

# workers' ACTION

No. 25 July 22nd - 28th 1976 8p

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## TWO YEARS HARD LABOUR

**Total: 1,463,000**  
**% of all workers: 6-3**



**School leavers: 209,000**  
and more next week

# MORE FOR THE CHOP

**£2.4 BILLION CUTS IN FEBRUARY**

and more to come



# ANGOLAN REGIME PURGES

## LEFT WING

THE TRIAL of the mercenaries in Angola diverted attention from the recent wave of arrests there of left wing nationalists. In the last three months, more than 100 have been rounded up by the political police, the DISA.

Those arrested have mainly been

### OLYMPICS: A solid gold for profits

TIME after sordid time, the sham 'internationalism' of the Olympics is exposed, and journalists, in the intervals between speculating on "Britain's chances" or crowing over "Britain's golds", wonder whether it isn't all a great orgy of nationalism.

But for the host country, the national-ism is blown up out of all measure and so is the cost.

The mayor of Montreal, Jean Drapeau, sold the International Olympic Committee on the site, saying "In Montreal, the games are assured of conserving a human scale, with a nobleness of character and marked simplicity." He also promised that "all the required installations will be ready long before the inauguration" and that they would be entirely "self-financing".

Now the advertising jingle boosting Quebec's part in the Games runs "We're standing ten feet tall" (a human scale?...) — and the bills are about that high, too.

The first budget estimate set the cost at 310 million dollars, all of which would be covered by a national lottery, special stamps and coins, and ticket revenue.

The current cost estimates now run to 1.4 billion dollars (not including nearly 100 million for the security operation involving 16,000 soldiers and police). Revenues from the 'self-financing projects' only run to about 425 million, leaving a 1,000 million dollar deficit for Montreal and Quebec province.



The project has been marked by massive rip-offs and corruption. The architect of the stadium, Roger Taillibert, will draw a fee estimated at no less than 36 million dollars! Part of his design was for a monstrous leaning tower, 55 storeys high, overlooking the stadium. This has not been built — in fact many engineers doubt that it could actually stand up.

The Velodrome (where the indoor events will be held) was budgeted at 12m dollars. When finished it had cost 60m dollars, with a roof that has been declared a fire hazard, requiring extra fire fighting equipment on stand-by at all times.

The Olympic Village was to be another 'self-financing' project, to be built by a private consortium for 30m dollars. The developers, who creamed off a high percentage of the total cost as 'management fees', made a vast profit from the City as the bill mounted to 80m dollars. After allegations of fraud and raids by the police, the Provincial authorities assumed control of the installation. Many competitors will still be sleeping 6 to a room...

The construction of the Olympic stadium itself was halted for long periods by disputes over the hazardous conditions on the site and the low wages.



So who's paying the bills? Already the Provincial government of Quebec has cut back on spending, raised additional taxes, cancelled new subway extensions, cut hospital and education budgets and chopped down wage offers to public employees to a bare minimum. There is to be a special tobacco tax. A slump in the construction industry is predicted.

During the 1967 Expo Fair at Montreal, mayor Drapeau built special, brightly painted fences round the slums of Montreal to hide them from visitors. He won't be able to hide the massive waste of public funds involved in the 1976 Games.

Watching the athletes in the next few weeks, spare a thought for the Quebec workers, paying through the nose for several years to come for the prestige of standing "ten foot tall".

members of the Active Revolt faction of the MPLA and the semi-Maoist Communist Organisation of Angola (OCA). The arrests were heralded by a speech last March made by the Minister of the Interior, Commander Nito Alves, who ordered the Peoples Commissions to 'be vigilant and turn in members of the Active Revolt and the OCA to the authorities'. They were, Alves said, "the cornerstone of reaction".

But far from being "obviously reactionary individuals", the victims of the MPLA's round-up have offended the regime by criticising it from the left. They have opposed its campaigns against industrial strikes (unofficial strikes are "crimes against production" according to the Labour Discipline Law, and carry a jail sentence of up to two years), its concessions to foreign oil companies and its drive against independent working class mobilisation. And they have pressed for more nationalisations and independence from the foreign companies.

The drive of the MPLA against left wing dissidents has taken its harshest turn since the end of the civil war. But even before then, there were signs that once securely in power, the MPLA would turn against the left.

After the MPLA had driven Unita and FNLA troops out of the capital, Luanda, two radical newspapers (A Voz de Angola and Poder Popular) were closed down, and left wing militants arrested, among them the editor of Luanda's main daily paper.

## Jail

Under the guise of a campaign against the 'partisans of Trotsky and Bakunin', supporters of another left wing group (the Amilcar Cabral Committees) were also arrested. Today most of its leaders are still in jail.

In its drive against the left, the Government was trying to bring the Neighbourhood People's Commissions under firm MPLA control. These commissions were set up during 1974 as self defence groups to protect the black suburbs of Luanda from attack by white racists. At first they were independent of the MPLA, and many of the militants in them were critical of the MPLA's attacks on the strikes in Luanda after the downfall of Caetano in Portugal.

In October the MPLA forcibly dissolved all autonomous self-defence



THE international campaign to free the two SWAPO leaders under sentence of death in Namibia continues. More evidence has come to light showing the travesty of justice that the South African authorities mounted in trying Aaron Mushiamba (pictured above) and Hendrik Shikongo. It now seems that documents stolen from the offices of the defence lawyers were handed over to the police, and that police spies kept the prosecution informed of the developments in the preparation of the Defence case. Despite this, and evidence of the torture of witnesses, the two men still face death.

In South Africa itself, in the wake of the slaughter of black workers and school children during the uprising in Soweto last month, the white regime has announced that it has begun a mass round-up of blacks in the area. So far, over 1,300 have been arrested in a massive witchhunt, and the arrests are continuing under laws that permit indefinite detention without trial.

The apartheid regime has declared that the rising was fomented by 'outside agitators' and 'Communist enemies', and judging on past experience a new series of political trials is in preparation.

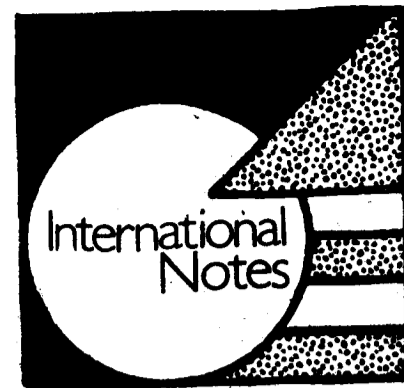
In Soweto itself a massive police clamp-down has been enforced on the city, which has been encircled by police and troops. Whites have been forbidden to enter, and Vorster has given a strange twist to his promise that Afrikaans (the language of the ruling Boers) will no longer be compulsory in black schools. He has closed down the schools in Soweto altogether...

groups, reorganising them in the Peoples Defence Organisation under the direct command of the MPLA.

This move was not popular. In one case, the MPLA was forced to send troops to occupy the offices of a local Commission and arrest nine of its leaders.

Since the formation of the MPLA government, the policies it has adopted have been limited nationalisations,

austerity programme, a rigid control of strikes, and cooperation with the regions old imperialist exploiters. It is a familiar recipe, reminiscent of many a 'Third World' radical middle class regime from the Middle East to Latin America; it is invariably accompanied by arrests and repression of those who fought, alongside the new rulers, for an end to the old order, but with more far-reaching aims.



## Israel runs guns to Lebanese right

"The God of Jehova is good to Lebanese Christians as well as to Jews" remarked one prominent Lebanese Christian this week. He was referring to reports that Israel is playing a major role in arming the Christians in their war with the Palestinians and Lebanese Moslems.

According to Palestinian guerillas and also Western diplomats, Israel is supplying arms to the Christians by sea to the port of Junieh which the Christians control. Most of the weapons appear to be Soviet-built mortars and armoured cars captured in the last Arab-Israeli war in 1973. They have reportedly been reaching the Christians in large quantities, and have been one of the factors in aiding the successful recent Christian offensive against the Palestinian camps.

In the Lebanon the leaders of the Christian militias regard the supply of arms by Israel as a token of the support that Israel would be prepared to give if the tide turned against the Christians.

But it is unlikely that this would come about now without a reversal of Syrian policy toward the Palestinians. There is no sign of this. Attempts to arrange negotiations between leaders of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) and Assad of Syria have floundered on, dogged by the Syrians' refusal to withdraw their troops from the main battle areas.

Syria's President Assad has coupled this with a fierce attack on the PLO — denouncing it as being dominated by 'Communists and Moslem extremists'. But the composition of the PLO is the same now as when Assad was supporting it back at the beginning of the year. The only thing that has changed is Assad's schemes. From being an essential part of the Arab front against Israel, Assad has changed his characterisation of the PLO to one of being 'agents of Zionism'.

But the Zionists know well who their 'agents' are. Their arms are not going to the PLO, but to its enemies — the real agents of Zionism — protected by the Syrian regime.

## Polish strikers put on trial

AS THE full extent of last month's action against price rises in Poland becomes clear to the Polish bureaucracy, it has launched a series of show trials against those accused of leading the strikes and demonstrations.

The most spectacular and well publicised actions were taken by the workers at the Ursus tractor plant outside Warsaw and by fertilizer and leather workers in Radom, 60 miles south of Warsaw. The

Ursus workers hijacked the Paris to Warsaw express, holding it to ransom until the government cancelled price rises. In Radom, food and liquor stores were looted and the Communist Party headquarters fired.

But the action was not confined to workers in these two centres. Shipyard workers in Szczecin and Gdansk — who spearheaded the mass movement that quashed in-

tended price rises in 1970 and brought down the Gomulka government — staged sit-in occupations. Strikes took place in Orsztyń, at the Zeran auto plant in Warsaw, and at the Warynski crane plant.

