ended up rejecting it. Now it is because this same inability to take the Programme to the masses goes as far as the rejection of the Programme within the masses, which likewise ends up in the betrayal of the Programme.

We need not add that no such problem exists as far as the petty bourgeois sect of the WRP is concerned.

"RENEGADES"

For them it is simply that some "revisionists", "wretched people" retreated in the course of their struggle to transform "every strike" into an attack for the seizure of power, or revealed their 'real' faces, or exposed their long-established relations with the CIA, the GPU...and so on!

FROM SECTARIANISM TO REFORMISM

Sectarianism can very well not only turn out in the form of opportunism in practice, but under

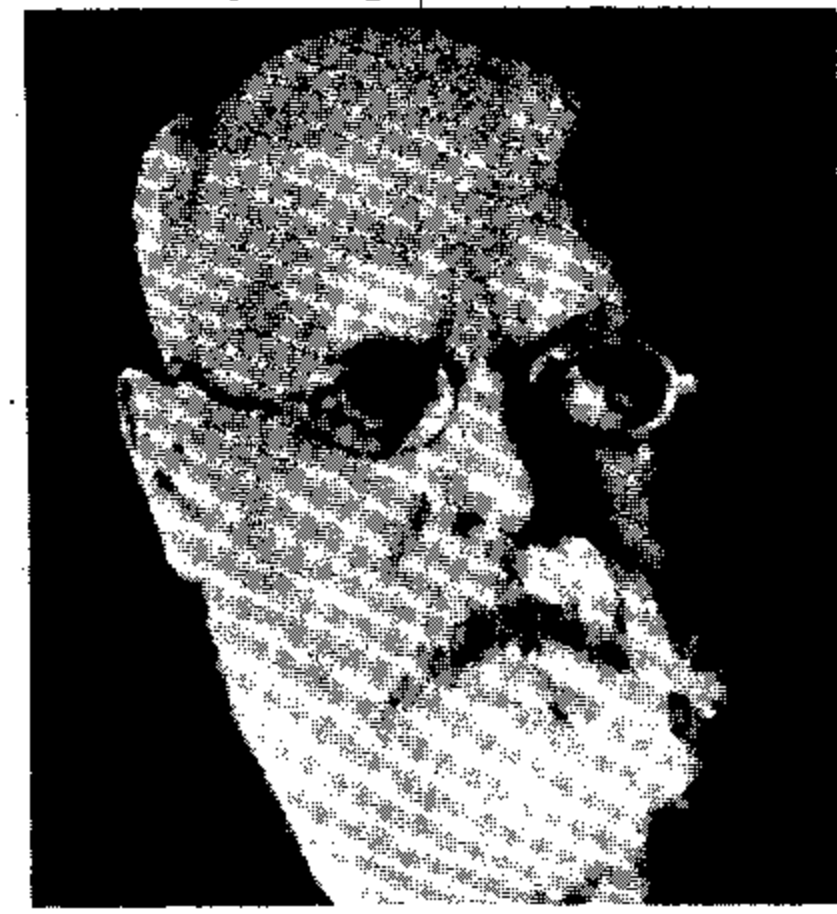
certain conditions can even become the route along which one can be finally drowned in the marsh of opportunism, by openly capitulating to the class enemy and betraying the working class.

Situations change, but the minds of people do not reflect the change in an automatic way. As Engels says in the quotation above [Part One, Ed], one section of the people finds it difficult to grasp the change and lags behind.

BACKWARDS

But this does not mean that this section stands still. On the contrary, it goes backwards.

Sectarianism, which theoretically draws its roots from propagandism and formalistic thought, not only prevents the party from going forward, but liquidates it organisationally and politically.



Kautsky

In this process, the main bearers of this method become corrupted. That is what happened with Kautsky and Plekhanov, who were giants of Marxism.

That is also what has happened today with Healy and his colleagues who anyway were pygmies on the level of theory.

Lenin writes in *Left Wing Communism*:

"That which happened to such leaders of the Second International, such highly erudite Marxists devoted to socialism as Kautsky, Otto Bauer and others, could (and should) provide a useful lesson. They fully appreciated the need for flexible tactics; they themselves learned Marxist dialectics and taught it to others (and much of what they have done in this field will always remain a valuable contribution to socialist literature); however, in the application of this dialectic they committed such an error, or proved to be so undialectical in practice, so incapable of taking into account the rapid change of forms and the rapid acquisition of new content by the old forms, that their fate is not much more enviable than that of Hyndman, Guesde and Plekhanov. The principle reason for their bankruptcy was that they were

hypnotised by a definite form of growth of the working class movement and socialism, forgot all about the one-sidedness of that form, were afraid to see the break-up which objective conditions made inevitable, and continued to repeat simple, and, at first glance, incontestable axioms that had been learned by rote, like: "three is more than two."

But politics is more like algebra than arithmetic, and still more like higher than elementary mathematics. In reality, all the old forms of the socialist movement have acquired a new content and, consequently, a new symbol, the "minus" sign, has appeared in front of all the figures; our wiseacres, however, have stubbornly continued (and still continue) to persuade themselves and others that "minus three" is more than "minus two".

(pp84-85).

In essence this is what has really happened to our contemporary 'wise men'.

They did not grasp that in front of 'three' and 'two' we have today a 'minus' sign.

OLD TRUISMS

Healy and Banda, by continuing to repeat even under today's new conditions their old truisms learned by heart, did exactly the opposite of what was necessary for the Trotskyist movement and the working class.

Their method no longer offered the slightest prospect of fruitful results, but instead began to liquidate the movement.

These people found it impossible to see any further than the end of their noses, or to change their approach. The propagandist heritage of the movement lies heavily upon them.

Propagandism is rooted firmly in their minds, like an old superstition. But it is not only that. They are also subjectively, as individuals, unable to grasp the new situation and to correct their policies.

This is due in particular to their historical position within the class struggle. Trotskyism, in its period of worst isolation was - in the main - recruiting its cadres only among a special stratum of people, those who were in a position to swim against the stream.

OUTSIDE

This was often *not* because such comrades had the necessary devotion to the cause of the working class or because they were armed with the necessary theoretical weapons, but precisely because they were *outside* the stream itself.

They lacked ties not only with the working class but with *any* class, being people you can hardly classify socially.

Trotsky had underlined this fact and had observed that the sections

DEFEND THE OF THE TRANS PROGRAMME

Lessons from the International Lea

This is the fourth of five parts of the Document expelled majority of the Greek Workers Internationalist League intervention of Gerry Healy, (then General Secretary of the name of the International Committee of the Fourth International

of the Fourth International in the different countries made more recruits among immigrants, precisely because immigrants, in order to pass over to the Trotskyist movement, need not carry out such an internal revolution, need not in the same way clash with the prevailing national level of social consciousness, as this was already alien to them.

From this point of view the fact that the leading figures of the WRP are not English is not insignificant.

Such people, isolated from the masses, deprived of the possibility to test their ideas in the living class struggle, in order to acquire a consciousness of the real world, lost also the chance of developing this consciousness in ever changing conditions; they are especially capable of building a world of their own, within their own heads, locking themselves in a private ideological prison where it is impossible for a breath of real life to touch them.

CONCEPTION

What does it matter to these people whether they hold this or that philosophical conception, this or that programme or tactics?

How is it possible for them to grasp the real problems posed to the labour movement in general and the Trotskyist movement in particular by the present economic crisis?

In the struggle against the Blick-Jenkins group the Healy leadership were forced to recognise that a certain problem did exist in relation to propagandism.

But they never attempted to analyse or explain to themselves or to the others what this break with propagandism really meant, what concrete changes in the objective situation made it necessary, and the problems encountered in the struggle for its realisation.

But there was another factor over and above the fact that their position in the class struggle prevented the Healy leadership from going forward. Long before this period they had shown themselves bankrupt.



