

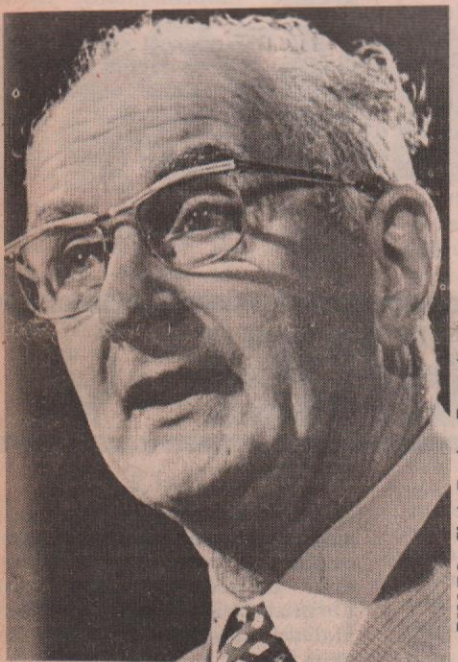


# AUEW = NEW LEADERS

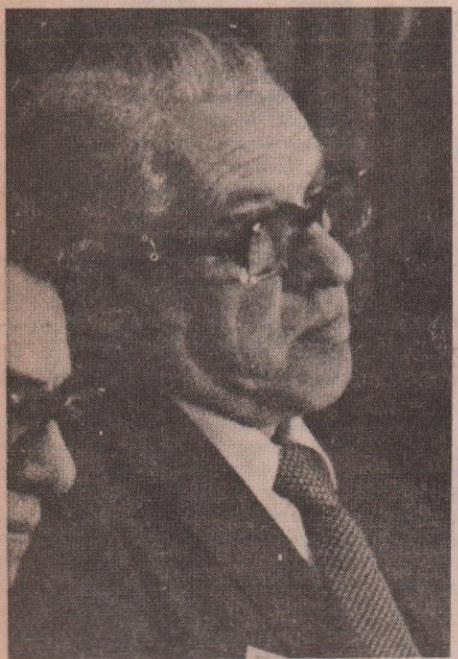
# ARE NEEDED!



Reg Birch



Hugh Scanlon



Bob Wright

The bosses' charter signed by AUEW Executive member Reg Birch late last Saturday night to settle the Beaverbrook print dispute marked the end of a week of far reaching betrayals by the AUEW leadership.

\*Last Wednesday union President Hugh Scanlon forced through the stage-managed TUC vote to back the 12-month rule on pay—in direct opposition to the policy of the AUEW National Conference and even to the AUEW delegation at the conference who voted by 21 votes to two abstentions against deal.

\*Last week was week 18 of the recognition dispute at Desoutters in North London—and the 18th week in which the Executive has refused to implement national blacking of Desoutter products or increase the £9 a week strike pay for the 80 workers involved.

\*During the week a shameful situation was allowed to develop in the printing industry where AUEW members in Manchester were allowed to do the work of London members on strike, presenting the possibility of strike-breaking in all future disputes.

The Beaverbrook deal—which brought an end to a week-long strike that hit London production of the *Sunday Express*, *Daily Express* and *Evening Standard*, concedes nearly everything demanded by Beaverbrook management.

### ALL-ROUND ATTACK

It paves the way for an all-round attack on union rights, manning levels and working conditions throughout Fleet Street and the print industry as a whole.

Managing director Jocelyn Stevens was delighted:

"Our engineers now have the least privileged chapel in Fleet Street in terms of the rigidity of the conditions they have to abide by."

"Officials of the Newspaper Publishers Association are blank faced with amazement that the AUEW agreed to sign the terms."

He said that the *Express* engineers had been forced into the deal because they "did not have support" from Manchester workers, they were under "incredible pressure" from other staff in the London office and under "extraordinary pressure" from the AUEW executive.

- 12-month rule
- Fleet St. betrayal
- Still no blacking of Desoutter goods

All this proves that the strikers were not defeated by Beaverbrook—they were consciously *betrayed* by the AUEW leadership.

It was Birch and the AUEW executive that refused to call out engineers at the *Express* Manchester office, and instead allowed Manchester AUEW members to assist management in *doubling* their print run in a bid to break the strike.

### SCABBING

This left an opening for the right wing print union leaders to allow their members to take part in this organised scabbing operation.

Birch, a Maoist, yesterday admitted that he had been *afraid* of the *Express* dispute spreading to the rest of Fleet Street—and had been primarily concerned to "get the men back to work as soon as possible."

So while Beaverbrook management publicly announced all-out war on the AUEW in particular and the rights and conditions of the print unions in general, Birch and the AUEW leaders were desperate not to win the dispute but simply for some pretext to end it before other workers could come to the aid of the strikers.

### NO BLACKING

At Desoutters the AUEW executive has not only failed to institute national blacking on a straight unionisation struggle (meaning that AUEW members in industry all over the country are receiving, using and maintaining the tools produced by scabs in the London factory) but it has taken 18 weeks for the local District Committee to even think of an area financial levy.

All this takes place in conditions where the Desoutters

senior steward has been sacked and where the company will not grant union recognition.

If the AUEW's vote on the 12-month rule had gone in line with union policy AUEW opposition would have carried other votes with it and would at least have ensured an unworkable majority for the 12-month rule.

So Scanlon's autocratic ruling means that the whole weight of the TUC will be used against workers fighting to defend their living standards.

This kind of ruling was famous in the days of right wing leader Bill Carron and the fact that Scanlon (who used to denounce it) uses the method shows that it comes out of the perspective of class compromise.

force in speed-up and rationalisation measures, union officials fear nothing so much as the full-scale mobilisation of the working class.

This is the political reality behind the UPW refusal to implement postal blacking on Grunwick; it is why the AUEW will not issue instructions for national blacking action on Desoutters; and it is the reason that officials whether 'left' or right wing see the slightest show of militancy by workers as a threat to their privileged positions.

Scanlon in particular has bitter memories of the humiliating defeat inflicted upon him only a few months ago by a mass meeting of Leyland tool-makers—while Birch suffered repeated setbacks in his struggle to end the Heathrow maintenance engineers' strike.

### REAL STRENGTH

These officials know that when workers sense their real strength then they also begin to sense at the same time the need for a new leadership prepared to mobilise all-out action against the employer and against the reactionary policies of the wage-cutting Lib-Lab coalition government.

The current elections to



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

3,000 angry toolmakers gave Scanlon the 'bird' in March.

In a period where the TUC leaders are straining every muscle to impose a further period of wage controls on their members, and see themselves committed to assisting employers in each industry to

determine Scanlon's successor as President give workers an opportunity to deal a blow at the treacherous AUEW leadership.

The two candidates singled

CONTINUED PAGE 11, Col. 1.



# INTERNATIONAL NEWS

## MOSCOW BACKING TO BOTH SIDES IN N.E. AFRICAN WARS

The bloodthirsty, Soviet-supported military junta which rules Ethiopia (known as the Derg or Dergue) is fighting desperately for its political life.

Last month it instituted a more or less total mobilisation of the population under its control into the state militia in order to step up its resistance to a multi-pronged military attack—from the liberation movements in Eritrea in the North, from the West Somalia Liberation Front and the Somali government in the East, from the right-wing Ethiopian Democratic Union and the left-wing Ethiopian Popular Revolutionary Party in various other parts of the country.

The historical origins of these wars goes back to the imperialist scramble for territory in Africa. Since the fourth century a Christian kingdom existed in this North-East part of Africa.

### CLASHED

Through bloody conquest this feudal kingdom expanded over the centuries and was still doing so in the 19th century under Emperor Menelik. Menelik clashed with the advancing European imperialists and inflicted a major defeat on the Italian army in 1896.

But the imperialists were after the coast of the Horn of Africa which lay beside the all important route from the Suez Canal (opened in 1878) to India and the east.

Menelik was not strong enough to resist them and was forced to make treaties which granted the occupation of Eritrea and part of Somalia to Italy, Djibouti to France and the rest of Somalia to Britain.

The imperialists ceded the inland territory to the Ethiopians, including Ogaden, a largely desert area occupied by nomadic Somali people, which in 1897 the British granted to Menelik.

The imperialists and the successors of Menelik cemented their rule in the area until 1935 when Mussolini's fascist Italian armies invaded and occupied Ethiopia.

The feudal Emperor Haile Selassie fled to exile in London where this murderous autocrat was feted for years by the British ruling class.

The British and other imperialist powers made half-hearted and utterly ineffectual efforts to smoke Mussolini out of Ethiopia by economic sanctions organised through the League of Nations.

Haile Selassie's fight with the Italians incidentally became a grotesquely distorted symbol of black resistance to white oppression among groups who established the Rastafarian cult in the Caribbean (Selassie's name had been Ras Tafari).

### BRUTAL

The future of the whole area called the Horn of Africa was once more thrown into the balance by the Second World War. In 1941, British troops drove the fascist Italian army out of Eritrea and began their own brutal occupation.

The British used the post-war settlement to restore the despotic Christian emperor Haile Selassie



Siad Barre

(who called himself Lion of Judah and King of Kings) along with his feudal aristocracy to power in Ethiopia.

The imperialists and the Soviet Union had conflicting plans for the area.

Stalin wished to make the states of the whole imperialist-dominated region as weak as possible.

He wanted Eritrea to be a separate state from Ethiopia and for Ethiopia to retain the Ogaden which virtually cut in two the area that was to become Somalia (an amalgam of the British and Italian colonies).

The British Labour government and the United States had other ideas.

The United States particularly wanted to establish two strong states controlling the two coasts of the Horn—Ethiopia including Eritrea and Somalia, including Ogaden.

The eventual settlement was a compromise between Stalin and the imperialists which worked to the benefit of Haile Selassie's brutal despotism.

Eritrea was forced into a federation with Ethiopia, which later

fully incorporated it. And Ethiopia also kept possession of Ogaden, though it was not until the mid-1950s that its control of this largely desert area was first really established.

In 1960 Somalia became independent under a pro-imperialist government. But in 1969 a military coup brought to power a group of petty bourgeois army officers under Siad Barre proclaiming themselves "socialist" and yet remaining firmly tied to the Islamic religion and maintaining a strong bureaucratic control over the Somali masses, partly through the Somali Socialist Revolutionary Party.

The USSR seized the opportunity that Barre's government provided to gain a foothold on one of the imperialists' most important trading and military supply routes.

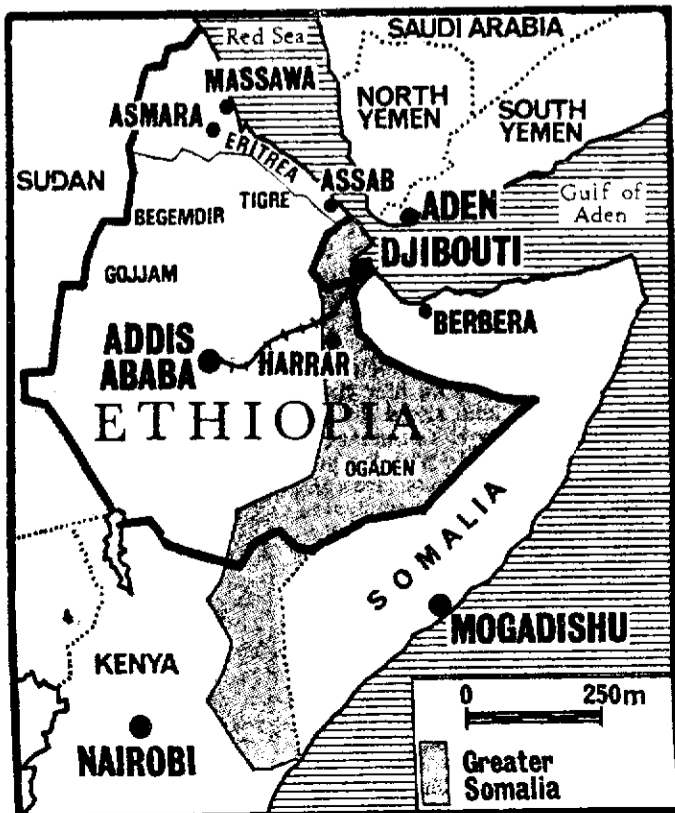
The Soviet Union started flooding Somalia with economic and military aid. Somalia became the first African country with which the Soviet Union signed a friendship treaty. And Somalia in return gave the USSR extremely valuable facilities for its rapidly expanding navy.