This spontaneous and widespread response terrified the bureaucracy not only in Poland, but also in Russia and East Europe. Creeping paralysis in the east European economies and increasingly massive foreign debts are forcing all the so-called Communist states to push prices up and hold wages down. East European leaders are now openly talking in their presses of 'austerity' ahead, of the need to trim down targets for improved living standards. Hungary has just increased prices for meat and other foodstuffs by 35%. Viennese papers report that rationing has been introduced in major Russian towns.

Certainly, Moscow restaurants have been told to arrange one meat-free day a week! And instructions have gone out to Russian sausage manufacturing enterprises to reduce the amount of meat in sausages.

In this situation the lessons of the Polish workers' action can be spread like wildfire in Russia and East Europe. Disturbances over food shortages in the last month have been reported from Rostov, Moscow, Riga, Kiev and Krasnodar in Russia. Such direct action threatens not only to frustrate plans for price increases; it threatens the entire political stability of the Russian and East European regimes. The Polish ruling bureaucracy has set

the pace now by upping meat prices by 35% (half of the rise they had originally intended) and taking the "ringleaders" at Ursus and Radom in for trial.

The Warsaw trial was closely guarded by police and troops. But unofficial reports suggest that the seven Ursus workers are being tried under Article 220 of the Polish penal code. This means that, if convicted, they can be given sentences ranging from 5 years in jail to death.

The East European press is absolutely silent about the affair. The bureaucratic masters are terrified lest the lessons spread. The East German press, for example, reported the climbdown by the Polish government on most of the price rises but did not explain why the government had been forced to change its plans. Elsewhere the Polish events have received no mention.

The Polish bureaucrats are trying to lay the blame for the massive outburst of anger among Polish workers on a handful of "hooligans" and "unsocial and unsavoury elements". Faced with similar problems their Russian and East European counterparts look to their strictly controlled press to avoid the spread of a wave of action that will challenge their right and ability to rule.

British trade unionists must speak out clearly with motions and resolutions against the show trials in Poland, against the use of trials and repression to force the workers of Poland and Russia and East Europe to accept price rises and deteriorating living standards.



Riots in Gdansk during last struggle over prices, 1970

# Tide of racialism sweeps through Birmingham

IN THE Birmingham area, the racist binge that Roy Jenkins described as a "hiccup" progresses with the force of a small whirlwind. Nowhere are Labour and trade union leaders to be found to speak out against the hysterical racist calls for "stem the flood of coloured immigration".

The Birmingham Evening Mail continues to stoke the flames of race hatred with any issue it can get hold of: "storm over network of minimosques", "the reek of curry cooking" and even "Asian ladies who refuse to learn English so that they can never be invited in for a cuppa" — from which you'd think the Mail had just spent the last three months stirring up inter-racial neighbourliness rather than racist violence.

## Coggan

It was West Midlands Tory MP John Stokes who pressured the pathetic Archbishop Coggan into recanting his earlier stance on immigration and coming out with an out-and-out racist statement a couple of weeks ago. Stokes had written to the Archbishop complaining that he had not "shown a word of sympathy for the British working class who have to bear the burden of immigration" — and the Archbishop evidently was in such a hurry to change his line that he didn't stop to ask just when and how John Stokes had been converted to the cause of the British working class.

## Label

This conversion should of course come as quite a surprise to car workers, who know Stokes better as the man who labels them greedy and lazy at every opportunity.

The Mail played a significant part in getting a Tory council elected earlier this year. Now it gives important support to racist Labour council-

lors, and has whitewashed the fascist associations of two Tory councillors.

Anyone on the council who makes an adverse statement about immigrants is assured full and favourable publicity in the Mail. Frank Carter is the latest to be awarded their laurels, for calling for a halt to coloured immigration into Sparkbrook. (Perhaps the next suggestion will be for Sparkbrook's very own Immigration Act!?)

On a local scale, people like Carter and Bill Jarvis (President of Birmingham Trades Council and, of late, a conspicuous racist) have been playing the same game as Labour at Westminster: adapting to racialism, in response to votes lost to the Tories and the fascists, instead of seeing the declining support for Labour as a direct result of its anti-working class policies.

Examples of a fight-back against this tide of racist rubbish have been few, but they are useful ones. The Birmingham District Labour Party has passed a resolution calling on Jarvis to resign or retract his racist

statements. And shop stewards in the car industry in the Midlands now advocate that all candidates for trade union positions of responsibility should sign a statement condemning and disavowing racism.

If these initiatives lead to more such responses, they will have played a major part in embarking the labour movement on a much-needed campaign to cleanse itself of racism.

Meanwhile, the Birmingham anti-Fascist Committee needs more delegates from trade union, Labour Party and immigrant organisations. And the

labour movement must give practical and moral support to the efforts of the black community to defend itself from violent attack.

While Robert Relf goes free to help organise the growing fascist forces in Britain (his 'For Sale' sign will be carried from his house in Leamington to a rally in London on July 24th by a series of young fascist recruits) the people who were demonstrating against him may face heavy fines and possible imprisonment, and are of course also subjected to the press's hate treatment.

The Evening Mail, for instance, reported the first Magistrates Court appearance of George Rousseau, one of the Handsworth 28, under the heading "Man threw bricks in anti-Relf demo" even when the charge of possessing an offensive weapon, namely a brick, was dismissed. Rousseau was however found guilty of using threatening words or behaviour: but presumably the establishment racists regard any militant action against racism as a "threat".

## Birmingham Demonstration

On July 24th, Birmingham Anti-Fascist Committee has called for a massive demonstration in the town for black and white working class unity to

- ▶ DEFEND the Handsworth 28
- ▶ OPPOSE all racist immigration laws
- ▶ SUPPORT the right of black self-defence
- ▶ ORGANISE active resistance against racism and fascism.

All Workers Action supporters should assemble for the demonstration at 1.30pm in the car park at the top of Boulton Road, corner of Sobo Road, Handsworth for a march to the city centre where there will be a rally at 3pm with speakers from labour movement and immigrant organisations.



Trafalgar Square, April 24th this year. An assorted bunch of fascist riff-raff meet in the square, which is now closed to the left for all meetings and rallies in any way connected with Ireland. While most of the left concentrated its forces in Bradford to oppose the National Front's march the same day through the immigrant Lumb Lane area, a number of London anti-fascists tried to prevent the Trafalgar Square jamboree taking place. The police, however, always mindful of the need to defend free speech for fascists, charged the counter demonstration and made a number of arrests. Last week one of those arrested, Workers Action supporter Mark Traquair, was sent to prison for 30 days for trying to stop the fascist meeting going ahead. Meanwhile, two Birmingham Tory Councillors who attended the rally (one of them, Councillor Collett, is speaking in the photo above; the other, Councillor Griffin) are defended by the local racist rag the Birmingham Evening Mail.

## SEARCHLIGHT IN THE DARK

by Paul Lewis

INCREASINGLY used and quoted these days, SEARCHLIGHT is an anti-fascist magazine published in Birmingham.

There is little doubt that it does a useful job. It keeps extensive files on the background and record of leading fascists, provides breakdowns of voting figures and well informed insight into the doings of the fascist groups. It has exposed the links between the UDA and NF, the attempts by the fascists to infiltrate trade unions, the international fascist link-ups, and so on.

## Line

But Searchlight doesn't stick to being an information sheet. It also has a political line — and this line is one that does not serve the needs of a militant fight against fascism and racism.

The general political line of the magazine is along the left Labour/Communist Party axis. But even more than publications of these groups, it strives to be ultra-respectable and avoid any hint of leftism. Indeed, it still retains a strong tint of its early patriotic line (which equates fascism with Britain's World War 2 enemy). Thus the current issue has it that Relf "climbed to the spire of Coventry Cathedral, a building that symbolises for many Englishmen the blitz unleashed on that City by Relf's admitted mentors, Hitler's Nazis".

Searchlight hates to offend or accuse anyone within the labour movement. Even Bill Jarvis, whom Birmingham Labour Party had to rebuke for his racist statements (as in fact reported in Searchlight) "can in no way be described as a racist."

Its lead article in June referred to the previous racial unrest in 1968, noting that this was "swiftly quelled and universally condemned by politicians of all parties and notably the Labour Party". Does Searchlight forget that when in 1968 the Kenyan Asians were being driven from their homes and applying to enter Britain (having been encouraged earlier to get British passports), it was the Labour Government which abolished the right of ALL British passport holders to free entry, and instituted the racist quota system.

Without this precedent it is unlikely that the Tories would have gone as far as they did with the controls they brought in with the 1971 Immigration Act.

And when Mellish made his racist outburst, Searchlight felt that this was so alien to the Labour Party that many NF supporters "must have wondered whether Mellish had secretly joined their miserable little gang."

Nor are those who advocate the nationalist policy of import controls to be offended by being told they play into the hands of the racials, though evidently that fact is clear enough to the editors of Searchlight. They say of the growth of fascism in Blackburn "some people argue that the emphasis placed by the unions

on foreign goods, especially clothing, taking away local work, plays into the hands of the racials". Why "some people"? Why doesn't Searchlight argue this case? And why does it mince words about the "emphasis on foreign products" rather than referring straight out to import controls, a phrase better known because it is the recurring panacea of large sections of the left?

## Bans

Together with their concern not to bruise the tender sensibilities of the official labour movement goes an emphasis on doing things through the "proper channels" — relying on councils and the Government to ban fascist marches and organisations while saying that anti-fascist violence (as on the Bradford demonstration in April, when anti-fascists including Asian youth fought to prevent the National Front marching through the immigrant area of Bradford) is "hardly justified."