In the whole of the post-war period they had been acting under conditions of legality, of smooth political development, devoted to routine rounds of propagandist activity, where their membership grew gradually, along with their offices, their printshops and the whole of their apparatus. This smooth progress, without any serious changes and troubles, helped to make the Healy leadership into philistines.

APPARATUS

They formed an apparatus and acquired the necessary technical means to carry out activity within the masses and to recruit new forces to the revolutionary party. But in the process, the Healy leadership transformed the means into the *cause*, and they subordinated everything to the maintenance of the apparatus.

They became sensitive to everything concerning the legality of the bourgeois state and especially sensitive towards every political disagreement within their ranks and within the International Committee (IC) as a whole.

The IC was used by Healy only in order to secure the stability of the leading clique in Britain.

They gradually developed a whole theory around the infamous "security question". This began initially in order to keep their group away from adventurist encounters that could bring them into conflict with the police.

But they later used this "security" within their ranks in order to increase through constitutional and every other means the powers of the apparatus and to eliminate every critical thought.

Sectarianism and ultimatism towards the masses, found its logical consequence in the sectarian, ultimatum and autocratic counterposition of the apparatus of the party to the party itself.

CRISIS

The Healy leadership in this way became unable to benefit and to learn from the crisis which was unavoidably produced within the ranks of their movement in Britain and in the whole IC by the present historical turning point.

Their response to the political questions brought to the surface by the crisis, was literally to copy the methods used in the past within the Trotskyist movement by Michel Pablo.

When one reads the first two of the five volumes *Trotskyism Versus Revisionism*, the similarity of the methods comes as a surprise.

Evidently Healy has learnt much in this field from Pablo. But we must note that he missed the most important lessons: he did not learn from Pablo's misfortunes. He did not learn that every success due to organisational manoeuvres is always short lived.

The inability of the leading clique of the WRP to grasp and to face in a conscious way the

METHOD SITIONAL

split in the Workers League (Greece).

ment by the Communist Internationalist League, (the
ague. The majority of the WIL were expelled after the
the British Workers Revolutionary Party) acting in the
ional.



Agricultural workers demonstrate in Greece.

problems of the movement, is leading it already with great speed to the right, towards a complete capitulation to the labour bureaucracy, and through this, with British imperialism.

Within the conditions of broad radicalisation of the masses they succeeded, as did other sections of the IC, in increasing their membership, their financial resources and on this basis their apparatus, through straightforwad propaganda work.

But their numerical increase brought them into a new environment where they were faced with new problems.

Many of the new members were working in factories or studying in universities. But here, the propagandist luggage they had been given by their "wise" leaders was revealed to be useless, or at least inadequate.

they claimed that the party won three thousand members in the electoral campaign - a number which was much greater than the number of votes cast for its candidates.

"DIALECTICAL"

Their claims of "dialectical" contradictions could not persuade anyone, and everyone in the party could understand what kind of "members" these were, since they did not even vote for the candidates of the WRP.

The same method of sophistry was used in Greece, when Healy's puppets tried to justify the loss of seats held by the organisation during the last elections in the students unions, by presenting this reversal as a "negative verification of our policies"!

more than 100 leading branch cadres in New York and the decimation of forces in some other states.

The work within the unions was nonexistent, the youth work was reduced to charity and dinner parties in the neighbourhoods, and they had thrown themselves with excessive zeal to the paper sales, thus substituting the work of recruitment and training of revolutionary cadres within the working class."

At another point in the same statement they write:

"After the interviews and the investigations of all the related material, no connection of Nancy Fields or Tim Wohlforth with the CIA or any other government service was proved."

These "magnanimous" people recognised that Wohlforth had no

Workers League was working in the USA is absolutely apt in relation to every section of the IC - and above all to the WRP.

The decimation of forces had its impact on the functioning of the apparatus. *Workers Press*, the newspaper of the WRP, developed great financial problems.

Its editors began to confess through its columns, that it was in danger and with it the revolutionary party was in danger, since it cannot be built without a regularly published newspaper.

But with the same sophistic method as always, they blamed the economic crisis of capitalism for the crisis of the *Workers Press*, thus cynically offending the intelligence of their readers.

Trotskyists waited patiently during the whole of the boom period for the outbreak of the

capitalism. It is their inability to respond to the tasks posed in front of us by the crisis of capitalism.

Under these conditions, the sectarians imagine that they can save their apparatus by watering down their wine, by kicking away principles, as Pablo did earlier and as the Pabloites of the United secretariat continue today.

So, the same people who for years shouted against 'corporatism' and against the so-called 'participation' of workers in the management of the capitalist concerns and who denounced it as a dangerous deception aimed at creating confusion, splitting the working class and enforcing its submission to the needs of the bourgeoisie, sat suddenly around the same table with British Leyland employers in a 'Participation Committee' in line



Greek workers occupy their factory.

WRP members in Britain, as also the members of the WIL in Greece, felt themselves completely disarmed in the face of massive economic struggles.

They failed to intervene fruitfully or to put the stamp of the party on these struggles, despite the obviously favourable conditions. Naturally this was not due to the failure of the members themselves, but to the bankruptcy of the propagandist policies of the party and of their whole method in the training of cadres.

FUTILE

The attempts of the WRP leaders to embellish their failures were also proven futile. This was clear, for example, in the case of their electoral failure, where, underestimating their members' intelligence,

The sectarian insistence on propagandist formulae within our movement, resulted in demoralisation of the members, many losses, the increasing indignation of the members against the leadership, and the appearance of fractional tendencies. At the same time, the leadership simply entrenched and counterposed itself to the members.

This is the way it happened in Greece, in Britain, in the USA and undoubtedly the same situation exists in every other section of the International Committee.

A very good description of this situation can be found in the statement of the IC on Wohlforth of March 22 1975:

"During the months preceding their exit from the party, the Wohlforth-Fields leadership had realised an extremely catastrophic turn (?) which caused the loss of

connection with the CIA!

Alright, but since it was not the CIA who were responsible for the crisis in the Workers' League and the decimation of forces, who was responsible?

The writers of the statement keep as silent as the grave on this decisive question, which as they claim themselves, was the cause for the "salutary" intervention of the International Committee into the American sympathising section.

In reality, Wohlforth and Fields were used as scapegoats. The cowardly leading sect of the WRP wanted in this way to get away with what was above all its own responsibility.

APT DESCRIPTION

Everyone knows that the above-quoted description of the way the

economic crisis which would bring about favourable conditions for the building of mass parties, the regular publication of newspapers and so on.

But now the leaders of the WRP tell us that the crisis threatens to destroy the newspaper of the revolutionary party and the revolutionary party itself!

They try with this nonsense to cover-up the political crisis shaking the WRP and the whole IC.

In the International Youth Conference, organised recently in London, the WRP were not able to gather more than 250 youth. These are the same people who could until only recently mobilise thousands.

It is *this* fact - the result of their political bankruptcy - that lies behind the economic crisis of *Workers Press*, not the crisis of



Karamanlis' police in action against demonstrators in Athens.

with the plan of Tory Lord Ryder, head of the National Enterprise Board.

This is a total, a historic betrayal. They arrived at the point of publishing in *Workers Press* extracts from the report of the joint committee dealing with the process of production of Leyland's Princess model, and of commenting if you please, that if the production of the Princess is not satisfactory, (if, that is, the workers are not exploited enough by the company!) it is not the workers who should be blamed for that but the *management* of the factory (which is unable to sufficiently organise their exploitation!)

Concluded Next Edition.

L.S. LOWRY: THE DETACHED REALIST

By a Guest
Reviewer

L.S. Lowry passed his first thirty years as a painter more or less in obscurity as a 'local' Manchester artist with little national reputation.

But since the end of the war, and particularly in the last ten years, his paintings and drawings of industrial scenes have become both enormously popular and culturally "acceptable".

