

# workers' ACTION

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## ZIMBABWE: The people should decide — not Geneva

It will be a defeat if the Geneva conference on Rhodesia, due to open on October 28th, produces a settlement.

Labour and trade union militants should demand of the British Government that it withdraw from all involvement in the conference. We should say that the only

settlements for Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) we are interested in are settlements based on immediate, unfettered majority rule.

President Nyerere of Tanzania urges British control of the Defence Ministry in an interim government. He even advocates a British Governor-General for

Rhodesia. Right-wing Zimbabwe nationalist Joshua Nkomo — now in cynical alliance with guerilla leader Robert Mugabe — talks about there being 'no risk to white farms and businesses' in a Zimbabwe under his leadership.

What that means is that the white settler minority are being promised that if they give up their absolute political domination — and even Ian Smith admits they cannot avoid doing that — then they can continue to exploit the black people of Zimbabwe in their factories, in their businesses, and on the land.

The Geneva conference is a conference whose only aim is to work out the best way of keeping the greatest number of the white settlers' privileges. Instead of any settlements of that sort, Workers Action says: the land, the businesses, and the factories of Zimbabwe should belong to the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe.



Nkomo (right) Mugabe (left)



The crisis of the bosses' system hits the entire working class in a very simple way / it's slashing our standard of living. WORKERS' ACTION argues a straightforward working class answer — action to defend our living standards.

▶ To do that wages, pensions and grants must be tied to price rises — £1 for each 1% increase in a working class cost of living index. This demand is one we can and must attempt to raise and win at workplace level, it's not a timid plea to the Labour government to do things on our behalf. Yet we must fight for classwide unity to protect our living standards, to develop the combativity and self-organisation shown by sections of our class but de-fused by an inability to mobilise the class as a whole. Developing that combativity means fighting to force the employers and their state into conceding us the right to a standard of living protected against inflation by such a sliding scale of wages. Developing self-organisation means that this demand must be linked to the establishment of committees of workers and housewives to monitor price rises and determine how they really affect the working class — in opposition to the state's biased statistics.

▶ Such a fight to defend living standards would be less than useless if it tied our hands to merely defending low and inadequate wages, pensions and benefits — that's why we demand a national minimum wage and benefit level of £50 per week also to be linked to prices, and why we believe it's necessary to fight for wage increases above this using

# THE CRISIS FIGHTING BACK

protected wages as simply a better starting point for the ongoing struggle.

▶ These policies to protect our class against the effect of the bosses' crisis run directly counter to the social contract between the trade union leaders and the Labour government. Even government statistics show a fall in real wages by over 3% in the last year. That's why we say NO to any state interference — which means bosses' interference — in our unions to tie them to such bureaucratically decided deals and prevent them adopting fighting policies. That's why we say smash the social contract, no to participation schemes, no reliance on the ACAS the Equal Pay Commission or any other state plans to link our unions to the state and to a bosses' answer to the crisis.

▶ The threat which the employers and their government have used to force the working class to knuckle under to the social contract, willingly agreed to by the union bureaucrats, is that of unemployment. Their crisis has meant at least 1½ million — probably far more — are jobless, unemployment is a grim reality to many families and a threat to millions of others. There is no way to 'fight unemployment' by 'protecting industry' through import controls or directing investment — the employers are mounting a direct attack on our jobs — a direct reply is needed.

▶ That's why we must say no to all redundancies — no to any call for youth, women black or migrant workers to be the first out — we need the utmost unity, a fighting unity. The basis for that fight is for a policy of sharing out

the work under workers' control and without any loss of pay for a 35-hour week and for overtime to be eliminated now. It's a fight we can pursue and partly win on a workplace level but that's not enough.

▶ If the employers in any company say they can't afford to guarantee jobs, and are threatening redundancies, we must demand they show us their books... not just their immediate accounts but those of their entire operations must be open to workers' enquiry. Any company going broke or declaring redundancies must be occupied in order to force its nationalisation so as to save jobs — the banks and financial institutions must be nationalised and an end put to the siphoning-off of the wealth produced by workers into

▶ The cuts not only push up unemployment but also health, education, transport, and housing facilities. We say: funds of all social services vital to working class living standards to be protected by automatic increases in line with price rises; any cuts in public spending should come from 'defence'; Labour councils should refuse to implement the cuts and should also refuse to make the interest payments to money-lenders which burden their budgets; militants should fight for the Labour government to remove that interest burden by nationalising the banks and finance institutions.

▶ We fight for nationalisation not because we see Labour's policy of bureaucratic state capitalism as a step to socialism — but because the working class forcing nationalisation without compensation and under our control onto the government is a step to developing our own class power.

▶ In the end we are fighting not for an answer to this crisis but for an answer to a crisis-ridden system. One answer to this crisis could be that we knuckle under to lower living standards, massive unemployment and the binding of our unions to the state. The other answer is to fight the social contract sell-out, for rank and file control of the unions and the adoption of policies to defend our interests — for an end to collaboration with the state and a start to the fight to destroy the power of the employers and their state... for the institution of our own power.