It is an absolute first essential to stop the fascist bully-boys from intimidating any immigrant community. The police won't do this. Local councils won't do it. Anti-fascists have to take the matter into their own hands.

The last month has seen an increasing number of Asians prepared to do just that — to organise to defend themselves. This is a development that Searchlight has not yet seen fit to comment on.



Young people in West London demonstrate against police attacks on blacks, after six girls and a boy were arrested in a disco and, they allege, beaten by the police, illegally fingerprinted and photographed.

# FORTY YEARS AGO...



## SPAIN: when the workers took up arms against Franco

THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE FROM FELIX MORROW'S 'REVOLUTION AND COUNTER REVOLUTION IN SPAIN' (PUBLISHED IN 1938), DESCRIBES VIVIDLY THE EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED FRANCO'S FASCIST REVOLT ON JULY 17th 1936. BUT THE WORKERS' STAND AGAINST FASCISM WAS BETRAYED BY THEIR OWN POLITICAL LEADERS (BOTH ANARCHIST AND STALINIST) WHO DEMORALISED THE ANTI-FASCIST FORCES BY INSISTING ON REVERSING THE SOCIAL GAINS THE WORKING CLASS HAD MADE, AND DEPRIVING THE WORKING CLASS OF ITS CONTROL OVER THE WAR AGAINST FRANCO. TODAY, FRANCO'S HEIRS STILL RULE IN SPAIN DESPITE HEROIC STRUGGLES IN THE 40 YEARS SINCE THESE EVENTS TOOK PLACE.

AT DAWN JULY 17th 1936, General Franco assumed command of the Moors and Legionnaires of Spanish Morocco, and issued a manifesto to the army and the nation to support him in establishing an authoritarian state in Spain. In the next few days, one by one, almost all the fifty garrisons in Spain declared for fascism. The basic sections of the capitalists and landlords, having already participated in Franco's conspiracy, fled into fascist-held territory or out of Spain... For two decisive days, the rebels fought on while the government sought them to save its face. It made no move to declare the dissolution of the rebellious regiments, to declare the soldiers absolved from obeying their officers. The workers, remembering the fate of the proletariat of Italy and Germany, were mourning for arms. Even the reformist leaders were knocking at the doors of the presidential palace, reaching Azana and Giral (leaders of the Popular Front Government) to help the workers.

### Rising

In the vicinity of the garrisons, the unions had declared a general strike to paralyse the rebellion. But armed arms would not be sufficient to face the enemy. Grim silence enveloped the Montana barracks in Madrid. The officers there, in accordance with the plan of the rebels, were waiting for the garrisons surrounding Madrid to reach the city, when they would join forces. The Barcelona proletariat prevented the capitulation of the republic to the fascists. On July 19th, almost unopposed, they stormed the first barracks successfully. By 2pm the next day they were masters of Barcelona. It was not accidental that the hour of initiating the armed struggle against fascism belongs to the Barcelona proletariat. Chief seat of industrial and industrial centre of Spain, concentrating in it and the surrounding industrial towns of Catalonia nearly half the industrial proletariat of Spain, Barcelona has always been the revolutionary vanguard. The parliamentary reformism of the Stalinist-led UGT had never found a stronghold there. The united socialist and Stalinist parties (the PSUC) had more members on July 19 than the UGT. The workers were almost wholly organised in the CNT, whose suffering and persecution under the monarchy and the republic imbued its masses with a militant anti-capitalist tradition, though its anarchist philosophy gave it no systematic direction. But, more this philosophy was to reveal the tragic inadequacies, the CNT achieved historic highs in its successful struggle against the forces of

As in Madrid, the Catalan government refused to arm the workers. CNT and POUM emissaries, demanding arms, were smilingly informed they could pick up those dropped by wounded Assault Guards. But the CNT and POUM workers during the afternoon of the 18th were raiding sporting goods stores for rifles, construction jobs for sticks of dynamite, fascist homes for concealed weapons. With the aid of a few friendly Assault Guards, they had seized a few racks of government rifles. (The revolutionary workers had painstakingly gathered a few guns and pistols since 1934) That — and as many motor vehicles as they could find — was all the workers had when, at 5 o'clock on the morning of the 19th, the fascist officers began to lead detachments from the barracks. Isolated engagements before paving-stone barricades led to a general engagement in the afternoon. And here political weapons more than made up for the superior armament of the fascists. Heroic workers stepped forward from the lines to call upon the soldiers to learn why they were shooting down their fellow toilers. They fell under rifle and machine-gun fire, but others took their place. Here and there a soldier began shooting wide. Some bolder ones turned on their officers. Some nameless military genius — perhaps he died then — seized the moment and the mass of workers abandoned their prone positions and surged forward. The first barracks were taken. General Goded was captured that afternoon. With arms from the arsenals, the workers cleaned up Barcelona. Within a few days, all Catalonia was in their hands.

Simultaneously the Madrid proletariat was mobilising. The left socialists distributed their scant stores of arms, saved from October 1934. Barricades went up on key streets and around the Montana barracks. Workers groups were looking for reactionary leaders. At dawn of the 19th, the first militia patrols took their places. At midnight the first shots were exchanged with the barracks. But it was not until the next day, when the great news came from Barcelona, that the barracks were stormed. Valencia, too, was soon saved from the fascists. Refused arms by the governor appointed by Azana, the workers prepared to face the troops with barricades, cobblestones and kitchen knives — until their comrades within the garrison shot the officers and gave arms to the workers. The Asturian miners, fighters of the Commune of October 1934, outfitted a column of five thousand dynamiters for a march on Madrid. It arrived there on the 20th, just after the barracks had been taken, and took up guard duty in the streets. In Malaga, strategic port opposite

unarmed at first, had surrounded the reactionary garrison with a wall of gasoline-fired houses and barricades. In a word, without so much as a by-your-leave to the government, the proletariat had begun a war to the death against the fascists. The initiative had passed out of the hands of the republican bourgeoisie. Most of the army was with the fascists. It must be confronted with a new army. Every workers' organisation proceeded to organise militia regiments, equip them and send them to the front. The government had no direct contact with the workers' militia. The organisations presented their requisitions and payrolls to the government, which handed over supplies and funds which the organisations distributed to the militias. Such officers as remained in the Loyalist camp were assigned as 'technicians' to the militias. Their military proposals were transmitted to the militiamen through the worker-officers. Police duties were taken over by worker-police and militiamen. The sailors, traditionally more radical than soldiers, saved a good part of the fleet by shooting their officers. Elected sailors' committees took over control of the Loyalist fleet, and established contact with the workers' committees on shore. Armed workers' committees displaced the customs officers at the frontiers. A union book or red party card was better than a passport for entering the country. Few reactionaries managed to get out through the workers' cordon.

### Peasants

The revolutionary-military measures were accompanied by revolutionary-economic measures. In Catalonia within a week from July 19th, transport and industry was almost entirely in the hands of the CNT workers' committees, or where workers belonged to both, CNT-UGT joint committees. Through national industries stemming from Barcelona, the same process spread to Madrid, Valencia, Alicante, Almeria and Malaga although never becoming as universal as in Catalonia. A UGT-CNT committee took charge of all transportation in Spain. Soon factory delegations were going abroad to arrange for exports and imports. The peasants needed no urging to take the land. As the news came from the cities, the peasants spread over the land. Their scythes and axes took care of any government official or republican landowner injudicious enough to bar their way. In many places, permeated by anarchist and left-socialist teachings, the peasants organised directly into collectives. Peasant committees took charge of feeding the militias and the cities, giving or selling directly to the provisioning committees, militia columns

NO-ONE DOUBTS the immense power of the banks and finance houses. And as industry, over recent years, has failed to generate enough profit to satisfy its appetite for expansion, the banks which have stepped in to fill the gap have become an even greater power. Every militant worker knows that the power of the banks is not in the workers' interests. But every day now we are confronted with the proof that this power is not even used in the long-term interests of national industrial capital. For instance, in the 12 months after August 1972, bank loans to property companies jumped by over 75% while their lending to manufacturing industry rose by only 19%. Instead of condemning the effects on the working class of the power of the plutocracy, the trade union leaders and the Labour left are more worried about the effects of this money-making madness on British manufacturing industry. They, after all, see no prospect for the advance of the working class under the banner of its own needs, its own priorities, values and ideas, but only under the flag of a flourishing industrial capitalism.

### BOOM

For a while, therefore, the trade union and Labour lefts justified an attack on working class living standards — especially a cut in real wages — on the grounds that this "sacrifice" would be enough to fuel a recovery of profits in industry and thus an industrial boom. The Government's other tack of reducing the 'social wage' and pumping the difference into the capitalists' pockets has been justified on the same grounds. But the 'prosperity for all' boom hasn't happened. Lack of overall control over the funds raised in increased profits means that their effect in expanding industrial capital is reduced. In face of this problem, the Labour and trade union left has pushed forward the idea of nationalisation of the leading banks and finance houses. Earlier this month, Jack Jones commented that "finance is too important to be left to financiers". Within a fortnight the same theme was echoed in the Labour Party Home Policy Committee's document

## THE CUTS: making

A ROW HAS broken out between sections of the trade union leadership over Healey's next round of cuts. While Scanlon and Jones have clearly accepted the logic of the cuts public sector leaders, not surprisingly, have been less eager to accept. Hugh Scanlon, speaking to the American Chamber of Commerce in London last week, implicitly accepted the cut-makers logic: "If Britain is to get out of its undoubted economic difficulties she can only do it on the basis of an efficient and viable manufacturing industry. ... There will be greater emphasis on those who make and sell and less on those who serve." Manufacturing industry, according to Scanlon, must be boosted at the expense of the public sector, at the expense of redundancies for members of NUPE, NALGO, NUT and CPSA. Alan Fisher of NUPE has made it clear that NUPE is opposed to further cuts and will continue to campaign against them. While explaining this to the press after a joint meeting between Healey and the TUC he was reprimanded by Jack Jones. Jones said that only Len Murray was empowered to make a statement after the meeting (Murray later refused to give any comment to the press) and that if Fisher was "to go on talking we are going to be in a mess". The problem is, what will the public sector unions do about their opposition to the cuts? The NUT is pledged to support certain teachers taking action against oversized classes and unfilled vacancies. The NUR is committed to opposing the government's Green Paper which, according to Weighell of the NUR, will cost 15,000 rail jobs. NALGO and NUPE are both committed to a campaign against cuts as are several other smaller public sector unions.