Lowry's death earlier this year came in the midst of preparations for a Royal Academy exhibition of his work, the largest which has ever been held anywhere.

The preparations continued however, and the exhibition is just about to end at the Academy. It was a jumbo extravaganza, with acres and acres of wall covered with Lowry's little hurrying figures.

The exhibition's success has been proof of Lowry's popularity;

office of one of the mills whose workers he painted over and over again.

Lowry preserved himself against criticism even more by remaining completely unpretentious about the work he did in the evenings, his painting, even after his success.

His answer to an interviewer who questioned him about the 'significance' of his figures ("You can call them matchstick men if you like, they just turn out like that. I see them like that.") has been widely quoted.

Lowry's group scenes of industrial life — his most famous and popular pictures, though they make up only a part of his work — seem to be offering themselves as simple, straightforward depictions of simple, straightforward lives, cheerfully merging into anonymity on their way to and from work or play.

process of life under capitalism: the systematic reduction of men and women so that they appear to be mere objects.

But Lowry, too, capitulates in the process, so that his work makes a permanent equation between men and objects.

In the sea-scapes which form an important, though neglected section of his work, the ships stand in relation to the sea as the men and women do to the city: knocked and tossed about, or brought into line by an external control; incapable of action or understanding.

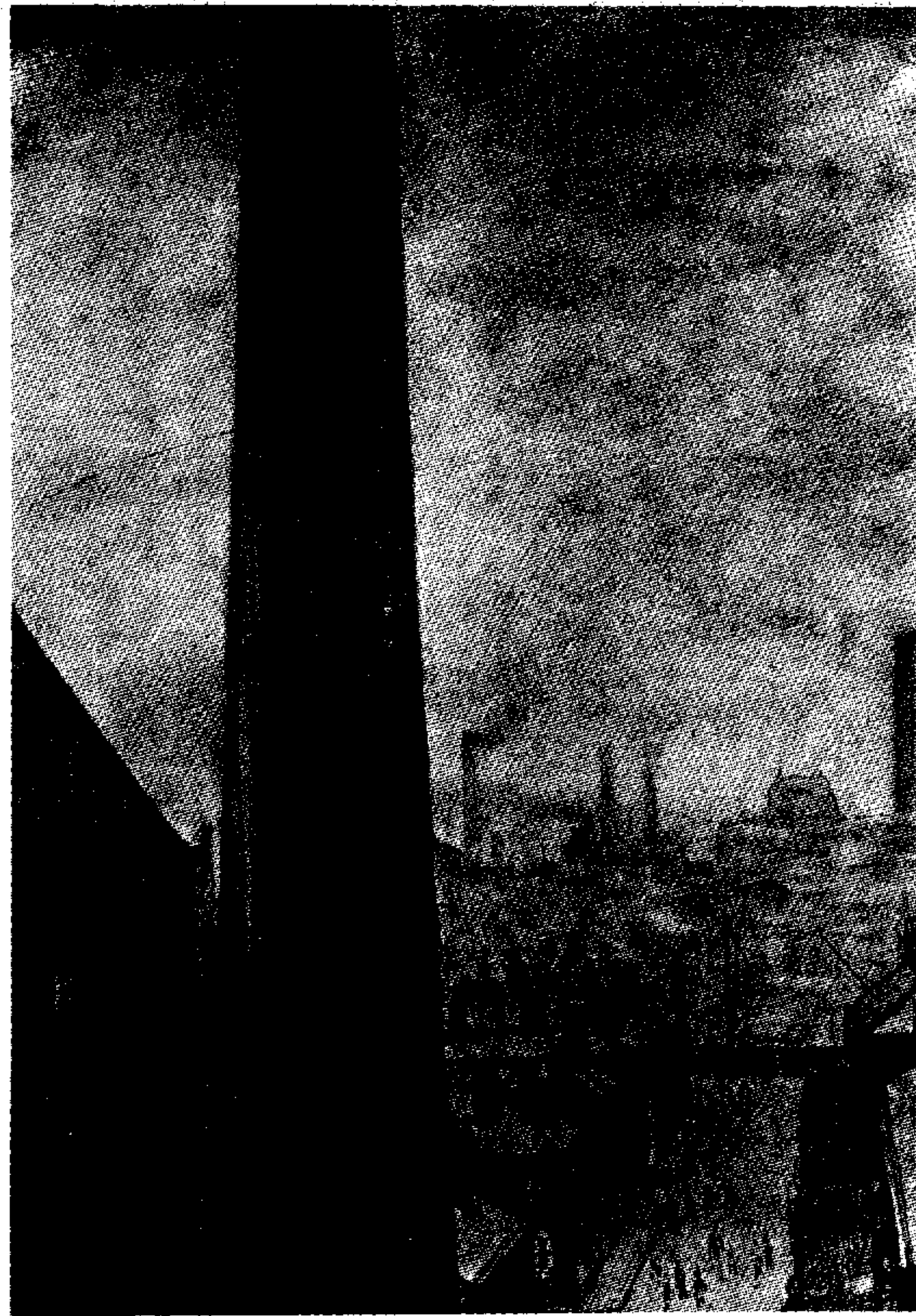
ALOOFNESS

And Lowry observes this process with the same aloofness, the same stubborn naivete with which he fended off discussion of his paintings.

This stance of the detached observer produces the stiff and stylised qualities of the paintings which try to move closer in, to show life as larger and less anonymous.

In *The Cripples*, where a couple of children look on while lame and deformed men straggle past them, the painting's quizzical stance — refusing to elicit a reaction from the children, refusing to explore the self-consciousness of the cripples, — makes finally for vagueness.

Collection: City Art Gallery, Salford



View from the Window of the Royal Technical College, Salford

The children and the cripples are merely an arrangement of people, a section of a crowd scene, blown up for no reason.

Scenes of violence or potential violence, like *The Arrest*, *The Man Taken Ill*, or *The Strike Meeting*, are drawn as if witnessed from an upper-storey window a few streets away from the action; the distance freezes the active potential of the scene into something static and timeless.

The only action in Lowry's paintings is the ceaseless zigzagging

of human objects.

In some sense Lowry's detachment and his lack of interest in the significance of the struggling movements of the world of figures, was determined by his clerk's position on the periphery of that struggle.

That position simultaneously gave him the access to the rich complexities of working class life that offered him his subject, and limited his ability to deal with that subject with anything but practical truthfulness.



Francis Terrace, Salford

an aerial view of the Gallery would look like a Lowry scene, with tiny men and women knocking into each other as they struggle across vast white expanses of Gallery. Only the dogs are missing, and the prams, and the smoking towers.

Lowry's popularity is connected to the factors which isolate him from the mainstream of twentieth-century British and American art.

EDUCATED

Like Marc Chagall, another extremely popular painter, Lowry is an *educated* 'primitive': in 1919-20, after years of academic painting, he turned from realistic portraiture to a kind of Lancashire impressionism.

But, unlike Chagall — and perhaps uniquely among major 20th Century artists — Lowry's paintings are rooted in their locale, closely attentive to the details of the northern cityscape in a manner that engenders a peculiar sense of confidence in those who see them.

In many people unfamiliar with the actual look of Lancashire mill and factory towns, a phrase like "the industrial north" produces an instant mental image composed from two or three of Lowry's more famous paintings.

So few painters have dealt seriously with working-class life that it might seem a little crabby to quibble with the work of one who has.

CLERK

Especially Lowry, who was no shunning voyeur, but in some sense a part of the life he depicted, working as a clerk all his life in the

The group scenes are mingled, in the exhibition, with paintings of what Lowry referred to as his "down and outs" — criminals, drunks, cripples.

This spices the simplicity so that the exhibition as a whole produces a pleasing sense of having been of moral benefit.