MORE ON THE CRISIS: pages 2/3

## THE CRISIS FIGHTING BACK

AS AN organisation with anything to offer militants, the International Socialists (IS) have been hit hard by capitalism's crisis.

In the late '60s and early '70s, IS was able to grow by latching on to and adapting to the considerable wave of rank and file militancy which responded to speed-up, productivity deals and attempts by the Tories to hold back wages and control trade union activity.

But this militancy never fundamentally broke with reformist ideas. For now, it has been seriously undermined by the alliance of the Labour Party in government and the trade union bureaucracy.

### Hitting hard

With cuts, unemployment, inflation and wage curbs hitting hard at workers' living standards a real fight-back has been virtually stopped in its tracks by confusion in the face of appeals for national unity and by the 'left' solutions — which are even more nationalistic — of import control calls, of blaming 'foreign' bankers, of arguments

## THE CRISIS FIGHTING BACK

NOTHING was displayed more clearly in last week's economic debate in Parliament than the sheer helplessness of capitalist politicians to steer their own system. The only thing they feel they can successfully organise — provided they get a little co-operation from the TUC — is the further rape of working class living standards.

Denis Healey reported that in July the Government was worried about the speed of recovery; now it is worried at the degree to which growth rates have slowed down.

The target of single figures for the rate of inflation had been given up "not because our labour costs are rising more sharply than provided for in our policy. On the contrary. It is the consequence of the sharp rise in commodity prices earlier this year ... and the rapid deflation of sterling."

What an admission! First, the myth that wage rises cause inflation is thrown to the winds. Then he admits that not the workers but the bosses and the bankers nationally and internationally — the very people that he and the rest of the Labour Government are crawling to — are the people who are stoking up inflation. And then he tells us that, knowing all that (the 'sharp rise in commodity prices' was 'earlier this year' and so was the major deflation of sterling) he went ahead and laid into workers' living standards yet again with Social Contract Mark 2.

This is not a matter of "mis-handling the economy" as the Tory politicians and press put it. It is a case of manhandling the working class.

And the prospects for the working class as the Chancellor sees them? "It is already clear that if we are to maintain the

# IS ON THE COAT-TAILS OF REFORMISM

and schemes for more viable ways of running everything from an industry or works to capitalism itself.

What's needed above all to break out of this swamp is a programme of action and demands which take as their starting point the attitude: we, the working class, take no responsibility for capitalism's problems or those of our individual bosses/local council or whatever.

Thus we take workers' needs, not those of capitalism, as paramount. And we set out to articulate those needs in demands that challenge the basis of capitalism

itself. For the greatest overall need of the working class is to get rid of this system that exploits and oppresses us.

Instead of such a programme, IS offers us in the 16th October *Socialist Worker* something completely different.

### Pitiful reformism

In the main editorial article 'Crisis: the Socialist Answer' (which is presumably intended as a platform for the SW by-election candidates) we are instead given a classic social-democratic programme: for today, the programme of doing

away with the "greedy", "bad" aspects of capitalism; for some point in the indefinite future, the planned economy and the socialist paradise.

Though they are jumbled together incoherently, at no point can one find any link between the two — between the day to day concerns of the working class and a final solution to those problems.

By breaking this link, the IS 'answer' falls into the most pitiful reformism.

The article seems to start out to show that capitalism is irrational by giving 'rational' answers for its problems, or

rather, the problems as oversimplified and distorted in the popular press propaganda. The trouble is, the 'answers' very soon turn into 'sensible advice'.

Not enough wealth to pay debts or run the social services? There'd be more wealth, says SW, if there was full employment, bringing in taxes instead of eating up dole. And so on.

### Capitalism

Though this section isn't posed as demands that workers should raise, in the whole context of the present Left Labour and Communist Party 'policies for the government', it certainly reads like a series of recommendations for solving capitalism's present problems.

What makes this reading more definite is the resemblance of many of SW's 'answers' to those of *Tribune* and the *Morning Star* — albeit articulated (with SW's usual contempt) for 6-year old comic-book readers.