# BREAK THE POWER OF THE BANKS

on "Banking and Finance": "It is clear that the investment expansion that Britain desperately needs is too important to be left to businessmen and financiers alone". Thus, in order to raise the massive sums necessary for expanding industrial capital, these people are saying, "Don't trust the banks and finance houses, control them". And to accomplish this control, these lefts turn to that other capitalist giant, whose development in this century has overshadowed the City's growth: the State. The Home Policy Committee,

take place in a vacuum. To date 39 councils are refusing to make further rounds of cuts demanded in a recent circular from the Labour Government. Strathclyde have called the £14m extra cut demanded of them "totally unrealistic". Dundee council is refusing to implement further cuts. Resolutions down for the Labour Party Conference against cuts are sure to win big support. London hospital workers have taken solidarity strike action to prevent the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Women's Hospital. Nalگو members in Surrey are operating a policy of no covering no cooperation with staffing cuts. CPSA members in Swansea are taking one day strike action against rumoured redundancy.

### Chaos

The elements now clearly exist to develop a sustained and coordinated battle against the cuts. WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE? 1. ORGANISATION IN THE WORKPLACE. Cuts will mean redundancies and speed-up in the public sector. Policies of 'no covering' where there is no replacement of workers who retire or leave a job, to force employers to take on new labour or face chaos. All proposals for speed-up, for deterioration of conditions, must be resisted. It is at workplace level that the cuts will first bite. It is here that strong organisation can force retreat on employers. It is here that sanctions against the cuts have force and meaning. Lobbies and demonstrations to Parliament can help pull the movement together — but they must not be an alternative to vigilance in the workplaces now. 2. UNITY IN THE WORKPLACE. In many schools, offices and hospitals



headed by Wedgwood Benn, therefore proposes:

- \* The Government should set up an Investment Fund, whereby companies would have to deposit money with the Bank of England for investment purposes.
- \* There should be a National Bank — probably formed by amalgamating the National Giro, the National Savings Bank and the Trustee Savings Bank.
- \* The big four banks — Barclays, Lloyds, the National Westminster and the Midland — should be

LAST YEAR, the City of New York was virtually declared bankrupt because there was no way it could pay off its colossal debts. Finally, funds were found to keep the city's finances afloat for another year at the cost of . . . putting it even deeper in debt.

Things in Britain haven't got quite that far yet. But in Leicester, for example, over 30% of council spending simply goes to paying off debt charges; in Coventry the figure is 20%. Interest rates of 10% and 12% ensure not only massive profits for the banks and clearing houses and other financial institutions, but an increased pressure to cut back on social services and other public facilities.

It costs the London Borough of Islington £11 million to borrow £7½ million for council spending. Camden Borough owes more money in interest than exists in the council's entire housing budget.

While social services crumble, the banks and finance companies have made enormous profits. Between 1964 and 1974, Barclays' profits rose by 886%, Lloyds' by 1,042%, and the cinderella of them, Midland, added to its profits by a mere 687%.

So when the muddled or 'innocent' voices ask "But where's the money going to come from to maintain or increase

"publicly owned"; so should the top seven insurance companies. They should retain their separate identities but come under the overall control of the Bank of England. \* The Bank of England itself should be reformed and placed under greater parliamentary control. The banks didn't bat an eyelid when the same policy was passed at

social expenditure?", the answer is clear: not from workers but from the banks, from high finance and industry!

The traditional leaders of the Labour left and the JUC left have other answers — ones that don't tackle the problem and ones that avoid any fight against the capitalist class.

Again this week, for instance, MPs have demanded "import controls" as an alternative to cuts in public expenditure. (Take the burden off British workers, they say, and throw it on foreign workers instead.) Such a policy is downright reactionary. Others demand an increase in rates to maintain services — something which simply means that workers take the money out of one pocket to put slightly less of it in the other.

## CREDIT

Soon these two schools of thought are going to have a shock. The latest figure of a huge balance of payments deficit will only accelerate the development of a policy of higher rates, AND limited import controls, AND increased cuts. And what will our learned Labour Movement leaders propose as an alternative then?

the 1971 Labour Party Conference... In opposition Labour could say what it liked. They didn't panic much when Benn mooted similar proposals while he was Industry Minister... the City left it to Wilson and Healey to slap him down and finally sack him. And they are not worried now, either. Why? Because they know that

But why look for the key to the problem of credit, of financing, in some place other than in the sources of credit and finance themselves? That is, the banks, lending institutions and finance companies, together with the Treasury.

Preferring to break with its promises and policies than to break with the capitalists, the Labour Government refuses to take hold of the wealth of the banks, insurance companies and finance houses. Instead it envisages a target for next year's spending whereby the Health Service expenditure will only just top the amount set aside for loan repayment — £7,311 million. Schools are due to receive £3,467 million, and housing subsidies £1,411.

Loan repayments will take up twice the money allocated to schooling and five times that intended for housing subsidies! And people have the nerve to blame immigrants for such problems!

The February cuts provide a graphic example: the Government announced a £3,000 million programme of public spending cuts while announcing an increase of £3,300 million in scheduled debt repayment. In the year 1975-6 as a whole the Government borrowed £9 billion on the world money markets — £5 billion of it purely for loan and debt repayment.

even the most radical paper formula will not break their stubborn grip. To break the banks and finance institutions in Britain would mean a struggle that they know the Labour and trade union lefts won't unleash.

Benn, Jones and the others try to calm the capitalists (who all the while are cool as cucumbers anyway) by telling them that nationalisation of the banks is not revolutionary. "Indeed", pipes up Labour's journalistic jackdaw, 'Labour Weekly', "our European competitors have stolen a march on us by developing a publicly owned stake in banking and insurance, often without Socialist ideas(!)" "In France the top three banks are state-owned and 85% of the deposits are in public or semi-public institutions. More than half the Italian banks are publicly owned and the principal form of banking in West Germany is publicly owned. Japan has 12 state-owned banks and financial institutions".

They are right, of course. But if the financial free-wheelers of the City were worried, they wouldn't be calmed by these trite words, for in Britain the power of the City is relatively greater and more independent of industry than in those countries. The money-lords are

well aware that the State sector in those countries just as in Britain serves the capitalists; they are well aware that nationalised industry serves capitalism whether there is a Labour or a Tory government.

## SECRET

Nevertheless, the City is a great social power, and whether or not the general historical interests of the capitalist class in Britain is served by the nationalisation of the banks, the City will not be prepared to relinquish its social power even in favour of another fraction of its own class.

The Home Policy Committee proposals are not a serious threat to the City. But they do raise important questions in the labour movement.

They highlight the massive power of the banks. They present an opening for revolutionary arguments which cut across all the talk about it being the working class that must find 'where the money comes from' (although both Benn and Jones combine support for the Home Policy Committee's ideas with support for the working class bearing the burden of the crisis).

The question is raised of the essentially anarchic socially "irresponsible" nature of capitalism, and of the degree to which decision-making is outside Parliament. In the case of the Bank of England, decision-making is a dark secret to Parliament even though the Bank is nationalised.

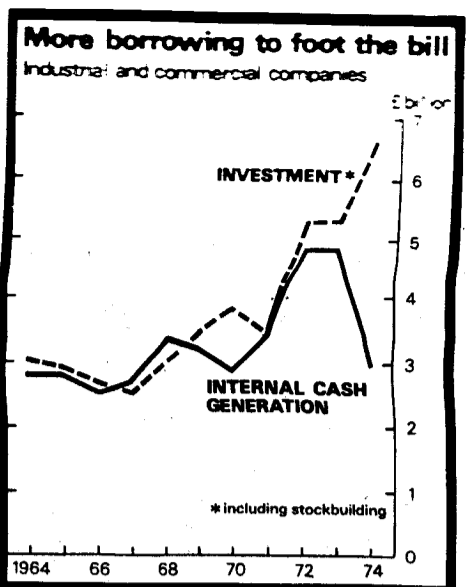
Jack Jones' speech of July 3rd raises the idea that nationalisation of the banks and finance houses can serve the working class through industry only if industry itself serves the working class. Jones puts the most mealy-mouthed reformist interpretation on this by saying that a "National Industrial Development Fund" must be paralleled by a growth in workers' participation — an utterly reactionary combination. But revolutionaries can also argue our interpretation: the need to couple nationalisation with genuine rank-and-file workers' control.

## SERVE

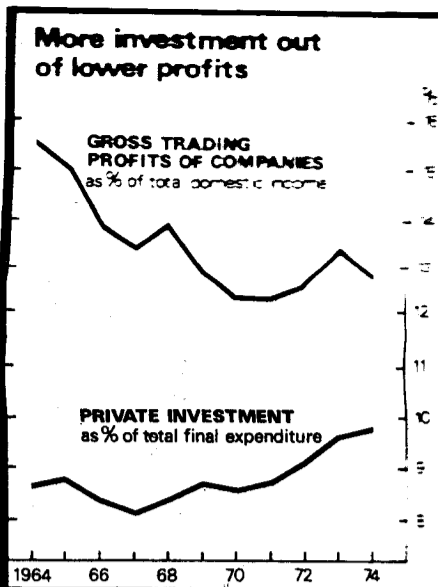
Naturally, what the proposals do not even refer to is the fact that neither the nationalisations of the banks nor of industry can serve the working class until the State itself is smashed and replaced by a State which serves the working class. The state sector in capitalism will serve the capitalists whatever the nature of the government.