### BETRAYED FRIEND

Somalia, then, played a significant role in the noticeable shift of the last few years in the balance of power between American imperialism and the Soviet Union, especially in Africa.

So when Somali President Siad Barre returned from Moscow two weeks ago after seeing Premier Alexei Kosygin it was with the countenance of a betrayed friend.

His former Soviet protectors until recently implicitly supported his territorial claims to the Ogaden and the other territories (Northern Kenya and the recently independent micro-state of Djibouti). Now they are feeding his enemies.



## Cunhal calls for Popular Front

A series of bomb explosions in Lisbon and regional centres of Portugal has inflicted a setback on the efforts of the Socialist Party minority government to reverse many of the gains made in the wake of the April 1974 overthrow of fascism.

The explosions, all in Land Reform Offices destroyed archives and files on co-operative farms, collectives and expropriated property.

They follow a number of struggles between rural workers and police as government bureaucrats have measured off areas to be forcibly returned to their former capitalist owners under the Soares government's Agrarian Reform Bill—which is still completing its final stages.

The desperation which lies behind this last-ditch attempt to delay and prevent the implementation of this reactionary legislation flows from the complete absence of an independent leadership for the Portuguese working class.

The Soares SP government has just completed its first year of consistently anti-working class policies. In the course of that year it has become enmeshed in an increasingly intimate parliamentary alliance with the two main capitalist parties—the Social Democratic Party and the Social and Democratic Centre.

Most glaringly, while farmland is to be taken from occupying workers, 400 nationalised firms are to be returned to their old capitalist owners—and other owners are to be compensated.

These political attacks, combined with the increasing bite of the savage economic austerity measures taken in February, have placed the Stalinists of the Communist Party in an embarrassing position.

As always the Stalinists have been unwilling to mobilise any independent action of workers and peasants against Soares' policies.

But for fear of being isolated by the mass movement the CP is forced to shift its stand slightly.

The decision of Soares three weeks ago to introduce a new package of austerity measures (further devaluation, price rises, and wage cuts in the public sector) has therefore provoked CP leader Cunhal to offer two possible solutions to the crisis.

On the one hand, as set out in a recent CP document (called *The Communist Party and the New and Dangerous Phase of Portuguese Democracy*), the Stalinists suggest the dissolving of the Assembly and fresh elections which, they say, would form the basis of CP-Socialist Party government.



Soares

Cunhal of course only proposes this because he knows that the SP leadership—now engaged in a new hysterical anti-communist witch hunt—will never spontaneously agree to such a policy, while the Stalinist leaders themselves have no intention of leading action to force a change.

Or, on the other hand, Cunhal suggests the formation of a new coalition government including the major parties represented in Parliament—in other words a popular front government combining the CP, the SP, the Social Democrats and the Social and Democratic Centre.

It is significant that Cunhal—regarded as one of Moscow's most loyal servants among the leaders of W. European CPs—now advocates a policy indistinguishable from the so-called "Eurocommunist" leaders in France, Italy and Spain.

For the Portuguese masses the problem of leadership is acute. The necessity is for a break both from the reactionary line of the SP and from the passive acceptance of the Stalinists—and for an all-out mobilisation of workers and peasants against the reactionary policies of the Soares/Eanos government.



## IN BRIEF



### USA

New York's Mayor Beame has suffered a blow in failing to regain the Democratic nomination for this November's Mayoral elections. In a party primary last week he won just 18% of the vote compared to 20% for Ed Koch, and 19% for Mario Cuomo. Koch and Cuomo will now battle for the nomination in a runoff election on September 19.

### ISRAEL

Israeli agricultural minister Ariel Sharon, last week reiterated the nakedly anti-Arab policy of Begin's Likud government, when he announced that Israel is to establish more settlements in the occupied West Bank. This follows a previous announcement that Israel has secretly established several Jewish settlements in the disputed area.

### SOUTH AFRICA

Figures just released show that almost 200,000 black workers are now unemployed in the South African industrial heartland of Johannesburg, Pretoria and the East and West Rand. This represents some 18.8% of the black labour force. The figures are taken from the Johannesburg evening newspaper, *The Star*, since the apartheid government fails to publish official figures.

### ITALY

With local elections due to be held in November, the "historic compromise" (ie class collaboration) between the long ruling Christian Democratic Party and the Stalinist PCI shows signs of cracking. In a recent interview in the Christian Democratic newspaper *Il Popolo*, the party's vice-secretary Giovanni Galloni openly attacked the PCI for allegedly trying to transform Italy into a "socialist society". In this attack Galloni has the full support of former Prime Minister Fanfani. The PCI have denied Galloni's charges that they have any such intentions.

### PAKISTAN

Former Prime Minister of Pakistan, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto has been arrested by the military regime of General Zia-ul-Haq. Bhutto is alleged to have been complicit in a series of murders, as well as being guilty of widespread torture and brutality. The real reason for his arrest is that in the past weeks he was managing to draw masses of people to his electoral rallies. Fearful that Bhutto might actually win the elections due to be held in October, the generals stepped in to order his arrest. It is thought likely that the elections will be postponed because of this. Meanwhile Bhutto is reportedly occupying a "suite of cells".



Castro and Blas Roca chat during a recess.

# CASTRO'S RUBBER STAMP ASSEMBLY

The history of the recently established organs of "Popular Power" in Cuba began in the sugar fields in 1970.

In that year Castro's government mobilised all the resources of the country for the attainment of a single objective—the production of 10 million tons of sugar—about 40% more than had ever been produced before.

This goal turned out to be a stroke of economic adventurism so common in the past in other bureaucratized workers' states.

And it was implemented with a kind of ultra-left idealism.

The objective limits on production were substituted by bureaucratic appeals to a kind of "national spirit" which was more in the minds of the bureaucrats than of the masses of workers.

The workers were bludgeoned into working harder and had their political rights more curtailed than

ever in the interests of reaching the target.

All this had very serious consequences for the Cuban economy. The ten million tons was never reached.

But the vast resources used in the attempt meant that the 8.5 million tons actually produced were enormously costly and starved other sectors of the economy which consequently declined.

## DEMAGOGIC

Castro, in the name of leadership, was forced to make a number of demagogic self-critical speeches.

But masses of workers understood that they were the ones to pay the cost of the mistakes of the leadership.

The reactions, however, were more individualistic than collective, taking the form of grumbling, non-co-operation and a massive wave of

absenteeism amounting in places almost to strike proportions.

The grip of the bureaucracy on the masses appeared to be slipping.

The response of Castro and his clique was threefold. First, a number of emergency coercive measures were passed including the so-called "law against loafing" which placed tighter controls on absenteeism and voluntary unemployment.

Second, there began an almost complete reversal of economic policy.

## "DEMOCRACY"

"Moral incentives" to workers were largely replaced by piecework. "Luxury" consumer goods came onto the market (at astronomical prices) and available partly as a reward for a good work record.

The minimum wage was in effect abolished and some pensions reduced.

A vast programme of work study was introduced in order to improve organisation and step up productivity.

But the bureaucracy was in no position to make any of these changes successfully without a third tack—appearing to make concessions to "democracy".

The revolution, Castro announced, was to be "institutionalised" in a series of democratic organisations.

## IMPEDED

The first to be established was the trade union movement, bureaucratically resuscitated after 10 years of dormancy.

Trade union committees were elected in all factories and work centres in 1971 and 1972.

The real democratic content of these committees varied from place to place.

But in some factories the trade union escaped the control of the local party and state bureaucracy, established a good deal of power and even had oppressive managements dismissed.

But any efforts to impose real elements of workers' management were firmly impeded by the bureau-

cracy.

And the local committees, which many workers undoubtedly looked to as representing real elements of democracy, were used by the leadership to legitimate the thoroughly bureaucratic national trade union structure which was erected on top of the local committees.

This was the Cuban Workers Centre (CTC) which held its first Congress in its resurrected form at the end of 1973.

The purpose of this Congress was to ratify (which it dutifully did) all the changes in economic policy which the bureaucracy had been introducing since 1971.

## "ACCEPTED"

These changes embodied in a series of theses, came down from the leadership to be widely discussed in the local trade union committees before the CTC Congress.

There was no serious possibility of amending them and within the locals they were "accepted" in true Stalinist style, by well over 99% of the workers.

The unanimous approval of the theses by the carefully stage-managed Congress was then presented as the ratification not of the prior decisions of the leadership (which it was) but of the will of the masses of workers.

This caricature of workers' democracy was soon followed by Phase 2 of the institutionalisation process.

## CONSULTATION

This was a plan to create "People's Power" in both local and national government.

Assemblies were elected by universal franchise for each municipality (starting with a year-long experiment in 1975 in the province of Matanzas).

The 169 municipal assemblies then elect delegates to 14 provincial assemblies and the National Assembly.

The National Assembly elects a Council of State and nominally appoints the Council of Ministers "in consultation with" the President of the Council of State who is also the President of the Council of Ministers (i.e. the Prime Minister).

Both these positions (as well as those of Chairman of the Cuban Communist Party and Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces) are held by Fidel Castro and his brother Raul is his deputy in all these posts.

In fact all the other officials of the Assembly correspond almost

exactly to the existing leadership hierarchy in which the old Cuban Stalinist leadership has been playing an increasing role.

The President of the assembly itself is veteran Communist Party leader Blas Roca.

## SPEECHES

The inaugural session of the Assembly took place in December 1976 and was just another occasion for one of Castro's almost interminable speeches and messages of greeting from the Soviet government.

The people's "representatives" did little more than listen and applaud.

And now it seems that the regular sessions of the Assembly are not going to be much different.

The first regular session took place in July this year (officially termed the "Year of Institutionalisation") and lasted a mere three days, during which members of the leadership made a lot of more speeches and nine laws and three regulations were passed (most of them unanimously).

## LESS WORK

One of the resolutions, proposed from the floor but enthusiastically supported by Castro was one which reduced the number of annual sessions of the assembly from four to three—this "would mean less work for the delegates" and mean the electors would have one less report back meeting to attend.

There is no possibility at all that institutions as carefully designed and controlled as these can ever become anything more than a rubber stamp for the decisions of the bureaucracy.

The question, however, is how long all this complex manoeuvre can prevent the emergence of a more organised opposition to the Stalinist leadership and hold at bay the threatening discontent which came to the surface in 1970.

## POLITICAL REVOLUTION

The working class cannot win political power in Cuba through these bureaucratically constructed and dominated organisations.

What is needed is a political revolution which overthrows the present Stalinist leadership and establishes the truly independent organisation of workers' democracy. Such a revolution requires the building of a Trotskyist party in Cuba.

# WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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

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

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

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

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

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

We urge all leaders 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.



Fidel and Raul Castro at a military review.

# NOW PURGE THE OTHER CRYPTO-TORIES



Paul Johnson

## As Johnson goes... how many are staying in?

## Prentice man nailed as infiltrator

'Exposed!' was the banner headline of the latest issue of the *Newham Recorder*. Three pages were devoted to the subject of infiltration into Newham North-East Labour Party.