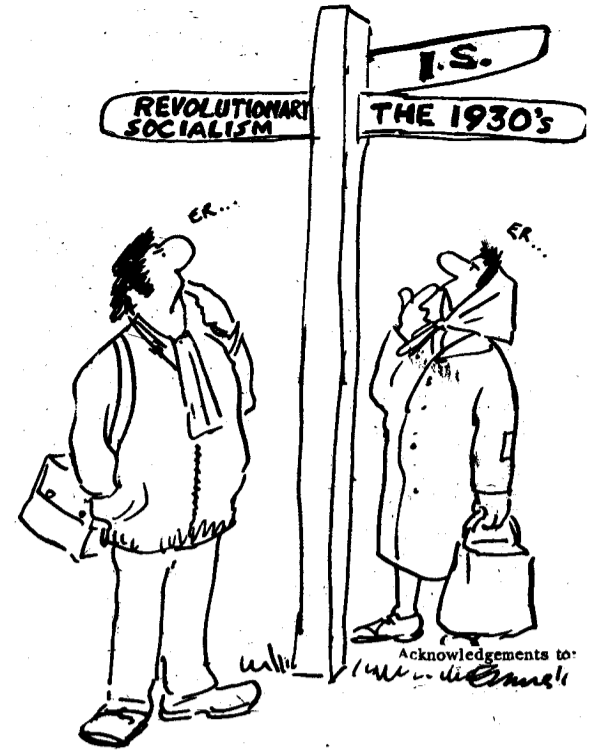
In fact, SW includes some of the most reactionary nationalistic ideas of *Tribune* and the Communist Party.

Thus "our rulers have squandered their wealth rather than invested it" (their wealth?!). Just pay off 'government debts' by ending interest payments and investment grants, and allow the unemployed to work "paying taxes instead of receiving dole money" and everything would be better for capitalism.

And the overseas debt of 10,000 million pounds? Easy. "If they were serious about 'getting the country out of debt' they would sell these possessions (capital invested abroad). But they are not. They prefer to load the debt onto the backs of the workers."

### Nationalism

This particular 'answer' is not just a chance, journalistic way of approaching the question. It is echoed twice further on, with strictures on the need to stop 'the rich' "moving their wealth abroad". This really isn't any different at all from the reactionary nationalist propaganda of *Tribune* and the CP. Our "national" capital (as if capitalism is not an international system intermeshing every part of its world) — when not squandered abroad — is somehow superior to foreign capital. Property, factories and so on abroad why not in Britain too, while they're at it: that should raise a quid or two should be sold rather than loading the debt onto the backs of British workers. IS recommends. But we thought socialists (let alone International Socialists...) fav-



## Labour helpless in the capitalist chaos

necessary rate of progress we shall have to accept in the coming year at least some further fall in the real incomes of the British people as a whole."

Of course the phrase "as a whole" is simply hogwash: both the Chancellor and the Prime Minister have said that it is necessary to increase profits; and as the ruling class draw their incomes from these profits, their standard of living won't fall at all — let alone 'further'.

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The only clash within the Labour Party ranks came over the question of import controls. In the week, of course, the TUC and CBI had jointly presented a document to Healey arguing for the imposition of at least selective temporary import controls. This move was quickly followed up by a statement to the same effect from the Chairman of the national organisation of Chambers of Commerce. In Parliament the issue was first raised by Douglas Jay.

The line-up expressed very clearly that there is nothing "left wing", even in Labour terms, about the demand for import controls. *Workers Action* has consistently argued that it is a backward looking, nationalistic move that could only serve the interests of small and medium capital.

It is worth noting, however, that Jay's argument was the opposite of the one often touted by the TUC and Labour 'Left'. They often cover up their nationalist conservatism by saying that the goods they want banned are those coming from poor countries where the working class is super-exploited and unable to organise in unions. (The exception seems to be Japan; but in any case the effect on such work-



ers would simply be unemployment — the 'left' suggest no measures of solidarity with the super-exploited workers or aid in their struggles for union rights.) Jay claims that "we shall be bound to limit imports of manufactured consumer goods — at least from the richer countries."

Healey's statement on all this was cautious and firm: "I understand and share the anxieties of those who see their livelihoods threatened by unfair foreign competition." Quite different from the accusation that those calling for import controls were

"out of their tiny Chinese minds". Clearly his respectful remarks were addressed to the CBI's anti-dumping lobby, not at the rank and file trade unionists or the Labour 'lefts'.

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What the Government speeches refused to divulge was the terms of their belly-crawling to the IMF. All Healey would say was that the IMF was happy with the way the British economy was moving and with the policies of the administration, and that a team of IMF inspectors would soon be in Britain to investigate the situation closely.

The books and accounts, it seems, will be open to the IMF — but not to Parliament, not to the elected leaders of the Labour Party, and not to the trade union movement.

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Meanwhile the Tory leaders gave an exhibition of such foolishness as is hard to comprehend. Nicholas Ridley, Tory MP for Tewkesbury and a leading Tory spokesman on economic affairs, referred to "the enforcement officers, the snoopers, the inspectors, the traffic wardens and the endless number of people paid by us in order to enforce Socialism".

When Eric Heffer stated the obvious fact that "The left wing of the Labour Party does not control the Government" the Tory back-benches chorused "Rubbish". And Margaret Thatcher got up to echo this lunatic opinion with the statement that "If ever we have another Labour Government they will not operate a mixed economy. They will operate the total Socialist State."

Is that a threat or a promise?

oured the expropriation of such property by the workers who built and created it and work it. Or isn't IS in favour of such a fate befalling Britain's overseas property?