The Home Policy Committee propose nationalisation within a half-hearted, irresolute and utopian concept of a peaceful "taking into public control" of an element of the power of the capitalists and its transformation into a pro-working class power. Revolutionaries put forward a programme of struggle for the expropriation of the banks and finance houses, to be connected with industrial and commercial expropriation under workers' control — together with the violent overthrow of the capitalist State itself.

But right now we demand that the reformists launch a struggle for the aim which they profess, of nationalising the banks. We demand it be without compensation. We demand the opening to workers' inspection of the affairs of the banks and insurance companies — and of the financial dealings of the state. We demand the cancellation of the local authorities' interest burdens. We advance these demands.



Profits fall, so where's the investment money coming from?



# ing a fight of it

ment. Such committees must not become mere talking shops, with all the trappings and delusions of grandeur but no action and intervention. They must draw on maximum support from the labour movement — trade union branches, shopfloor organisations, Trades Councils, Labour Parties, LPYSs, student unions, women's organisations such as NAC and the Working Women's Charter Campaign, tenants and community organisations. All these should be pulled together into joint committees on a delegate basis.

Such committees must commit themselves to campaigning in the labour movement to explain the real nature and meaning of the cuts for working people.

They must organise solidarity and support for all workers taking direct action against the cuts. They must organise groups of workers (and groups such as student teachers) who are demanding action from other unions to force employers to take on new labour.

## Value

hold Labour councillors to their word if they oppose cuts, to boot them out if they don't. They must demand that Labour councils refuse to implement cuts, that they deliberately overspend and refuse to repay interest and loan charges to the banks and finance houses.

4. FOR NATIONAL LEADERSHIP IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CUTS. We oppose the false solutions like import controls and rate increases which are being canvassed by the Labour left and Trade Union leaders. We demand that they campaign against all cuts in welfare and social spending. The trade union leaders must not content themselves with speechmaking

Cuts committees must campaign in and out of the Labour Party to themselves to official backing for all workers taking action to defend jobs and conditions. They must publicly state that support and campaign in the branches and workplaces for action against all cuts.

5. FOR NATIONAL PUBLIC SECTOR UNITY. We are for an anti-cuts alliance of all public sector unions. Such an alliance can overcome the divisions that exist now among public sector workers and lead a co-ordinated front against the Labour Government and the employers.

6. Such a campaign against the cuts at local and national level must DEMAND FROM THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT THE IMMEDIATE RE-INSTATEMENT OF ALL CUTS IN WELFARE AND SOCIAL SPENDING. It must demand a guarantee of no future cuts.

The Labour Government must be made to protect social spending — on public transport, social security, housing, health and education — against the ravages of inflation. It must guarantee the automatic compensation for inflation to protect the value of social and welfare facilities.

It must nationalise the banks and finance houses, cancelling the massive debts that are crippling the local authorities.

The time for speeches, for protest resolutions, is over. Sections of workers are now in battle against the cuts. It is vital that the labour movement



sector unions, manual and non-manual, does not exist. We are for joint union site committees to monitor cuts, both actual and proposed, and organise a joint fight against them.

3. FIGHTING CUTS COMMITTEES.

# DEATH ROW 1976

## Over 600 prisoners face execution



### Free Gary Tyler

WHILE THE U.S.A. celebrates the bicentennial of its liberation from Britain, a decision of the Supreme Court has thrown the country's legal system back into the Middle Ages. By a majority of 7-2 they decided, on July 2nd, to legalise the death penalty in three states: Georgia, Florida, and Texas.

In 1972, by a narrow majority, the Supreme Court decided that capital punishment, "as administered", violated the 8th Amendment barring 'cruel and unusual punishment'. Immediately after this decision, the National Association of Attorney Generals began to devise ways to get round it. They did this by making the death penalty mandatory for certain crimes, such as murder and rape. 35 states passed this sort of legislation, and the US Congress jumped on the bandwagon by enacting a mandatory death sentence for hi-jacking.

But this proved to be unsatisfactory. All these new laws could not be put into operation until they had been vetted by the Supreme Court, and juries were reluctant to find people guilty if they knew there would be a mandatory death sentence. So the electric chairs and gas chambers stood idle while the Supreme Court deliberated.

Its recent decision recognised that mandatory death sentences were 'unworkable', but instead approved the sort of law that was passed in Texas, under which a death sentence is imposed if the crime satisfies certain conditions — for example, was a killing unprovoked? was it premeditated?

### Penalty

Given those qualifications, the Court gave the go-ahead for the death penalty to come into operation once more in three states, and for the other states to draft laws of their own which are similar to the ones in Texas, Florida and Georgia.

In the three states concerned, a macabre race has already begun to dust off the electric chairs and put the gas chambers back into operation.

The law in Georgia (which as approved and signed by the Governor, Jimmy Carter — now a red-hot favourite to be the next US President) will affect 29 prisoners on death row. The attorney for the county of Gwinnet, Bryant Huff, had argued strongly in favour of the death penalty and said he was 'ecstatic' at the Court's decision. In Florida, the governor, Reuben Askew, promised to go straight ahead and start signing death warrants. In other states where new laws are being drawn up, the reaction of ghoulish glee was similar. Stanley Laffin, a Maine legislator, jubilantly declared: "We're going to live long enough to see capital punishment the law of the land".

In taking its decision, the Supreme Court argued that the death penalty was a necessary deterrent to stop people committing crimes like murder. But there is no evidence to support this view.

When the British Parliament decided to abolish hanging, a vast amount of evidence was produced showing that capital punishment has not effect in 'detering' murderers.

In the USA, particularly, the call for the death penalty is nothing but an echo of the cry of the lynch mob. This is demonstrated vividly by the fact that most of the prisoners on death rows throughout the

States are blacks — many of them, like young Gary Tyler, there on trumped-up charges and convicted by all-white juries. Especially in the southern states, racist attacks on blacks often took the guise of lynching parties for blacks who had supposedly raped white women. Today, in these states, rape is still a capital crime, and the majority of people found guilty are black. The only difference is that now the lynchings and hangings have been replaced with the clinical efficiency of the electric chair.

The jails of the US are filled with the most oppressed and exploited members of society. Nearly half the prisoners are black, even though black people account for only 11% of the population. Most of these are victims of the racist, mainly white police, and are convicted by all-white juries. Since 1930 3,859 people have been executed in US jails. More than half of them were black. Today there are 611 prisoners on death rows. 317 are black, 15 are Chicanos, and 8 Indian. In all 56% are non-white. In North Carolina, there are 169 under sentence of death, of whom only 40 are white.

### Pogrom

The decision represents the beginnings of a mini-pogrom against the black prisoners in US jails. More than that, it represents a mentality which only looks at crime from the point of view of exacting revenge and retribution, seeing it entirely as the responsibility of a 'criminal type' and not something which is produced by the sort of society in which individuals live.

Of course, there will always be crimes committed as acts of irrationality by people who are mentally disturbed. But the majority of 'criminal acts' are born out of dire poverty and deprived social conditions: conditions which are part of the capitalist system, yet whose offspring the capitalists refuse to recognise as their own.

For the people who supported the massacres of the Vietnamese people, the reinstatement of the death penalty is a logical extension. Anyone who kicks against the system — be they Vietnamese worker or peasant, or a black worker in Georgia — must be put down as efficiently as possible. Just as socialists in this country defended the Vietnamese people from the US butchers, so now they must defend black and white prisoners in the USA itself.

NEAL SMITH

who claimed that Gary had given her the gun to hide. She too has now said that it was police intimidation which made her say it.

As for the gun itself, it had no fingerprints on it and the lead bullet showed no traces of having passed through a human body.

This new evidence was presented to Judge Ruche Marino at the end of April. He denied the motion for a new trial, saying that the witnesses told the truth the first time and were lying when they retracted their statements. Not a surpris-



Gary's brother Terry and mother Juanita — hounded by police

ing decision, given the judge's background. He is a member of the racist 'White Citizens' Council'.

Supporters of Gary Tyler are launching a national campaign for a re-trial and intend to appeal to the Supreme Court in autumn. 'Free Gary Tyler' committees have sprung up all over the country, and there have been demonstrations in all the major cities.

Meanwhile the Tyler family and Gary's supporters have been subjected to systematic harassment by the police. Gary has been put in solitary confinement and his brother has been arrested on the charge of stealing 2 dollars and a packet of cigarettes. The same judge, Marino, set the bail at \$500. While he was in jail, one of the

cops bragged, "I killed so many niggers I got a notch on my gun". Another reminisced about the 'good old days' when the Ku Klux Klan and the lynch mobs hunted down blacks: "I wish we didn't have to have trials no more. I wish it was like in the old days when you could just hang niggers".

Racism like this runs throughout the entire US legal system. The Supreme Court, which has just legalised the death penalty, won't have any sympathy for blacks like Gary Tyler. His only real hope lies in the strength of the campaign that is now growing — like the campaign that freed Martin Sostre and Hurricane Carter, two other black victims of racist injustice.

movement' — even though later in the meeting delegates from Plaid Cymru were allowed onto the committee!

The more generally this tactic of trying to exclude the left wing, while being open to the right, is followed, the more anti-racist campaigning will be weakened.

