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Affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee

TILC Public meeting

For a full discussion on the crisis of the world Trotskyist movement!
Reconstruct the Fourth International
Speakers from WSL and TILC sections
Wednesday 23 July at 7.30 p.m.
Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., London WC1
Tickets £1

IMPORT CONTROLS: UNION CHIEFS SIDE WITH BOSSSES

From carpets to coking coal; from pianos to plim-solls; from fish to furniture; from steel to sperm whale oil; from televisions to textiles, the raucous voices of union leaders and desperate employers are clamouring for the Tory government to impose import controls to protect the profits of British companies.

The campaign has gathered pace alongside the galloping rate of redundancies in British industry as Thatcher's policies along with the world-wide crisis of capitalism bring a slump in production and post-war record unemployment.

It has found vocal advocates both from the ranks of the CBI—whose last conference voted in favour of selective import controls—and among leaders of the TUC, which has just published a booklet spelling out the very same policy.

Duffy

Within the labour movement itself the campaign against "foreign imports" has been taken up by elements ranging from right wing AUEW President Terry Duffy to the TASS General Secretary, Communist Party member Ken Gill; from right wing ISTC leader Bill Sirs to the 'lefts' of Labour's Tribune Group.

Only last week saw Duffy, along with TGWU leader Moss Evans engaged in "friendly" talks with BL chief Sir Michael Edwardes on the 'problem' of Japanese car imports outstripping BL sales on the British market.

Edwardes, as president of the Common Market Automobile Constructors, has now publicly called for import controls against Japan. This should delight the Communist Party, which last week hailed Duffy's conversion to the cause of protectionism in the *Morning Star*.

"Good to see that Terry Duffy and others on the AUEW Executive have decided to do battle with the multinationals and fight for import controls. Let's hope they put up a better show than when they were supposedly championing Derek Robinson".

Thus in the fight to defend British capitalism we find the CP sharing the same camp as the employer who sacked their leading industrial militant, and the AUEW President who betrayed him!

Textiles

This unholy alliance is now emerging throughout industry. Textile employers, for instance, have repeatedly worked jointly with union leaders to mobilise workers in protest demonstrations against imports.

The Stalinist-led furniture trades union FTATU only recently held a stridently

WORKERS OF THE WORLD
UNITE!



...AGAINST THE FRENCH,
...JAPANESE...AMERICANS
...GERMANS...KOREANS
...RUSSIANS...ITALIANS
...AFRICANS...POLES...
PORTUGUESE...
INDIANS...
BRAZILIANS...

demonstration demanding a halt to cheap imports and urging a 'buy British' campaign.

And in the steel industry, ISTC and other union leaders, even while selling their members' jobs by the tens of thousands, pause occasionally to argue that BSC could be made profitable if imports were restricted.

Yet the folly of such an approach is well illustrated by the fact that in other major capitalist countries—in particular the USA—union leaders and employers are raising almost identical demands.

In the USA, for instance, steel union bureaucrats have lined up with the privately owned steel firms to call for a ban on the "dumping" of cheaper steel imports, including steel from Britain and the EEC!

Indeed the whole direction of protectionist measures under capitalism is towards intensifying nationalistic and racialist divisions internationally.

Were a major capitalist country to impose full-scale import controls in the present recession it could well trigger off a full-scale international trade war, in which each national capitalist class—obediently supported by reformist union leaders—fought to drive its competitors to the wall.

Imperialist war

In such conditions the possibilities of a renewed outbreak of imperialist war grow to frightening proportions.

So what is it that drives union bureaucrats and employers to adopt such a desperate policy?

For the weakest employers, of course, the call for import controls is a desperate plea for measures to suppress the market forces of capitalism that threaten to drive them to the wall.

Their ability to extract sufficient profits from their workforce is threatened by the superior technology of inter-

national competitors.

And sooner than meekly perish by the 'dog eat dog' logic of their own anarchic system, they issue hysterical and hypocritical appeals for help.

British trade union and Labour leaders, on the other hand, seize on the call for import controls as an *alternative* to any struggle to defend jobs and conditions on the shop floor.

Sooner than expose to workers the real bankruptcy and anarchy of the capitalist system and its complete inability to guarantee workers even the right to a job and decent living standards, reformist leaders peddle the illusion that capitalism can be patched up, and jobs saved.

To do this they argue, a "breathing space" is needed, in which British capitalists are shielded from international competition, and assisted—through government cash hand-outs—to make their operations competitive.

They remain silent about the



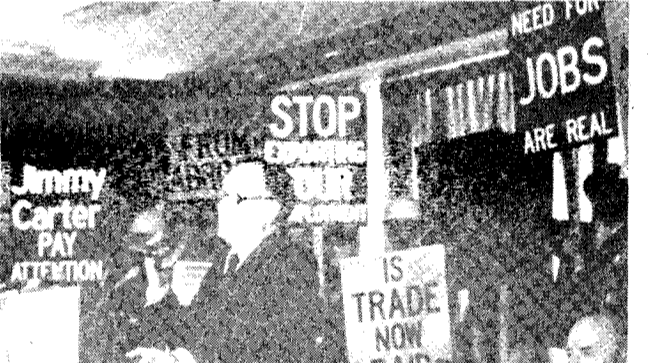
British furniture workers demand import controls

SAVE AMERICAN JOBS...

INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION



US garment workers demand import controls



US steel workers join the chorus of nationalism

fact that to make British industry competitive in capitalist terms means in fact further closures, further "rationalisation", and further Edwardes style speed-up and attacks on shop floor organisation in order to increase the exploitation of the working class.

And, while happily proposing measures that would simply create growing unemployment amongst workers in other countries, they lift not a finger to fight for factory occupations, supporting strikes and mass action to defend threatened jobs in Britain.

The Thatcher government has been able to force unemployment towards the two million mark without a single serious official struggle against a plant closure.

Not in one instance have union leaders challenged the right of the employer to preserve or restore profitability at the expense of the jobs and living standards of the workforce.

Not in one instance has there been an official fight to force the opening of the books of the "bankrupt" British and multinational operations to elected trade union committees to reveal the wheeling and dealing behind the scenes, the employers' overall strategy for speed-up, and the profits creamed off by the banks and suppliers from "loss-making" firms and industries.

Yet the fact is that there is no common "national interest" which British workers share with British employers.

As an exploited class, and one which does not own the means of production, the working class is an *international* class, facing a common capitalist enemy.

The working class can only win the right to a job and decent living standards, to adequate social services and a future of peace and security through mass action in every country for the *overthrow* of the anarchic system of capitalism and the fight for a socialist planned economy.

In this struggle the main enemy to be confronted by workers in any country is not a foreign capitalist exporter, but the employers *at home* and the state machinery and government through which they maintain their rule.

In Britain this means that the struggle to defend jobs (and to create jobs for the unemployed through a planned programme of public works) requires the development and extension of strikes and occupations in threatened factories and social services; the building of councils of action to coordinate and extend such struggles; and the fight for a General Strike to bring down the Thatcher government.

This would create the best conditions to expose the refusal of the existing leadership of the Labour Party to implement a socialist programme, and to show the necessity to establish a *workers government* to lead the struggle for the nationalisation of basic industries and the banks without compensation under workers' management which alone can lay the basis for a planned socialist economy.

It is precisely because the existing union and Labour leaders are incapable of offering such a perspective that the Workers Socialist League fights to build a new, revolutionary leadership in the workers' movement.

ZIONIST CONTEMPT FOR CAMP DAVID DEAL

Despite the apparent military invincibility of the Zionist state of Israel, the mounting resistance from the dispossessed Palestinian masses against the racist state is having a major impact.

This is shown by large numbers emigrating, particularly amongst skilled, educated Western people of the sort who provided the backbone of Zionist expansion in the 50s and 60s.

It is thought that as many as 800,000 Israeli citizens (about 20% of the population) are now living abroad.

There are many reports now of what the *Sunday Times* on 15 June called "a pervasive feeling of forboding" within Israel. Reporters from that paper found as many others are now doing that "a corrosive blend of cynicism and despair is seeping through every level of (Israeli) society, touching Israelis in almost every aspect of their lives".

This has produced explosive conflicts within Israel. Uri Avnery, Knesset member and



Begin with Carter

persistent critic of the excesses of Zionism, has revealed the racist orders given to Israeli soldiers in the occupied areas.

For his pains the offices of his party were wrecked and he has now called for the setting up of "socialist vigilante

groups" to defend himself and other critics of the regime.

The Begin government has gone increasingly weak in the face of all this. Recent public opinion polls have given it only 15% support amongst the electorate. The economic crisis has

forced cuts even in military spending and this has led to more and more defections from the government since the much publicised departure of defence minister Ezerf Weitzman in May.

Weitzman has not been replaced yet but he was very nearly joined in June by Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz who boycotted one cabinet meeting in an effort to get the government cuts he considered necessary to combat inflation.

Wafer thin

Two other actual defections from members of the so-called 'Democratic Movement for Change' in the Knesset were announced on 23 June leaving Begin with a wafer thin majority of two.

Begin has responded to this by a characteristically ferocious diplomatic offensive.

The EEC statement of 13 June saying that the PLO should be part of a peace process did not even mention the possibility of the Palestinians having a state of their own.

Yet it was condemned by Begin in terms that compared the present European regimes to their fascist and Nazi predecessors.

In defiance of all internationally-agreed norms, Begin also proposed on 23 June to move his personal office to East Jerusalem.

Finally on 27 June it was revealed that the Israeli cabinet now has plans for the permanent military occupation of the occupied territories.

It is clear, therefore, that the Israelis intend to retain complete control over the areas called "autonomous" in the Camp David agreements and to use the new settlements as a means of effectively expanding their frontiers.

Aggression

These can only be used to jettison the new US-sponsored peace talks due to begin on 5 July

Indeed a new Bill has just been carried through the Knesset by the extreme right wing Tehiya Party to assert Zionist sovereignty over Jerusalem. This flies in the face of a 16-0 vote on the Security Council to oppose any such stance by the Zionists.

It is plain that the Israelis are even less willing to compromise on this demand than on the West Bank question.

And Zionist aggression has continued with a savage raid on the Lebanese village of Eitanieh north of Tyre, killing 11 people.

This underlines the fact that the Israelis seem now to have no interest in the Camp David agreements.

But in the face of this hard line the Palestinian organisation Fateh at its recent congress has begun to talk of the possibility of two separate states of Palestine.

Hospitalised

Begin himself has now been hospitalised once more by what appears to have been his fourth heart attack on June 30.

On his sick bed however he was no doubt strengthened by the news that his government had survived a Knesset vote by 60-54.

The Israeli Labour Party which seems virtually certain to replace Begin in the near future first approved the West Bank settlements and then condemned the EEC Declaration.

Clearly the choices facing Zionism grow more narrow as the forces both internal and external that tend towards its destruction grow stronger.

State terror in Guyana

The killing of historian Dr. Walter Rodney of the Guyana Working People's Alliance on June 13 has, as expected, increased the growing opposition to the Forbes Burnham PNC regime.

Rodney was killed instantly when a bomb disguised as a radio transmitter exploded in his brother's car when they were both travelling across Georgetown.

His brother escaped with severe injuries—only to be charged with unlawful possession of an explosive device!

After being forcibly removed from hospital Donald Rodney is now on bail awaiting trial.

Rodney is only the latest of a number of leading WPA members to be murdered, following the violent deaths of Okene Koama and Edward Dublin apart from daily unpublished attacks on scores of workers attempting to fight for their rights through the government controlled trade unions.

Burnham accepted an IMF austerity programme last week which will raise the price of rice, electricity and transport and bring further hardship to the poorest sectors of the population.

Government sponsored thuggery in Guyana is unprecedented, even by Latin American standards, carried out not only by the regular army and police but also by the armed youth wing of the PNC (the "Young Socialist" Movement), by special police units and by the feared and hated House of Israel.

This is a religious sect led by American born David Hill, known as Rabbi Washington who is wanted by the US police and is therefore dependent on the government for protection.

The political work of the House of Israel includes acting as a strike breaking force, break-

ing up public meetings, staging demonstrations in favour of the government and beating and killing opponents of the PNC.

Members of this sect and other paramilitary agents have been planted in shops and other public places to suppress any discussion of Rodney's death and arrest those who disobey.

But despite a news blackout protest has been vocal and widespread.

A call by the Guyana Human Rights Association for a return to democracy and the rule of law immediately and for an inquiry into the murder has been signed by 20 trade unions and professional and church groups.

Mourners

However the appeal also criticises 'ordinary people' for their failure to "take their civic responsibilities seriously" and points to a last opportunity to 'reconstruct a peaceful society'!

In defiance of government orders forbidding attendance at the funeral, 30,000 mourners carrying banners and shouting slogans accusing the government of murder marched 12 miles from Buxton to the Georgetown cemetery.