All SW's comments on the 'crazy system' force on us the same question: why do the capitalists behave as they do? The crisis of British capitalism is presented as if it was possible to find a solution were it not for the greed and nastiness of the capitalists which cause them all the time to choose to gratify their own appetites.

Nowhere in the article are we told that these things are inseparable from the inner dynamics of the capitalist economy which, in its anarchy, is to a large degree also independent of the will of the capitalists themselves. From this position it would be but a short step to showing to workers how their struggle today against the manifestations of that logic must be carried forward into a struggle against the system itself.

## Lunatic system

But no. Like all the good old-style social democrats, IS have plans for today, and a nod in the direction of the 'socialist future'. And nowhere do these meet.

Yet even their plans for 'today' bear no relation to workers' struggles or direct action. IS are always telling us they are the only people fighting unemployment. Yet their "Socialist Answer" to unemployment appears to be ... full employment! It contains not a single useable demand that workers can fight around: no mention of work or full pay, shorter hours for no loss of pay, etc. And the same goes for their 'socialist answer' to every other problem that workers face: inflation, the cuts, wage curbs etc.

Instead, there is a list of policies that "are needed". It isn't very clear who is to carry out these policies, or under what society — but despite the brief introductory blurb about replacing "this lunatic system with a properly planned society" (something Labour declared it was doing in 1964...), all the evidence is that the policies are intended for a government still running capitalism, albeit with "socialist planning".

## Sabotage

Thus we are warned about the owners of 80% of industry "sabotaging government policies". That can't surely be happening under a socialist society! Thus we have nationalisation of "industries that leave machines idle and workers unemployed": this measure would surely be superfluous in a post-capitalist society. And thus we have "workers' control to stop the rich hoarding their wealth or moving it abroad": so the rich will still be with us, albeit ... under workers' control.



IS leader Cliff

At the end, perhaps most disastrously, we are told that until "we get such policies we should oppose every attempt to cut our wages, our jobs, our health services or our social services." Now, if this list of "policies" was unmistakably a description of a workers' state, this might make sense. But since it patently obviously isn't that (and won't be seen as that) SW readers can only conclude that incomes policy, austerity and sacrifice would be acceptable if they were applied to "the rich" as well, coupled with more nationalisation and different priorities for H.M. Treasury.

And this is the "socialist answer"!

Socialist Worker got itself into this mess by making the mistake of presenting it as a matter of pure choice between either greed and grinding down the working class, or policies of "socialist planning".

Presenting the alternative between capitalism and socialism as a matter of which policies one chooses, irrespective of who controls the state and thus dominates the society within which those policies are — or more probably are not — implemented is a keynote of the politics of reformism. Nowhere in the article can one read the necessity to overthrow the existing capitalist state. Instead 'workers control' is equated with socialist planning — and thus presumably with socialism itself.

## Programme

Underlying this confusion and incoherence is, however, a theory of sorts. IS has always consciously rejected the Trotskyist idea of transitional demands: that is, of a programme which attempts to break down the reformist ideas held by even the most militant sectors of the working class by providing them with a series of steps which bring them into a struggle for everyday interests and at the same time bring these struggles into conflict with the basic logic and operation of the capitalist system.

IS has also said that the Labour Party was and is dead as a political force — even today, when there is more ferment within it than for many years — and that it is unable to fight for even reformist demands. For this reason, as IS argued explicitly in the past and does so more quietly today, the task of fighting for a reformist programme falls to the revolutionaries.

As it was put in 'International Socialism' in 1971, "the demands to be fought for are reformist in form and transitional in content". As Socialist Worker's "Socialist Answer to the Crisis" shows, the content remains reformist as well. As, despite an increasing ultra-left ranting, do the politics of IS.

WITH the death of Mao Tse-tung, an old factional wound in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has split open again. Last week it was reported that four leading 'radicals' had been arrested — including Chiang Ching, Mao's widow. The "moderate" Hua Kuo-feng was proclaimed Mao's successor as Chairman of the CCP.

One warning is necessary when assessing these reports. The charges against the "radicals" are no more likely to be founded on reality than were the charges against Liu Shao-chi or Lin Biao. It has never been the practice of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucrats to debate their differences openly. The arguments are behind the closed doors of the Central Committee of the CCP. The victors then smear, slander and distort the positions of the losers for the consumption of the masses.

Neither the ordinary party member nor the Chinese masses are involved. The decisions are handed down to them. Thus in the course of the "Cultural Revolution" not once were Liu's positions published — only the attacks of his opponents. Who chose Hua as Chairman? Not the party members or party congress but a clique at the top of the party.

The background to the dispute is the failure to develop industry and agriculture and break for good with the problems of food shortages, low level technology and the permanent lack of a surplus with which to develop that technology and industry. The conflict is between the "radicals" who favour an isolationist self reliance and an emphasis on the will to overcome obstacles regardless of the technical means (these policies were exemplified in the Great Leap Forward of the late 50s), and the "moderates" who favour development of heavy industry with foreign aid and material incentives rather than enthusiasm and will-power.