But this time the left was not the victim. The *Recorder* had suddenly "discovered" the sinister role played in the party by Mr. Julian Lewis—sent to carry out a right-wing coup by the use of court actions against Labour Party members.

Revealed were Lewis' former membership of the Tory Party, his regular liaison with a state security agency while studying at Oxford University, and his methods of manoeuvre in general.

Why has the *Recorder* apparently broken from its usual stock-in-trade redbaiting?

The clue to answering this question can be found in the articles themselves if the reader can dig his way through the proliferation of High Court writs, accusations and counter-accusations.

An open struggle has now erupted between Lewis and other right wingers—supporters of the right of anti-union Reg Prentice to remain a Labour Party candidate.

Lewis' bogus 'Campaign for Representative Democracy' has one stated aim—to 'hammer the left'.

### TRADITIONAL

Councillor Jack Hart and Co—Newham's 'traditional' right-wing Labour bureaucrats are a little nervous at their erstwhile partners' zeal in pursuing this task.

Hart and his cronies have only ever been concerned with defence of Prentice and their own positions.

Lewis is moved by a 'higher ideal'. His backers are out to destroy the Labour Party from within altogether.

In the long term he has no need for Labour Councillors or even a Labour election machine.

The *Recorder* reveals that Lewis told Hart that if he stood in the way, "I'll hammer you too."

Thus Lewis' methods pose too much of a threat to the blood pressure, and potentially even the wallets of near-geriatric Labour Councillors.

Needless to say, the articles in the *Recorder* can be explained by

the fact that the editor, Tom Duncan is a tried and tested supporter of the whole Newham Labour bureaucracy in times of dire need—having even given Prentice his own weekly column to defend himself against attacks.

(The *Recorder* has recently been in the national news over action by the National Union of Journalists against its open incitement of race hatred).

Nevertheless the question asked in a previous issue of *Socialist Press* 'Who is Mr. Julian Lewis?' now has a widely accepted answer.

He is the representative of an ultra-right conspiracy which it would be over-courteous to describe as 'Tory'.

Will the so-called 'lefts' in the Party leadership now change their position and take up the fight to expel this scum from the ranks of the workers movement once and for all?

Amid reams of sympathetic verbiage in the Tory press long-time Tory Paul Johnson—a former editor of the right wing Labourite *New Statesman*—has finally taken the plunge and resigned from the Labour Party.

To the bewilderment of workers everywhere, Johnson is being universally portrayed as "one of the Labour Party's most brilliant and influential crusaders"—though of course no evidence of this "brilliance" or crusading quality is produced.

Johnson, in fact, has merely taken the anti-working class coalition line of the right wing Labour leaders to a more honest and open conclusion than Healey and Callaghan.

the working class, compared with the direct confrontation politics offered by the Thatcher-Joseph wing of the Tory Party.

Unfortunately many elements within the Labour Party hierarchy who secretly share all of Johnson's hostility to the organised labour movement and vicious anti-communism insist on remaining within the Labour Party and act as the backbone of right wing support for Healey and Callaghan.

And while these forces stand firm, the 'left' talkers within the Parliamentary Labour Party, and the self-proclaimed 'Trotskyists' of the Militant Group cringe and capitulate, refusing to mobilise any serious political offensive to drive them out.

Labour Party members now have the opportunity to use the Johnson episode to flush out the crypto-Tories and crypto-Liberals in their ranks, and sharpen the fight for demands to regain and defend living standards.

Already the struggle for a clear line against racism has exposed the fake left positions of Tribune MP for Northampton North, Maureen Colquhoun—whose support for Enoch Powell has led the local GMC to institute moves to replace her as candidate in the next election.

The popular demand put forward by the Labour Party ginger group "Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Party" for this year's conference simply centres on the call for reselection of all MPs between elections. More than 60 CLPs have backed this call.

The demand should be supported but must be combined with a political fight to expose and remove the advocates of coalition politics from the Labour Party, and for a class alternative political leadership to be built.

PHOTO: Angela Phillips, IFL



Prentice

### WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

#### LOBBY THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE

Brighton, Tuesday Oct 4th

Take up the fight for a new leadership in the labour movement.

\* BREAK THE LIB-LAB COALITION!

\* REMOVE THE CALLAGHAN - HEALEY LEADERSHIP!

\* REJECT TUC AND GOVERNMENT PAY LIMITS!

\* END UNEMPLOYMENT! DEMAND A PROGRAMME OF USEFUL PUBLIC WORKS!

\* SUPPORT ALL ACTION TO STOP THE PUBLIC SPENDING CUTS!

\* NO DEAL WITH IAN SMITH! ARM THE AFRICAN WORKERS!



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Powell-Colquhoun says he is "not a racist"

While these ministers feel able with TUC backing to carry through Tory policy in harness with the Liberals and under the guise of Labour leaders, Johnson clearly feels impatient at the slower and more measured pace of the Lib-Lab coalition government's attacks on the rights and living standards of

## READERS' LETTERS

### Workers defence and nuclear power

17 Dishergate Hill  
Preston

In the last issue of *Socialist Press* it is correctly stated that "the fascists are not just racials. They want to break up the whole labour movement. But Saturday showed that it is possible how to organise workers defence squads capable of defending black workers, labour movement premises, meetings and picket lines from fascist attacks".

In the same issue a call is issued to lobby the TUC on seven demands.

We were amazed to see that the demand to build workers defence squads is not included in it.

We agree with your position on fascism, but are unable to understand why this demand has been excluded.

The WSL should continue with its initiative to convey the vital importance of the creation of informed, committed groups of people ready to take a stand against

this threat, which has, till now, been underestimated.

If fascism is not halted now in its incubationary period, all other measures taken by the TUC to ensure the economic and social security of its members will eventually become insignificant and subordinate to the overwhelming rule of the extreme right; and on that day the voice of the TUC itself will be silenced.

There must be a strong, vociferous and forceful lobby on September 5th which will clarify and rectify a matter that is of paramount importance—to ensure that the building of workers defence squads is accepted as the official policy of the TUC

Z.Farooq  
E.Aktal  
B.Lusk  
M.Taylor

Dear Comrade Editor,  
I'd like to expand on some points made in John Lister's article

on Atomic Power (SP 31 Aug '77).

I agree that uncritical opposition to atomic power is not the correct socialist line to take.

The real problem is how to build safe nuclear reactors, and insistence on that rather than a total ban, is much more an "essential part of the fight for safe working conditions".

A few more words about achieving that—the government in Britain already spends a great deal of money investigating safety in connection with nuclear energy, and is willing to spend even more money implementing their findings.

There is a government department called the National Radiological Protection Board involved in this.

However, until their research is brought under worker control its value is limited.

Some of the work done at NRPB is secret.

The reason for this is that it involves research and data gathering on workers who are known to have received many times the permitted

amount of radioactive substances whilst working in restricted areas.

While this research is of value for future workers' safety, it implicitly admits that these people are owed compensation for any injuries, or potential for injuries, in the form of cancers, which are known to result from overexposure to ionising radiation.

The government is willing to go to any expense to avoid compensating workers this way.

C.S. Oxford.

### LETTERS

Readers' letters on articles appearing in *Socialist Press* or on current issues are welcome.

Letters should be kept as brief as possible and sent to:

The Editor  
Socialist Press  
31, Dartmouth Park Hill,  
London NW5 1HR

## NUT ACTION CALLED OFF

National leaders of the National Union of Teachers have called off strike action in Oxfordshire after gaining minimal concessions.

The 32 remaining teachers—due to be sacked on August 31 because they were taken on last year with a one-year contract and had not found permanent positions through redeployment—have been retained on the pay roll and will be slotted into permanent jobs as vacancies occur during the year.

On the pupil-teacher ratio however the county council remains intransigent and claims that staffing figures will soon be down to budgeted levels (an almost 10% cut).

In individual schools the teaching establishment has been cut but reorganised timetables and shorter working arrangements have made it impossible for individual teachers to prove they face increased workloads.

The sanctions that the NUT Executive have announced but not organised effectively are totally inadequate to mobilise teachers in a serious fight.

Teachers must learn from last term's strike that only all-out strike action throughout the county can win the fight against the cuts.



# YES! SCARMAN DOES MEAN SACKINGS

Confusion sown by the Scarman Inquiry into the Grunwick strike has found its way into the heart of the strike committee itself.

The strikers travelled to Blackpool last week rightly determined to confront the meaningless motion on a 'boycott' with which the TUC was attempting to cover its nakedness.

But the leaflet that the strikers were handing out had a fundamental weakness in fighting for the blacking and mass picketing necessary to win the strike—it based its case upon the recommendations of the Scarman report.

There were eight lengthy quotes from Scarman. Written in capital letters underneath was: "Scarman recommended reinstatement, immediate limited recognition and the establishment of collective bargaining in Grunwick."

Yet throughout the whole of the report Scarman and his two cronies—Pat Lowry and Terry Parry—launched a bitter attack on the trade union movement, preached the doctrine of class collaboration and opened the way for sackings to be accepted and hopes of trade union recognition to be banished.

The tribunal has also called for new anti-picketing laws.

### CONFUSION ON THE LEFT

But it is easy to see how the confusion has come about. Almost every left group has failed to recognise the political significance of the Scarman report, and Jack Dromey, their advisor from Brent Trades Council has been insistent that the Scarman report does provide some basis for negotiations.

*Socialist Challenge* on 7 September said: "He (Ward) has defied the Scarman report and refused to reinstate the dismissed strikers."

*Socialist Worker* on 3 September said: "The Scarman report on Grunwicks supports the strikers demand for reinstatement."

*Young Socialist* (the youth paper of the WRP) said: "The inquiry into the dispute headed by Lord Justice Scarman decided in favour of the strikers."

### BASIS FOR TALKS

In a long piece on Scarman in the *Morning Star* on September 1, Dromey makes many points against



Parry

the report. But he sweeps those doubts aside by accepting it as a basis for talks.

"On the facts, he [Scarman] finds predominantly in favour of the union . . . The findings which are again broadly in favour of the union, provide a basis for a negotiated settlement but leave Grunwick tremendous scope for manoeuvre and delay.

"The finding on reinstatement is very welcome. Scarman disregards the company's argument that the hostility of those still at work would make reinstatement impossible."

This position is incompatible with an all out defence of all the workers jobs.

The main tenor of the Scarman report is to attack any "extremism" in defence of the strikers.

It goes further and calls for new laws to control or ban mass pickets: "We do welcome your [ie Albert Booth, Minister of Employment] announcement in an answer to the House of Commons on 12 July that the government has under review the law relating to picketing."

The tribunal also condemns blacking—the only policy which can win the strike.

From the beginning *Socialist Press* called for a boycott of the inquiry.

The reason is evident from the record of the panel, all three of whom have proved their allegiance to the ruling class with previous witchhunts.

Scarman headed the inquiry into Red Lion Square, which

condemned anti-fascists and white-washed the police. Pat Lowry, industrial relations manager for Leyland cars was responsible for the witch hunt in 1974 on Alan Thornett at the Cowley car factory.

Terry Parry, the union representative—(like Scarman, an OBE), chaired this year's annual conference of trades councils on behalf of the TUC and threatened to close the conference unless a motion against the Social Contract was withdrawn, without being discussed.

Parry is a member of the Executive Council of the TUC—he speaks for the TUC and he has endorsed everything the report says.

The terms of reference give him the right to produce a minority report. He has not done so.

The proposals entirely justify our call for a boycott of the court of inquiry. Throughout the report Ward and the rest of the management is treated with deferential respect.

George Ward . . . is sincere in his beliefs and has shown himself an enterprising and successful businessman . . . the company . . . has made a fine start . . . firms such as Grunwick by providing them with work, perform a useful function."

### RECOMMENDATION

It is however on the central vital question of recognition that the Scarman report shows itself to have absolutely nothing for the strikers.