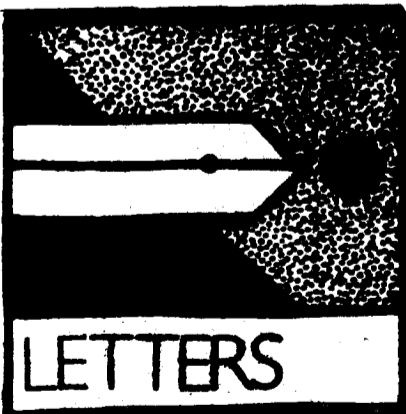
ROB MCGONIGLE.

Dear comrades, We, the undersigned, deplore the exclusion of elected delegates from the Moss Side Labour Party (Chorlton ward) and the Manchester Big Flame from the Right to Work National Council meeting on Saturday July 10th.

These delegates were excluded, after receiving written invitations and without being able to even make representation to the Council meeting itself, by the organising committee.

We feel this exclusion is both anti-democratic and sectarian, and will prevent the Right to Work campaign from building the broadest possible support for its campaign against unemployment, and its march to the TUC in particular.

We appeal to the Right to Work Campaign National Council to reverse this decision for its future activities. DAVY JONES (Unemployed, Moss Side LP (Chorlton branch) delegate); RAYMOND HOGAN (Unemployed, TGWU 6/27, Big Flame delegate); GEOFF HOWARD (AUEW Manchester 17 branch delegate).



Dear comrades, The Campaign against Racism in Cardiff — a committee set up by the Militant-dominated LPYS — is planning a demonstration on August 14th, and will be holding public meetings to build up for it. At the last meeting of the committee, with delegates present from the LPYS, CLPs, trade unions, and the Trades Council, a motion was put to allow IS and the IMG to affiliate to the committee. Militant supporters secured its rejection on the grounds that these organisations were 'not part of the official labour

## UCATT Right win ballot

IN JUNE, the National Conference of UCATT voted to instruct the Executive to disregard all calls for wage restraint and to press ahead with a pay claim to push up basic rates by up to 100%.

The executive were also instructed to fight for a 5-hour reduction in the working week. At a time when over 200,000 building workers are unemployed these policies could have laid the basis for a fighting campaign in the building industry.

Even before the Conference had voted, UCATT General Secretary George Smith had made it clear that the only thing he would be disregarding would be the Conference vote. Ignoring the Conference vote, Smith and his henchmen launched a campaign in the branches for a ballot verdict against the majority line of the conference.

The ballot at branch level elicited little interest among the UCATT membership. Only 6 1/2% of the mem-

bers actually voted. The wording of the ballot was deliberately confusing. It suggested that a vote against wage restraint in next year's wage bargaining also entailed rejecting the deal already struck within the £6 limit-between UCATT and the building employers.

### Welter

The ballot campaign was accompanied by a welter of red-baiting anti-Communist propaganda from George Smith and Co. The members were asked not only to vote for wage restraint but also to protect the Union from destruction at the hands of the Communists. (All in one vote, at that!)

The wage restraint line attracted 10,534 votes. 7,812 voted for rejection. Smith's machine was clearly more efficient in bringing in the

votes than was the CP dominated Building Workers Charter.

Smith has shown how the well-worded and timed ballot can be used to support policies of collaboration and restraint. It has become an increasingly important weapon in the hands of the trade union leaders and the employers.

He has also shown up the weakness of the CP's campaigning methods.

The Building Workers Charter has tried to gain influence and growth inside the trade union machine. It has dropped the regular production of a rank and file Charter paper in favour of pushing and persuading 'progressive' officials. On these terms it has been beaten by Smith on his own ground. It has been incapable of mobilising even 10,000 building workers for a vote against pay restraint even though it was able to carry the National Conference.

D. JONES.

REFORMISTS HAVE ALWAYS answered revolutionary slogans by recommending instead the "realism" of working within the system. In "Workers News" of July 10-24, Robert James rehearses the same philistine objections, against those among the partisans of "Workers News" who are reconsidering the question of the transitional programme.

The Transitional Programme of 1938, James argues, has "not a very brilliant track record", since it has not yet led to the formation of mass parties. Instead socialists should work "to connect the militant fragments" through "understanding, tact, and a willingness to learn" and through "unifying around the simple trade union demands that the bureaucracy have so failed to carry out".

If the Transitional Programme is to be rejected on those grounds, then what of the Communist Manifesto? 128 years after its publication, there is still no mass revolutionary communist movement. What of 'Capital'? What of the fundamental idea of socialism, first formulated nearly 200 years ago, yet still unsuccessful? Are we to conclude from the many defeats suffered by working class revolutionary struggles that the struggle is not worth the effort, and only routine agitation within the system has a good enough 'track record'?

## Bridge

James is confused on what the Transitional Programme 'should' have done, but failed to do. He writes of it as "the programme for a 'world party of bolshevism'", and declares that "Transitional demands become a bridge to revolutionary organisation when they are taken up by a powerful current in the workers' movement"; yet he states elsewhere that the Transitional Programme was intended as the instrument, not of a mass party, but of a small group trying to build that party. It was "allegedly designed to overcome the problems of a hostile environment and a fundamentally non-working class membership".

James' attitude is merely the inverse of the approach of vulgar Trotskyists who take the 1938 document to be an all-saving dogma.

In fact, the Fourth International's document of 1938 was neither the only, nor the first, nor yet the last, expression

Ray Saunders on the 'Workers News'

# ALL WILLINGNESS AND NO LEARNING

of the idea of a programme of transitional demands.

The first outline of the concept of a transitional programme can be found in Trotsky's writings on the 1905 Revolution in Russia. Lenin's pamphlet "The Impending Catastrophe and how to Combat it" summarises a transitional programme for the revolutionary struggle in Russia in 1917. Basing itself on the experience of that and many other revolutionary struggles, the Communist International, in the early 1920s, formulated the notion of a transitional programme as its answer to the dichotomy of 'minimum' programme (immediate reforms) and 'maximum' programme (the far-off socialist goal) which had plagued the Second International.

The Communist Parties attempted to root themselves in the immediate working class struggles and relate those struggles to an overall struggle for socialism. They began to bring 'socialist' propaganda down from the cloudy skies and harness it to the hard daily grind of working class struggle.

The full socialist programme was broken down into a linked chain, each link of which might successively be grasped, and the movement hauled forward, dependent on the degree of mobilisation, intensity of struggles, and the relationship of forces.

But this method was never supposed to guarantee victory. Indeed, the whole spirit of the Leninist CI was opposed to the Second International approach of requiring advance assurance of success before entering any struggle.

The Stalinist degeneration, gripping the Communist International before it had even formulated a written programme, left the Trotskyists as the sole defenders

of this revolutionary-strategic concept of a programme. They were fully aware of the gross disproportion between the scope of their programmatic demands and their puny forces. Yet their criterion for their activity was not just to secure a good 'track record' of mass influence within a given time. They could not, on account of their small numbers, renounce the task of spelling out the necessary aims of the revolutionary struggles which the working class had to undertake, on pain of being crushed by fascism and war.

As Trotsky wrote: "We must tell the workers the truth, then we will win the best elements. Whether these best elements will be capable of guiding the working class, leading it to power, I don't know. I hope that they will be able, but I cannot give the guarantee".

## Defeat

Again: "We do not need any self-deception. The discrepancy between our forces today and the tasks on the morrow is much more clearly perceived by us than by our critics. But the harsh and cruel dialectic of our epoch is working in our favour. Brought to the extreme pitch of exasperation and indignation, the masses will find no other leadership than that offered by the Fourth International".

In the revolutionary struggles that followed the Second World War, the Trotskyists were defeated in their fight against the mis-leadership of Social Democracy and Stalinism. The working class, in consequence, was defeated also, and revolutionary prospects were dimmed for a long while. What would James say?

Does the defeat prove the Trotskyists' struggle was wrong? Should they have rejected revolutionary slogans and spent the war and post-war period in routine agitation for trade union demands?

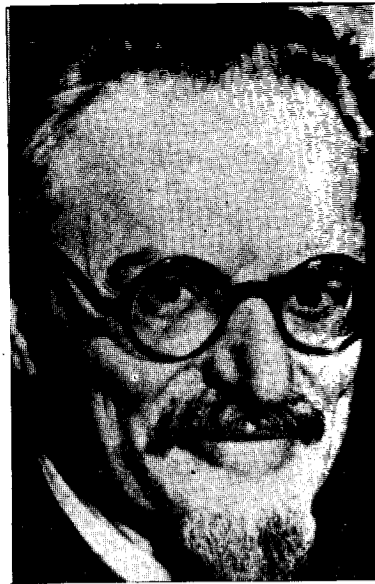
In post-war vulgar Trotskyism, Trotsky's dialectical materialism has been replaced by mechanical evolutionism, coupled sometimes with elements of voluntarism. Thus transitional demands have been seen, not as means to link with explosive struggles, but as magic relics to invoke struggles, or to ensure the rapid ascent of Trotskyism to the head of those struggles; or sometimes as clever devices to ensure that workers' struggles take a non-reformist direction; or as advice for the ongoing 'revolutionary process'.

James has the same basic approach as the dogmatic fetishists; but instead of accepting the fetish, he rejects it — and with it the basic strategic advance which the transitional programme concept represents.

The bureaucracy, he says, can take up "cbunks of the Transitional Programme" and use them demagogically to build their own influence. Undoubtedly. But for the bureaucrats to co-opt agitation for the "simple trade union demands" recommended by James is not only possible; it is their staple activity!

James also complains that transitional demands are "adventurism", "revolutionary play-acting". On the demand for a sliding scale of wages, based on a workers' cost of living index monitored by housewives' and trade unionists' committees, he says: "How, and through what agency, this massive organisational task was to be accomplished was left to our imagination".