Students and staff at the state-run University of Guyana have been on strike since the death, continuing a long battle which started months ago when Burnham opposed Rodney's appointment to the faculty.

What is needed is a political leadership capable of organising and leading the struggle, one which not only cuts across racial lines as the WPA does, but which also stands on a programme committed to the defence of the independent interests of the working class and poor peasantry, breaking once and for all with the class collaborationism which has traditionally riddled Guyanese politics.

This is a task the WPA has yet to undertake.

Indian bosses mourn Sanjay

In his masterly study of the rise of Louis Bonaparte, Marx anticipated the rise of Sanjay Gandhi when he set himself the task of demonstrating "how the class struggle in France created circumstances and relationships that made it possible for a grotesque mediocrity to play a hero's part".

Marx's materialist method of analysis and the insights that followed are as relevant today as in his own time.

The kernel of his message, however, contained one more universal law: how imperialist interests throw up leaders to ensure the preservation of class rule.

And it is this lesson that can be drawn out when looking at the political significance of Sanjay Gandhi's death.

Having re-emerged as the leading bourgeois party in India, Indira Gandhi's Congress (I) Party today confronts the task of dealing with the increasing combativity and strength of the undefeated working class.

Instability

Despite the mandate that instituted Gandhi in power, the Congress (I) is wracked by political instability.

The growing mass unrest in the North West continues to point to the problem of enforcing political control if the ruling class is to avoid national disintegration.

And it was in the repulsive figure of Sanjay Gandhi that the

ruling class had sought to cultivate a bonapartist leader, well aware of the incapacity of imperialism to guarantee bourgeois democracy.

Sanjay represented the wing of the ruling class most discontented with the trappings of 'democracy'—as was made manifest in his forced sterilisation campaign and bulldozing of squatter camps during the Emergency.

His key role in the recent rubber stamp assembly elections in securing the political authority of Congress (I) points further to the reliance invested in him by sections of the ruling class.

No doubt the bourgeoisie will recover from the loss of its potential 'hero' and after having expoused lyrical obituaries will adapt its interrupted strategy accordingly.

Tactical question

Whether this will include Maneka Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi or some unknown chief minister remains a purely tactical question for the ruling class.

In their day-to-day struggles the Indian working class and peasantry are held back principally by the Stalinist leadership which seeks to contain the class struggle behind cross-class, popular front policies.

It is only a based on Trotskyist programme based on the leading role and independence of the working class that can present a way out of the anarchic capitalist order and break the working class from its present counter-revolutionary misleaders in the fight for socialism.

Stalinist regimes face crisis

Price rises of basic foods followed immediately by labour unrest.

The pattern is a familiar one, and it occurred again last week in Poland.

Workers all over the country confronted managements angrily demanding pay increases to cover the newly raised prices of meat and other foods.

In many cases, according to reports, the terrified managements agreed to pay up—thus negating the whole purpose of the price rise which is to curb the standard of living of Polish workers.

The Party newspaper could only lament the state of the economy and call on the government to launch a programme of economic reform.

Last month's meeting of Comecon—together with growing reports of disruption of supplies and strikes in the Soviet Union—suggested that things are similar throughout the Stalinist-ruled states of Eastern Europe.

Difficulties

Last year their average rate of growth of production envisaged in their economic plans

was 4.7%.

The actual rate of growth achieved was less than half of this—only 2.3%.

The once boasting Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev was obliged to admit that the USSR was suffering significant economic difficulties.

Sanctions

He blamed them, needless to say, on the economic sanctions taken against the Soviet Union by the imperialist countries.

He did not, of course, mention the other possible sources of shortages and economic disruption—the vast diversion of economic resources into the Olympic Games in Moscow, and probably much more important, into the invasion of Afghanistan and the maintenance of the hard pressed army of occupation.

Brezhnev volunteered nothing at the Comecon meeting about how the Soviet bureaucracy would set about resolving these problems.

But his junior partners in Eastern Europe all gave evidence of moving rapidly in the same direction.

This involves abandoning the paraphernalia of Stalinist



Polish leader Gierki

centralised planning and turning towards the use of market forces and profitability criteria.

Speeches about the need for profitability, controls of consumption and rises in workers productivity from the mouths of Hungarian, Czech and Romanian leaders would not have sounded at all out of place from Thatcher or Barre.

From Brest to Vladivostok austerity is now the rule—always of course, for the workers.

Parasitic

Nothing could more clearly demonstrate that, contrary to Stalinist mythology, the greatest danger to the nationalised property relations in the developed workers' states is not the danger of imperialist attack but the sabotaging role of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy itself.

Opposed to revolutionary socialist solutions to the economic crisis that arises from the isolation of the workers' states, and in fear of mobilising the potential of their own working class, these bureaucrats turn instead to capitalist solutions and greater links with world imperialism.

This is why the fight for parties capable of leading the revolutionary political overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy is a paramount task of the world Trotskyist movement.



CP headquarters after riots in Poland 1970

ANGOLAN WORKERS FIGHT S. AFRICAN INVASION

Thousands of Namibia-based South African troops, backed up by massive artillery and air cover, invaded and occupied the southern provinces of Angola last month.

According to the MPLA regime in Angola, the invading force included 6000 troops, scores of tanks and long-range cannon, helicopter gunships and French Mirage fighter-bombers.

This is the biggest of the ongoing cross-border raids launched by the South African government since the full-scale invasion of 1975-76, when the S. African army, acting as the weapon of imperialism, failed in its bid to crush the new Cuban-backed MPLA regime that had come to power on the back of a mass mobilisation of Angolan workers.

Invading forces

Sources in SWAPO, the Namibian nationalist organisation, stated that the June 1980 invasion involved the largest S. African military operation since the second imperialist world war.

Last week the Angolan government reported that over 370 Angolan civilians had been massacred by the invading forces, which continued their sweep through Angolan territory, carrying out economic sabotage and installing the anti-MPLA forces of UNITA in strategic positions near the border.

This was denied by the S. African government, which claimed that its forces had withdrawn after successfully completing their mission—to smash SWAPO's military network in southern Angola.

Heavy blow

S. African generals claimed that nearly 400 SWAPO fighters were killed and hundreds of tons of equipment captured or destroyed, for the loss of 16 South African soldiers and one helicopter.

Despite the undoubted exaggeration in these blood-

stained boasts, the guerrilla army of SWAPO has clearly been dealt a heavy blow.

The indications are that S. African military chiefs were taken aback by the scale of resistance put up by SWAPO. But in the absence of determined support from MPLA and Angolan-based Cuban forces, the balance was heavily tipped against the SWAPO fighters.

The MPLA regime, and the Kremlin bureaucracy which supports it in the maintenance of capitalist relations in Angola, are incapable of providing consistent defence of SWAPO or Angola against S. African attack.

The MPLA government is driven into deepening reliance on imperialism by its inability to meet the demands of an increasingly militant Angolan working class.

The S. African government, with imperialist connivance, is thus able to exploit the instability of the MPLA regime. The military attacks are designed to increase MPLA pressure on SWAPO to further compromise in the anti-colonial struggle.

The Kremlin's concern is to



Botha

Angola as part of its world-wide military/diplomatic balancing act with imperialism.

So both reformists and Stalinists largely confined their response to the invasion to within the halls of the UN.

The courage of SWAPO fighters, contrasting sharply with the treacherous class collaboration of their leadership, found an echo in the militant solidarity aroused in the Angolan working class by the predatory attack of the apartheid-capitalist regime.

The fighting instincts of the Angolan proletariat were forcefully demonstrated last week in Luanda, the urban industrial heart of the country, when over 100,000 workers and youth turned out for a rally in protest against the invasion of Angola and in support of SWAPO and the ANC.

The combativity of the Angolan masses sounds a warning to the S. African regime and the imperialist powers, who cannot rely too far on the diversion and control of the working class by the MPLA and its Stalinist backers.

In showing their anger at the S. African attack and their solidarity with SWAPO guerrillas and with the struggles in Namibia and S. Africa itself, Angolan workers and youth are actively seeking a way forward in the struggle against imperialism.

Only revolutionaries armed with a Trotskyist programme and perspective can take forward this spontaneous class solidarity and anger as part of the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism in Angola under revolutionary proletarian leadership.

In taking up the defence of Angola and SWAPO, revolutionary Marxists must stand in the forefront of the military struggle against S. African imperialist aggression.



At the same time, they must take up the political struggle, against all currents of reformism and Stalinism, that is necessary to develop the political and organisational independence of the working class around a revolutionary programme and under a revolutionary leadership.

A key demand to be raised in today's conditions in Angola is for the arming of the working masses, and the fight must be taken up to develop a workers' militia to secure the immediate defensive tasks posed by external aggression, and to prepare the way for moving onto the offensive against state power.

In Namibia, the working class has emerged undefeated from a period of struggle in which the S. African state and its agents launched an offensive that effectively crushed SWAPO's internal organisation.

Steeled in the experience of struggle, and facing growing attacks on its already miserable living standards, the working class is charged with explosive militancy and combativity.

Confidence

The massive development of struggle in S. Africa must have dramatically strengthened the confidence of workers and youth in Namibia.

These developments pose a threat to the reformist ambitions of the SWAPO leadership. The reformist strategy of guerrillism is the central weapon of this leadership in its attempts to divert working class struggle and control militant workers and youth.

Guerrillism serves to turn the working class away from reliance on its own massive independent strength, towards reliance on the illusion of salvation by the guerrilla army (hand in hand with the UN).

And it acts at the same time as a militant cover for the reformists and Stalinists to draw militants away from the day-to-day struggles of their class and into the bureaucratic command in the guerrilla army.

While broad layers of the

working class look to SWAPO for leadership in struggle, military setbacks like the one suffered in the S. African invasion threaten to demoralise the working class.

And guerrilla actions—whether they involve military setbacks or gains—can divert and thus politically weaken the working class at a time when it is set to move into major open struggles against the state.

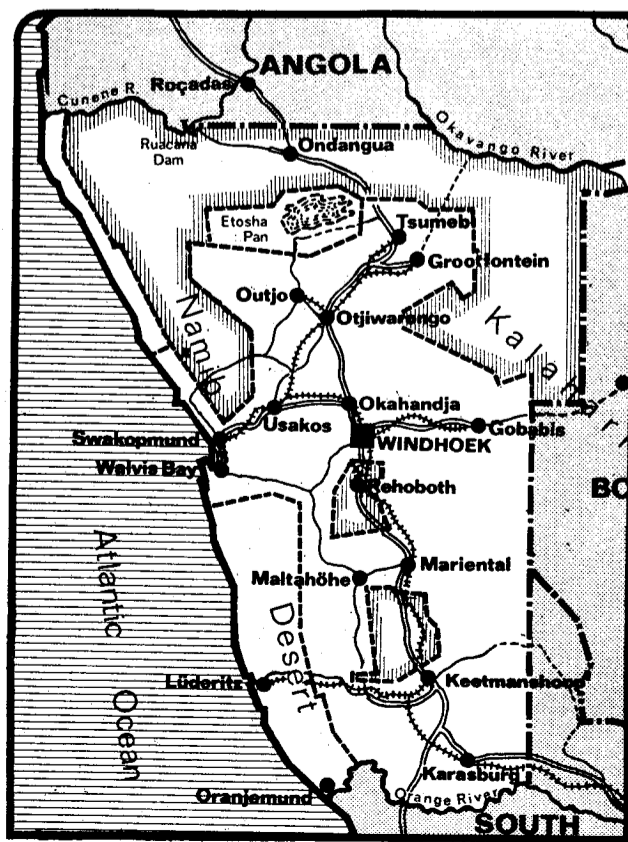
It is only by seizing on the consequences of reformist and Stalinist misleadership of the working class that the S. African state and imperialism can currently hope to secure state capitalist control in Namibia.

Last week the S. African government gave the tribalist-bourgeois DTA party a signif-

icant extension of political and military powers in Namibia.

At the same time as it seeks, with imperialist connivance, to strengthen its local agents, the S. African government is forced by the continuing strength of the working class to hold open the door to a form of incorporation of SWAPO into the administration of the capitalist state in Namibia.

The deepening crisis of political control posed for the S. African state and imperialism by the movement of mass struggle in Southern Africa—spearheaded by the mighty black working class of South Africa itself—provokes growing frenzy amongst the big bourgeoisie in its search for stable capitalist control.



NEW LEADERS NEEDED TO DEFEAT TORIES

180 delegates and visitors, representing a wide range of unions, cuts campaigns and Labour Parties, attended Saturday's Birmingham conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

Sacked for fighting bonus deal

Victimised shipyard electrician Arthur Pearse told the conference of his struggle to mobilise opposition to management's Value Added Bonus scheme at the Vosper Thornycroft yard in Southampton.

We must oppose all productivity deals on principle. We must fight instead for workers' control—with a management elected and answerable to the workforce, he said.