The report says: "Ideally in our view Grunwick should therefore offer reemployment to all those strikers who before the dispute were full time employees of the company and who wish to be taken back."

"It is our recommendation that this should be done if it be at all practicable. We recognise however that the nature of the company's business is such that the necessary number of vacancies may not now exist, although it seems to us that a seasonal business dependent on overtime must have at least some vacancies."

This position—and the refusal of Scarman to recommend collective union recognition (which was the union's aim) makes it impossible to use it as a starting point for anything but a sell-out.

It is not possible to select from the report—as all the left forces have done—those passages which favour the strikers and ignore the rest.

No-one who stands for full reinstatement of the strikers and for union recognition, who stands against attacks on trade union militants and those who practice solidarity blacking can have a single good word for the report.

Selective reinstatement would leave every militant outside the gates, while inside the union members would have no-one to represent them.

### DO NOTHING

The TUC will now do nothing whatsoever for the Grunwick strikers. The secret plan is kept secret because it contains nothing to win the dispute and opposes every action which stands a chance of doing so.

The 'war' they have now declared is the same 'do nothing' war in which the TGWU sent its members in the recent THF strikes against THF.

The strike committee must reject the advice of those who try to ride both horses at once. It is not possible to argue for Scarman and for full reinstatement.

Strikers must now prepare for blacking of plants, water and electricity and must call on the mass picketing of the premises.

Scarman has advised that sackings should be in the public

# STRIKES PLAN TO FIGHT HEALTH CUTS

Don't open this new hospital if you value your community health service. That was the simple message from Evan Luard, Labour MP for Oxford at a Trades Council meeting in the town.

Luard also claimed the massive cuts facing the Oxfordshire Health Service were "nothing to do with the government". But the Area Health Authority is facing a simple choice.

It has now completed a new hospital, and can choose between opening it at the expense of the existing service or keeping it closed at the cost of £200,000 a year to maintain the building.

### "OVERSPENT"

This £200,000 would have to come out of the present budget, and—regardless of the new hospital (the John Radcliffe, Phase 2)—the Area Health Authority expects to be "overspent" by £4 million by the end of the present financial year.

To cope with the 'overspending' (which is in fact government under-financing) the Oxfordshire Health Service is preparing cuts on a colossal scale and drastic reductions in its present facilities.

### REDUCTION

Included in a list of proposed cuts (which, according to the AHA "will not harm patient care") are the reduction of diagnostic investigations; the "avoidance of less essential hospital admissions" (the pressure on beds in Oxford is already 50% higher than the national average); a 20% reduction in jobs; a reduction in out-patient attendances; and hospital closures.

The next list of proposed cuts (which again, according to the AHA "will not harm patient care")

includes a reduction in the family planning services; the restriction of abortions to the immediate catchment area; "rationalisation" of the psychiatric service—which means closing some hospitals; and a 10% cut in the school and child health services.

The AHA's final list includes cutting the number of nurses, doctors, medical records and medical secretaries.

### TERMINAL PATIENTS

It also recommends that terminal patients (people with incurable diseases who are going to die) should be "discouraged" from staying in hospital if they are likely to take a long time dying.

The above cuts are only a few of the ones proposed and would only "solve" this year's financial problems.

The AHA report says: "Probably across the board reductions of 10% or so would destroy the NHS as it is at present in Oxfordshire."

But the present proposed cuts alone are more than 10%.

The document containing these proposals was given to the health service unions in Oxford along with another document outlining the cuts needed to find the £1.5 million to open the new John Radcliffe Phase 2.

The second document calls for such drastic cuts it is difficult to see what would be able to continue within the present service in Oxford.

### OPPOSITE

The unions involved have all responded to the documents—but the type of response in one of them was the opposite of that needed to defend health workers and the health service. The great NABHS



The new John Radcliffe hospital

executive are arguing over whether to accept a redundancy level of one in five or one in six!

NUPE has said it will oppose the cuts but despite the fact that the menace grows daily closer, NUPE leaders have not yet said how they will fight.

The local Health Service branch of ASTMS has told the AHA they will strike if the proposals are not withdrawn, while the COHSE branch has called a one day strike to lobby the AHA meeting on October 4, demanding the withdrawal of the proposals.

### FURTHER ACTION

COHSE has declared it will take further industrial action after that date if the proposals are not withdrawn.

Only strike action will defend the NHS from its massacre started by the Lib-Lab government and being enthusiastically carried out by the AHA's.

Sympathetic action must be called by non-NHS union branches and national backing must be given by the public sector unions.

Any hospital threatened with closure must be occupied. We must demand access to the treatment

of the Area and Regional Health Authorities and the DHSS to enable the true situation within the NHS to be assessed by elected trade union committees.

The funds required to regain our health service can be found by the nationalisation of the drug industries and suppliers without compensation. Private practice must be eliminated and the NHS be maintained by state expenditure increasing with inflation to enable a real growth and not a continuous sliding back of the service.



NUPE General Anderson

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.



Then and now . . . 1977, police clear route for fascists in Lewisham



1936, police try to clear a way for a fascist car in the East End.

# STUNT POLITICS NO ANSWER TO FASCISM

The street fighting of Lewisham and Ladywood has again brought up the struggle against fascism as a topical question. Above all, in the workers' movement, the way in which the organised filth of the National Front and its fascist competitors are to be defeated is the centre of debate.

Over the past few weeks the centrist and reformist organisations of the British left have spent some time providing the working class with examples of how *not* to fight fascism.

The revolutionary movement has always stood out firmly for the demand 'No Platform for Fascists'. This summarises the necessity to stop, by any means needed (including the use of violence), the mobilisation and growth of the fascist organisations.

## DIFFERENT

These groups are very different from the traditional conservative parties of the capitalist class, which carry out the 'dictatorship of the bourgeoisie' within the parliamentary framework in periods of relative social stability.

The fascists, by contrast, offer a road of action and mass organisation to the layers of society which are least well organised and least able to defend themselves against the attacks of the bourgeoisie—the middle class and unemployed workers—especially the frustrated youth.

Feeding off the effects of the capitalist crisis - mass unemployment, poor housing, slashed social services, plunging living standards - and revelling in the betrayals of the Labour and trade union leaders who prevent the working class mobilising in action to end these conditions, the fascists act as last-ditch defenders of the capitalist system.

Their function is to divert the frustration and anger of the working class away from its proper target, and to fashion from the most confused layers of society a weapon to attack the organised labour movement itself.

They turn the anger and desperation of these people onto the immigrant and black population, exploiting the chauvinist legacy of Britain's imperialist history, and increasingly they direct against the left and the labour movement in an attempt to make the 'Reds' scapegoats for the social crisis of the capitalist system.

## 'ACTION'

In neither case is their campaign restricted to abuse or 'argument'. Above all the fascists offer 'action'—the promise of organised terror campaigns, racist pogroms, a chance to really 'do' something.

At present fascism is a marginal force in British politics. But even now they are the instigators of

extensive scale.

Recent months have seen left bookshops and black community centres in London firebombed, and £10,000 worth of arson damage to the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

Every day the fascists feel strong enough to engage in individual provocations, harassment of blacks, and the colonisation of pubs as fascist preserves.

They continually attempt to organise demonstrations in black areas so as to rub in the message that the 'whites' will stay on top.

But this remains a tactic towards their main objective—the destruction of the organisations of the working class.

We do not grant fascists the right to deepen this campaign. We challenge the bourgeois courts and police when they insist that fascism must be defended.

## HITLER

If we are sufficiently strong in relation to the fascists then anti-fascists should follow Trotsky's advice:

"The tactical, or if you will, 'technical' task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks."

We listen very carefully to someone who should know how to destroy fascism—Adolph Hitler.

His opinion should be the starting point of the fight against the National Front scum:

"Only one thing would have stopped our movement—if our adversaries had understood its principles and from the first day had smashed with the utmost brutality the nucleus of our new movement."

This understanding is, however, only the starting point. As recent events have demonstrated, the actions of the SWP and IMG, and (from a different standpoint) the Communist Party and Militant group, have served to block the mobilisation of the mass organisations of the working class to carry out the destruction of the Front and their allies.

The Communist Party, put onto the defensive by its miserable failure to join the SWP demons-

stration in Lewisham, had the hypocrisy to praise the thousands of militant demonstrators for their 'courage and determination' which (from the CP's view on the sidelines) was apparently 'particularly impressive' (*Morning Star*, August 26).

And in an attempt to bolster its anti-fascist reputation the CP has printed a eulogy by James Klugmann of the CP's role in the 1936 Cable Street mobilisation (see the last issue of *Socialist Press* for

Anglican church hierarchy to implore the Home Secretary to ban provocative fascist demonstrations—and to implore trade unionists who were there not to join the SWP's demonstration that afternoon.

Their excuse? A claimed lack of mass mobilisation, the absence of the labour movement. But did these toadies of the labour bureaucracy try to mobilise the masses?

Did they say openly that if the forces are favourable that they were

centrist SWP and the "Trotskyists" of the IMG have obviously fought hard and courageously at these demonstrations.

But both of these organisations and in particular the SWP have avoided the struggle to mobilise the widest possible united action of the organised working class against the fascist thugs, and have consistently separated the mobilisation of anti-fascists from the overall struggle against the reformist bureaucrats.

They too have repeatedly slipped into legalism and opportunism (more pronounced in the case of the IMG whose 'unity' campaign brings them closer and closer to the 'democrats' of the middle class and Stalinists of the Communist Party).

## ADVENTURES

But at the same time they have lapsed into sectarian adventures and attempts to substitute themselves for the working class (more obvious with the SWP, whose insatiable desire for publicity only matches its empty arrogance in declaring itself 'the revolutionary party').

Starting off from the half-expressed feeling that fascism is a special, extraordinary threat, these organisations feel a need to employ 'special' and, they hope, instantly effective methods, rather than make the fight against fascism a part of a consistent battle for leadership in the working class.

It is of course difficult and slow to raise the question of serious anti-fascist activity in the trade unions and to expose the Labour Party on this subject.

In their haste centrists ignore this vital work and turn to the state with pleas for bans or to the limited forces that they themselves can immediately bring out onto the streets.

## SUICIDAL

The turn to the bourgeois state is a suicidal breach of Marxist principles that belongs to reformism and not to a revolutionary organisation.

Let us compare the SWP and IMG with the reformists and Stalinists on this question.

The Labour Council Lewisham had only one programme in the fight against fascism—Home Secretary, ban this man and stop the violence.

The Communist Party in *Morning Star* of August 26 sta-



Himmler and Hitler.

an exposure of their waverings before this demonstration).

None of this, nor vague talk of 'necessary confrontation with the NF' will disguise the simple fact that the whole direction of the CP's campaigns have been to ask the bourgeois state to ban the fascists while the CP has consciously sabotaged militant anti-fascist activities.

On August 13 in Lewisham, helped by their hangers-on in the Militant grouping, the CP built and supported their local version of the Popular Front, the All Lewisham Committee Against Racism and Fascism (ALCARAF).

They marched with the local

prepared to smash this fascist demonstration?

Did they take seriously the organisation of defence squads who could have dealt with the fascists in the right circumstances?

## RESPECTABILITY

No—they prefer to maintain their respectability, to insulate the workers' movement from the danger of fascism, to cling to the hope that a beneficent bourgeoisie will help them out of their dilemma with a ban on the National Front's activities.

Members and supports of the





PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

Police use riot shields in Lewisham

the wish:

"... to secure a complete and effective ban on all racist activity and propaganda... to campaign for these events to be banned."

The IMG in the *Socialist Challenge* Special Issue on Lewisham and Ladywood:

"We too are in favour of imposing a ban on the fascist marches."

Kim Gordon, SWP candidate at the Ladywood by-election:

"We don't want any riots. What we do want is to register our protest in front of the press. We are going to ask the police to get the National Front to stop their meeting."