This second group has long had the backing of most of the party officials, the managers and technicians, and the Army. The 'radicals' only held their positions with the support of Chairman Mao. No section of the bureaucracy dared challenge Mao openly because the adulation of Mao, the personality cult, was a shelter for them all against the masses.

Socialists should not be concerned with supporting one section of the bureaucracy against another, but with an examination of the question from the point of view of the working class of China.

From this vantage point, neither faction deserves our support. To many people, the 'radicals' have a gloss of revolutionaries. But an examination of the Cultural Revolution as one example (and it's one of the major sources of this 'revolutionary' gloss) gives it the lie. They attempted then to launch a mass movement to smash their opponents in the CCP leadership. But when the movement got out of their control and began to attack them, and on some occasions Mao himself, they united with their enemies within the bureaucracy and used the Army to suppress the revolutionary movements which threatened to develop.

# Hua purges the leading 'radicals'

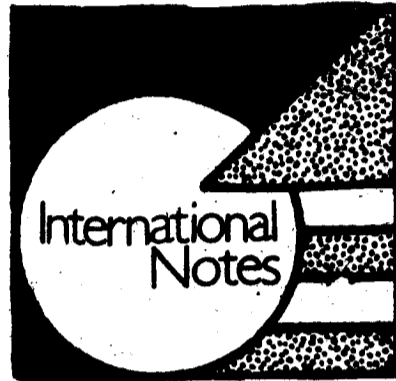
The 'radicals' must also be held responsible for the policies of giving aid and support to dictatorial regimes in Pakistan and Ceylon (where they shipped in arms to the Banderanaik government for the suppression of the JVP uprising) and for the present trade with the Chilean junta. In Angola they threw their weight behind the CIA-backed FNLA.

The radicals are also responsible for the stultifying of Chinese

culture. The banning of many western and Chinese classics in all fields of the arts, and the imposition of a crude ideological uniformity on all artists, places them with the very worst of the Russian Stalinists like Zhdanov.

But the 'moderates' are the men of the state and Party machine. They too have no interest in a workers' democracy in China. Many of them were the targets of popular attack during the Cultural Revolution for their mis-use of their positions to secure perks and privileges, and for their remoteness from the mass of the people.

The purge at the top of the party is likely to continue at lower levels where the 'radicals' have greater support. If this process weakens the grip of the CCP on the working class, as happened during the Cultural Revolution, we could yet hear the authentic voice of the Chinese workers demanding a real working class democracy and an end to the bureaucracy.



Chiang Ching: not so radical



Chairman Hua

## Palestinians excluded from Arab League summit

LAST Monday the Arab mini-summit finally started in the Saudi capital, Riyadh. Attending the meeting are the leaders of Syria, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Its aim is to bring together Presidents Assad of Syria and Sadat of Egypt to hammer out a settlement for the Lebanon.

The previous week there were reports that already a settlement had been reached between Syria, the Lebanon and the Palestinians. Indeed, an Arab League mediator went so far as to proclaim that the war was virtually over. No doubt he was somewhat embarrassed when, a few hours later the Syrian Army launched against the Palestinians and the Moslem leftists the most massive onslaught yet seen in the war.

From their positions in East Lebanon, the Syrians launched a drive against the two principle cities still mainly in Palestinian-Leftist hands: the southern port of Sidon and the capital, Beirut.

Across the open country towards Sidon the Syrian tanks made rapid progress. But they found the going much more difficult on the road to Beirut. There, in the mountains, stood the crack Palestinian units; there too is the stronghold of the Moslem leftist leader Kamal Jumblatt. The Syrians met with very stiff resistance. By the weekend they had only managed to take part of one town, Bhamdoun. By the Saturday Assad had decided to call it a day (the next obstacle on the route being Aley, Jumblatt's home town, where all-out resistance could be expected). Assad announced that the Syrian forces would stop fighting and hold their positions.

## Biting

The determination and strength of the resistance thwarted Assad's hopes of having the whole situation virtually sewn up in time for the Riyadh summit. But still, his position as virtual master of the 60% of the Lebanon occupied by his army means that any settlement will have to be acceptable to Syria. And this will be so despite the mounting opposition within Syria to the Lebanon intervention against the Palestinians

is unpopular, and the war (costing Syria \$1 million a day) is biting into the Syrian economy.

What is the likely shape of a settlement at Riyadh?

To placate the Moslem majority in the Lebanon, the quirks of a constitution which excludes them from effective power (held by the Christian minority) will have to be revoked. All the participants of the Riyadh summit (which is lofty indeed: it includes not one of the contending parties of the Lebanon civil war!) are likely to be sympathetic to this sort of change. But how far this will go depends on the intransigence of the Christian minority.