James here attributes his own world-



Leon Trotsky

weary fatalism to the working class. The labour movement, once it has a clear political direction, can accomplish far more 'massive' tasks than a network of price-watch committees. Take the general strike slogan. When revolutionaries agitated for it during the disputes over the Industrial Relations Act in 1972, could they say exactly how such a massive movement would be organised? No! Yet when the mass strike movement erupted over the jailing of the Pentonville Five, the "unruly" ones were not the revolutionaries but the IS leadership (then including the principal figures now round "Workers News") who got round to calling for a general strike... just as the strike movement was ending!

James' solution — "understanding, tact and a willingness to learn", "unifying around the simple trade union demands" — is no fresh strategic advance, but only an impoverished re-hash of the Second International's tactical wisdom. Instead of the Leninist conception of a party fighting intransigently to break out of reformist routine, he proposes an ideologically loose association, "connecting the militant fragments", being good trade unionists day to day, while the 'theoreticians' retain in their libraries the revolutionary demands, to be brought forward the day they become "a powerful current in the workers' movement".

# Tyndale staff sacked!

THE REPORT of the enquiry into William Tyndale Infant and Junior schools is finally completed, though not yet on sale to the public. Advance copies were issued to the press and to the parties to the enquiry on Friday 16th July.

WORKERS ACTION asked DOROTHY McCOLGAN, one of the 'Tyndale 6' teachers, for her views on the initial press action to the report.

WA: What do you say to the charge that Brian Haddow was the ringleader, that he was doctrinaire, aggressive, lacked concern for the children and dominated Terry Ellis, the head, to the extent that he was able to push his ideas through without opposition?

DM: Brian is being set up as the scapegoat.

There is a two-pronged attack being made on Brian, on the educational level and on the militant trade unionist level. Parental discontent did NOT erupt because of the class options scheme introduced early in 1974. Brian's work with his class in the summer of 1974 did NOT disrupt the school. And the cooperative teaching scheme which we worked on over 1974/75 was a good scheme, not what the press are saying, that it was a bad scheme because Brian was leading it.

As to Brian Jominating Terry, I refute that also. We formulated our approach in the school as a result of discussion among the staff as a whole.

WA: The Report puts a lot of emphasis on your walk out of the staff-parents meeting of 9th July 1974.

DM: This meeting was called to explain our educational methods in the school as a result of disquiet that had been voiced after we joined the official NUT strike over the London Allowance. We sought assurances that the debate would be confined to the educational method and that personal abuse would be ruled out of order.

As it happened, the meeting was taken over by Dolly Walker (a right wing ex-member of William Tyndale Junior staff — WA) and her allies among the parents. Brian especially was singled out for personal attacks. When these attacks persisted we left the meeting.

WA: A solution being suggested by one of the managers is for the Infant and Junior schools to be combined into one primary school.

DM: I'm not at all surprised by this suggestion. It was made by Aclfryth Gittings, one of the four managers who used an inconclusive meeting with Harvey Hinds, chairman of the ILEA schools sub-committee, as an excuse for organising a petition against the school. One of the demands of the petition was for the reorganisation of the two schools into one unit. Mrs Hoodless, another of the four managers, has said that she wanted this with Hart (the infant head) as headmistress. What more convenient way of getting rid of Terry Ellis?

## Islington Council

WA: One party that seems to have come out unscathed is the Islington Labour Council. Were they in fact involved to any great extent?

DM: It was Mrs Hoodless who, after the meeting with Harvey Hinds, raised the issue of William Tyndale at her local Labour Party meeting and got endorsement for the petition that way. There were two or three managers directly involved like this. Islington Council has in fact been using Tyndale as a stick to beat the ILEA with, calling it a remote bureaucracy and arguing for more direct control over Islington schools. They have expressed "enormous concern" over the school, and yet Councillor Anna Page, who welcomed the vindication of the Council in the Report, has never been near the school, though she has been to see Harvey Hinds at the ILEA. The Tyndale staff have been used as pawns

in this particular struggle for control over the schools.

[The interview has been cut down for reasons of space]

SINCE THIS article was written, the majority Labour caucus on the ILEA schools sub-committee met on Sunday night (18th July) and voted almost unanimously for disciplinary proceedings to be taken against all six Tyndale junior staff. They have decided that the Infant and Junior schools should be amalgamated into one primary schools with one head. They have stated that Terry Ellis and Brian Haddow must not apply for jobs at the reorganised school and that, although the other Tyndale teachers will be free to apply, they will not get jobs at the new school.

The Labour caucus have also closed ranks behind Harvey Hinds, chairman of the ILEA schools sub-committee, who came in for criticism in the report, and who made an impassioned plea at the caucus meeting, stating that he had "been leaned on by someone high up in the ILEA to withhold certain information from the enquiry". I.H. 19-76

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## EVENTS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Block ads, £5 per column inch. Paid ads, 8p per word. Send copy to 'Events', 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's issue.

Wednesday 21st July. 'SAVE ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON HOSPITAL': march from the hospital to Whitehall, to lobby Parliament from 4.15pm

Wednesday 21st July. 'REVOLUTION IN SPAIN 1936-1976', with Robin Blackburn and a speaker from the LCR-ETA6. 7.30pm, University of London Union, Malet St.

Friday 23rd July. Women's disco benefit for the SAVE THE E.G.A. campaign: from 8pm at the Architects' Association Bedford Sq., London WC1.

Saturday 24th July. Demonstration against RACISM AND FASCISM organised by Birmingham Anti-Fascist Committee. Workers Action supporters to assemble 2pm in the car park at the top of Boulton Rd/Soho Rd, Handsworth.

Saturday 24th July. Counter-demonstration AGAINST THE NATIONAL FRONT called by IS: assemble 12 noon at Speakers Corner, Hyde Park.

Saturday 14th August. Cardiff demonstration AGAINST RACISM AND FASCISM. Assemble Museum Place, 2pm.

Saturday 21st August. Revolutionary Communist Group Day school on THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. 10am to 6pm at Conway Hall, Rd Lion Sq. Further info from "Day school (WA)", 49 Railton Rd, London SE24 0L

"SPARTACUS", monthly organ of the German Trotskyist organisation Spartakusbund. R. Engelhardt, 43 Essen, Postlagerkarte 064395A, West Germany.

"BULLETIN OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST FACTION": Italian Trotskyist monthly. Antonella Marazzi, CP 30093, Roma, Italy.

"LUTTE OUVRIERE", French Trotskyist weekly. LO, BP233 - 75865 - Paris Cedex 18 - France.

Revue "QUAN SAT", organ of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. 48 rue Mazarine, 75006 Paris, France.

"WOMEN'S CHARTER", paper of the Working Womens Charter campaign. First issue includes articles on Equal Pay, the Trico dispute, recent legislation on the CIS report, etc, plus supplement on the National WWC conference. Price 10p. J. Daniels, 16 Crookham Rd, London SW18 1JH.

"REPUBLICAN NEWS", Irish Republican weekly. 170 Falls Rd, Belfast.

# WIDRINKERS IN ANTIWIND

## Orlake women win the lot



ORLAKE PLASTICS, Dagenham, employs about 139 people: 126 workers, 13 supervisory staff. The main bulk of the workforce are women, employed in the lucrative business of making pop records.

The women work mainly part time shift work. Every summer they are laid off; when this occurs they cannot draw

dole because they pay the reduced married woman's N.I. stamp. This means that for three months out of every year they receive no pay. Their pay is low at the best of times and conditions are poor.

Because of family commitments, the women had put up with this for a long time, feeling that — tied as they were by children and lack of nurseries — they had

little choice.

But 12 weeks ago, at Easter, their shop steward, Margaret Stevely, began to form a T&GWU branch. She signed up every one of the workers into the union.

Orlake management refused to recognise the union: "We are having no unions in here", they said, "we will close the place down first". So Margaret Stevely

brought out the women. The men did not come out until the strike was made official two weeks later, but then it was 100%.

Management tried to bring in scabs. During the scuffles that ensued, Rene Farrow, a press operator, was arrested for having supposedly assaulted one of the scabs. According to the rest of the pickets, Rene wasn't on the picket line the morning that the incident took place! However, the picketing stopped the scabs.

Management then proposed that the dispute be taken to ACAS (the government Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service) to find out if everyone wanted to join the union. Since they had all already joined, the whole idea was farcical! The women didn't want to go to ACAS. Margaret Stevely says that they decided: "No matter what ACAS came up with we were determined to get out £6 and Trade Union recognition. No matter what, we stay out!"

12 weeks later, the strikers won. "We walked through those gates smiling, laughing, crying, just a fantastic feeling". The company director resigned.

Margaret Stevely told 'Workers Action' "We are making sure that there are no victimisations". One of the workers who was suspended for attending unofficial meetings is still suspended (now on full pay) until she gets a 'fair' hearing. But if she is not reinstated, "we will be out again", said one woman striker.

"It's us and them all the time, but now we know that we can run a factory, now we have won this strike we have a say in the running of Orlake's.

"We felt as if we could have won anything if we fought hard enough. We will have no hesitation whatsoever about coming out on strike again.

"We fought for our union and £6, and we got it. We won the lot. We walked through the gates, thumbing our noses at management".

FRAN BRODIE  
JENNY JONES

12 MONTHS AGO, two boys set fire to Demesne Primary School on the Langley Estate, Middleton, near Rochdale. Plans were made for a new school, to include a nursery, to be ready in September 1976.

But last month, Rochdale's Control of Expenditure Sub-Committee decided that it wasn't really needed. By a judicious juggling of questionable statistics they discovered that a falling birth rate would have meant progressively smaller classes. And, although Langley is an Education Priority Area, with a higher density of young children than the surrounding area, with 32% of families being one-parent, and 30% of families having 5 or more children, this still did not, apparently, warrant spending insurance money to build a school!