"I put out a leaflet opposing the VAB scheme. And despite a £100,000 publicity campaign, management lost the vote in the ballot".

"Because of this, I was sacked. I didn't expect promotion!"

Pearse went on to explain the way in which EETPU union officials intervened, and while admitting that Pearse had been victimised, persuaded the electricians in the yard that it was not necessary to strike in his support.

Instead there had been an industrial tribunal—in which the evidence of 16 witnesses was brushed aside: and an external conference, whose "impartial chairman" accepted by EETPU officials proved to be an ex-Vosper manager!

Now, with the first two stages of the VAB scheme having been imposed, Vosper workers are beginning to pay the price of this betrayal by the EETPU.

The third stage involves complete flexibility of labour and a war on hard-won conditions. And the British Shipbuilders pay date had been delayed to prevent joint action alongside the steel workers.

"Moss Evans is brought into friendly chats with BL boss Michael Edwardes because he starts, like Edwardes, from the need to preserve capitalism".

In this way Tony Richardson from the organising committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement opened its one-day conference on July 5 by highlighting the role played by the reformist trade union and Labour leaders.

"The crisis is not some kind of natural disaster in which we are 'all in it together'. It is a crisis of a specific system of production for profit", he went on.

Opposed

A society organised on the basis of exploitation and private profit cannot be planned. And the interests of the exploiters and the exploited are not united but opposed to one another.

To drive up the rate of profit for the employer means to drive up the rate of exploitation of the working class. This is why:

"There is no difference between arguing for import controls and arguing for speed-up on the lines. In each case it means fighting to increase employers' profits at workers' expense".

Richardson went on to expose the twin attacks embodied in the Tory policy of high interest rates.

"Money does not make money: only the exploitation of workers increases capital. The 17% interest rate must be extracted from the working class".

On the other hand the *Daily Telegraph* among others had underlined the Tory strategy of using the interest rate as a means of forcing employers to hold down wage settlements and attack their workers in order to survive.

Resistance

Echoing this, Michael Edwardes was now forcing the pace of attacks in BL's component suppliers—Lucas and Adwest.

But even with unemployment rocketing towards two million the Tories were meeting growing resistance from the working class, whose readiness to fight runs time and again into conflict with the timidity of union leaders in Steel, BL and the public services.

The CDLM conference, concluded Richardson, was designed as an arena within which workers could discuss the independent programme and what kind of new political leadership that are necessary to lead the struggle to defeat the Tories.

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



Lucas workers in Birmingham

contributions from the floor

Peter McIntyre (Oxford NUJ) described the fight at both national and local level for supporting action by journalists during the recent NGA dispute.

While the NUJ right wing argued for a position where each

individual should follow their conscience, NUJ members fighting for action at the Oxford Mail and Times had battled successfully for a united policy of support for the NGA.

Gerry Casey (Union of Com-

munication Workers, personal capacity) pointed to the continuous role of sabotage played by the union's right wing leaders.

During the Grunwick strike, it had been not the courts but the UPW leadership that halted supporting blacking action and actually fined those that had led the action.

And this year the same leadership had ignored a 6-1 ballot rejection and a clear conference majority in order to railroad through a productivity deal.

The fight for alternative policies means a fight for union democracy against Jackson and co, stressed Bro. Casey.

Dave Pinnington (TGWU, Cowley Assembly) explained that the latest pay negotiating structure agreed between Edwardes and top union bureaucrats means that no BL worker will have a voice in the annual review.

The whole of the BL workforce is now represented by a handful of full-time union officials!

Annie Pile of the Oxford Steel Strike Support Committee spoke of the struggle to force TGWU officials to give an explicit instruction that would stop lorry drivers crossing steelworkers' picket lines.

At first steel pickets at BL's

Cowley plants had used Moss Evans' directives to halt long lines of lorries: but local TGWU officials had then intervened, and eventually National Organiser Ron Todd called for a halt only to supplies of raw steel, oil and gas.

As a result no major industrial plants had been halted by the steel strike.

Joe Quigley (GMWU, personal capacity), stressed the dangers of the new Tory Employment Bill. It is not true that this is any less dangerous than Heath's Industrial Relations Act, he argued.

"Coupled with the new Social Security Bill and the

Debate on policy

The line of the main conference resolution was challenged by two counter-resolutions from the Workers Power group, and by an amendment from the Socialist Labour Group, British section of the Parity Commission.

The speaker proposing the Workers Power resolution "For a Revolutionary Rank and File Movement" declared that the CDLM programme was "wrong and inadequate" on the question of women, in demanding nationalisation under workers management, and in calling for a General Strike to kick out the Tories.

Rank and file

Pointing out that "reformism saturates the working class at every level", he moved a document that pinned the blame not on the bureaucracy but on the "crisis of political leadership amongst the rank and file—at the level of shop floor militants", and which while in general simply echoing CDLM demands, specifically restricted its general strike demand to the objective of defeating the Tory Employment Bill.

A second Workers Power resolution, moved by Dave

Jenkins, called on the CDLM to fight for a "national rank and file conference" sponsored by labour movement bodies including the Stalinist-led LCDTU and the SWP front "Defend Our Unions Campaign".

These resolutions were opposed from the platform as diverting from the struggle against the bureaucracy in the unions, and offering what is in many instances a utopian and abstract organisational solution to the political problems facing the working class.

The Socialist Labour Group amendment was argued in the context of welcoming the CDLM conference and endorsement of the preamble of the draft resolution.

But the resolution was "abstract", claimed SLG speakers, because it failed to include the demand of "Labour to power".

Failing to raise this demand, they argued, let the Labour leaders off the hook.

Responding to this, Alan Clinton (Islington N. Labour Party, personal capacity) pointed out that while of course favouring a Labour victory over the Tories, to raise the unconditional slogan of "Labour to

power" without coupling it to the struggle for new leadership and for independent struggles left open the prospect of yet another Callaghan-Healey government.

"We do not demand simply a Labour government. We must fight to take up the question of the working class taking power. This means taking up the question of government in a dynamic way," stressed Clinton.

Returning to the same question in his summing up, Tony Richardson quoted from the Transitional Programme Trotsky's insistence that Marxists should not simply demand reformist leaders form a government independent of the bourgeoisie, but develop agitation for those demands which should form the programme of such a government.

This, argued Richardson, is the content of the CDLM demands to bring down the Tories, remove the Labour and trade union leaders who won't fight, and fight for a workers' government.

Both the Workers Power resolutions and the SLG amendments were defeated by the conference, which overwhelmingly carried the draft resolution.



Steel strikers outside the BL Cowley plant



Anne-Marie Sweeney

Joe Beckles

Action to stop the cuts

"There can be no clearer example of the crisis than 250,000 people homeless on the streets while building workers are on the dole and bricks are stockpiled", argued Anne Marie Sweeney (Oxfordshire Campaign Against the Cuts).

Introducing a discussion on the fight to halt the Tory onslaught on the public services, she went on to show the scope of the cuts—from school meals to closures of geriatric hospitals; from punitive charges for home help to cancellation of school crossing patrols.

"Impressive record"

Pointing to the inaction of the union leaders, she quoted from the latest S.E. Region TUC Report. This boasts of the "impressive record" of its Cuts Campaign Committee, which in fact consisted of producing "three bulletins", holding two conferences and lobbying the Tory Minister of State at the DHSS!

Meanwhile union leaders lifted not a finger to prevent the eviction of the Wandsworth nursery occupation, or the brutal break-up of the work-in at Derbyshire's Ettwall Hospital.

It is vital to fight for a policy of occupations linked to supporting strike action to stop the cuts, she argued.

A similar theme was taken up by Joe Beckles of St. Mary's Hospital Defence Committee, West London.

"Patients are workers!" he told the conference.

"People in hospital beds did not just come off flying saucers from Mars. They are people like us in this room".

It was not a question of "using" patients but fighting for their interests. A determined work-in had meant that St. Columba's Hospital in London is still open 15 months after its closure deadline.

Jane Atkins of Leicester Nursery Campaign underlined the refusal of union leaders (NALGO) to fight to defend and extend nursery provision.

Assemblies Bill now before Parliament, it amounts to a combined anti-working class strategy".

The divisions between employers on the Bill were based on the fact that it destroys a long established framework of collaboration between bosses and union officials.

Pat Lally (TGWU) pointed out that even before Prior's new Bill is passed through Parliament the Tories have spearheaded attacks on the shop stewards' movement (BL) on the closed shop (NGA dispute) and on the right to picket.

Andrew MacDonald (Socialist Youth League), speaking on youth unemployment, apologised for not being able to deal with the topic adequately in 5 minutes—because "it's a bloody big subject".

Labour movement

With 157,000 more school leavers joining the dole queues last month alone it is clear that the bosses' cannot control their own system.

There is no way out for youth through individual rebellion and protest. It is vital that a lead is given to draw young people into the labour movement in the fight to defeat the Tories, he said.

Roland Sheret (Stirling Trades Council, personal capacity) referred to the bureaucratic moves by the Scottish TUC to repress earlier moves to establish a Scottish conference of the CDLM, sponsored by Stirling Trades Council.

Welcoming this conference as one that set out to establish a clear Trotskyist programme for action, Sheret added that it was disappointing that the International Marxist Group had now ceased to support the CDLM. He went on to point out the



Roland Sheret high level of militancy in the working class as reflected in the recent ballot of the Scottish teachers' union, the EIS.

Offered a choice of three options on the next step in their struggle for an improved pay offer, the teachers had voted overwhelmingly to reject arbitration and to continue the strike action that last term hit Scottish schools. (See p.11).

Fighting Labour's leadership

Ted Heslin (TGWU), introducing the discussion on the fight for new leadership in the Labour Party, firmly linked the witch-hunt directed against himself and other socialists with the mass pressure mounting on the Party leadership.

Labour councils are being forced to oppose the cuts—but are instead carrying through savage rate and rent increases.

This is why sections of the Labour 'left' as well as the right wing are increasingly afraid of genuine socialist opposition.

Pat Funnell (Tunbridge Wells Labour Party, personal capacity) pointed to the special bureaucratic moves used to suppress discussion on Ireland.

Fight TUC line on Ireland

The CDLM conference saw a savage attack on the pro-imperialism of the Communist Party from the Secretary of Tameside Trades Council, Dave Hallsworth.

Subjectively they are the same as us, but objectively they are on the side of the state. When the question of the state is raised they are as quick to react as the National Front".

Hallsworth had taken his attack on the CP and the role they played in helping to witch hunt and disaffiliate Tameside into the Stalinist-dominated Liverpool Trades Council—where he caused an uproar.

When one CP member defended his Party with a reference to the work-in at Upper Clyde Shipbuilders Hallsworth had silenced him by rejoining:

"At Upper Clyde the CP got the working class to work for nothing and then mobilised the rest of the working class to pay the wages".

"We must challenge the credentials of the CP within the working class, in the factories where what they do all the time is dampen down struggles".

Hallsworth's struggle on Ireland is that of a class fighter.

Socialist Press and the CDLM both have major differences with him on the role of the Provisional IRA and particularly their bombing of civilian targets, but in his fight against petty bourgeois timidity and pacifism he is to be wholeheartedly supported.

"We fight on the basis of the right of the working class to armed struggle. The right of us to take up guns and explosives and use them against the exploiters".

He said that when a Merseyside Peace Council had been proposed he counterposed a Merseyside War Council—for class war!

The struggle for reaffiliation of Tameside by the TUC is one which must be taken up in every union and in every Trades Council.

Hallsworth sees the battle as lost in advance—an analysis which leaves out of account the effect on the bureaucracy of a struggle on the issue.

His experience has however given him insight into the workings of the British SWP. Despite the presence of three SWP members on Tameside Trades Council, just one short paragraph on the recall conference was all that was published in Socialist Worker.

Articles submitted by SWP members to the paper were never published, and a leaflet drawn up by one of the Manchester branches of the SWP was barred from being distributed by the SWP leadership.

This criminal refusal by the SWP to defend Tameside should be exposed. The SWP should explain why they have suppressed the struggle that has taken place and the line up of

forces, and why they have abandoned even their own comrades in that struggle.

We do not believe that identifying the IRA Provisionals with the Irish working class is either accurate or likely to develop a serious wide-spread struggle within the working class in Britain.

It abandons the Protestant working class to an eternal role as pro-imperialist and capitulates to petty bourgeois nationalism.

But if Hallsworth is seriously wrong on this question he has shown that he has himself established a record as a class fighter on Ireland and one who must be unconditionally defended in his



Dave Hallsworth

clash with the traitors of the TUC and their line up with imperialism.



Support for workers in struggle

Two speakers from long-running strikes were given a warm welcome by the Conference.