They in turn will be offered restrictions on the operations of the Palestinians in the Lebanon. For the Palestinians, for the Christian rightists and for Syria, this will be the crux of the settlement.

## Threat

It was the militancy of the Palestinians that first precipitated the opening Christian attacks in the civil war; and it was the prospect of a Palestinian victory that drew Syria into the war. Neither wanted to see a strong, independent Palestinian movement operating as a virtual 'state within a state' inside the Lebanon, threatening to give Israel occasion to launch a major aggression on its northern borders.

With the Palestinian forces seriously weakened (though not, as we saw last week, by any means defeated) by the massive Syrian intervention, some restriction on the Palestinians along the lines of the 1969 Cairo accords will certainly be part of an attempted settlement.

Such an outcome — to be policed by an Arab League force and the threat of further Syrian intervention — will be a serious defeat for the Palestinian cause: and one that cannot be masked by whatever constitutional juggling takes places to the advantage of the majority Moslems.

SOME states are born independent; some states achieve independence; and others, such as Transkei, have it thrust upon them.

The Transkei, one of the black homelands of South Africa, is to be 'declared' independent on October 26th by the racist South African government from then on it is supposedly an independent state.

This manoeuvre by South Africa is being presented as similar to the 'granting' of independence to subject peoples by Britain and other Imperial powers over the past 25 years or so.

Some, like OXFAM and *The Guardian*, are taking this claim at face value.

In reality, this first step in a new phase of the racist Bantustan policy of Apartheid is, unlike the break-up of the British Empire, thoroughly reactionary. It should be given no support, credence or recognition whatsoever.

Though Britain assumed an air of arrogant superiority when it decided that the various peoples it had exploited over the years were 'ready to govern themselves' it could not hide the fact that such declarations of independence were wrung from Britain by pressure and struggle.

Transkei independence is, on the contrary, being imposed against the struggles of the South African black majority for the right to majority rule in South Africa.

## Public relations

The journal *New Internationalist* described South Africa's action like this: "It is as if the British Government were to say to the Scottish Nationalists: 'Yes we agree that you should govern yourselves and will give you the Shetland Islands in which to do so...'"

Even this analogy is too generous. The declaration of Transkei independence has nothing to do with self-government or freedom, with democracy, self-determination or independence as such. It is an international public relations exercise to present one of the migrant 'native' labour reserves as a state, with a view to presenting all the 'homeland' reserves as independent states in the near future.



Chief Kaiser Matanzima

This will, Vorster's government hopes, present the total disenfranchisement, segregation and transportation of black workers in South Africa — which is universally condemned, in words at least — as the white South African state permitting citizens of other independent states to work there. Just like other migrant workers, the state that allows them to come and work on its territory can control their rights of residence, their rights to move from job to job, and of course their political and civil rights.

A sort of 'international' migrant labour system — which is a brutally exploitative system wherever it operates — is to be established as an afterthought to give a spurious legitimacy to the system of apartheid and migratory labour already in existence.

Mr. Botha, Minister of "Bantu Administration", said back in 1970: "As far as I am concerned the ideal conditions would be if we could succeed in due course in having all Bantu present in the white areas on a basis of migratory labour only."

To couple this with the "separate development" policy and also appease 'international opinion' South Africa realised very early that some sop to self-determination had to be given. Thus Verwoerd, announcing self government for the Transkei in 1962 (as a first step to today's phony 'independence') said: "This should strongly counteract the international animosity and suspicion which have such a detrimental effect on our economy. For this reason it will pay us to incur such expenditure. It is worth a great deal to us if we can create for ourselves peaceful neighbours ... who will not look to others for assistance."

## White areas

The ten Bantustans which were created by South Africa are justified by it on the grounds that they are 'homelands'. Ignoring the invasion and expansion wars the Dutch and British settlers fought, South Africa arrogantly asserts that the 'white' area — some 87% of all the land — was pretty much unsettled before the arrival of the whites. By that logic any Africans who live and work in the 'white' areas (53.4% of all Africans) must be 'foreigners', migrants whose homes are somewhere else. But since they clearly are not the nationals of any other known country, a number of appropriate 'countries' have had to be created for them within South Africa. And the white state knew how to do it with the utmost economy.

Thus 75% of South Africa's population — 18 million people — are allocated 12.4% of South Africa's total land area; and the 4.2 million whites are the only citizens of the mass of South Africa designated as 'white'. The 2.5 million 'coloureds' (mixed race), the ¼ million Indians, and the 9 million or so migrant Africans who also all live in this 'white' area are without citizenship rights and are segregated, transported, super-exploited and closely policed.

## Prison wing

The Homelands themselves are little more than the wings of this prison. The degree of independence they have is measured by the extent to which South Africa, by way of its corruption and distortion of the Tribal and Chief system, has been able to procure for itself black prison officers called Bantustan Governments.

The Homelands retain South African police and officials. This is true, too, for 'independent' Transkei, where BOSS Security officers have been seconded to the Matanzima government.