There is a faint air of reverence among the visitors, due in part to the surroundings and to Lowry's recent death, but due also to a feeling that it must be good for a middle-class art critic to have to look at so many poor people at once.

There is in fact a real ambiguity about Lowry's portrayal of working class life: the reduction of his figures to anonymous, repetitive little squibs, is in part a sharp perception of the effects of industrial life.

REALISM

Lowry's grasp of the way in which these conditions are made, in daily life, in going to work and school and coming home, to seem normal, ordinary, even cheerful — this is extraordinary, the deepest kind of realism.

Liberal critics who try to find an "anti-capitalist" in Lowry, and so on about the "monstrous, looming" qualities of his factories, precisely miss the point: the factories in Lowry's paintings are big and black and ugly, they belch smoke which blackens people's faces and hands and lungs, but they are not seen by Lowry or his people as 'monstrous' but simply as part of life.

Lowry's paintings are not trying to launch an attack on capitalism, but simply to record a part of the

1 YEAR OF 'EQUALITY': MASS RALLY CALLED

1976 was hailed by the Social Democrats as the year of women's equality in pay and job opportunity — following the enactment of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts on January 1st.

However during this time it has taken a bitter 22 week strike for the Trico women to win equal pay.

Still women are battling to get onto the assembly lines in the motor industry and other areas of manufacturing industry's traditionally 'male' jobs.

Sex discrimination is still rife in school courses.

WAGE CONTROL

All this, of course, is happening against a backdrop of wage control and massive cuts in public services, cuts which hit women particularly hard both because the majority of workers in these sectors are women and also because women need the facilities of the education, social and health services to 'free' them from the burdens of the home and their traditional role of caring for children, the sick and the elderly.

The Working Womens Charter Campaign (WWCC) has initiated a campaign for a mass rally at Alexandra Palace on February 27th to discuss these questions.

FOCUS

This rally should be supported as a positive focus for fighting for women's rights — but the politics of the Working Womens Charter Campaign stand as a barrier to winning support among the broad layers of

the labour movement.

Trade union branches, trades councils and Labour Party wards must be involved directly in *organising* for the rally — promises of "sponsorship" or verbal motions of "support" are not sufficient and merely provide a left cover for bureaucrats not wishing to appear opposed to such basic questions as rights for women.

The Charter Campaign fails completely to give a lead to women workers confused by the position of their trade union leaders on the issue of tribunals.

The Charter holds the dual position that where struggles are organised around equal pay or opportunity then these workers should not go to the tribunals — but *individual* women should be supported in putting their case.

BUREAUCRACY

This merely accepts the line of the bureaucracy — where they choose to lead a fight, the WWCC

tags along behind; but where they leave women isolated and send them to tribunals, the WWCC simply accepts this refusal to fight.

We say clearly that the major lesson that must be taken into the labour movement after one year of the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts is that the tribunals must be *boycotted*, and trade union means of struggle used to force employers to concede equal rights.

If this stand is not taken, the WWCC takes working women no way forward in fighting the union bureaucracy, who stand as the main barrier to a struggle for women's rights.

The danger is that a campaign on this level would degenerate to the level of the National Abortion Campaign, in which the single issue of Abortion, detached from any means of *winning* this right for women, mobilised 20,000 on one mass demonstration — thousands of women who have mostly never been seen again since.



Trico women - 22 weeks strike for equal pay

AFTER THE BY-ELECTIONS: TIME TO SHOOT THE PIANIST!

Comment by John Lister

The shattering defeats at Workington and Wallsall North have given an important insight into the bankrupt manoeuvres of the 'left' and the 'right' wings within the Labour Party machine.

In comments immediately following the election and the inevitable, if hasty and white-washing 'post-mortem' statements by the candidates, the real crisis of leadership within the Labour Party has come out clearly.

PINPOINTED

The one successful Labour candidate, Harry Cowan from Newcastle, for instance, pinpointed clearly the main factor alienating Labour voters:

"We experienced far more complaints about Labour's failure to live up to its manifesto than about wild left wing policies".

And the defeated Workington candidate, a Mr. Dale Campbell-Savoury, also pointed out the sabotage of his campaign by the extreme right wing within the Labour Party - the so-called 'Manifesto Group'.

"The Manifesto Group for instance should never have come out with a statement supporting



Latham, Tribune Group Chairman and (left) Heffer

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

between his so-called 'alternative' line and that of the Labour leadership:

"I did of course praise and defend a good deal of the government's achievements... Food and housing subsidies, the industrial relations: legislation, the social

Tribuneite spokesman, announced in the wake of the results that there should be some agreement between 'left' and right:

"What we must do throughout the length of the country is to come to some understanding of what has to be done."

LEADING LIGHT

Eric Heffer, another leading light in the Tribuneite ranks, went even further. Even while Denis Healey and Shirley Williams, speaking for all the hard-line advocates of Tory policies in the Labour Cabinet, pitched into the attack on the 'left' and blamed them for the defeats, Heffer was desperately reassuring reporters that he felt no hostility towards the right wing.

"Quite honestly, people in those positions shouldn't say such things. We don't go around making statements blaming them." (*Daily Mail*, Saturday 6th November).

Too true, Mr. Heffer! The Tribune group do not attack the Callaghan-Healey leadership! They lead no offensive struggle to throw them out.

They mouth a few pious phrases and then turn out time after time to vote for wage cuts, spending cuts, and more unemployment.

SOCIAL CONTRACT

They offer no lead to those workers who reject the social contract - since the Tribune group itself accepts the contract.

They present no consistent opposition, no socialist programme. They, as much as the Labour right-wing must carry the responsibility for the increase in the Tory vote.

We reject the Tribuneites' line of "saving" this Labour government no matter what reactionary policies it carries through. We say they must not simply vote against the cuts and similar Tory policies in Parliament, but they must travel the length and breadth of the labour movement to build the campaign to throw out Healey and Callaghan, and replace them with leaders prepared to defend the working class.

This means an end to their line of "don't shoot the pianist, he's only doing his best." We say pianist Denis Healey is doing his best for capitalism. It is high time he was shot.

BACK ISSUES

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contract [!], the Employment Protection Act, and the intervention in the motor industry which has done much to save jobs in the West Midlands have all been of benefit to working people." (emphasis added).



Callaghan

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Of course every one of the 'achievements' defended by Winnick represents a refusal of the Labour government to carry out a socialist programme of nationalisation and a planned expansion of production under workers' management, together with an attempt to limit and restrict the freedom of unions to function and defend their members independent of state interference.

But when he goes on to defend the social contract, the blank cheque given by the TUC bureaucrats to Healey to slash wages and proceed with further huge spending cuts, Winnick reveals the complete impotence of the Tribune group.

Winnick is not alone among Tribuneites taking this position.

The by-election results have horrified these professional 'left' talkers, and driven them to seek a deal with the right wing.

Thus Norman Atkinson, leading



Atkinson

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

LONDON CONFERENCE

ABOUT 70 DELEGATES AND observers attended a conference at Conway Hall last Saturday, called by the London Regional Committee Against Cuts in Public Services.

A morning session heard contributions from a platform of half a dozen speakers with experience in particular struggles against the cuts.

GLC councillor Ken Livingstone spoke on the fraudulent posturings of trade union leaders such as Jack Jones and Syd Weighell in their "defence" of the transport system, and of the need to put Labour councillors on the spot in their acceptance and implementation of the Government's increasingly savage budget slashing.

SUSPENDED

There was also an account of the important fight being carried on by the teachers at Little Ilford School who have been suspended, bureaucratically and almost without warning, from the NUT for refusing to cover for teachers absent for more than three days.

The afternoon was devoted to discussion of a resolution from the Conference Organising Committee on fighting the cuts.

The resolution made many correct points. But it failed to identify the cuts as part of an overall strategy of the Labour government, supported by the TUC, to solve the crisis of capitalism at the expense of the workers.