(Quoted in *The Guardian*, August 16).

In Leamington the SWP have demonstrated under the central slogan of 'Prosecute the Racists' after four men were charged with criminal damage for painting out fascist slogans.

Trotsky's opinion of such calls was very clear:

"To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralise its will."

'War and the Fourth International', *Writings, 1933-4*.

These demands can hardly co-exist with a serious attitude to the mobilisation of the working class against the fascists.

### ILLUSIONS

To take this position, to say that the blocking of the fascists is the 'job of the police' makes it more and more difficult to argue for anything other than demonstrations and activity whose aim is to pressure the police into acting on behalf of the working class.

To point out the fundamental nature of the state, to educate workers in reliance on their own organised strength is a task that conflicts sharply with any suggestion that this or that action of the state is accidental, a product of the wrong policemen being in control.

Besides encouraging illusions in the neutrality and democratic nature of the capitalist state machine the position of demanding bans on the fascists and prosecutions for racial hatred has the immediate and practical effect of encouraging the climate of public opinion that is favourable to state control of and interference into the activities of 'political extremists'.

### SOPHISTICATED

The lists of anti-fascists arrested at each demonstration prove conclusively that the state would use any powers of banning to repress the left and the labour movement.

The Public Order Act of 1936 was introduced ostensibly to stop the fascists. Its provisions have only ever been used against the left and the IRA.

The most sophisticated excuse for this reformist desire to 'pressure' the state is the SWP's argument that this will 'expose' the nature of the state.

For our part we would rather not have that proved by having one of our demonstrations banned or by seeing a left wing organisation proscribed.

Is the action of the state at Grunwicks or Lewisham not sufficient exposure? The bourgeoisie is quite capable of launching sharp attacks on democratic rights without the kindly efforts of self-styled 'revolutionaries'.

On the other side of the coin is the sectarianism and adventurism shown in the way that the SWP in particular has mobilised for these demonstrations.

As with the IMG in Red Lion Square in 1974 the SWP attempts to substitute the organisation of leftists for the military organisation of the working class.

Our position is entirely different from that of the Communist Party.

### NO SUBSTITUTE

We are in no way opposed to small (or large) groups of left-wingers teaching the fascists a lesson in conditions where this does not involve a futile confrontation with the police.

But this can be no substitute for a mobilisation of the working class fighting to establish workers defence squads based on the trade unions.

The (then Trotskyist) Socialist Workers Party of America in the 1930s was able to use its trade union base to form big defence guards which chased the fascists out of town on a number of occasions.

Everything has to be diverted to achieving this sort of organisation. Of course this will not come without a political struggle or in a short time on any significant scale.

But the fight for this perspective coupled with full participation in demonstrations and actions aimed at the fascists will prepare the ground for the effective arming and military organisation of the working class.

### EXPERIENCES

The Transitional Programme of the Fourth International, drawing on the experiences of the American Trotskyists summarises this approach:

"Only armed workers detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them,

can successfully prevail against the fascist bands...

Only with the help of such systematic, persistent indefatigable courageous agitational and organisational work, always on the basis of the experience of the masses themselves, is it possible to root out from their consciousness the traditions of submissiveness and passivity." (p. 18).

The method of the SWP and the IMG (who would like the same mistakes to be repeated by everybody on the left in a united effort) is to engage in numerous confrontations with... not the fascists, but the police.

These conflicts generally result in the beating up of numerous militants, and invite repression, in conditions where the left is relatively isolated from the big workers organisations.

Red Lion Square illustrated the dangers of this with great clarity, whilst the identical tactics of the French Pabloites of the LCR led directly to the banning of that organisation after a head-on assault on the heavily armed police guard of a fascist meeting in Paris in 1973.

The origins of this perspective, which results in a series of stalemates between the left and the police, lie in the refusal of the centrists to consistently, and in an all-round fashion, tackle the dominance of reformism and Stalinism in the working class with an alternative, independent political programme.

### CRISIS

This refusal appears in a pointed way in relation to the anti-racist and anti-fascist activity of the centrist groups. For the Workers Socialist League, racism and its organised expression, fascism, are produced by the crisis of capitalism and by the defence of that outworn system by the trade union and Labour leadership.

With no organised and determined fight taking place on a national level against the attacks of capitalism it becomes easy for the fascists to offer a 'solution' which has nothing to do with the destruction of capitalism.

It is the same misleaders who refuse to fight fascism that refuse to fight wage cuts, unemployment

or the oppression of minority groups and women. For us, every struggle of the working class or oppressed groups has to be turned against the existing leadership and every attempt made to break the working class in action away from that old leadership.

This means that the fight for workers defence against fascism should also be coupled with a fight for an all-round political programme to defend jobs, living standards and social services and to lay down a fundamental challenge to the established leadership of the working class.

And each mobilisation against the fascists has to be organised as far as possible through a struggle inside the trade unions and the Labour Party, and not by 'out-flanking' the existing organisations of the working class.

The way forward in the combatting of the neo-Nazi thugs has to be through the building of a united front of working class organisations on a wide scale, and the formation of workers defence guards as the advance guard of that united front.



April 23 mobilisation against fascists in Harringey

# KIDS' BOOKS: BEDROCK OF CAPITALISM?

*CATCHING THEM YOUNG* by Bob Dixon (Pluto Press, 2 Volumes at £1.80 each). Reviewed by Richard Brooks.

For several centuries the capitalist system has dominated economic life in Britain.

As a result of this the ideology produced by that economy has dominated cultural life so that the ideas and ways of thinking which came "naturally" to people of all classes have been bourgeois.

Thus the newspapers, novels, films encyclopaedias and even the dictionaries produced have expressed the needs and concerns of bourgeois society.

Reformists find the more noted symptoms of this ideology offensive and see it as their duty to seek out alternative cultural material which is less obviously bourgeois.

## ANTI-SOCIAL

In recent years many radicals have turned their attention to the "bias" of children's literature.

One of these, Bob Dixon, has written a two volume book "Catching Them Young" in which he examines and catalogues a mass of children's fiction to discover that:

"Much of the material in children's books is anti-social if not anti-human and is more likely to stunt and warp young people than to help them grow".

Like a chemist looking for acid he dips moral litmus into these books to decide what ideals or "messages" about race, sex, class and politics are hidden between their covers.

His researches reveal that the authors overwhelmingly assume that blacks, women and workers are inferior to whites, men and capitalists and should be kept in their place.

Sometimes these assumptions are obvious as when a black hero must use magic to make his face

white and get the girl; sometimes they are more subtle—sometimes even too subtle for Dixon—but like an intrepid bloodhound he noses them out relentlessly, regardless of whether they lie buried in "Pilgrim's Progress" or "Pony Parade".

## PROPAGANDA

Dixon's fundamental critical assumption is that all children's literature (and presumably therefore all literature) is simply propaganda which writers use to impart their more or less objectionable views on unsuspecting children and thereby "catch them young".

His judgement therefore as to a book being "good" or "bad" reading depends entirely on whether the authors' political and social ideas are, like his own, liberal.

He is thus not a critic but a very crude political censor and it is on this basis that he hopes to show others "what to look for".

But like all liberals Dixon is unable to grasp that capitalism and all its products are contradictory. This leaves him unable to understand literature.

He cannot face the fact that a work of art can be both artistically powerful and politically reactionary.

## "ACCEPTABLE"

If he finds that a book contains "large and important elements which are ethically unacceptable" he concludes that it must be a bad book (though the badness may be concealed by a "skillful style").

But if Dixon felt compelled to accept a work as good literature he convinces himself that its politics must be "acceptable".



Marxists, on the other hand recognise as Lenin did when writing about Tolstoy that a book may derive its artistic force precisely from the reactionary social and political positions of its author.

History has often placed reactionary bourgeois writers in a better position than "radicals" from which to sense and express the powerful tensions and conflicts of that society.

Critics like Dixon only observe how writers resolve conflicts (which side wins) not how they express them.

Dixon knows nothing about why bourgeois ideas dominate children's literature. In fact he seems to believe that these books cause those ideas to dominate society!

He reduces the whole to one of

simple brainwashing of children.

Dixon's "cure" is to push for fiction in which those people who suffer oppression in the real world are free (or become free) from it in novels.

He sees not the material world creating books but books creating the world.

Thus, in his section on "sexism" he gives a glowing write-up to a book in which the characters overcome the problem of the sexual division of labour through what he calls "a major role reversal".

In "Hello Aurora" a child's mother practices as a lawyer while her father prepares his doctorate at home and looks after Socrates(!) the baby. Dixon is thrilled because in the book:

"there's a lot about the assumptions other people make and the opposition they set up against what

they feel to be "wrong", but Aurora and her family take it all in their stride and their good sense encompasses everyone eventually". (p. 37 Vol 1)

That victory is gained by the writer removing any material oppression (by giving them convenient professional jobs) and leaving only "sexist assumptions" to be overcome by a "good sense" which "encompasses everyone".

A delightful prospect. Working class girls reading this work must therefore conclude that, to avoid a future of domestic slavery they need only have the good sense to become lawyers and marry academics.

They face a situation where they must either be isolated in the meaningless round of housework or, if they can get jobs, face being ground down by a double workload.

To suggest that the solution is for them to change jobs with their husbands is to propose that another human being accepts the same isolation and oppression.

The "role reversal" is always seen as progressive by feminists and by those "socialists" like Dixon who try to please them.

It is a reformist solution, an attempt to rearrange relationships within capitalism so that some individuals can escape oppression while leaving capitalism unharmed and the mass of men and women oppressed.

But Dixon longs for the heroes of children's literature to be not middle-class white boys who do what they're told but working-class black girls who don't.

Bourgeois novels (including those written for children) are a product of capitalism and its ideology.

They trace the level of individual characters struggling to solve their problems as individuals.

Dixon wants to rearrange matters so that these fictional individuals are workers. When a worker gets by in a novel, when he holds his head up in front of the boss Dixon will hail a socialist novel and deem it admirable for children.

In doing so he will merely offer them the dregs of bourgeois culture as he offers his readers the dregs of bourgeois theory: both his political and his literary theory are reformist. At £3.60 for Dixon's two volumes these dregs work out quite expensive.



SWAPO guerrillas.

# NAMIBIA ARMED

## A GUEST FILM REVIEW

This is a short documentary propaganda film on SWAPO, the most significant liberation movement inside Namibia.

It is very welcome now when the western press maintains a conspiracy of silence on Namibia during the Turnhalle talks where a "peaceful" transition to independence is supposedly being negotiated.

As an organisation, SWAPO consistently refused to take part in Turnhalle, where hand-picked members, closely guarded by South African troops against attacks from

Government on a neo-colonial solution whereby Namibia will be divided among her ethnic groups into distinct nations.

Within this scheme the continuing exploitation of Namibian wealth by South African and Western capital would be ensured, as no such "nation" would be economically viable and the worker/peasants would be forced to continue to migrate between their "homeland" and the "white" industrialised areas.

And another advantage to Vorster would be that the Namibian peasants would be

black collaborators.

The title of the film may be misleading. Not a gun is to be seen. It is far removed from the cliched romanticised picture of guerilla warfare.

It is about the arming of the Namibian masses, against the propaganda and control of the South African Government which aims to isolate the guerillas from the people.

## LINK

The film attempts to link up the day-to-day problems faced by Namibians and their political mobilisation by SWAPO.

In line with SWAPO's policy of uniting all anti-imperialist progressive forces, we hear from workers, farmers, teachers, women, students and political activists.

The awareness of the necessity to fight is not limited to a few young activists, but is here articulated by young and old, by women and men, students and workers, which make this a powerful statement against colonial exploitation.

But real unity between the most politically backward and the most politically advanced sections of the population can only be in terms of national independence combined with socialist revolution.