Being dominated economically by South Africa, having no large scale industries, having no independent foreign policy, and being allotted grossly inferior land by South Africa, the only freedom the people of Transkei have is the freedom to choose — migration or starvation.

One of the most persistent demands voiced by the African people over many years has been for land. The new Bantustan structures are being imposed upon tiny and badly eroded reserves designed to force the Africans there into migrant labour. The Homelands were allocated neither according to need, nor history, nor right: "It is not for those who receive to point out what land they should have" as Mr. Botha was to put it in 1974: "We as the givers must determine what land should be given".

Mr. Botha's little acre must necessarily be insufficient, otherwise — no migrant labour.

## Crammed in

The South African economy is based on apartheid and cheap black labour. The Bantustan policy is a cornerstone of this: "The fact of the matter is this" as Vorster put it in 1968 "we need them because they work for us... but the fact that they work for us can never ... entitle them to claim political rights."

Transkei itself is the most



The men who mine white South Africa's gold get their food served up with a shovel. They may only enter the 'white' areas (87% of South Africa) to work, leaving their families in the barren 'homelands' run by apartheid stooges

# TRANSKEI: A prison within a prison

By DANNY REILLY

viable of the Bantustan areas. It is made up of only 3 separate tracts of land. The 111 pieces of land at present making up the Bantustan areas are to be amalgamated some time in the future into 39 tracts. This will involve large scale deportations.

The success or failure of Transkei will determine the future of this consolidation of the Bantustans, indeed of the Bantustan policy itself.

Into the 14,200 square miles that make up Transkei, some 3 million Xhosas are, in theory at least, to be crammed. The remaining 924,000 Xhosas are allocated to the Ciskei Bantustan. Xhosas elsewhere in South Africa, together with some smaller tribal groups, will be designated as citizens of either Transkei or Ciskei, and despite Matanzima's protests will have their South African citizenship removed.

These people who worked and will continue to work to create and maintain the South African economy will at a stroke be liberated from the yoke of South African citizenship — only to make it easier for the white masters to use and abuse their labour.

## Stooge chiefs

This white-created statelet is to be ruled by blacks, however. Here, at least, one might think, there is some independence. Not so. True, there have just been elections in Transkei, but of a very suspect sort.

The Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) is headed by the Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matanzima. It was formed in 1964, one year after the establishment of the assembly which at that time had 64 members nominated by the South African government and 45 elected. Transkei self-government was originally not a demand of the TNIP; it was the decision of the South African government, and like the decision 16 years ago to declare a Bantustan called Transkei, has no basis in the aspirations of the people of the area. The TNIP was set up in response to Government policy, and demanded independence only in line with the policy of the apartheid regime.

TNIP won all but 7 of the seats in the territory's Parliament, with a poll of 66%.

The opposition vote was low partly because it had to conduct its campaign or non-campaign from jail. Only the few who were

arrested after they had filed their candidacies had their names on the ballot paper. Moreover, the elections have taken place in the absence of voters' rolls, with over half of the electorate dispersed among the millions of Africans living outside the Transkei. And Matanzima's government had in its possession not only the repressive laws of South Africa — e.g. the anti-communist/anti-terrorist laws — but also his own repressive laws such as Proclamation 400.

Proclamation 400 enables Matanzima to arrest and detain without trial anyone he likes. The chiefs headed by Matanzima are able to ban people or prohibit public meetings. The chiefs are not the elected nor hereditary leaders of the Xhosas but the paid stooges of the South African regime.

## The cream

According to the 'Star Weekly' of South Africa (17.4.76), "The cream of the White farms bought at considerable expense by South Africa and ceded to the Transkei will become the personal properties of Chief Minister Kaiser Matanzima and four fellow paramount chiefs. Similar grants of personal farms will be made to other prospective farmers who have given faithful service to the Transkei. This is the crux of a resolution of the Transkei assembly passed this week".

Matanzima believes the results of the elections "will silence the whole world and cause a re-thinking about our recognition, which dismisses the allegation that our independence is in support of the South African policy of apartheid."

## Rejection

Britain has for the moment come out against recognising the Transkei, but in very woolly terms. Mr Ennals, in February 1976, as Minister of State in the Foreign Office at that time, said: "I would have thought it was very unlikely that Britain would recognise the Transkei.... It seems that the Transkei will not really be independent in a sense that we would normally expect when giving diplomatic recognition".

Part of our solidarity with the fight for immediate majority rule in Zimbabwe, and with the struggle against apartheid, must be a battle to ensure the Labour Government sticks to the non-recognition position.