Its lack of political sharpness carried over into many of the demands: it was often not clear at whom they were directed.

ON THE SPOT

Several speakers from the floor, including supporters of the IMG (who were the main political force behind the Conference), spoke of the need to put the bureaucracy on the spot in order to expose it.

But the complete absence of any such perspective was a major weakness of the resolution.

Speakers from the Workers Socialist League were particularly critical of the fuzzy and misguided demand "that District Officials of the public sector unions should have regular meetings on an area basis" and of the failure to call on left-talking union leaders to organise strike action against the cuts.

COMMITTEE

A steering committee was chosen to carry forward the work of the LRCAC; but the organisation will need to develop, to put it kindly, far greater political clarity and a firmer orientation to the trade unions and the Labour Party, if it is to be able to mobilise significant numbers of workers against the cuts.

By Tom Walker



further public expenditure cuts when this was the main point on which we were fighting the Tories in Workington."

Neither of these men are left wingers. But both are clearly forced to agree that the Tory policies advocated by the Manifesto Group and implemented in the economic strategy of Healey and Callaghan - huge public spending cuts, falling living standards, mass unemployment - were key in the swing away from Labour.

CAMPAIGN

Their experience in the election confirms the necessity for an all-out campaign to remove Healey and Callaghan from the Labour leadership and to reverse the reactionary policies they have introduced.

Only in this way can the Labour Party hope to differentiate itself in the next General Election from the Tories.

But as far as the right wingers who run the Cabinet are concerned, it was the 'left' who were to blame, for daring (in however puny and inadequate a fashion), to oppose the continuing rampage of cuts.

Of course the left's opposition to Healey and Callaghan remains both ridiculously puny and completely inadequate. In place of one set of reactionary policies, they simply call day after day for a different set of equally reactionary policies - in particular for the nationalist policy of import controls.

WAFFLE

In place of a clear call to drive out Healey and Callaghan, the 'lefts' waffle on about the need for the Labour movement to "put on the pressure now as never before." (*Tribune* 12th November).

Indeed, if we take the case of David Winnick, the Tribuneite candidate defeated in the Wallsall North by-election, it is clear that it is really only an insistent call for import controls that stands

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INDUSTRIAL NEWS

STEEL JOBS IN DANGER



Stalinist AUEW Sheffield District Secretary George Caborn

The threat of sackings hangs over 400 workers at the Balfour Darwins Capital Tool Works in Sheffield. Edgar Allen Balfour, the group formed when Edgar Allen absorbed Balfour Darwins two years ago, has announced that it will close its Greenland Road factory in Sheffield and transfer production to Openshaw, in Manchester.

The reason offered by management is a projected £1 million loss next year. Most of this loss they attribute to the Balfour Darwins works in Sheffield.

This must come as no surprise as since the takeover investment has been drastically reduced and the sales force cut from 12 to 3 in a carefully planned attempt to manu-

facture reasons for closure.

Management's decision to close the works has already met with determined resistance from the mainly women workforce and with support from other Edgar Allen Balfour workers who will soon face similar attacks.

The determination of the workforce, however, finds little reflection in the policy of the stewards committee and Communist Party led AUEW District Committee.

At the mass meeting last Monday of all Edgar Allen Balfour's workers in Sheffield, the stewards committee confined itself to a call for district-wide blacking of Balfour Darwin's products.

The aim of this was to 'pressure' management into discussions on plans to "make the factory viable".

But the actions of management in closing the works is precisely designed to make the industry

"viable", i.e. profitable, by the only means capitalism knows - reducing the workforce, speeding up production and closing factories.

By arguing for "viability", the stewards committee are accepting management's terms and agreeing that profits must be boosted at the expense of the workers.

None of the jobs will be defended this way. Instead management's long-laid plans to close the factory and the meaning of their arguments about 'viability' must be exposed to the whole workforce by a fight to open the books of the whole company.

Drawing in the other factories in the group, who face similar attacks, to examine the workings of the company in its drive to force extra profits out of its workforce, the basis must be laid for a fight to defend all the jobs by reducing the hours of work while maintaining full pay.

As a first step, workers committees must be elected to lead the fight to open the books and to prepare for the occupation of the factory.

Only in this way can the correct decision to call District-wide blacking in support (endorsed by a Confed stewards' meeting the following day), be developed.

With thousands of jobs in Sheffield threatened by the recession in special steels mass support must be won for worksharing on full pay in defence of jobs.

There is no solution to be found in searching for alternatives to make the factory viable, the fight must be directed towards the nationalisation of the industry without compensation, not under the old state-appointed managers but under workers' management.

750 delegates and visitors at the International Socialists' Right to Work Conference on 6th November were urged by the platform to vote for a programme of reformist demands - many of which have already earned the verbal support of most of the Trade Union bureaucracy.

Unemployment, delegates were told, must be met with a 35 hour week, without loss of pay, an official overtime ban, and 'five days work for five days pay'.

The social contract should be fought with "across the board increases" with no limits on agreements.

Everyone was urged to fight, fight and fight again. More militancy should be developed, proclaimed Conference speakers, who concluded that what is needed is a rank-and-file link-up.

Compromise was the order of the day. One delegate, Sean Doherty a London teacher, called for support for a protest lobby at NUT head office backing the teachers suspended from the union for taking 'unofficial action' at the school.

But Dick North, Conference chairman and member of the NUT Executive made no comment or call for a campaign within the NUT on this blatant example of bureaucracy.

An alternative programme however was put by Mike Davis from the Oxford ACTSS 833 branch and a resolution from Central Scotland Federation of Trades Councils which called for a policy of occupation of factories to demand work sharing on full pay introduced under the direction of

elected Trade Union Committees.

They demanded that those employers who refused to guarantee jobs must open their books to these committees so that the case for nationalisation can be proven.

The resolutions called over and above a substantial wage increase, for a sliding scale of wages to protect against inflation.

International Socialist speakers attacked these demands. Willie Lee from Chrysler Scotland said it was "not a matter of sliding scales and open the books" - what was needed was action and answers.

"My employer will open the books when ever we ask" he said, "but we don't want to see them."

But as Mike Davis correctly argued, the task is to raise the consciousness of the working class to revolutionary consciousness. That task can only be achieved through the fight for transitional demands, which challenge capitalism - certainly not through reformist demands which can be contained within it.

In this the ending of business secrets, open the books, can be one of the most powerful demands.

The bankruptcy of the IS refusal to fight for any political development was highlighted by the enthusiastic response by the Conference when Alan Thornett, delegate from the 5/293 T&GWU branch, in challenging the Conference programme as 'reformist' called for a campaign to force Healey and Callaghan to resign.

This remained as virtually the only political note in the Conference, standing in complete contrast to the 'rank-and-file link-up' panacea peddled by the platform.

LETTER:

Oxford Trades Council

Dear Comrade,

I do not object to your criticism of my political line. That is your right and I would always defend that right. What disturbs me is your inaccurate report (6/10/76).

You state that I was installed into office as President of the Oxford Trades Union Council by TUC officials.

The facts are that I was elected by 88 votes to 57 votes at a meeting of 147 rank and file members elected by their branches.

You can check this because many of your supporters voted in that election.

I trust you will print this correction.

Yours fraternally,
John Power.

● Our use of the word "installed" refers to the disaffiliation and re-organisation of the Oxford Trades Council by the TUC following a walk-out by an extreme right-wing

and Communist Party minority, not normal Trades Council attenders, led by David Buckle, right wing District Secretary of the T&GWU.

In the reorganisation the existing elected officers were effectively removed from office and the present officers including Bro. Power were elected with the active and enthusiastic support of that same right wing minority. Indeed the voting lines were clearly drawn between the active members of the old Trades Council voting for Gerry Casey as President and the right wing and Communist Party minority (bolstered into a majority by a three line whip from national offices of almost every affiliated union under pressure from the TUC) voting for Brother Power, attending his first Trades Council meeting in at least five years.