While socialism is spoken of, it is regarded only as an unformulated long-term aim.

The people are full of energy, enthusiasm and courage, but inevitably naive in their understandings of the cynical policies of the bureaucratically-controlled workers state which hold back on all-out support for SWAPO's struggle and instead attempt to use it as a bargaining counter in their wheeling and dealing with imperialism.

The Namibian workers and peasants must be given the arms to achieve their own independence: the task of mobilising such support falls on the international workers' movement.

# PRESS GANG Wreckers Unite!

This is BBC Radio 4. Here is the news.

This time the workers have really gone too far.

It is one thing to bring the country to its knees with a string of crippling strikes led by anarchist Trotskyists. That we had got used to.

Now car workers have gone beyond the limit. They have allowed a load of filthy foreigners to sell more cars in August than our wonderful British car firms (except for the workers that is).

And why is this? How come a load of Japs, Krauts and Wops can pass off their shoddy goods to our discriminating British buyers.

It is because our craven wreckers who pass for workers in this country have used up the valuable daylight working time that summer brings by ... going on holiday.

Foreign workers, who have not got the British disease know where to spend their holidays. They take the opportunity to chalk up some overtime.

Workers at Rover have decided they would rather not work at night. This is just another example of how the British worker is trying

to wreck the economy. If God had not meant us to work day and night he would not have put 24 hours in a day.

After all as the *Financial Times* said: "In sharp contrast, workers at the Honda factory in Japan have just voted to forgo four days holiday to meet buoyant orders for its Civic and Accord models."

Let's hear three cheers for the thousands of Lucas women who marched on the toolmakers and ordered them back to work.

Real determination and true British grit was written on the faces of each of the hundreds of "Back to Work" women.

But shop stewards stayed deaf to the pleas of the scores of these gallant women.

They escaped, although surrounded by the dozens who lobbied them. They even turned down the request of the five women who asked them to go back to work.

Unfortunately these misguided handful saw fit to ask the management to up their rates. What do these women think they are? Wreckers!



# TWO SHOTS FROM SEED OF STALINISM

The events after the death of Stalin in March 1953 underlined clearly the continued instability of the bureaucratic governments of the deformed workers states in Eastern Europe.

By June 1953 workers in East Berlin had spelled this out in their revolt against demands for increased output which combined with struggles against falling living standards and demanding democracy.

A general strike erupted and spread to other cities. Soviet troops savagely repressed the protesters and many were executed.

This experience, the first expression of political revolution, remained a lingering fear in the minds of the Stalinist bureaucracies.

In Russia itself the bureaucracy was divided as to the best means of containing the working class after Stalin's death. Molotov argued for continuing in exactly the same way, while Khrushchev pressed for some token concessions to placate the working class.

## PRIVILEGES

The problem was not one of principle. Both wings wanted to preserve the bureaucracy and its privileges.

But this intra-bureaucratic struggle led Khrushchev to make his now famous speech at the 20th Congress of the CPSU which directly attacked the crimes of Stalin in order to strengthen his own hand against Molotov.

For the first time Lenin's Testament became public and many figures executed by Stalin were posthumously "rehabilitated".

This tactical division within the bureaucracy had a huge impact in the CPs in the capitalist countries. And it is no coincidence that Spanish CP leader Carrillo today refers lovingly to Khrushchev.

Indeed in June 1956 veteran Italian Stalinist Togliatti called for what he termed "polycentrism"—less control from Moscow. Togliatti attacked "the degeneration of Soviet society" and was rebuked by Moscow.

This crack in the authority of the bureaucracy created huge problems.

There is no doubt Khrushchev's revelations at the 20th Congress weakened the basic support for arch-Stalinist Hungarian leader Rakosi—while Khrushchev's tactic of "liberalisation" spurred on the Hungarian masses to seek a complete end to bureaucracy.

## WORKERS COUNCILS

And while the call for workers councils had once been fraudulently utilised by the Tito bureaucracy in Yugoslavia in carrying through the split with Stalin, in Hungary in 1956 the demand was taken up by the masses and developed to produce genuine revolutionary committees and workers councils.

The Hungarian bureaucracy attempted to hold on to its old line—replacing Rakosi with his henchman Geroe.

But when the "left" bureaucrat Imre Nagy was finally installed with Moscow support an uprising was already spreading from Budapest throughout the country—which the Russian garrisons refused to suppress.

Eventually these troops were withdrawn and different forces were used to massacre the anti-bureaucratic fighters.

## POLAND

Meanwhile in Poland similar developments within the working class were opposed by different tactics from the bureaucracy.

The "liberal" Gomulka was given support and some economic concessions by Moscow on condition that he prevented any Polish support for the Hungarian workers.

This was why even when

THE THIRD PART IN OUR SERIES ON THE BACKGROUND TO THE SPLIT IN THE BRITISH COMMUNIST PARTY. BY TONY RICHARDSON.

Gomulka stated he would not allow Moscow to interfere in the composition of leading committees no Russian troops were used against him.

The Hungarian events were a watershed for post-war Stalinism. In the upheavals the Secret Police had been annihilated and genuine defence squads combining soldiers, workers and students had functioned under the control of workers councils.

The brutality of the repression—with some 20,000 estimated killed—was partly to provide a deterrent to any future struggle against bureaucracy.

to recognise the Boumedienne regime in Algeria after the overthrow of Ben Bella.

Peking sent tanks to support the Pakistan government against the Bangladesh liberation forces; it supported the pro-imperialist FNLA in Angola; and today it supports the Common Market.

The Sino-Soviet split was a split between two bureaucracies. And so degenerate had the Stalinist bureaucracy become that in 1962 Moscow sent arms to the Indian bourgeois government to assist them in a war against the Chinese workers state.



Stalin

sensing its own weakness and isolation from mass support.

Such "concessions" as are made by the bureaucrats are not because they are pushed in the same direction as the working class, but because they desperately seek to head off the working class.

Now in 1977 many forces combine to disrupt the Stalinist "monolith". The national bureaucracies exploit the position of the CPs in capitalist countries—with Hungary's Kadar declaring support for "Eurocommunism".

But while the line of the biggest European CPs has astonished



Hungary 1956

And Stalinist bureaucracy—including the Yugoslavian and the Chinese—backed the suppression of the Hungarian revolution.

The repression was enthusiastically backed by all the CPs in the capitalist countries—who suppressed objective reports of the events and retailed Moscow's line, in spite of the substantial losses it brought them in members and influence.

The harsh political lesson for the working class was the impossibility of basing a struggle on a "left" section of the bureaucracy. Political revolution demands the building of Trotskyist parties, in conflict with Stalinism.

The immediate cause of the 1960s split between Moscow and Peking seemed to be differences on the treatment of Albania, which had come under acute pressure from Moscow.

## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

But also involved were economic problems in China, and Chinese opposition to the "reforming" line of Khrushchev.

The Chinese and Albanians defended for the record of Stalin—and the Albanians in following this line are now even criticising the new Chinese leadership.

Mao Tse Tung however, was himself not averse to using different tactics in maintaining the hold of the bureaucracy—as was shown in 1966 when the "Red Guards" were mobilised as part of a struggle between rival elements of the bureaucracy.

Mao declared himself an "internationalist", but preserved the Stalinist concept of attempting to build 'socialism in one country' and seeking deals with imperialism.

It was his line therefore, that betrayed the Indonesian revolution and the slaughter of 5000,000—1,000,000 CP members at the hands of the Peking-backed Sukarno government.

It was Peking that first rushed

Though the East European CPs backed Moscow against the Chinese, the party leaders used the split to further their own national bureaucratic interests and put pressure on Moscow.

In Czechoslovakia the strategy of "liberalising" the Stalinist apparatus had taken longer than elsewhere to institute. It was only in 1968 that veteran Stalinist Novotny was removed and replaced by Dubcek.

## FRANCE 1968

The change took place at the high point of wave of working class struggles which also erupted in a general strike and mass occupations in France in May-June 1968.

Czechoslovakia was not isolated from these developments, and the problems of the Dubcek bureaucracy were sharpened. The 'liberalisation' movement began to get out of control. Dubcek attempted to get help from Moscow—and invited Soviet troops for manoeuvres in Czechoslovakia in June 1968.

In the factories workers were pressing for complete reform; and a Czech edition of Trotsky's *Revolution Betrayed* was set up for publication.

But there was no conscious leadership developed. Workers councils on the level of Hungary had not appeared. And when Russian tanks moved in to reinforce the bureaucracy many Western CPs felt Moscow had over-reacted and criticised the intervention, voicing support for Dubcek.

## ARMED WORKERS

Trotskyists opposed the Russian intervention but called clearly for the arming of Czech workers to oppose any pro capitalist forces and to prepare for political revolution.

Both Hungary and Czechoslovakia show the severe limits imposed on any "liberalisation" measures by the bureaucracy.

of war between the USSR and a European capitalist state.

However to attach a new name "Eurocommunism" to this political line is false. The situation is not new—but the result of a general tendency of Stalinism towards nationalism.

This tendency has advanced furthest in Europe because of the need by the capitalist class to use these Communist Parties as a prop to their tottering bourgeois regimes in Spain, Italy and France.

In exchange for acceptance by the bourgeoisie, these CPs come out with verbal criticism of the internal regime in Russia and Eastern Europe.

## COMMON GROUND

While the Soviet bureaucracy answers these criticisms it carefully avoids attaching the class collaboration of these CPs. The common ground that unites them is in fact their resolute opposition to the political independence of the working class and to socialist revolution.

The split in the CP in Britain must be seen in this light.

The so-called "New Communist Party" around Syd French defends all the actions of the Moscow bureaucracy and attacks the new draft of the *British Road To Socialism* for not including the call for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

French's attack on the British CP leadership is thus in no way linked to any fight against Stalin's line of "socialism in one country" which in fact requires "peaceful co-existence" and "parliamentary roads".

## MOSCOW SUPPORT

But even while advancing a line directed towards closer relations with the British capitalist class, CPGB leader MacLennan has been forced to draw heavily on an association with Moscow for his support. The CP daily *Morning Star* is also heavily dependent upon sales in Eastern Europe for its existence.

And French for his part endorses the real treachery of the British CP—its support for "left" TUC bureaucrats; its support for "workers participation"; its opposition to struggles to break Phases 1 and 2 of the Social Contract; its nationalism on the Common Market and on import controls.

The splits in the CPs internationally will no doubt weaken them in their counter-revolutionary line.

In exploiting these splits we must show clearly that we are for the unconditional defence of the USSR, China and the other deformed workers states against imperialism even while we fight for political revolution through the rebuilding of the Fourth International with parties in those countries.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Renort





# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## LUCAS: DUFFY DRIVES TOOLMEN BACK

Lucas toolroom workers after a 10-week strike have finally been forced back by their officials who threatened the withdrawal of strike pay and leaned heavily on the TUC vote to endorse the 12-month rule.

At a mass meeting at Digbeth Civic Hall in Birmingham, AUEW Executive Council members Duffy and Jordan narrowly swung the vote against the recommendation of the shop stewards for a return to work with 519 in favour and 384 against.

Management had scarcely upped this previous offer, overwhelmingly rejected at a mass meeting a few weeks before, of £3 on the bonus and £100 lump sum payment.

A further £50 cash payment was added, which would be paid one month after going back.

Duffy argued that a return to work would be conditional upon management agreeing to negotiate immediately on a new bonus system.

The original claim for an increase on the bonus of £5 clearly could have been won.

Neither the media's attempts to whip up "We want to work" demonstrations against the toolmakers, nor Leyland management's attempts to fly in alternative components from abroad succeeded.

Those women production workers who lobbied AUEW officials went away declaring their agreement with the toolmakers' claim. And the alternative supplies had not prevented 20,000 Leyland workers from being laid off with production of over half of Leyland's models lying idle.