Pat Brennan from GEC Traction in Birmingham told of the 9-week unofficial struggle by 140 EETPU members against speed-up and against victimisation carried through with the collaboration of their area official.

And Jean Dukes from Adwest related their 9-week fight for official TGWU support after the victimisation of the TGWU convenor, stewards and 58 other workers at the plant.

"We need mass pickets—both to stop production and to embarrass our officials into giving us support", she stressed.

A collection at the conference raised £50 for each dispute.



Jean Dukes

PRESS GANG



The identification of sporting prowess with national prestige is something the press works hard at.

In Britain the use of sporting events as part of anti-Sovietism is a long practiced art which has reached its pinnacle in the Moscow Olympics.

But it is not just the Olympics. For the past two years Martina Navratilova has provided the Wimbledon writers with a fruitful source of copy—as if it was only by rejecting the Czechoslovakian state that she had perfected her forehand drive.

There was no such opportunity at Wimbledon 1980. Instead there was a curious contradiction which should be causing some second thoughts in Fleet Street, particularly in the gutters where the Mail, the Sun and the Express are produced.

The Wimbledon women's champion, Yvonne Cawley, prompted a string of clichéd headlines (The Queen Mother, Mother's Day) which show that where women are concerned, even athletic perfection will be twisted to confront them with their role as wives and mothers.

It was the role as wives which brought forth the contradiction.

Both Mrs Cawley and Mrs Lloyd are married to British men. As British players had been eliminated from the competition by the first day of the second week, the press

found in this a sort of second-hand chauvinism.

Australian and American the tennis players might be, but they couldn't have won (as Navratilova remarked) unless they had been married to Englishmen!

But the same papers which made most of this distinction are those which have campaigned against the right of women to confer British nationality on their foreign-born husbands.

If Borg and McEnroe were to marry British women, they would presumably be deported in the middle of the second set for overstaying.

Chess, too, has been a happy hunting ground for the anti-Soviet crusaders. But since Bobby Fisher hung up his rooks, this has been blunted by the fact that the Soviet player Karpov has proved himself the best in the world.

Skulduggery

The failure of Korchnoi to unseat him in the world championship contest was treated as confirmation of Soviet skulduggery.

Since then chess writers, who include some (like Keene) whose anti-Sovietism reaches the point of hysteria, have put it about that Karpov is a second rate champion, that his play is boring and that he is sure to be toppled.

An article by Leonard Barden in the Guardian gives the lie to this.

He points out that in terms of major tournament results Karpov has already proved himself the "most active and con-

sistent reigning champion of all time".

He explains the campaign by saying that: "a reserved, physically slight, well behaved Soviet citizen is difficult to fit into our heroic stereotypes in the West".

But even by the standards of British press reporting, an article in last Saturday's Telegraph must take the biscuit.

Under a front page headline: "Coe becomes Soviet weapon in games row", the paper sought to defuse the explosive event which will take place in Moscow—the struggle between Coe and Ovet to see who is the fastest middle distance runner in the world.

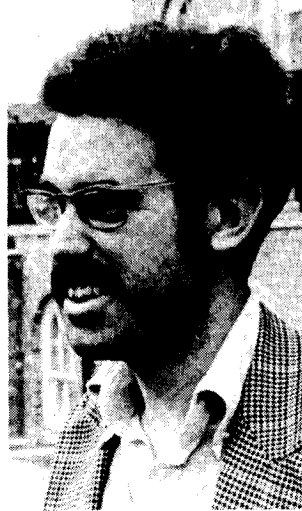
This race, which has caught the imagination of the British public like few others is certain to undermine any amount of campaigning against the Moscow Olympics.

Tass has reported Coe as condemning Thatcher and saying that it was a true sign of patriotism to stop the government bringing still further disgrace on Britain.

The Telegraph stated: "His remarks were reported in several newspapers and magazines. But the general feeling was that Coe, despite his courageous world breaking run in the 1,000 metres, was unwell at the time".

At the time he broke the world record Coe was hailed as being at the peak of physical condition.

What would the Telegraph have Mrs Thatcher do? Commit Coe to a mental hospital for the duration of the Olympics? That would really teach the Soviet Union a lesson!



Ted Heslin

1969: CASTLE'S BACKSTAGE DEAL WITH THE TUC

ALAN THORNETT
behind the decision of
to proceed with its ant

In June 1969 a TUC Special Congress voted to endorse a document undertaking to police the unions and stamp out unofficial disputes, using disciplinary measures against militants.

This "Programme of Action" was a public betrayal of the fight against the Wilson government's White Paper "In Place of Strife", drawn up by Barbara Castle.

But this public betrayal was nothing compared to the TUC's scandalous activities behind the scenes.

While the battle was being waged by socialists to mobilise the working class against the measures, the TUC was conducting a breathtaking series of cynical deals in secret meetings with the government.

None of these stitch-ups were known at the time, to those of us involved in the struggles.

The publication of Barbara Castle's diary in the *Sunday Times* in January of this year has given us a glimpse of these manoeuvres and the relationship between the personalities involved.

White Paper

She reveals that she had decided very early on to fully involve the TUC leaders in her plans.

As soon as she had completed drafting her White Paper in mid December 1968 she made her move. She saw that the key to the situation was George Woodcock, General Secretary of the TUC. This assessment was to stand her in good stead:

"In the afternoon I see George Woodcock alone. [Woodcock of course was still General Secretary of the TUC at that time but was in the process of handing over to Vic Feather].

"On impulse I have decided to take him completely into my confidence about what I am proposing to do over Donovan. He listened to my full resume in silence and then, to my surprise, said that he didn't think there was anything there that need alarm the trade union movement.

"I could hardly believe my ears! But he urged me to take the TUC Finance and General Purposes Committee equally fully into my confidence."

She goes on:
"This shook me rather as I know that whatever I tell them will leak".

'Dividends'

But Woodcock pressed the point. Castle conceded the point and explained:

"He knew I would be taking a risk . . . but he was sure it would reap dividends . . . Just before he left I remarked casually that, after Christmas, I should want to talk to him about the chairmanship of the CIR [Commission on Industrial Relations]. He tried to keep his face dead pan at this but his eyelids flickered and I could almost feel his hopes rising".

This eagerness of Woodcock to feather his own nest is particularly astounding when you consider that the CIR was not even set up at that time.

It was a part of Castle's package of proposals—and therefore would only be set up if the proposals went through.



Wilson with Castle

The bait had drawn the fish. Obviously if Woodcock was already considering becoming chairman of the CIR there was no chance of him opposing her measures.

Following this private conversation with Woodcock, Barbara Castle met the TUC F&GP in December.

The purpose of the meeting was to outline to them her proposals—her all-out attack on the basic rights of the working class.

She opened the meeting by asking these leaders of the working class for an assurance of confidentiality. This was not very difficult as the Diary explains:

"Then George said they all accepted a pledge of confidentiality. So I went ahead . . . The atmosphere as I talked was quiet and serious. Even the questions were muted and there were certainly no attacks. Frank Cousins frowned a good deal while George played it dead pan. Nonetheless I was under no illusions as to what would happen when the press closed in on them."

In fact some of it did leak to

the press and Castle was mildly embarrassed.

But she was quite clear that this was a meeting of monumental importance and the prior commitment of these key union leaders to her plan was



Woodcock

far more important than embarrassment or protocol.

The future was to prove her correct.

As an ex 'left' and Tribuneite Castle had a very good grasp of the necessity to carry the trade union 'lefts' with her.

She also knew the damage they could do if they opposed her proposals. She had already assessed AUEW President Hugh Scanlon as the main 'left' in the unions.

Co-operative

She had worked closely with him in breaking the Girling strike only weeks before. At that time she wrote:

"Hughie was most co-operative and agreed to intervene himself with the strikers if a meeting could be arranged.

"He is an odd chap. I can't help liking him and he is worth 20 Johnnie Boyds anyway . . . I'm ready to sup often with Hughie but I will never take a short spoon".

The Parliamentary 'lefts' were no more of a problem. She

rang Tony Benn who greeted her "cheerfully" with the words "I'm your friend".

This cryptic comment was soon to blossom into whole-hearted support for Castle and her anti-union plans.

Still sticking closely to Woodcock, on January 2 1969 she jointly met the TUC and the CBI about her proposals.

Naturally the CBI said they though the proposals were very good but should go further. Then she explains:

"After the meeting my people smuggled George Woodcock into my room and I formally offered him the chairmanship of the CIR. Although he carefully controlled his reactions I could see his eyes light up. He repeated that he thought the White Paper was excellent. And he went on almost passionately to say that I had given the trade union movement the opportunity he had always wanted . . . and clearly inferred that my penal clauses would be an incentive for the unions to do the job themselves".

When she presented her White Paper to the Labour cabinet there was a very



Mass lobby of the TUC Special

curious line-up.

The main opposition to it came from Callaghan. He said the penal clauses were "futile" and "harmful".

Benn and Healey on the other hand strongly supported Castle and Jenkins felt the measures should be brought in much quicker than Castle planned.

The Cabinet line up was: For—Wilson, Thompson, Gardener, Short, Shackleton, Peart, Jenkins, Benn, Stewart and Thomas; Against—Mason, Crossman, Ross, Shore, Marsh and Callaghan.

Manoeuvring

Later, on the NEC of the Labour Party, Benn voted "unhesitatingly" with Castle on a motion supporting the White Paper—which was defeated 15-6.

On January 7 the General Council of the TUC—the official public one this time—came out against the White Paper.

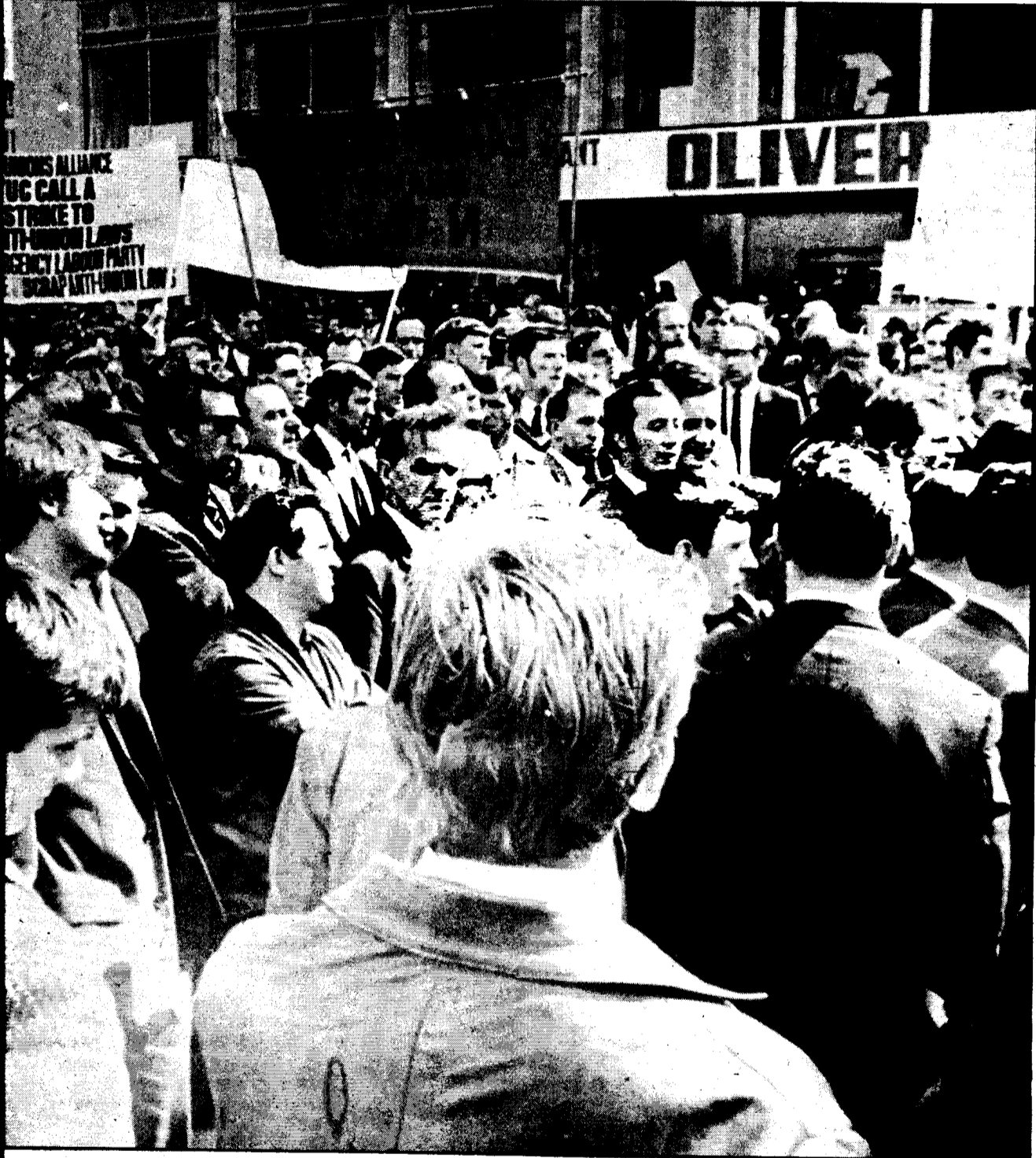
They agreed a unanimous resolution sharply condemning it, moved by TGWU leader Frank Cousins and seconded by