While he may call that a democratic election we would call it a bureaucratic carve-up.



GPO CUTS THREATEN JOBS

Thousands of jobs in the telecommunications industry are threatened by a £220 million reduction in orders by the Post Office for telephone exchange equipment.

The labour force in the industry has already dropped from 78,000 in 1970-71 to the present level of 60,000.

Earlier cuts in Post Office orders last year have resulted in a planned 10,000 sackings. 1,000 of these, just under one-third of the company's exchange installation workforce, have been announced, by GEC, for the first quarter of next year.

Estimates of the number of sackings which will follow the latest cut vary between 10,000 and 15,000.

It is vital that attempts by the union leaderships involved to form alliances with employers be fought.

In particular, members of the EEPTU should repudiate their leadership's call for telecommunications industry employers and unions to take a joint stance to oppose the cuts.

Instead of working out how the employers could make more profit through boosting exports the unions should be starting from the independent interests of workers - demanding work sharing on full pay and the opening of the books of telecommunications firms such as Plessey, Standard Telephone and Cable, GEC and Pye - to lay the



BINGO STRIKE SOLID

The recognition strike of Bingo workers employed by Orr Enterprises, Coventry (see 'Socialist Press' 46), is now in its fourth week.

Hoping to break the strike by asserting that "we are open", management have reopened the halls using scab labour. So far, however, less than 70 people are attending the bingo sessions.

Last weekend two mass pickets, with an average of 100 present at any one time, were held in an effort to close the halls. Support for the strike has been steadily growing and the pickets have been visited by other low paid workers inspired by

strikers is in sharp contrast to the activities of T&GWU officials. The District Committee has voted support for the strike and is circulating details to branches.

But active support, particularly help with picketing, has not been forthcoming. In the face of this attitude on the part of the officials a few women have drifted back to work.

The vast majority of strikers, however, are absolutely determined to see a successful conclusion to the strike.

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

Sister Ann Coffey, T&GWU

MANIFESTO

The first hospital occupation has begun at the EGA in London. At a mass meeting on Monday 14th November the workers there passed the following manifesto:

"1. The staff of the EGA have previously declared their intention to occupy the hospital should this prove necessary. The Secretary of State has apparently supported the 'interim' transfer to the Whittington hospital, a solution which he has attempted to justify in the House of Commons by false statements. It may be now that AHA officers will act arbitrarily to close the Hospital, as they closed the EGA Maternity Home. The staff are extremely frustrated that the case for maintaining the EGA has never yet been adequately examined by the authorities, and that all kinds of tricks have been tried to disown and dishonour this unique women's hospital. The remaining step must now be taken to occupy the Hospital by a work-in.

2. A continuous 24-hour picket on hospital entrances. Authorised

personnel only will be admitted. We appeal: to women patients, to health workers everywhere, to the unions, and to the community to support the occupation by any means possible. Staff will fully observe their contracts of employment in the interests of the patients. A high standard of discipline will be maintained. The EGA medical committee has already stated that medical staff will continue to look after the patients in the event of a staff work-in.

EGA patients have repeatedly affirmed their loyalty to the hospital, and they can be assured that staff occupation will be in their interests, as the one means left to save the hospital.

3. The EGA work-in and occupation will continue until the Secretary of State and the AHA enable the hospital to continue on its present site, by repairing the lift and undertaking needed maintenance. Decisions regarding the occupation will be taken by meetings of all staff."

The occupation is supported officially by NUPE, ASTMS, COHSE and NALGO.

From workers occupying the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital



2,000 London hospital workers stop work against cuts on 21st July.

Health stewards organise

In the NHS a large but diminishing number of workers are held back by the participation of their union officials in subservient "Joint Staff Consultative Committees" which were everywhere set up at the time of the so-called 'reorganisation' of the NHS.

Where there has been any real fight against the cuts, however, this has been led by Joint Shop Steward Committees.

The situation demands that there should be no delay in building an all-London NHS Shop Stewards network capable of rapidly mobilising workers all over London in response to any attempt by management to implement cuts in any areas.

Several London JSSC's have started to work towards a Conference of London Area Stewards in the Health Service (CLASH) in January 1977 at which the main issue will be that of how to fight the cuts.

JAGS BAN ENDS

Paintshop workers at Jaguar's Browns Lane Plant in Coventry have voted to drop the overtime ban imposed since July.

The ban was in support of their demand for a public inquiry into the siting of the new paintshop which is to be in Birmingham rather than Coventry.

Jaguar workers feel that this is the first step towards the ending of Jaguar production in Coventry.

After failing to get agreement with management over a public inquiry, the union leaders at the plant have used sympathetic noises from Eric Varley and calls from Jack Jones for 'more information' on Leyland's future plans as a cover to call off the action.

T&GWU convenor David Holloway says that calling off the ban is a sign of "goodwill", and it is hoped that management will reciprocate with a speedier flow of information.

However, the central issue remains, will Leyland continue to produce Jaguar cars in Coventry?

To get an accurate picture of the company's forward planning, Jaguar workers need more than a speedier flow of information.

They need to see all the books of the company and this remains the most important demand for them to raise. Calling off sanctions is no way to force this information from the company — but a move by the union leaders to defuse the militancy of Jaguar workers.

'NATURAL WASTAGE'

'Natural wastage' is steadily eroding jobs in the public sector, avoiding the confrontation of compulsory sackings.

An example of this is the school meals staffing arrangement recently introduced by Warwickshire County Council, which lays the basis for sharp attacks on job security.

The new system was outlined in a letter to school meals staff as follows:

"The proposal is to reduce over a period of time, only as natural wastage occurs and posts become vacant, the number of permanent school meals employees to the level needed to cater for the lowest expected number of meals at each kitchen and scullery.

When demand temporarily increases, for example, during the winter months, the extra duties will be covered either by extending the hours of permanent staff or by the employment of temporary additional staff employed on a termly basis.

The appointments for one term only will offer exactly the same conditions of service as those enjoyed by permanent staff except that there will be no entitlement to the payment of retaining fee during school holidays, nor any guarantee of continued employment beyond the end of the school term."

The existence of different categories amongst the workforce opens the way for the County Council to reduce hours worked by cutting the temporary staff. It is the old trick of splitting the workforce prior to organising an attack.

School meals staff were asked to fill in a form indicating their attitude to the new proposals. Although the letter stated that the form need not be signed there were cases of workers being instructed to sign the forms.

Any workers indicating hostility to the proposals and signing the form would obviously lay themselves open to victimisation as militants.

The G&MWU did nothing to fight the proposals and indeed helped management with their circulation. The union leaders rejected a call for votes to be taken

at branch meetings by a show of hands.

There has been no official announcement, by management or the union, of the result of the "ballot" but the proposals have now been introduced and there are rumours that they were 'accepted' by a margin of 6:1;

The G&MWU is in no shape to act in defence of its members interests. In Nuneaton, for example, there are no regular branch meetings — there was a five month gap between the last two, the branch has no vice-chairman, treasurer or trades council delegate. No one is clear just when the last branch elections took place. However, a fight has begun for a change in these methods of "organisation".

At the centre of a fighting policy must be the need for all information to be made available to shop stewards eg. how many people are employed? How many hours do they work; How many meals are prepared now?

This information is vital if the school meals workers are to resist attempts to cut hours and speed-up their work.

'NO STRIKE' CLAUSE . . . FROM PAGE ONE.

proposals of this sort can only benefit management.

The technique is to prevent such proposals becoming known in the factory before the convenors meet to accept or reject.

If these proposals went to a vote in the factories they would be rejected out of hand.

On wages, Robinson reported that Longbridge workers had accepted the principle of the social contract in the current annual pay review.