A total shutdown within a week was a certainty. But whereas these efforts failed, the AUEW bureaucracy succeeded in ending the strike.

The sell-out was prepared behind the scenes at Blackpool at joint management-union talks involving Scanlon and his right-wing ally and would-be successor, Duffy.

It was also reported that, if necessary, official backing for the strike would be withdrawn in order to blackmail the toolmakers into going back.

Right from the start the toolmakers have faced not only the combined opposition of Lucas and Leyland management and the media but their own official leadership.

As one group of toolmakers remarked at the end of the mass meeting where the sell-out took place:

"It was Duffy and Jordan who are responsible for this. The stewards voted 33-24 against going back with three abstentions and 14 did not even turn up. How can you abstain on a vote like that? Our steward voted in favour. When the elections for stewards come up he won't be back as steward."



Terry Duffy

## Rolls Royce out

Yet another strike against the government's 10% pay limit has broken out—this time at two Rolls Royce factories in Willesden, North London.

Some 650 workers, covered by four unions, the sheetmetal workers, the TGWU, the woodworkers and electricians, struck on Monday 12 September in support of a 17% pay rise.

The factories hit are the plant in Hythe Road and the Mulliner Park Ward plant in Willesden High Road.

A 17% increase though is nowhere adequate to make up for the drop in living standards of the past three years.

This fact has been openly

acknowledged by union convenor Brian Eagles, who said:

"What we are asking for is not unreasonable. We are not asking for the 30 and 40 per cent claims we've been hearing about in the past few weeks. We are not asking for everything that we've lost in the past few years."

### KEEP PACE

But the only wage increase workers should settle for is one which does regain all that's been lost in the past three years, and one which will ensure that from now on wages rise to keep pace with inflation as assessed by workers themselves.

## NO LEAD GIVEN TO AIR CONTROL STRIKE

As the strike by air traffic control assistants enters its third week, there have been threats by leaders of the 250,000 strong Civil and Public Services Association (CPSA) to escalate the activity.

The strike by the 850 assistants at West Drayton and Heathrow is for a settlement agreed in July 1975 with the Civil Aviation Authority but outlawed by the

Social Contract.

The CAA now argue that they cannot abide by the agreement since it would break the 12 month rule as well as the 10% ceiling Healey has placed on wages.

### REAL TEST

The present Lib-Lab government see this dispute as a real test case and are determined to see the assistants crushed.

To that end they are prepared to lose millions of pounds every week by operating only 70% of their scheduled flights.

The response from union leaders—including those of the TUC who allegedly support the strike—has been predictably feeble.

Only now is Ken Thomas of the CPSA considering involving other members of the union. And if he does so it will be, of course, a "controlled escalation".

But the government have made it clear that there is more at stake in this strike than the settlement of July 1975: they see it as a trial of the Social Contract itself.

### HUGE RESPONSE

In this situation Thomas should come out in clear opposition to the government by calling out all CPSA members on indefinite strike action to smash the public service cash limits as well as all remaining vestiges of the loathed Social Contract.

Were he to do that he would immediately find a huge response within the working class who are now waiting for a national lead to be given in the fight for increased living standards.

## HEATHROW VICTORY

Meanwhile in Heathrow itself there has been a successful conclusion to a strike by progress chasers in the British Airways European Division for parity with their counterparts in the Overseas Division.

Meanwhile in Heathrow itself there has been a successful conclusion to a strike by progress chasers in the British Airways European Division for parity with their counterparts in the Overseas Division.

Prior to the fusion of BEA and BOAC to form British Airways, progress chasers in BOAC were classified as skilled workers, whereas those in BEA were classified as semi-skilled.

This anomaly was never ironed out on amalgamation, with the result that Overseas Division workers were being paid more than European chasers—even though they both worked for the same company.

Nonetheless claims for parity—which conceal what is really at stake, namely the desire for higher living standards, are fraught with dangers for workers.

Even though this strike concluded successfully it remains to be seen whether the workers in the Overseas Division will try to restore their differentials by engaging in strike action.

It is important in struggles such as these that Marxists bring to the fore the common interests of the

## PAY CONFERENCE CRUCIAL

The stage-managed vote to endorse the 12-month rule on wages has had an immediate impact in strengthening the hand of officials attempting to end pay strikes.

But at the same time as the vote was being taken, new struggles were emerging and new claims being formulated by workers determined to regain and defend living standards.

The coming wave of pay struggles will therefore bring together those sections prepared to challenge the TUC's bureaucratic dictates on pay and those due for annual reviews who have decided to reject Chancellor Healey's 10% limit.

In each case workers will immediately face a political challenge. Needed is a clear policy on pay—demanding big increases protected against inflation through cost-of-living clauses.

And such a demand can only be won if a principled leadership is fought for within the working class—prepared to face up to pressure from employers, the press the Lib-Lab government and trade union officials, determined to preserve Healey's 10% limit.

To discuss the wider implications of this fight, the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement has called an all-day national conference in Digbeth Hall, Birmingham on Sunday October 23.

The CDLM was the only rank and file movement to put forward a consistent policy for a fight to break Phase 2 of wage control, and in March this year held a conference on wages supported by over 300 labour movement delegates.

We call on our readers and supporters to fight in all labour movement organisations for delegations to attend this conference—which is also open to individual observers.

More details and conference credentials (50p) from Kevin Lee, 44, Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20.



### NEW BOOKLET THE CASE FOR THE SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES

All the points you need to know in fighting for the sliding scale 20p plus 10p postage from Kevin Lee, 44, Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham

## HOUNSLOW WORKS ON

Two weeks after the planned closure date, Hounslow Hospital remains open, due to the determined and exemplary struggle waged by the staff, local trade unions, doctors and the local community.

When Callaghan's axe chopped into the 76/77 budget of the Ealing, Hounslow and Hammer-smith Area Health Authority, their response was to plan the closure of Hounslow Hospital's 66 beds.

The staff response was to organise a "work-in" as pioneered at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital.

A recent experience had demonstrated that more than the defence of the Health Service and jobs was involved.

Following the closure of Brentford Hospital (by the same Area Health Authority) geriatric patients had been transferred to the West Middlesex against their wishes.

This environmental uprooting was the major, if not exclusive factor in the deaths of four out of seven of these patients within a

the official support of both NALGO and NUPE, although the NUPE official, Peter Lawlor has played little or no part in the campaign for several months.

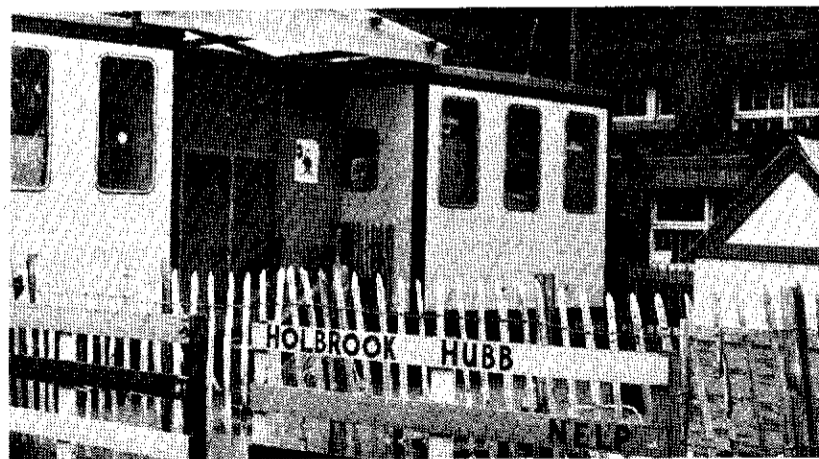
Local trade unions and trades councils have contributed funds and pickets to the campaign and various GPs have continued to refer patients to Hounslow.

Ambulance drivers have refused to remove patients or equipment from the hospital except for medical reasons, and the Hounslow Community Health Council has also pledged its support.

On the official date of closure, 500 staff, trade unionists and local residents rallied outside the hospital and marched through the town centre headed by a spirited jazz band.

Local workers receiving medical treatment must demand of their GP to be referred to Hounslow Hospital to help maintain the intake of patients.

At the same time a campaign must be launched in the local trade unions for all-out strike action



## NELP NURSERY THREAT

North East London Polytechnic, the scene of the bitter and prolonged 'Blue Asbestos' cleaners' dispute has suffered another attack on the workers in that area with the threatened closure of the Hubb Nursery.

The nursery, which caters for about thirty children of students and local workers is threatened

payment for the portable huts.

Brosen's action was cynically approved by two local Labour Councillors on the JEC.

Brosen plans to implement the closure of the nursery by removal of the huts. TGWU members should black any such action, and members of the Labour Party must raise this matter in their local party branches.



# FIGHT STEPPED UP FOR DESOUTTER BLACKING

## Oxford AUEW shows the way

As one of the strikers on the picket line at the Desoutter Brothers factory in North London wittily remarked last week, the strike for union recognition there is like driving a car uphill with the brakes on.

The car represented the 80 or so workers who have been living on a measly £9 a week strike pay for the past 17 weeks; the brakes are the London North District Committee of the AUEW who have hitherto done virtually nothing to win this strike.

But after a series of events last week the car is beginning to gather speed and the top of the hill is now in sight.

On Monday 5th, a delegation of workers lobbied AUEW delegates at the TUC demanding that they fight now within the AUEW for national blacking of Desoutter products.

### BLACKING

The following Wednesday a 40-strong delegation of strikers lobbied the Communist Party-dominated London North D.C. demanding all out blacking in North London and nationally, as well as the immediate raising of a district levy to offset financial hardship.

Over 8 weeks ago the D.C. said that a resolution on blacking had been sent to the AUEW's Executive Council. But clearly they never bothered to pursue this motion any further.

On the question of the district levy, Stalinist President George Anthony previously said that there would be no need for one as donations from other workers would flow in.

## Firemen's Claim

Firemen at four fire stations in Merseyside, these being Bootle, Bank Hall, Crosby, and Storrington Avenue, have passed resolutions calling for a £25 a week rise, with a call for strike action from November 1st if this is not achieved.

## New leaders needed

out for press publicity are right winger Terry Duffy on the one hand and the Broad Left candidate Bob Wright (who in reality is also a right winger) on the other.

Wright—who is supported as candidate for the Presidency by none other than Scanlon himself—offers no alternative to the existing leadership.

Socialist Workers Party member Ian Morris, running on an 'Engineering Charter' platform, has repeatedly shown his inability to lead any political fight against the Broad Left—right wing coalition that controls the AUEW.

But an alternative programme is put forward by Alan Wilkins of the Workers Revolutionary Party. Though inadequate in many respects his election address does call for "a sliding scale of working hours" and a policy of "threshold rises" to protect against inflation.

The Workers Socialist League has serious political differences with the WRP—but we call for a vote for Wilkins in the AUEW election as the clearest answer to the treachery of the current leadership.

And, he added, he wouldn't raise a levy anyway as this invariably resulted in some members "being in arrears".

At the start of the meeting there were no signs that attitudes would change.

### 'STRIKERS' FAULT'

Anthony arrogantly talked down to lobbying strikers—even saying at one point that if the strike were lost it would be the strikers' fault, not his.

In this respect he was only outdone by Broad Left District Secretary Vic Swift.

To a worker's question "How can I keep myself, my wife and family on £9 a week? Swift replied, "Well, you could always go back to work".

This from a man claiming to be a communist!

But despite this display of contempt for the Desoutter workers, it soon emerged that both Anthony and Swift—along with the other CP cronies on the D.C.—were quaking in their boots.

### LOCKED DOOR

Fearful lest workers' anger spill over into the meeting itself, they locked the committee room door.