AIRS

examines the manoeuvres of the Wilson government not union legislation in 1969



Strong supporter of In Place of Strife, Benn



Congress at Fairfield Halls

Danny McGarvey. Castle explains that even at that meeting there was manoeuvring behind the scenes. Vic Feather, she says, rang the government secretly to assure them that everything would be OK despite the resolution and advising her to play it cool. He told them that Woodcock had lectured the General Council that day saying that they would never improve industrial relations unless there were sanctions to give backing to any proposals which were made. Castle responded saying: "That's all fine and dandy, but I get a little tired of hearing trade union leaders talk sense in private whilst attacking us in public for doing the very things they know must be done". By late January Feather had been taken over from Woodcock—both in public and in the now developing back stairs collaboration. On the very day he became General Secretary he dined privately with Castle in an exclusive hotel and pledged himself to help get the legislation

through in any way he could. Castle urged him to "keep contact like this". "I think he may turn out to be a great General Secretary", she wrote! Feather however was not as agile as Woodcock in maintaining a double face. Shortly after his meeting with Castle, he wrote two scathing articles attacking In Place of Strife—one in an employers magazine and the other in a Soviet trade union magazine. Castle panicked and arranged another private chat. She explains that: "He seemed quite surprised that I should take his articles seriously". After all, this was merely what he was saying in public. Surely a politician of her experience didn't believe he meant what he said in public? Didn't she know that this was simply for the consumption of his membership? To allay her fears, he assured Castle that he would "Make a constructive speech on the White Paper at the Executive meeting on February 27". "It'll be alright, luv," he patron-

ingly reassured her. Meanwhile a battle had been taking place in cabinet circles on the advisability of bringing in a short Bill quickly, which would simply contain penal clauses. This was the Jenkins line. Wilson had argued that this would force the pace with the TUC who were still opposing the White Paper in public despite their secret deals. Eventually Castle conceded to this and began the drafting of a short Bill. **Complication** Then a complication arose which meant that it never got off the ground. A quarter of a million workers struck on May 1—despite the efforts of the TUC to defuse the issue. Urgent consultations were held. It was decided that, given this demonstration of hostility to the White Paper, the Government should not escalate the situation by drafting the short Bill, but should place reliance on the TUC, work with them as closely as possible and await the outcome of the June 5

Special Congress. The TUC leaders, of course, were only too ready to comply. As soon as Feather had completed the draft of his sell-out document—brazenly entitled "A Programme for Action"—ready for Croydon on June 5, he sent Castle a copy. She quickly arranged a secret meeting with them to discuss it. The document called on individual unions to accept responsibility for and to discipline their members involved in strikes. It also called for changes to the TUC rules to empower the TUC to ensure that they met the commitment. In order to push the TUC as far as he could, Wilson argued that their document was not strong enough in a number of respects. Castle records: "Under pressure Vic admitted that the TUC document had 'soft edges', but maintained that if he had taken his proposals any further he wouldn't have got away with it. But he added, encouragingly, 'I don't mind how diamond hard you go, so long as it comes

from you" ". In other words, Feather was saying screw the working class, but don't reveal that I have been collaborating with you to do it! Wilson's pressure failed to produce changes and he proposed that there should be a further meeting before Croydon. It should, he said, be: "Strictly private discussions with a few key TUC people of which not even the General Council would know". Not even fellow trade union bureaucrats should know—let alone the working class, who they all purport to represent! Castle said she was about to go on holiday but would return for the talks when they were arranged. It turned out that she had certainly planned a sumptuous holiday—on Charles Forte's yacht in the Adriatic. Here was a Labour Minister engaged in anti-union legislation and defending herself by saying she was strongly pro-trade union and that her legislation was designed to strengthen the unions, taking a holiday with a viciously anti-union millionaire employer on his luxury yacht off the Italian coast.

Corrupted This was the real face of Castle and the real face of the government compromised and corrupted in the most crude way by capitalism. Forte gave Castle, her husband Ted and fellow minister Richard Crossman who accompanied them, the most lavish treatment. He even flew out the head waiter of the Cafe Royal to wait on them—something which he did extremely well according to Castle. Nothing is too good for services rendered! On June 1 Castle was indeed called from her luxury playground to a secret meeting with the TUC.

The meeting was at Chequers. Jack Jones (who had now fully taken over as TGWU General Secretary from Frank Cousins) was there and so was Scanlon. Feather had pressed Castle to try to persuade Wilson that the TUC could go no further than the terms of the "Programme for Action". The atmosphere, she says, was positively "jovial". "You would never have guessed that Hughie Scanlon had just come from a speech declaring all out war on us!" She went on: "The roast duck having been despatched with relish Harold got down to business. 'How do you see things now, Vic?' ". She explains that at first there was argument—but then "over the brandy" things began to "crystallise out". "Hughie" was very frank: " 'Let's face reality', he said, 'The question isn't whether our scheme works or your scheme works. It is the fact that our people won't accept government intervention' ". "He reminded us that he was personally in a very difficult position having led his people in all out opposition to the White Paper. "Moreover, he faced an election for the Presidency and he could be accused of a 'volte face' ". "But he was prepared to back the TUC whatever the cost".

Feather again argued that Wilson should accept the TUC "Programme for Action" in its existing form. If the government was not prepared to accept this, the TUC would not accept the Bill. Feather even had the cheek, having consistently opposed it, to threaten Wilson with "more action like May 1" if the government went ahead! Although Wilson made no reply, he clearly knew that the deal had been struck and the document as it stood would be adopted at Croydon. So the trap was set for the working class. The government had proposed legislation. The TUC had publicly condemned it but agreed privately that it was necessary. A conference had been called on June 5 to "oppose" the White Paper—but a deal had already been cooked up behind the scenes worthy of Charles Forte's Cafe Royal chef. The TUC had volunteered to do the job themselves, and police the working class on behalf of capitalism. Before the Croydon conference even took place the outcome was already cut and dried.

The vote went in favour of Feather's "Programme for Action"—and within two weeks, after some ritual haggling, Castle's In Place of Strife was withdrawn by the government—in favour of "A Programme for Action". The Croydon deal and the period of In Place of Strife, in which trade union and Labour leaders each struggled to help capitalism through a period of deep economic crisis, have had far reaching consequences for the working class in Britain. Edward Heath came to power in June 1970 and began the preparation of the Industrial Relations Act, a piece of legislation more far-reaching than In Place of Strife but built firmly on the foundations laid by Barbara Castle. The secret ballot principle was taken up by the Tories. But probably the most lasting effect of In Place of Strife on the working class was in cementing the long term political collaboration between the trade union leaders and the Parliamentary leaders of the Labour Party in government. Both of these wings of reformism accepted the employers' argument that in a time of crisis the answer is not socialism but for someone to discipline and attack the working class—whether this be the government and the employers or the union leaders themselves. This did not show up so clearly during the life of that particular Labour government, which only lasted a year after Croydon. But it was to dominate the relationship between Wilson and the TUC when the Labour government was reelected in February 1974 following the oil crisis, the three-day week and even deeper levels of economic crisis. Jack Jones, having cut his teeth on the sell-out of 1969 emerged as the lynch pin of four stages of harsh wage controls under the "Social Contract", backed by Scanlon who had swung sharply to the right after his involuntary confrontation with Heath's Industrial Court. Nor did the union leaders forget or renege on the pledge offered to Wilson and the British capitalists by Vic Feather at the 1969 Croydon conference: "Where workers defy these [TUC] committees individual unions would have to commit themselves to taking action under their own rules".

Within months of the return of Wilson to office in 1974 Jack Jones had set a cracking pace in establishing close collaboration with major employers such as British Leyland—and in attempting a "clean up" of the union through the witch-hunting of militants. In April 1974 my victimisation as deputy convenor at Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant signalled the drive of a nationally-coordinated start by Jones and the union bureaucracy to "reorganise" the union in the BL plant with the most principled leadership in the corporation, and thus create best conditions for management to increase exploitation throughout BL. In 1978 we again came under attack from the union leadership after securing the ballot defeat of the right wing convenor installed in 1974. We were forced to fight the successful 15 month "Cowley 9" struggle against expulsion from the TGWU. Now in 1980, Edwardes' imposition of the 5%-with-strings pay offer and rigidly centralised bargaining stands on the foundations laid by Jack Jones in the early period of "workers participation" and the Social Contract in 1974. Barbara Castle may never have seen In Place of Strife in the statute books: but with the aid of reformist union leaders—whose first concern is for the viability of British capitalism—she has helped to shackle and impede the working class in today's struggles in defence of jobs and wages. In this way a leading Labour 'left' has done her small bit to help the Thatcher government's offensive. It is now up to today's militants to draw the inescapable political conclusion: that only a principled revolutionary leadership, basing itself firmly on the fight for the independent interests of the working class, can today defend the most basic rights against attack.

The union that fought to overthrow capitalism

JOHN DOCHERTY reviews two new films, 'The Wobblies', a documentary film by Steward Bird and Deborah Shaffer, 89 minutes, colour, USA, 1979, and 'Dawson J', a film by Don Mason and Nicky Mallenson, 35 minutes, colour, GB, 1980, currently showing at the ICA Cinema in The Mall, London.

These two films are well worth seeing or hiring for meetings.

This is not because they are perfect either in their form or their politics, but because they raise questions and tell of things that should be known.

The Dawson J film is about the victimisation of a shop steward, and his struggle against management, union bureaucracy and media.

It uses the clever device of portraying the whole struggle through the eyes of police surveillance.

However, it does not show much of the struggle itself beyond stating the factors at work, introducing the main protagonists and showing the discussions in the front room of the victimised militant.

Mass media

The only theme discussed comparatively fully, though only through conversations is the attitude to the mass media.

Here we are given the arguments for having

nothing to do with the capitalist press and TV.

The view we are left with is not so much that this is because the media act as ruling class agents but because their techniques and form make it impossible for them to present in a serious way the views of industrial militants.

"The Wobblies"

The other film is about a great movement of the proletariat of the United States in the early years of this century, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) alias the "Wobblies".

The IWW was a trade union that organised a million American workers from 1905 to the 1920s. But it was a union with a difference. It aimed to overthrow capitalism.

The film chooses to tell this story largely around interviews with survivors of the movement, some now over 90. None of them regret the struggles they

were in, and all of them remain socialists, or, as they would prefer, 'rebels'.

This particular film technique allows the story to be told in a very moving way. A militant stands against the backdrop of the ruined mill where he worked over sixty years ago, and tells how they brought the workers out on strike, how their local leaders were 'framed' and how the great Big Bill Haywood came to take over.

We see rather matronly old women talk of how at the age of 16 or 17 they went from factory to factory to organise workers into the IWW and how they fought for the overthrow of the capitalist system and for 'sabotage', by which they apparently meant go-slow working.

Limitations

Yet the technique of the film also has its limitations.

Some of the incidents in the history of the IWW

are a little confused, like the event in the State of Washington when a number of Wobblies were murdered on a boat by the National Guard.

Also, though many of the old militants show themselves well aware of the issues, there is little serious discussion of the political ideas of the IWW.

The Wobblies represented the first serious effort to organise the mass of American workers in the face of the craft exclusiveness and pro-capitalism of the old unions in the American Federation of Labour.

They organised many heroic battles against the textile monopolies, the big farmers and the port employers.

They restored dignity to members of every downtrodden section of American society, recent migrants, poor women, lumberjacks and blacks.

They made propaganda for socialism against the pretensions of the religious charlatans, the violence of the police and National Guard and the corruption of the capitalist politicians.

Yet they faded away under the impact of the First World War and the vicious repression that followed it.

The film tried to explain this decline, and the defeat of the Wobblies simply in



Painting of early US industrial struggles and IWW leaders

terms of this repression and new internal divisions.

But there was more to it than that. Because the IWW thought that the unions themselves could overthrow capitalism, they were unable to provide a political perspective for their members.

Thus as the film points out, they took no attitude to the First World War.

The result was that their members did not know how to confront it.

One of the filmed militants actually joined the army, but he now sees it was 'stupid'.

Because the IWW did not see the struggle politically they could not in the end fulfil the hopes they implanted, by challenging capitalism. Nor were they able to maintain their organisation in the face of repression.

But for all their limitations, the Wobblies were the heroes of their day. Every American mass struggle of the working class since refers back to them. It is the strength of this film that it shows their heroism, their heritage, and makes it possible to consider their limitations and understand their defeat.