FRAUDULENT

This had been fraudulently achieved by means of a militant sounding resolution which called for the rejection of wage control, voluntary or statutory, after July 1977. In other words advocating acceptance of the 4½% deal for this year.

So fraudulent is his position that Robinson does not even take this as a mandate to fight wage control next year.

Knowing that those trade union leaders who had been circulated with the text of the Longbridge resolution have been replying with talk of Stage Three of wage control, Robinson is now saying that it will be "up to the workers to decide."

In the Longbridge review

Leyland management had offered the straight Social Contract entitlement — 5% of gross earnings (inclusive of overtime and night-shift allowance, and paid as an individual supplement).

But even while he helps carry through such a wage cutting deal, Robinson is acutely aware of the massive pressure coming up in the



working class on the wages issue.

"There is sheer frustration over wages," he said. "It is leading to a negative attitude. Unless there is some reversing of the trend we will not be able to hold our members until July — let alone after."

CONFINE

The phrase "hold our members" spells out Robinson's view of his job as a convenor — not to lead in defence of living standards, but to

confine his members within the reactionary limits set by the TUC and the Labour government! Such a view is held by Stalinist bureaucrats throughout the unions.

The same sentiment was expressed by Arthur Harper, convenor at Tractors and Transmissions (a former member of the International Socialists, now a supporter of the Workers League).

Harper reported that he had accepted the 4½% deal at Transmissions, making the direct workers rate £66.65. But he added:

EXPLOSIVE

"It is just explosive at the moment. If there is no settlement of the lay-off claim [an upshot of the 'fringe benefit' blind alley, Ed] we will face some very big problems."

If the convenors see the problem as the militancy of the working class, for the shop floor the question is a fight against such leaders.

It is clear that an urgent campaign throughout Leyland is necessary to reject all penalty clauses, and to launch the fight for a rejection of the 4½%, and for a substantial wage increase tied to a sliding scale of wages to protect against inflation.

PARTICIPATION IN THE PITS?

THE NUM HAS DROPPED ITS proposals for management of pits to be elected on a 'one man one vote' principle at each pit — which would have led to workers at the pit controlling who was and who was not a manager.

This, whilst not workers control,



NUM Con. See Lawrence Daily

(which would take the form of an elected Trade Union committee in control of the managers and all their decisions; the ability to hire and fire, as well as access to the books) would still be a challenge to the old management.

The NUM leadership has now taken this feeling for workers control and channelled it into committees, very like participation committees, in which the management together with the overseers would have a majority and which would have anyway no control over the managers — only dealing with minor decisions as to which new machinery to purchase.

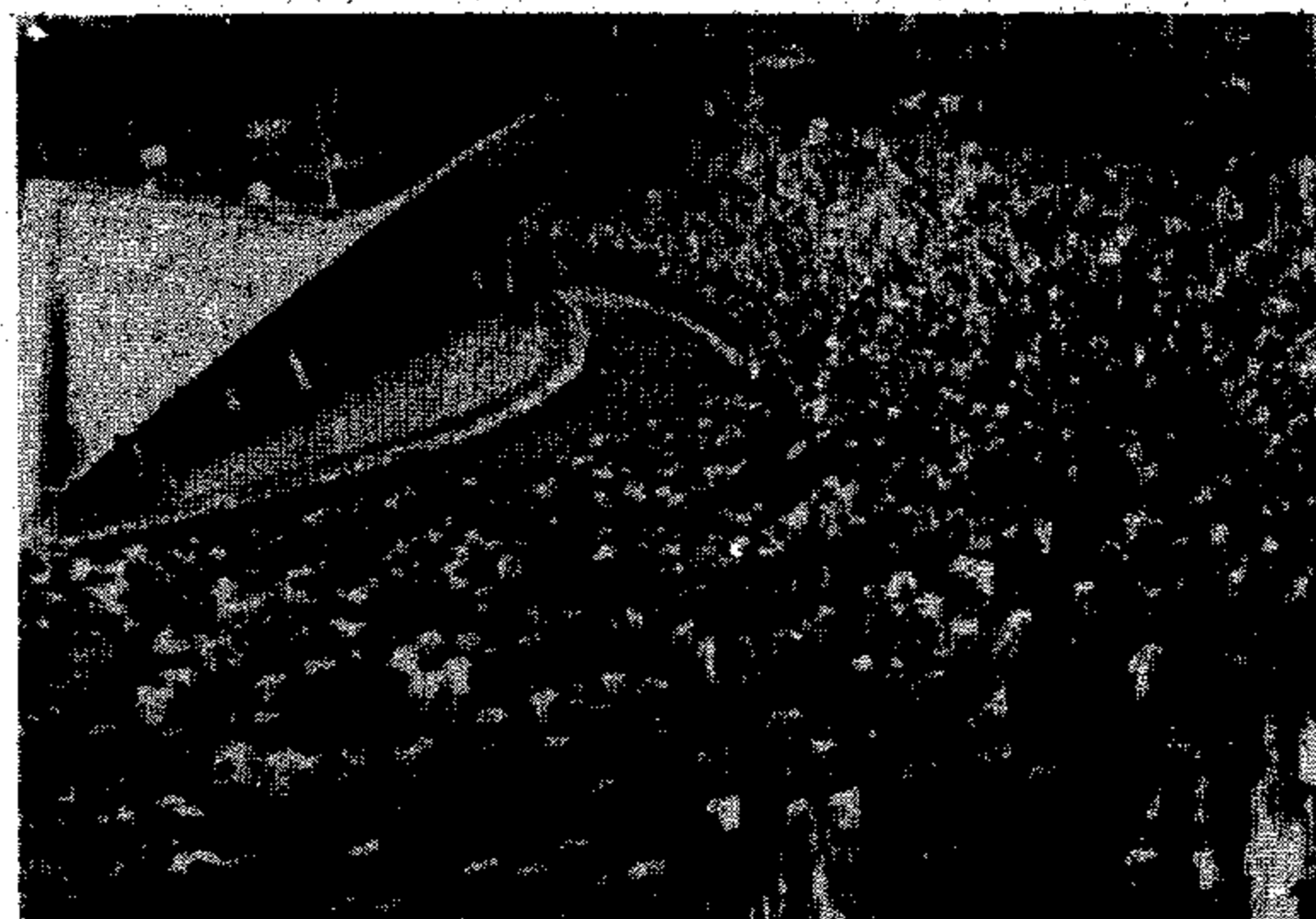
The government is, of course, in favour of similar bodies throughout the nationalised industries, as well as 'workers on the board' in private industries.

What they are aiming at is more and more integration of the trade unions into management requirements, on the model of the subservience of union leaders in Leyland's

One year after Franco

SPANISH WORKERS

STILL CONFRONT FASCISM



Mass meeting of Biscay province building workers

The Day of Action against the Spanish government's recent economic measures on November 12th showed simultaneously the massive strength of the Spanish working class and the role of its leaders in trying to demobilise that strength.

According to the estimates of the Coordinating Committee of the Trade Union Organisations (COS — an alliance of leaders of the Workers Commissions with the Socialist Party union the UGT and the former Catholic union, UFO) which organised the action, two million workers, a quarter of the labour force, were on strike on that day.

MINES

In the coal mines and the construction industry the strike was virtually total. The areas most affected were Euskadi in the

North, Catalonia in the East and the industrial areas which circle Madrid.

It was quantitatively the largest workers' mobilisation in Spain since the end of the Civil War.

The quality of the strike, however, which seldom got out of the control of its Stalinist and reformist organisers, was designed to minimise the threat to the fascist regime which such a mobilisation could have posed.