And when a delegation from the lobby was allowed in at the end of the meeting to address the committee, Anthony was very conciliatory and allowed the strike representatives to argue their case for a levy and blacking.

There and then the D.C. agreed to a mass picket on October 13th, and also agreed to consider the question of the levy at the next meeting of the Finance and General Purposes Committee. (13th Sept.)

These concessions—which still fall far short of what is needed to win the strike—were obviously made in an attempt to defuse the situation and to try and regain the control which was slipping out of their hands.

Anthony also revealed other motives for these concessions when he asked that the Strike Committee

leaflet criticising the D.C. be withdrawn.

This leaflet—which mentions Anthony by name, but which is mild compared to some of the things that could be said about the D.C.—is clearly seen as an embarrassment at a time when Anthony is currently standing for office in the forthcoming AUEW elections.

But the Stalinists of the London North D.C. are not alone in wishing to forget about Desoutters.

### NO MENTION

At a quarterly meeting of AUEW Shop Stewards in Southall on Thursday night the Broad Left

candidate for the Presidency of the union—Bob Wright—spoke for almost an hour without once mentioning Desoutters.

This was despite the fact that strike leader Jim Black was sitting a few feet away on the platform, and despite the fact that Jim had fifteen minutes previously made a speech calling on the Executive Council to adopt a policy of national blacking.

When asked by a steward from the floor what his position on blacking was, Wright droned on about how the right wing in the E.C. had blocked it because of their fear of lawsuits.

Wright claimed that he thought



Also attending the Southall Shop Stewards Meeting was Ian Morris, SWP candidate in the AUEW presidential elections.

Morris spoke only once during the course of the meeting—to propose that a collection be taken up for the Desoutter workers.

But he failed to make any intervention against Bob Wright—who is, after all, one of his rivals in the elections for president.

Why did Morris make no intervention on the question of national blacking of Desoutters?

This abject failure is all the more astonishing as Morris's candidature has actually been endorsed by some of the Desoutter workers!

Every Desoutter striker has the right to know why Morris failed to fight Bob Wright on this vital question.

this position was wrong—but gave no indication of what he was going to do to fight it.

We say to Wright and his CP backers—if you are for blacking as you suggest, why have you done nothing about it?

The events of the past week show that only a sharp orientation against the bureaucracy can win this strike.

Anthony, Swift and co. are veterans in the art of selling out: struggles, and can only be beaten down if their every move is systematically followed and brought to the attention of the workers throughout North London.

Money alone will not win this strike. It is of course absolutely essential in order to keep the workers out on strike, but it is inadequate to win all the demands.

National blacking is the key to victory. Last week the Oxford AUEW District Committee were pushed into blacking in their area which has already led to refusal by toolroom stewards in British Leyland Body Plant at Cowley to repair Desoutter tools.

Pressure must now be kept up on the London North and Southall districts to ensure they organise area-wide blacking.

And using these areas as levers, the strikers must organise lobbies to force the E.C. to adopt national blacking.

Donations to the Strike Fund to: Jim Black, 27 Springfield Mount, Colindale N.W.9.

**STILL AVAILABLE**  
**THE TOOLROOM STRIKE AND THE FIGHT TO END WAGE CONTROL**

Articles reprinted from the Special Edition of Socialist Press analysing the political consequences of the toolmakers strike and the Lib-Lab pact. Price 25p plus 10p p&p from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill London NW5 1HR

# EPS VOTE TO RETURN

700 workers at Export Packing Services, Banbury, voted last Friday to end their 3-week strike for an immediate £15 per week pay increase.

This was after local TGWU official Morris had opposed a stewards' recommendation to stay out for the full claim, and played up the management's threat to close the factory.

Management had made no secret

of the fact that they regarded Morris as their spokesman.

Indeed a letter to all employees from managing director Benham had urged all workers to attend the Friday mass meeting, saying:

"A mass meeting has been organised . . . I understand your full-time officer will be attending the meeting, and I ask you to take notice of what he has to say."

In other words management

knew the content of Morris's speech before union members!

In the event Morris's position, coming on top of management having issued notice of dismissal to all manual workers, managed to carry a 3-1 majority in the mass meeting against the stewards' recommendation.

The EPS workers now return to conditions of status quo before the dispute.

## Darlington NUJ strike: sell out bid

A major assault on the NUJ closed shop strike at Darlington has been made by the General Secretaries of the print unions.

The Printing Industries Committee of the TUC decided to call on all unions involved to send their members back to work without a single concession from the

### SELL OUT

management, so that an "independent" mediator could be called in. This was despite a call from the NUJ Westminster Press Chapel that the strike should be spread.

The move is not only an attack on NUJ members in London and Darlington who have been on the streets for more than 14 weeks—it is also a sellout for the print workers who have supported the strike for seven weeks.

A groundswell of opposition to the move has risen up within the NUJ. The Darlington strikers have voted to stay out while the mediator is at work, the London Office chapel has condemned the move

### SOLID

A mass lobby of the NUJ NEC was called this week to force the union executive to maintain the official status of the strike and to keep paying strike pay.

The main task is to keep the NUJ strike solid. Coupled with a major attempt to keep the print unions out in support.

The PIC move is not a sellout of journalists by printers.

The attack is by the bureaucracy of all unions against all members. A joint campaign must be fought against it.



EPS pickets during their recent strike

## MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name . . . . .

Address . . . . .

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



# 12-MONTH RULE MUST BE BROKEN

Fulfilling all the hopes of the Stock Exchange speculators, international bankers and CBI leaders, the TUC have endorsed the so-called "12 month rule" by a 7-4 majority.

Immediately afterwards there was a stampede of bureaucrats rushing to "reluctantly" accept the stage-managed result.

The significance of this vote is therefore far wider reaching than the rule itself. It means that the entire official apparatus that feeds off the trade union movement has dedicated itself to the task of holding back wage claims for a further year.

It means that the policy decisions of individual union conferences—the only inadequate opportunity workers have for expressing their own demands—have been bureaucratically overturned.

## TIED

In particular this is the case of the two largest unions in the country—the TGWU and the AUEW—which both rejected wage control but are now tied to the TUC policy.

And it means that workers who now take up the fight to bring forward their pay reviews in order to regain and defend their living standards must fight government, employer and the active sabotage of union officials and their servile supporters in every area.

This fight will be combined with the action of workers struggling against Healey's 10% limit as their regular pay reviews fall due. Until these restraints are broken in struggle they will impede every section of workers.

The breaking of wage controls would immediately create a massive governmental crisis and could well cause the fall of the present Lib-Lab coalition government, opening the possibility of a fight to establish a socialist programme and new leadership within the Labour Party.

This offers the only prospect for a struggle to defend living standards and end unemployment. This is why our demands are foursquare behind workers who take up this struggle.

Break TUC pay dictates! Full

support to all workers in pay struggles.

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Break the Lib-Lab coalition! Demand the "Left" MPs fight to oust Callaghan and Healey!

PAY CONFERENCE  
DETAILS PAGE 10



# £50 WAGE 'TOO MUCH' —MURRAY

A clear indication of the TUC's determination to continue policing wage cutting came in the debate on the minimum wage at this year's TUC conference.

A resolution from NUPE calling for a minimum wage of £50 a week (£20 a week below the average industrial wage which is itself an inadequate wage) was rejected by Congress.

NUPE leader Alan Fisher, has been one of the most consistent advocates of wage controls.

His refusal to lead his members in wages struggles—using the excuse that his union has no 'industrial muscle' has meant that his members have remained among the lowest paid in the country.

In arguing that the £6 a week his members received under Phase One was the largest single increase they had ever had, he of course omitted to point out that even £6 under Phase 1 and 4½% under Phase 2 was

inadequate to keep wages ahead of prices.

Now, after two years of wage controls, his members and those in other "traditionally" low paid industries have been told by the TUC that they cannot even fight for a guaranteed minimum wage of £50.

If workers were to accept this, they would be forced to continue with the enormous amounts of overtime at present worked in order to make up a living wage.

The TUC decision must be completely rejected by all low paid workers who should demand that their union executives support any action they take for substantial wage increases.

Such action should also include the demand for a sliding scale of wages linked to the level of inflation as assessed by trade union committees in order to defend the gains won.

## Tories welcomed: Standing Ovations for Wage Cuts, Citrine

It's often the smaller details that give the best insight into bureaucratic jamborees like the TUC Congress. This year was no exception.

On Monday, trade unionists from all over the country who arrived in Blackpool to lobby the TUC found police ranged three deep around the doors to protect the horde of plump, suited functionaries from their members.

Only afterwards did it emerge that Tory MPs Barney Heyhoe (well-known for his travels on the Grunwick scabs' bus) and James Prior had been allowed in to observe the proceedings from which trade unionists were banned.

But clearest indicator of the feeling within the hall was the standing ovations that were granted to two heroes of the assembled bureaucrats—James Callaghan and Lord Citrine.

Callaghan of course needs no introduction as a wage-cutter, social service wrecker, dole queue millionaire and Liberal-lover.

But some workers might not be so familiar with the claim to fame of 90-year old Citrine.

He was the man who headed the 1926 TUC in their nine-day sell-out of the General Strike, followed by the betrayal of the still smiling miners.

Thanks to Citrine it was a weakened and defeated British working class that was thrown into the depression and slump of the 1930s.

Of course today's TUC leaders have done all they can to match this performance. And indeed they have succeeded in slashing their members' living standards by more over the last 2 years than they fell after the General Strike.

Murray as Citrine's direct successor has shown his enthusiasm for treachery but has not yet been able to try his hand at ending a General Strike. And, a little uncertain as to what the next year of policing wage controls may bring, he and his TUC buddies clearly regard the presence of the decrepit Citrine as a lucky mascot.



Murray

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

## BAKERS FIGHT AGAINST LOW PAY

Bakers striking for Bank Holiday money have recorded massive votes all over the country in support of the action revealing that this dispute goes well beyond the single issue involved.

Behind the demand for paid bank holidays, there is rising concern over long hours and low pay.

Pay is appalling. The basic rate is around 75p an hour, which yields £30 for a 40-hour week. With all the overtime, most production workers take home about £55 for a 60-hour week.

The Federation of Bakers have taken a hard line over the issue after conceding equal pay and regrading to the Bakers Union in the past 12 months. They are banking on defeating the bakery workers over this side issue before the annual talks on pay.

## FITTERS' STRIKE

27 fitters at Cartransport, Coventry are on strike in a dispute involving company plans to sack nine of them.

Cartransport, who are moving to a smaller depot, have been negotiating for a reduction in staff across all sections—drivers, yard and security men and fitters, and have been insistent that nine of the 27 fitters must lose their jobs.

The strike started after fitters received letters from management on August 25, saying they would finish work on September 30.

Up to now there has been no work at the depot due to lay-offs in the car industry—and the strikers have decided not to call out the drivers, who are contributing to a hardship fund.

However now the Lucas dispute is ended it will be essential for the drivers to ensure that no other maintenance section or contractor will be the beneficiary of the 27

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## £3,000 FUND

Our Special Fund has received a welcome boost since the last issue of Socialist Press. A total of £405.01 has arrived at the office in the last two weeks, bringing the total to date to £2,317.19.

Among the latest donations were: Central London: £20; JW £44.30; JS £14; AS, Stoke £3.75; Derbyshire reader £1; Hertfordshire reader £9; MS £12.50; MH £30; CK £5; Posters £20; Birmingham £15; Liverpool £3.40; Hull £6; Sheffield £20; Car workers £27.75; Leeds £31; Aylesbury £9; Castleford £2; Oxford £127.21.

With a little over two weeks to go to the end of the month, an extra special effort will be needed to raise the outstanding £682.81. At the same time the regular £600 monthly fund should not be forgotten. The raising of this fund is essential to the day to day running of the paper.

Donations to either fund should be sent to:

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