SPLIT IN BRAZIL CP

Article extracted from *Politica Obrera*

Through the medium of a violent letter, the Brazilian Stalinist leader Luis Carlos Prestes has declared his break with the Central Committee of his party.

According to Prestes:

"The moment had arrived in which it is indispensable that the communists break with passivity and take the destiny of the BCP in their hands, rebelling against the arbitrary and authoritarian methods of the leadership and trying to elect at all party levels, leaderships that really will be the democratic expression of the majority of communists".

At various committee levels there are already two communist parties functioning.

Formally Prestes seeks to place himself to the left of the leadership, who he accuses of leading the party to:

"Abdicate its revolutionary role, and assuming the position of a brake upon the popular movements, of (acting as) a guarantor of a pact with the bourgeoisie".

Nevertheless the strategy proposed by the secretary-general of the BCP doesn't differ from the classic Stalinist formulation of revolution by stages, envisaging a revolution that wouldn't be socialist, but "anti-monopolist and anti-latifundist".

Prestes agrees with the proposal by the present leadership to form a (bourgeois) "democratic front" and to summon workers to join the bourgeois opposition party—PMDB.

The only concrete political

difference that Prestes indicates in relation to the present CC is his favourable position towards a "union of the left" as a "motive force" of the "democratic front".

The majority of the left organisations are already to be found inside the Labour Party—a workers' party led by a section of the Brazilian union leadership.

In this sense the "union of the left" is a proposed alternative directed against the Labour Party: the CP opposed it from the outset and Prestes doesn't show any sign of a change in that respect.

The call for "left unity" indicates an alliance with the MR-8, an old guerrillaist splinter group which recently renounced armed struggle while keeping its never-abandoned position of revolution by stages—that is, tailing the bourgeoisie.

It has some positions in the student movement and the PMDB.

Prestes seeks to incorporate this sector in the CP to augment his base for manoeuvre in relation to the next congress of the CP.

The split in the CP revolves around differences over the best way to contain the revolution and adapt to the bourgeoisie, and this is the key trick played upon the Brazilian left, which has rushed to greet the "left" turn of Prestes.

Apparently such differences were initiated around a balance sheet of 1964: one believed that the "correct" line ought to have been an even broader alliance with diverse bourgeois sectors, the right included, in a type of

"historic compromise".

Thus some CP members—a minority—would have adhered to the Euro-communist theses of the Italian CP.

Nevertheless the whole of the Brazilian CP has supported, without limits, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

The anti-Prestes sectors increasingly understand however that an automatic alignment with all the positions of the Kremlin bureaucracy would compromise the solidity of their long-for long-term agreement with the bourgeoisie as a whole.

They also seek a distancing from Castroism—which is now clashing with the "progressive" bourgeoisies of the Andes Pact (the Peruvian Embassy affair).

Prestes on the other hand is a faithful Moscow man, and poses the unconditional support for the Soviet bureaucracy as a priority.

The perspective of the present rupture of the BCP therefore, is not of the Prestes faction moving closer to revolution but of an increasing likelihood of the break up of Brazilian Stalinism.

This splitting opens up a good opportunity for the development and growth of the Labour Party, because it puts in relief the rotten anti-working class strategy of supporting the bourgeois PMDB.

The militants of the Labour Party must take advantage of the crisis for the building of an authentic class party, which isn't possible without a clear demarcation from Stalinism and its policy of propping up the bourgeois state.

One mustn't forget that the Brazilian CP has a history going back more than 50 years.

It is the main reason for the non-existence of a mass workers party in the country; and its policies have been a key factor in the repeated defeats and frustrations of the Brazilian working class in recent decades.



Student protest in Sao Paulo, Brazil

Fighting policies for US carworkers

The 1980 UAW Constitutional Convention faces one of the greatest crises since the formation of the union in the 1930s. For the second time in less than ten years, nearly 35% of American auto workers have been thrown out of work, many with no prospect of returning to a re-opened plant.

And the massive assault on hundreds of thousands of auto workers and their families has just begun.

SUB [Supplementary Unemployment Benefit] payments are certain to run out even at GM and Ford, and the plant shutdowns have just started. According to Chrysler Executive Vice President Harold Sperlich, in the May 26 issue of *Forbes*, the auto industry needs to shut down another 30 plants to be more "competitive" in the market.

These permanent shutdowns (the auto bosses discuss them openly) would decimate the auto industry in much the same way as plant closures in steel during the last 10 years.

Fraser, Peanuts and Import Controls. In the midst of the deep depression in auto, UAW President Doug Fraser and all those officials who support his regime have absolutely no serious programme for putting UAW members back to work.

The deepening depression hit the auto industry particularly hard. Workers still had to buy food and energy, but they could and did put off buying new cars.

The situation will get worse before it gets better. Unemployment (measured by official figures) should rise to eight or nine per cent by year-end. Inflation will be down some by then, but real wages will still be falling. Living standards will continue to decline for both employed and unemployed.

There may be some recovery toward the end of 1981 but the recovery will be short-lived. The 1980s will be grim for UAW members and for workers generally.

(...)

World War

Protectionism would be another big step on the road to depression, fascist terror and world war.

Working people will find no solutions on that road. But US workers, fighting alongside German, Japanese, Brazilian and South African workers, can create their own workers' solutions to the capitalist crisis.

Many of these solutions can be found in the militant traditions of the UAW.

Inflation. The problem of inflation can be solved through a full and unlimited cost-of-living allowance (COLA) to replace our present, partial and inadequate COLA. COLA increases should be determined by workers' committees in the unions (not by the bosses' government).

Layoffs and Plant Closings. The problems of layoffs and plant closings can be solved by dividing the available work among the available workers, with no loss in pay.

This is the idea behind the traditional UAW demand of "30 for 40" (30 hours work for 40 hours pay) which even local union officials like Frank Runnels claim to back.

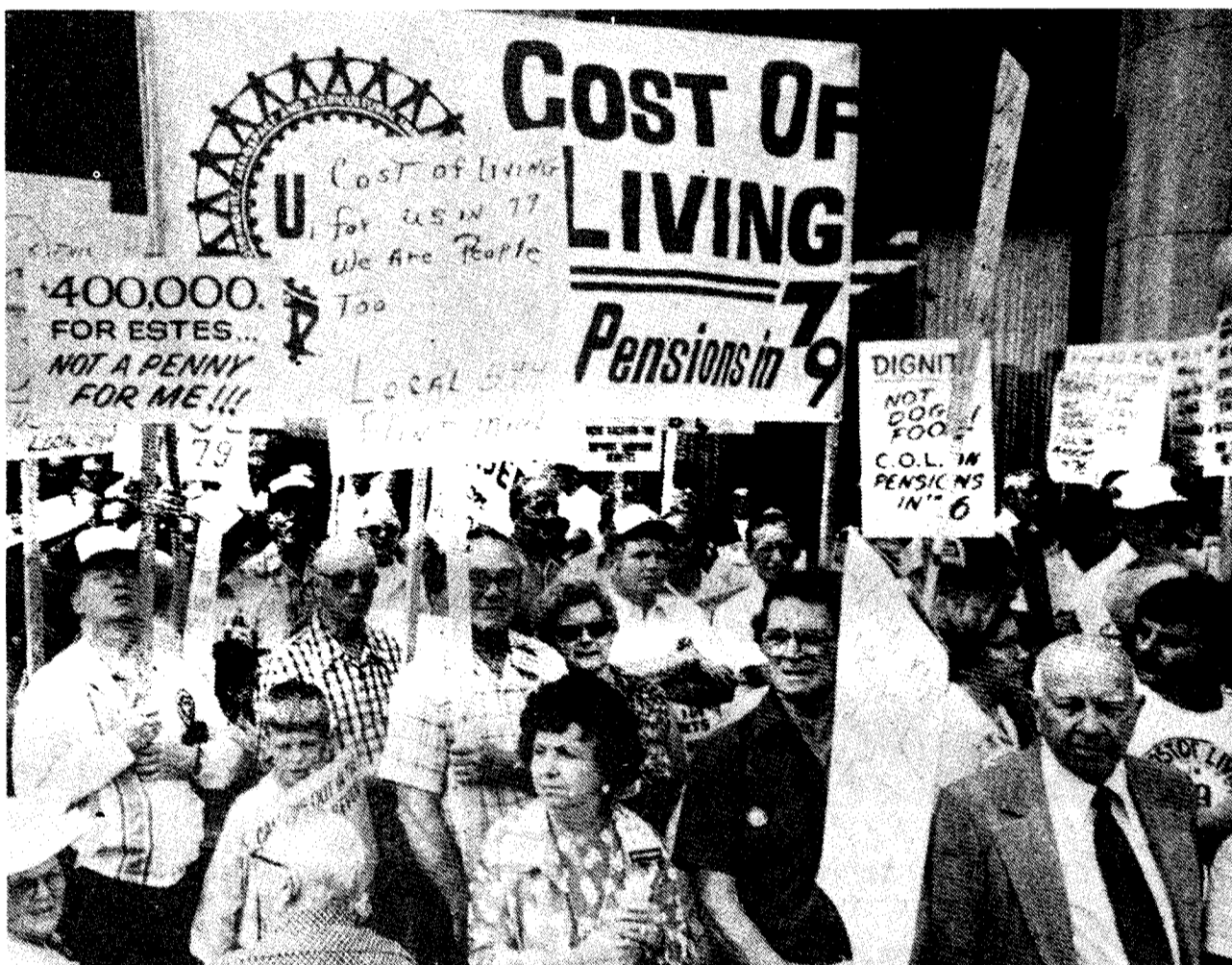
Ban overtime

Combining a sliding scale of hours with a ban on compulsory overtime and retirement at full pay after 20 years would eliminate general unemployment in the auto industry.

Specific layoffs and plant closings could be prevented through strike action, including mass picketing and plant occupations.

Speed-up. Slowing the lines

We reprint here from the June issue of *Labor News*, the paper of the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist) extracts from a joint statement to the Constitutional Convention of the United Auto Workers by the Socialist League and the Revolutionary Workers Group.



Auto workers campaign for cost of living increases.

down, hiring more workers, and renegotiating production standards to lower the work load, enforced by unlimited local and national right to strike, could eliminate speed-up.

Racism and sexism. Seniority access to all jobs and apprenticeship programmes, union control of hiring, recruitment and training, and getting foremen off the plant floor could greatly reduce race and sex discrimination on the job.

Bankruptcies. Chrysler and American Motors may object that they cannot afford a full COLA, "30 for 40" and the other measures we demand.

Open the books

Our union must force any bankrupt company to open its books. If it is unable to meet our demands, then the union should take it over. Expropriate the company without compensation to its wealthy owners, and let the workers control its operation through the union.

To answer the capitalist crisis with these workers' solutions will require very militant action. The UAW would have to pull its entire membership out on strike against the corporations and against their government.

We would have to call on the rest of the labour movement to back up our strike with a general political strike of the working class against the capitalist class.

Such a general strike would organise the entire working class in defence of its own interests.

It would break the resistance of the corporations and open the way to working class political power, a workers' government.

The failure of the trade unions to launch a workers party during the 1930s is today coming back to haunt the labour movement.

Fraser's attempt to "pressure" the Democrats by supporting Kennedy is not taken seriously even by Fraser himself. In the midst of the 1980 presidential election, Fraser and virtually all UAW officials are politically paralysed because of their continued support of the Democrats and Republicans.

UAW support for Carter in the last election has brought nothing but misery to UAW members. Pressure by UAW staffers to drop Kennedy and support Carter is ludicrous and despicable in the face of what Carter has done to American workers.

The only policy Fraser can muster is collaboration with the bosses to impose import controls against Japan and the rest of the world.

In most locals, including the Rouge, local officials are not fighting the companies to stop the shutdowns but are pushing for unity with the bosses against foreign auto workers.

This policy will continue to lead to longer unemployment lines and increased speed-up and exploitation of those workers left in the plants.

Instead of protectionism, American workers need international class solidarity against the bosses who are up to their

ears in foreign operations.

New Programme and Strategy. A new programme and strategy is needed if the UAW is to survive. The auto companies must be nationalized under workers' control (not just a token Fraser on the Chrysler board of directors).

Shutdowns must be stopped by workers who occupy the plants. The UAW, in every local and through the International, must begin running and supporting labour candidates for all offices including president of the U.S.

Delegates at this convention have the opportunity (despite the rigged mikes and controlled votes) to break with Fraser and begin the process of the election of officers who have principles and a programme to defend UAW members.

Forged in battle

Whether or not this happens at the 1980 convention, it is necessary and will come sooner or later. The later it comes the more violent it will be. The UAW was forged in battle and it will defend itself in battle, without the wimpering of the Frasers and Woodcocks.