The kids who had patiently been shuttled to other schools all over the town must carry on indefinitely. Five year olds will have to trek up the road to the nearest Primary school, or some parents will have to tramp two miles, taking their 5-year old to school, and pushing prams and dragging toddlers because they have no-one else to look after them.

The Chief Education Officer said that parents who protested were simply bothered by "inconvenience"...

Meanwhile, the Education Department is saving itself hundreds of pounds in running costs, and has a nice present of £125,000 in insurance money, which it has no intention of spending on the people in most need, on this notorious post-war overspill estate where 4700 houses were built with almost no amenities.

The parents aren't accepting another slap in the face. They have set up an Action Committee to fight to change the Council's decision, and to go to see the Secretary of State. They badly need moral and financial support. Please send both to Ms Pat Donald, 356 Windermere Rd, Langley, Middleton.

SUE ARNALL

RECENT CUTS announcements in the Birmingham area include plans to get rid of 45 nursing staff by Dudley Area Health Authority. This will probably mean some ward closures.

Birmingham's Central Health District has also told 96 SRN students and 15 SEN students that they cannot be guaranteed jobs when they complete their courses this year. Local officials of the nurses' union COHSE do not question the "need" for cuts, only the necessity of cutting back on nurses.

In Walsall, NALGO is to hold an emergency executive meeting to discuss redundancy threats mentioned in a statement by new Tory council leader Bert Smith. Smith said that sackings were to be made in plans to cut £1.5 million off next year's budget.

J.T.

SIX FITTERS at the main beam mill, Lackenby, have been taken off pay for refusing to work on cranes. They refused in accordance with a shop decision that such work was not part of their job. The labourers on the same shift walked out in solidarity, and all riggers on all shifts are also out.

L.D.

THE TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT fact-finding delegation to Ireland will be leaving on 17th September. It plans to spend one day in Dublin and two further days in the North. Meetings have already been arranged with Irish Labour Party TDs (MPs) and Trade Union organisations in the South, with the IRSP, Provisional Sinn Fein, the Irish CP and the Republican Clubs, and with Trade Union and Community organisations in the North.

So far more than 50 organisations have agreed to send delegates to Ireland — more than half of them coming from trade union branches and Trades Councils, with others from Labour Parties and Student Unions.

If your organisation would like further information or to send a delegate contact Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland, C/o TOM, 1 North End Rd, London W14.

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## TRICO BOSSES TRY 'EQUAL PAY IN REVERSE'

by Marion Mound

BETTY HUMPHRIES, from the Trico strike in West London, told a meeting organised by Hammersmith Working Women's Charter Campaign (WWCC) on Tuesday 13th July how the equal pay dispute is progressing after two months.

The strike broke out on 24th May, when management refused to make an offer to 400 women workers after negotiations had been going on for nearly a year.

The women receive £6.64 a week less than five men doing identical work. Management claim that because the men originally did night shift work they are 'flexible' — but there is no longer any night work and the men and women do exactly the same work. Tricos now want to implement equal pay 'in reverse' — by paying newly recruited workers the women's rate, and letting the higher rate die as the five men leave. Most of the women are refusing to accept this, but they have a complicated and difficult struggle on their hands.

### Bruisers

On Tuesday 13th July, management backed out of taking the dispute to a tribunal — significantly, after the union involved, the AUEW, had failed to recognise the tribunal. The same day they took the dispute to ACAS [Arbitration, Conciliation and Advisory Service]. The ACAS findings are not yet available at the date of writing.

Although there is constant picketing at Tricos, on two occasions the bosses have driven a squadron of lorries loaded with windscreen wipers out of the gates. Last Sunday morning, 11th, at about 2.30am, 17 lorries and 14 private cars — escorted by police — drove straight through the picket line into the factory, loaded up, and drove out again. The lorries had no names, the number plates were covered up, and they drove through two red lights with a police escort. The private cars were filled with big bruisers — obviously carefully handpicked men.

Many of the striking women are single or support one-parent families. They have a desperate struggle to survive on £9 or £10 strike pay a week. Most of the women haven't even received that.

When the strike began, 96 women joined the AUEW: but, as new mem-

bers, they were not immediately eligible for strike pay when the strike was made official. So for the first weeks of the strike, the women who did get strike pay shared it out with the rest.

At the beginning of the strike, a group of the women occupied the offices of Ealing Social Security when they refused to pay up. The manager was forced to hand Giro's for £7.50 over the counter there and then. But, on hearing that Hounslow offices were refusing to pay up, Ealing then stopped paying, so that now only a few are receiving social security.

The AUEW Executive Council is at present considering donating £800 a week to the strikers, which it

picket line! The situation now is that about half the factory workers go in every morning, and half are out.

While Heathrow Airport, Vauxhall, Fords and British Leyland workers have agreed to black Trico products, this is not being put into practice very effectively. For instance, a lorry driver turned away by the pickets warned them — as a fellow worker — that windscreen wiper blades were arriving at Heathrow airport from America for British Leylands — indicating that the blacking is effective neither at Heathrow nor at Leylands.

Cowboy firms and private contractors are probably also moving stuff in plain crates through Heathrow, the contents unknown to the workers there. Possibly most horri-

1. A woman whose job it was to check glasses on a conveyor belt claimed equal pay with a man who also checked glasses on a conveyor belt. No said the Tribunal, you can't have equal pay; the man does the first inspection and you are just a "re-inspector" — therefore his job is more responsible and he should be paid more.

2. A woman whose job it was to check shoes in a shoe factory claimed equal pay with a man who also checked shoes. No, said the Tribunal, you can't have equal pay; you only do the first inspection while he has the responsibility of checking the shoes before they finally go to the customer.

It would seem that the first check or the last check, whichever the woman does, is less responsible. HEADS THE EMPLOYER WINS, TAILS WE LOSE!

will get back through a levy of members in the area, according to the results of a ballot on the subject.

Mainly through financial hardship, about 50 workers have now gone back into the factory, but the pickets have made them so ashamed that the scabs hang their heads when they slink through the gates in the morning; they are too afraid to come out at dinner time, and some of them lie on their bellies in the back of cars when they go home at night, in an attempt to hide from the strikers.

Most of the men AUEW members came out when the strike was made official, but some went back when their wives threatened to leave them — a very different reaction to that of the women on the

ic of all, the Northampton Trico factory is still working. When some of the strikers went up there to get support, the foreman tried to get rid of them, and they found out that the shop steward who had been holding the union together, there had just mysteriously left. The women feel sure he was sacked. The foreman even ordered the girls inside in their dinner hour to stop the strikers talking to them, and in their tea break he locked them in the factory!

### Benefit

The Northampton factory pays the women £23 a week gross for working from 8am to 5pm — less than a Trico workers from Brent-

ford earns for four days after stoppages! The Brentford women are determined to return to get the Northampton workers unionised and to get their support.

The meeting collected £34 for the strike, and was told that the local NALGO had donated £50. Hammersmith WWCC has also organised a benefit social to raise money for the strikers. Throughout London, Charter groups are collecting money and also sending people to help picket (they are especially needed at nights and weekends).

This strike needs publicity — blacking that is really effective — and your money. Send donations to Trico Strike Fund, c/o AUEW House, Roger Butler, 1 Woodlands Rd, Southall, Middlesex.

## Black teacher victimised

SHARAD KORGAONKAR, a teacher at Henry Thornton school in Lambeth (South London), has faced continuous racial discrimination since his appointment on a supply [casual] basis in February 1974. His case was outlined at a meeting called by the Black Workers League on 14th July.

In May 1975, still having only supply status, Sharad was told that "due to economic cuts", there would be no job for him in September 1975. But another teacher was appointed to the same department in the school three days before that!

With the assistance of the National Union of Teachers (NUT), the Black Workers League, and teachers at the school, Sharad got the ILEA [Inner London Education Authority] to reverse the head-

2075 he learned that he was to be transferred to another school at Christmas. In December 1975 the school invited applications from members of staff for permanent assignment to the school.

The only other applicant, despite being less qualified, was given the job without Sharad being interviewed at all.

After Sharad had complained, he was given an interview... for the job which had already been awarded!

In June 1976 Sharad inquired what his position was for September, and was informed that he was not being time-tabled, "on the instruction of the headmaster". He was told this four weeks after the start of timetabling, and only after he asked. Sharad's position is now very uncertain with the end of term only a week away, but he has had considerable supp-

Some teachers in the Science department have suggested that they should 'create' a timetable for Sharad next term and then refuse to teach those classes.

Lambeth NUT appears to have dropped Sharad's case, and he is now at the stage of having to consider taking legal action under the Race Relations Act or the Industrial Tribunal for victimisation if he doesn't hear from ILEA in the near future. Sharad himself points out, however, that it would be wrong to rely on the courts to back him.

The meeting also heard of various other cases of discrimination, mainly against Asian teachers: one kept on supply contract for 11 years (!); another on temporary contract for over 12 years; various attempts to withdraw the work permits of immigrant teachers;

supply teachers being asked to paint walls.

It is vital that this discrimination, and the insecure position of supply teachers, be campaigned against: otherwise the authorities will be creating a vulnerable section of teachers that they can sack and move around at will as required by the education cuts. Mulley, the Education Minister, has openly suggested that they do the same with married women who want to return to teaching after having children.

The campaign must demand repeal of all immigration controls and of the work permit system, and permanent contracts for supply teachers.

PETE FIRMIN  
Copies of the detailed memorandum on Sharad Korgaonkar's case can be obtained from him at 49 Melgund Rd, London N5.