FORCED

When, a month ago, the huge wave of working class protest against the government's measures to control wages and encourage sackings forced the main trade union organisations to call a nationwide action, they nominated it a "general strike". When protests came from the Christian Democrats and other bourgeois parties with whom the reformists and Stalinists collaborated in the "Democratic Opposition", the

name was progressively diluted to "a day of action".

PICKETS OPPOSED

The COS leaders fought energetically against any demonstrations or pickets. In the event a few small demonstrations took place, and were attacked by the police; and, according to COS sources, 400 pickets were arrested on November 12th and probably 200 organisers, especially from the UGT, were detained in the preceding few days. Some of these have since received heavy fines.

The COS deliberately held back the mobilisation of workers in services such as transport in order to minimise the impact of the strike on the life of the urban bourgeoisie. In Madrid drivers on two of the Underground lines who began to strike were forced to work by the police at machine gun point.

The intentionally low key mobilisation imposed by the COS reflected its notion of the political role of the strike. This was merely to stage a protest against the economic measures which the Communist Party and Socialist Party leaders want to separate completely from the political struggle for democracy.

They wish to prevent any workers' mobilisation becoming an obstacle to their plan to negotiate a pact between the fascist government and the class collaborationist Platform of Democratic Organisations.

NOT SUPPRESSED

To the chagrin of these leaders, however, the independent mobilisation of the working class is not so easy to suppress.

Although the recent bus workers' strike in Madrid was defeated after the most savage

police intimidation and company victimisation of the strikers, another major strike — that of over 20,000 building workers in Biscay province — has now lasted for over a month, despite the minimal strike pay which the illegal unions have collected for the strikers.

DISPERSED

Until the employers made an offer of an extra £20 a month last week, all the workers' meetings have been violently dispersed by the police. Both employers and government were shocked when in a permitted mass meeting of 5,000 workers their offer was overwhelmingly rejected.

The workers have decided to hold out for their demands of an £80 increase (far in excess of the government's wage regulations) and fight for the release from prison of two of their leaders.

A YEAR OF 'REFORMS'

Franco died a year ago — on November 20th 1975. His successors, the King and his two cabinets headed by Carlos Arias Navarro and now by Adolfo Suarez, have faithfully continued the fascist dictator's murderous work against the masses of workers and peasants in Spain.

They have talked incessantly of "reforms" and democracy. But so far not a single trade union or workers' political party has been recognised; not a single person has cast a single vote; and every struggle of the workers for democracy or for higher pay has been met by the regime with repression violence and murder.

This is the record of Spain's "reforming" governments:

Political Prisoners

December 1975 — a "pardon" granted by the King reduces sentences and permits several hundred workers' leaders and militants to leave jail. Many have subsequently been rearrested.

July 1976 — an "amnesty" conceded under the pressure of massive demonstrations leads to the release of something over 100 prisoners. Many have subsequently been rearrested.

In recent weeks the number of political arrests has soared once again. The campaign has been directed especially against parties to the left of the Communist Party.

About 100 militants of the centrist/Maoist Labour Party have been detained in Euskadi, as have a number of leaders of the youth section of the Communist League (one of the sympathising sections

of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International).

The regime has even put on trial (for holding unauthorised meetings) a leading member of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia) the Catalanian section of the Spanish Communist Party).

There are now certainly more political prisoners in Spain than there were before the much publicised "amnesty".

The Death List

In the year of "reforms" over 40 workers and political militants have been killed by the police and the licenced fascist death squads. They include the following:

February 1976. Teofilo del Valle Perez (20 years old) killed in a demonstration in Elba (Alicante).

March 1976. Romualdo Barroso Chaparro (19), Francisco Azuar (17), and Pedro Maria Ocio, shot by police in the massacre at Vitoria.

Jose Castillo and Bienvenido Pereda Moral died a few days later from wounds inflicted in the same massacre.

Juan Gabriel Rodrigo, construction worker, killed while fleeing from a police charge in a demonstration in Tarragona protesting against the Vitoria massacre.

Vicente Antonio Ferrero, 18, shot by Civil Guard in Basauri (Bilbao) in a protest demonstration against the Vitoria massacre.

April 1976. Oriol Sole Sugranes, Catalanian anarchist escaped from jail, shot by Civil Guard near the French border.

Felipe Suarez Delgado, shot by Civil Guard at a road block.

Imanol Garmendia, member of

ETA, shot in Vera de Bidasoa, on his way to the Basque national festival.

J. Bernardo Bidaola Achega, disappeared after being shot by Civil Guard in a demonstration.

May 1976. Aniano Gimenez Santos, and Ricardo Pellejero (20) shot in Montejurra by right-wing supporters of a Carlist pretender to the throne.

June 1976. Begana Menchaca, housewife, shot during a demonstration in Santurce (Bilbao).

Carlos Hernandez Exposito, shot by Civil Guard near Madrid when he did not respond to a call to halt.

Eduardo Moreno, militant of ETA, kidnapped in France, presumed dead.

August 1976. Francisco Javier Verdejo Lucas, student member of the Young Red Guard shot by police while painting a slogan on a wall in Almeria.

September 1976. Josu Sabula, militant of the Workers' Commissions, shot in a demonstration in Fuenterrabia.

October 1976. Carlos Gonzalez student, shot in a demonstration.

These are only some of the militant workers, students and housewives murdered by Spain's "reforming" government in the biggest year of slaughter since the Civil War.

The "Reforms"

On November 16 Spain's fake parliament, the Cortes, votes on the Government's new "democratic" constitution which, if passed, is due to be followed by a referendum in the middle of December and general elections for a new parliament before next June.

TWO FUNDS

Shortage of space precludes a detailed breakdown of donations received for our Monthly Development Fund and our £1,000 Special Fund.

The total amount received for the Monthly Fund stands at £312.20. With thirteen days left to the end of the month a big effort is needed to complete the fund target which is £600.

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The murder of Aniano Gimenez Santos by gunman (right)

Even if the Suarez government overcomes the opposition of the Francoist "bunker", its "reform" forsee "free" elections under conditions where hundreds of militants of workers' and nationalist parties remain in prison, and the main workers' parties remain illegal.

The class collaborationist Platform of Democratic Organisations (in which the Democratic Coord-

ination is linked with numerous other political organisations of the opposition) has so far, under the pressure of the working class, maintained its stand that, unless all political prisoners are released and all political parties legalised, it will call for a boycott of the referendum and the elections.

But there is a strong possibility of opportunist breaks with this line by bourgeois and even reformist workers' parties.

FORCE HEALEY—CALLAGHAN TO RESIGN..... from Page 1

leading from today's conditions of capitalist crisis to the struggle to end capitalism and establish a planned socialist economy.

The 'lefts' have no such programme or perspective. While they whine empty phrases about cuts and unemployment, their only alternative is the nationalist policy of *import controls* — which serves only to line them up with 'British' employers against 'foreign' workers.

And a serious fight for a socialist programme means a break from all the 'lefts' opportunist relationship with the right wing within the Labour Party and the TUC, taking a stand on principle, and being prepared to lead rather than politely follow behind the struggles of the working class.

Not one Tribune appears willing to take on such a fight. And therefore not one Tribune is able to demand the resignation of the Callaghan-Healey clique, even while they witness the hammer blows the right wing are striking at the Labour Party.

This political paralysis of the traditional 'left' wing means that the fight in the unions and the Labour Party for a new political leadership based on a clear programme of demands is essential.

A central part of this fight will take the form of forcing the 'lefts' to declare openly their position by demanding they fight for the removal of Callaghan-Healey from the Labour leadership.

*End the Social Contract! Reject the 4½% limit!

*For substantial increases, with a sliding scale of wages to ensure automatic rises in pace with inflation.

*Reverse all cuts! Protect the social services against inflation through a sliding scale of state spending.

*No to all sackings! Where redundancy is threatened, demand work sharing on full pay! Occupy and demand the employers books be opened to trade union committees to prove the case for nationalisation without compensation.