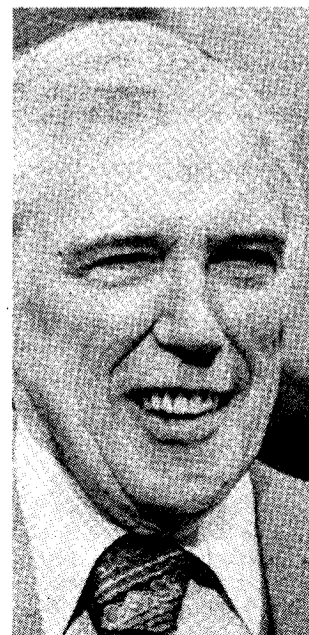
Why are more than one-third of all auto workers out of work? Why are the companies closing plants from Mahwah, New Jersey, to Detroit to Los Angeles? Why does the auto industry face depression conditions?

For years the U.S. auto companies have systematically refused to invest capital in

factories able to produce smaller, more fuel-efficient, better-made cars.

Because of this, Japanese, German and other foreign cars have been able to capture a fourth of the U.S. market. Chrysler (with its dinosaur Aspen/Volare) is legendary for mismanagement but Ford (fire-trap Pinto) and GM (tin-can Vega) are not far behind.

But the problem goes beyond capitalist mismanagement. The underlying cause of



Douglas Fraser



Carter

the auto crisis is the world capitalist-economic crisis.

With their profit rates down, the monopoly capitalists for several years have refused to invest, even while they have been pushing their prices sky-high.

Workers have been thrown out of work, while inflation has cut real wages by five per cent and more in each of the last several years. Workers borrowed money to keep up their living standards as long as they could, but in the end consumer demand collapsed along with investment demand.

Government cutbacks in social services make the problem even worse.

Labour Party

No Dems! Labour Party Now! Already in California, the head of the state AFL-CIO John Henning has been forced by rank and file pressure to call for discussion of the formation of a labour party.

100,000 California carpenters have called for the creation of a labour party now. This UAW convention can provide leadership to the entire American labour movement by refusing to endorse either of the big business candidates and by calling for a national conference of all labour to begin the formation of a labour party.

Resolution. Submitted by UAW Local 160 to the 1980 convention is a resolution calling for the formation of a labour party.

The passage of this resolution would only be a step forward for the UAW and the entire labour movement if the rank and file forces the bureaucrats to carry it out.

The rank and file must have full democratic control over the building of a labour party in order to give it a militant programme for workers' control and strict independence from capitalist parties.

"Alternative"

In Canada the UAW leadership backs the New Democratic Party (NDP) as a social-democratic "alternative" to the capitalist parties.

This is not enough, because the NDP is not directly controlled by the labour movement and its programme falls far short of what workers need.

Meanwhile, in the US, Fraser refuses even to break with the Democrats. American labour's continuing endorsement of the capitalist parties shows its backward position, even compared to Canada.

American unions should break with the Democrats and Republicans and build a workers' party to fight for a workers' government.

A workers government would have a policy and practice of nationalisation of major industries such as oil and auto under workers' control.

It would have a policy of spreading the work at full pay until every worker has a job and a decent income.

The rank and file membership of the trade union movement must have a direct say on all candidates and policies of a labour party if it is to truly represent the working people of this country.



NO PAY TALKS

AT LUCAS, CAV



Mass meeting of CAV Acton workers against redundancies in 1975

Not content with 3,000 redundancies in their Midlands factories, Lucas, the multi-national components company, is extending its attacks on the workforce on to the wages front.

As the crisis deepens it is perhaps reflected most sharply in the motor industry. As all the major motor firms announced cutbacks and redundancies it could only be a matter of time before the suppliers were affected.

In common with other exporters, Lucas blames the strong pound for falling sales overseas—but little mention is made of the fact that this is a direct result of the Tory govern-

ment's high interest rates. Falling sales in Britain are attributed to the fact that major customers are either on short time working or cutting back on production in some other way.

Stale old charge

This tale of woe inevitably ends up with the stale old charge that British workers are just not productive enough.

The logic of all this for the capitalists of course is to enforce speed-ups, redundancies and wage cuts in an attempt to restore their falling rate of profit.

The redundancies have already begun and last week saw the announcement of wage cuts

as Lucas told the unions that they were not prepared to offer more than 10%-12%.

Most workers employed by the company had submitted claims more in line with the rate of inflation, i.e. around 20%-30%.

These claims, the bosses maintain, are "completely unrealistic", and the offer they have made is a final one that they will not negotiate.

In a move designed to set sections of workers at each other's throats they have said they are prepared to discuss only how the money will be distributed between skilled and unskilled workers.

These tactics are being employed not only in the parent company but also in the subsidiaries as well. The course of events in one of these, Lucas CAV, may serve to illustrate the way they are operating.

but is forcing suppliers to increase exploitation of their workers on pain of losing contracts.

The employer has been softening up the workforce with propaganda about the lack of profitability of CAV for a considerable amount of time.



Edwardes

Attacks

Lucas CAV is involved primarily in the production of starters and diesel pumps for commercial vehicles. Its main customers are BL, Fords, Vauxhall and Perkins, all of which are mounting attacks on their own workforces.

BL has in fact instructed CAV not to put up its prices or BL will not trade with them any more.

Clearly Edwardes is not prepared just to lead by example

Attempts to reduce the workforce have met with some success as the unions have agreed to "natural wastage" and phoney early retirement schemes.

Hundreds of jobs have disappeared over the last year or two.

Having laid the ground carefully the bosses moved in last week. In an unprecedented move, senior management in CAV met with all of the senior

trade unionists, both staff and manual, from all of the CAV factories in the country.

In all, about 70 trade unionists met with Bob Lucas, the managing director of CAV and the managers of each of the plants.

After giving a lecture on the depth of the capitalist crisis and why it was all the fault of the working class, management issued their ultimatum.

There would be no negotiations on this year's pay and the employers would offer a package which would be all the company could afford and would be impossible to increase through any bargaining.

Under questioning, Lucas admitted that even if the package were accepted, he could not promise that there would not still be redundancies and short-time working!

On the contrary, in his view there would almost certainly have to be some.

This message was passed back to the workforce and was received with considerable anger.

WSL leaflet

It is essential that the union leadership in the company breaks from its past acceptance of the viability arguments if they are to defend the jobs and conditions of their members.

A WSL leaflet handed out at the largest CAV plant in Acton

pointed to the need for the unions to form a combine committee so that Lucas can be fought in a united way rather than allowing plants to be played off against each other.

The leaflet pointed to the need for such a combine to fight to open the books of Lucas to expose the profits that are creamed off by banks and finance houses and to see what the state of the company really is.

Should the company really be bankrupt it will show the need for it to be nationalised under workers management with no compensation along with the rest of the motor industry as part of a socialist planned economy.

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JOIN THE WSL!

Returned to office after five years of Labour betrayals, the Tory government has immediately begun wielding a sharpened axe on jobs, conditions and social services. Trade union rights face imminent legal attack. Prices are already rocketing upwards.

Plum sectors of state industry will be handed to the Tories' profiteering big business backers, and the pay rises to police and armed forces mark only the prelude to increased state violence against pickets and anti-fascists and an intensified army crackdown in the occupied North of Ireland.

The Callaghan-Healey leadership has made it clear that it will oppose any perspective other than settling down and meekly accepting five years of Tory devastation.

And, though they have once more dusted off their near-forgotten "socialist" speeches, Labour's 'left wing' MPs have continued to duck away from any fight to remove Callaghan.

TUC leaders, too, have set out to establish a basis for collaboration with Thatcher and the Tory cabinet, paralleling their anti-working class alliance with Wilson and then Callaghan.

But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles in the winter of 1978.

These experiences are not dead. They point to the way that jobs, social services and hard-won union rights can be defended against renewed Tory attacks.

But a principled, revolutionary leadership is needed if the Labour traitors, the TUC collaborators and their hangers-on in the Communist Party are to be exposed and pushed aside, and the mass struggles mobilised that can defeat and remove the Tory government.

Such a leadership must fight day in and day out for a programme of transitional demands which, starting from today's conditions and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers to grasp the necessity for socialist revolution.

And in taking up democratic demands—such as an end to racial and sexual discrimination, it must show the crucial role that must be played by the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class capable of leading the struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

And it must fight on an international basis—mobilising solidarity for anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles—whether in Ireland, South Africa or elsewhere throughout the world, and drawing strength and political lessons from revolutionary upheavals such as that which ousted the hated Shah in Iran. This means fighting for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

To this end, the Workers Socialist League is affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee which fights to reaffirm and develop the method and principles of the 1938 Transitional Programme, and for full discussion in the world Trotskyist movement.

The next period will see major class struggles in Britain. A principled Marxist leadership is essential. Our movement though strong in programme is small in numbers.

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

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Crosbie still sacked

NUT no action

Eileen Crosbie, the Nottinghamshire nursery teacher who took a stand against the cuts in January by refusing to teach a class of 40 nursery children with only one assistant is still sacked.

Suspended for the Spring term she was eventually sacked by the Nottingham Education Committee on April 22 for "breach of conduct of such a serious nature" that sacking was considered necessary.

What was this breach of conduct? It was refusing to carry out the instruction of her headmaster. In other words the head teacher is the dictator and all staff must exercise immediate obedience!

Did this extreme attack on the rights of teachers produce an immediate strong response from the National Union of Teachers? Was there a call for immediate all out strike action - after hundreds of teachers had already responded very favourably to a strike ballot?

No! NUT action has been restricted to one-day no-cover action in the secondary schools (an action immediately defused by the Authority providing supply teachers) and class size action in primary schools which prompted the lock out of 40 teachers and a headteacher who refused to suspend his staff.

The NUT caved in under these suspensions and called off

the action—even though several other schools wished to carry on.

Meanwhile the NUT members at Eileen Crosbie's own school, the Robert Mellors School, in Arnold, walked out on strike and have been out for 10 weeks, picketing the school every morning.

Their jobs—like Eileen Crosbie's own job—are being done by scab non-union supply teachers and members of the scab organisation PAT (Professional Association of Teachers), including one ex-teacher who has come out of retirement to help Notts County Council smash the strike.

Rolling strikes

(The one NAS teacher in the school wanted to join the strike but was told to work 'normally' by the NAS).

The NUT then organised 'rolling strikes'—bringing a succession of schools out on strike for three days—until 35 schools were striking before the Whitsun half term holiday.

Many of these teachers joined the picket of Robert Mellors school and while most NUPE and NALGO members continue to cross the picket, despite union advice, succeeded in turning away the milk delivery worker and the NUPE grass cutter.

Then the LEA offered talks and immediately the NUT called

off all action except for the Robert Mellors strike.

Petition

Many motions both locally and nationally have been passed calling for indefinite strike action supported by a national levy and 216 teachers from Nottingham schools have put their signatures to a petition declaring their wish to be allowed to strike indefinitely until Eileen Crosbie is reinstated.

The latest ballot has produced a 2-1 vote for strike action.

The NUT National Executive must call this support out immediately next term begins if the present talks do not result in complete climbdown by the LEA.

Far more than nursery class size—important though this issue is—is at stake here. The rights of teachers to take trade union action—refusing to teach oversize classes, refusing to cover for absent colleagues and a host of other work to rule sanctions are under threat.

If the NUT Executive caves in the face of this attack it has abandoned any pretence of a fight against the cuts and in defence of teachers' conditions and pay.

Electricians fight on

On May 16, 150 electricians working on the Metro Cammell site in Birmingham, went out on strike for a 20% wage rise, an improved redundancy scheme and lay off scheme.

Management refused to make any agreement unless the electricians were prepared to give up their current bonus scheme. This would have led to 25% redundancies and lower wages in the future.

Following the strike, the production workers—who make the trains which the electricians work on, were laid off.

On June 16, the Joint Shop Stewards Committee for the production workers issued a statement that management should reopen the plant and that they would be prepared to co-operate in any way with management to get the trains out.

The clear implication was that they were prepared to work with scab labour.

On June 24 11 of the striking electricians returned to work, breaking the solidarity of the strikers up to that point.

The following mass meeting of the strikers voted that they would return to work on management's terms, provided that they were all taken back. Management's response was to issue a list of 10 names of striking electricians they were not prepared to take back on.

The list of names was made up of the shop committee plus several other leading strikers. GEC management are clearly determined not only to break the bonus scheme and get redundancies, but to break the electricians' shop organisation as well.

The electricians rejected management's attempt at blatant victimisation and are continuing the strike until

management agree to reinstate everyone.

Throughout the dispute and even with this victimisation of union members, the EETPU official Bob Wright has refused to support the strike and to get official recognition for it though the ten EETPU branches in the Birmingham area have declared support for the struggle some censuring Wright and calling for his removal.

Meanwhile management's sacking letter to the strikers declares that:

"We have been authorised by the Area Secretary of the EETPU to inform you that he recommended that his members accepted the Company's final offer, and the strike continued against that advice".

The strike is now for reinstatement of all the electricians and, to win it, they need support through blacking of all Metro Cammell trains produced since May 16 and through financial donations to continue the picketing and blacking campaign.

Please send all messages of support and donations to Dennis Squelch, 33 Hereford Drive, Franckley, Birmingham.

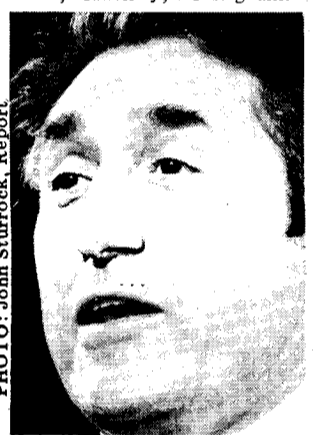


PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

EETPU leader Chapple

Police raid prior sackings

The way that racism is used to divide and weaken workers' organisations was made abundantly clear with the police raid on 21 June at Mains Gas, Edmonton, North London, where management are preparing major redundancies.

With the prior knowledge of at least the senior personnel officer, 40 police officers and 15 immigration officials picked out 40 mainly West African workers but also some Asian workers under the immigration laws.

Arrested

31 were arrested and taken to Pentonville or Ashford detention centre.

Five were later released and some of the rest have appeared at Tottenham Magistrates Court.

All are members of the National Union of Domestic Appliance and General Metal Workers.

The affair was clearly carried out with the connivance of the management who gave files to the police of past workers whose homes were also raided in this round-up.

Labour MP Ted Graham has taken up to case and is seeing the Home Secretary to protest.

At a lively discussion held at the local Enfield and Edmonton Trades Council, Steve King, secretary of the Campaign for Racial Harmony, gave a stirring account of his discussions with the relatives, two of whom had to rush to Heathrow with meagre belongings in suitcases before they were summarily deported.

Inquiry

The Trades Council secretary reported her discussion with the union branch secretary whose opinion was that it was not possible to take up a defence of these workers inside the factory where the other workers are fearful of losing their jobs.

The Trades Council did make several decisions in relation to their defence:

- 1) To hold a joint public meeting on July 10 with Haringey Trades Council.
- 2) To ask the union branch to hold an inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the case.
- 3) To join a picket outside the court on Friday 27 June.
- 4) To write to the Home Secretary protesting at the actions of the police.

Adwest: police crush picketing rights

The nine week old dispute at Adwest Engineering of Reading took a dramatic and sinister turn this week with the arrest of TGWU convenor Danny Broderick.

The arrest came as the culmination of a high-profile strike-breaking action by 'E' Division Reading police backed up by the Thames Valley tactical support unit (SPG) and led by Superintendent Winship from Woodley division.

When the 80 or so pickets arrived to take up their positions outside Adwest's gates there were already over 100 police waiting for them: more arrived shortly after 6.30 am.

The police then formed ranks four deep on either side

of the gates thus creating an open corridor for the scab labour going in.

Any picket who could get anywhere near the gate was immediately bundled out of the way and threatened with arrest.

This not merely preempts Prior's vicious Employment Bill which seeks to limit numbers on picket lines and restrict secondary picketing, but renders it redundant before it even has a chance of becoming law.

Questionable

What Winship and his superiors attempted on Wednesday morning was the complete prevention and abolition of a totally lawful picket: an act which itself would appear questionable in terms of the law.

At 7.30 a.m. convenor Danny Broderick addressed the police, press and pickets through a megaphone informing them that in his view the action of the police was unacceptable because it was denying pickets their lawful rights.

He then walked between the ranks of police to the gate and was immediately arrested for 'wilful obstruction of the highway' and dragged bodily to a waiting Black Maria.

Meanwhile, the strike for the reinstatement of the TGWU convenor, TGWU stewards and 56 workers at the components plant goes on. Now, more than ever it needs the support of trades unionists everywhere.

*Mass picket, Monday July 14 from 6.30 a.m. at the Adwest Plant, Reading.

Strike fund donations to Danny Broderick, 46 Berkley Ave., Reading



Police bodily carry off Adwest convenor Danny Broderick

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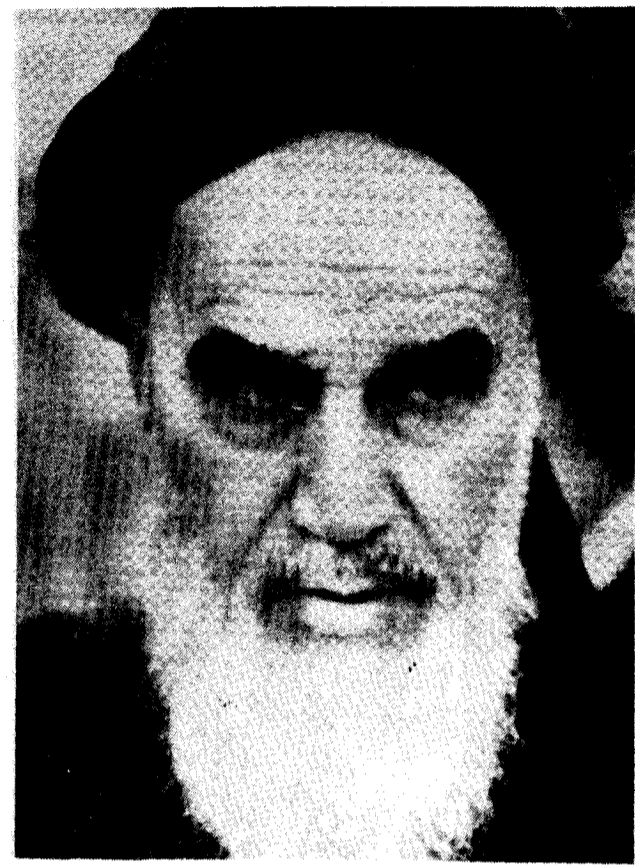
FUND

The June Fund closed at £616.97, nearly £150 below our target of £750! Our July target has been raised to £850 so if we are to achieve that figure a very special effort is called for by all our readers and supporters. With the International Summer School and summer holidays an additional drain on our supporters' finances at this time of year we do appeal to you not to let your contributions to our fund suffer as a consequence.

We need every penny of our fund if we are to avoid serious cash problems at a later stage. So send us all you can. Our address is:

Socialist Press Fund, BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX

MASSES RESIST KHOMEINI'S CRACKDOWN



Purge and power struggle; sackings, wage cuts repression and strikes. Those have been more dramatically than ever in the last three weeks the themes of Iran's mounting new political crisis.

Under the direction of Khomeini and the reactionary Islamic hierarchy a massive purge has been launched against all vestiges of the old regime in the ministries, universities and state-owned industries.

Everywhere purification committees have been set up and literally thousands have lost their jobs—well over 500 in the oil ministry alone.

Left wingers

Nominally the purged are supposed to be those who had anything to do with the Shah's regime.

But in fact this purge is being used by the reactionary Islamic forces to drive out all their enemies, including known left-wingers and anyone more inclined to look to President Bani Sadr than to the Ayatollahs for leadership.

The purge of state employees has gone hand in hand with a continuation of the bloody work of the purification commission entrusted by Khomeini nominally with the control of drugs and other vices.

The commission, under Ayatollah Khomeini, interprets its brief broadly and brutally.

In the last six weeks it has summarily executed (shot or stoned to death) 250 people—most of them alleged drug addicts and traffickers but also "prostitutes and homosexuals".

President Bani Sadr has attempted to curb the zeal of the commission by appealing for lighter sentences.

But for this appeal, the commission has said, it would have executed 500 more.

Women

Thousands of "suspect" students have been thrown out of the universities and Khomeini has demanded that nothing is taught in the universities which is not consistent with Islam.

Women continue to be under attack as well. Last week an edict was issued that all women in government offices should wear "modest clothes" including a veil, or at least a headscarf.

This edict produced an angry demonstration, which has in turn been followed by the threat of summary sacking for those women civil servants who

refuse to comply.

But this attack on Iranian women is not the only aspect of the Islamic purge to provoke resistance.

A national meeting of doctors led to a doctors' strike in protest against the arbitrary execution of a doctor, Ismail Narimisa in Ahvaz allegedly for having collaborated with Shah supporters.

The strike was reported to be only partially successful, as many doctors were "persuaded" back to work by committees of Islamic zealots in the hospitals.

A much more successful strike was that of the water workers, who stopped work and occupied their director's office in protest against measures which would have virtually halved their real wages.

The measures were rescinded by the frightened authorities and work resumed.

This attempted economic attack on the water workers is an indication of the fact that it is not only an ideological and religious purge that is underway. It is also a full-

blooded assault on the jobs and wages of workers in the public sector.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the failure of this attempt is one thing which has convinced the reactionary Islamic leaders that they need to launch a new political attack against the mass organisations to their left and which have influence in sections of the working class.

The two main ones are the



Bani-Sadr

'left' Islamic Mujahedin and the Marxist Fedayin.

Last Friday's prayers was used as the opportunity for the religious hierarchy to launch into the Islamic masses a new and chilling 16 point manifesto which includes the dissolution of left wing groups, the enforcement of Islamic rules on women, the speeding up of the purges and a thorough "cleansing" of Kurdistan by the army.

An attempt to implement these new edicts would be a massive step.

The Mojahedin and the Fedayin are both large organisations with a good deal of influence in sections of the popular masses. And they are armed.

An attempt to disband them would almost certainly initiate a wholesale bloodbath.

The ultimately pro-imperialist "moderates" around President Bani-Sadr are anxious to avoid this.

But their power is waning. Bani-Sadr was forced last week to make a ceremonial offering of his resignation to Khomeini.

And the Islamic Republican Party's public abuse of him has become increasingly contemptuous.

To judge from an interview he gave to *Le Monde* two weeks ago, he has become under pressure a half-demented paranoid.

Little wonder when he beholds, like his predecessors Bahktiar and Bazargan, his pitifully limited historical role.

He has become little more than a spectator as the battle between religious reaction and the Iranian masses gathers pace, threatening barbaric consequences but at the same time opening up possibilities of further revolutionary gains being added to those won in the fight to topple the Shah—now belatedly dying on the banks of the Nile.

***No surrender of arms to Khomeini's guards! Disband Khomeini's army—Build workers' militias against Islamic reaction and threats of imperial-**

ist restoration.

***Lift the ban on demonstrations! For full freedom of political organisation and demonstration. End state censorship of the press!**

***For the rights of self-determination and separation of the Kurdish people and all other national minorities.**

***For free elections with universal suffrage to a genuine constituent assembly.**

***Defend the workers' committees! For the building of elected soviets!**

***For the right to strike and form free trade unions!**

***No secret trials, no secret police! Release all those political prisoners not linked with the Shah's dictatorship!**

***Against sexual oppression! For full legal rights and social equality for all women and homosexual men.**

***For the building of a revolutionary party, Iranian section of a reconstructed Fourth International!**

Brief Labour councillors to reject cuts and rate rises!



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

Large numbers of Labour councils are being pushed into near bankruptcy, running so short of money that they will be forced to demand more resources from the Tory government.

This was one of the central points taken up by Lambeth council leader Ted Knight at last Saturday's London Labour Briefing conference.

The conference was attended by 204 delegates and 20 observers—mainly from Labour Parties, with some from trade unions.

Knight insisted that the question was not what Lambeth council did, but how to pressurise other Labour councils into action against the Tory cuts and in particular Heseltine's latest ultimatum demanding a further 2% cut in spending.

He proposed a national conference of CLPs and Labour

groups, together with public sector unions, to present Heseltine with the threat of a total shutdown of local government if more resources were not made available.

In reply to those delegates—many of them from Lambeth—who argued for a policy of no rate and rent increases and instead to mobilise for a confrontation with the Tory government, Knight replied that Heseltine's Bill would give him direct control over the rates, rendering the policy irrelevant.

The Labour Party in Lambeth had been campaigning, but had failed to achieve a mass response, he added.

Public sector workers would not accept a strategy that might sacrifice their jobs and wages without a much wider base of support.

In the meantime, of course, Lambeth council is jacking up both council rents and the rates—deflecting the Tory cuts from the social services onto the

living standards of the working class.

The Lambeth Left motion on no rate/rent rises was defeated by a substantial majority. But there was little progress on the question of how to resist Heseltine.

Forced to choose

With local government cash running out it seems likely that many Labour councils will be forced to choose in the next few months between a draconian package of last-minute spending cuts or a confrontation with the Tory government.

The crucial task facing socialists inside and outside the Party is to find ways to ensure that when such confrontations take place the working class is mobilised and given a principled lead in the struggle to defeat both the Thatcher axemen and their right wing Labour lackeys.