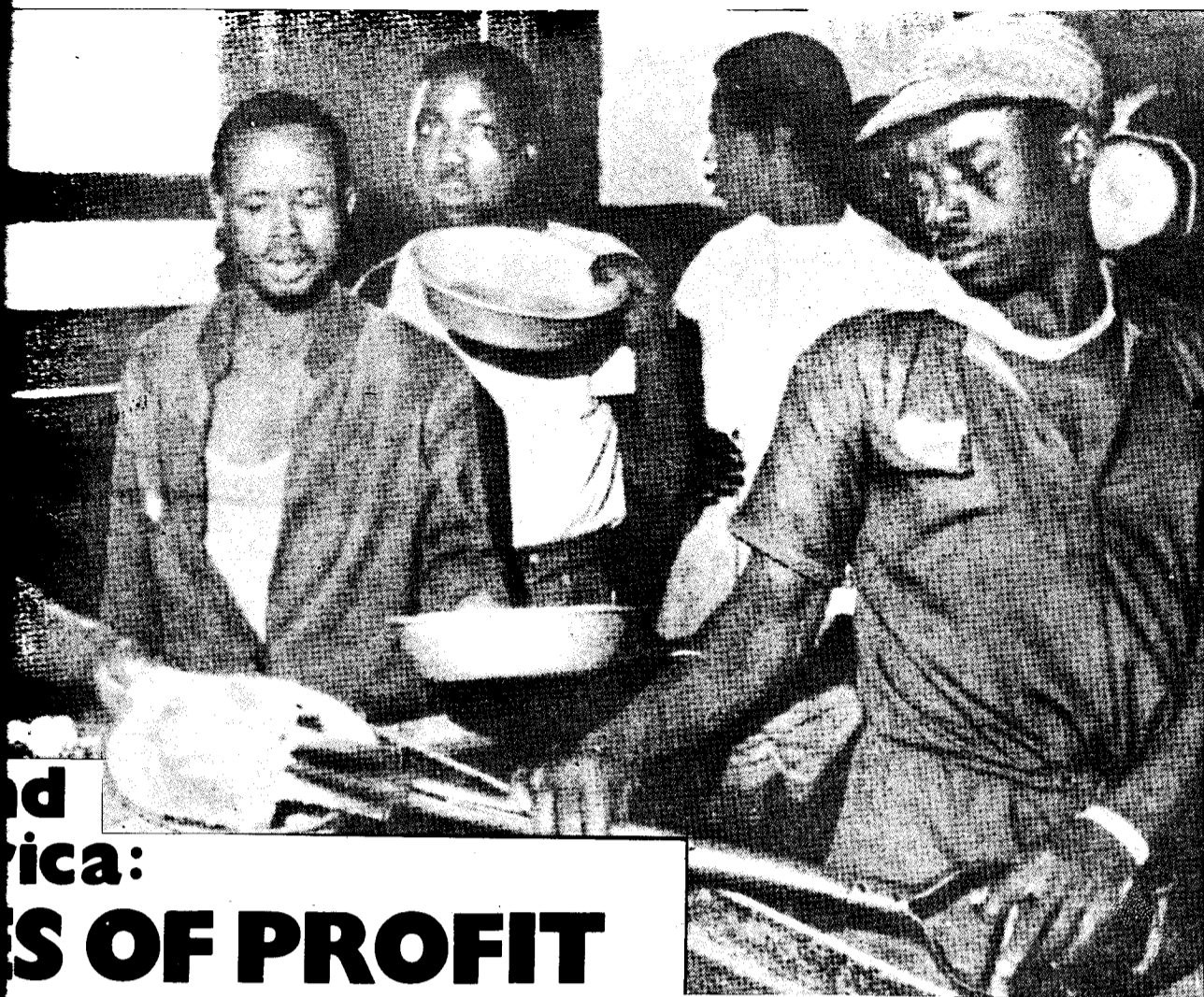
# Britain and South Africa THE TII

TOO OFTEN British workers se support for struggles in other countries as a luxury, to be taken up when there is time to spare from the important job of fighting the day-to-day battle against the bosses at home. And when these issues are taken up, it is usually in the spirit of showing sympathy for others who are suffering more than ourselves. But in reality international solidarity is not a moral duty, but a vital need which stems from the international nature of the capitalist system, which can only be finally defeated through struggle on an international scale.

Nowhere is this more immediately true than in relation to South Africa. The Anti-Apartheid Movement has recently published a pamphlet called *South Africa: The Crisis in Britain and the Apartheid Economy*. This pamphlet, by Dorcas Goc and Michael Williams, gives a clear and timely explanation of the connections between the British economic crisis and the development of the South African economy, and hence between the sharpening class struggle in Britain and the explosive political struggle in South Africa.

From the beginning of the South African economy was developed overwhelmingly with British capital and largely cater for the needs of the British economy. In response to the declining rate of profit in British manufacturing industry, banking and finance institutions grew in abundance, and they acted as the vehicle for the transfer of huge sums of money — about half of all British savings, in the last years of the 19th century — to the colonial and underdeveloped countries where greater profits were to be made than in Britain itself. The City of London emerged as the greatest financial force in the world. There was, however, a dangerous weakness: the supremacy of British credit rested on the gold standard, and Britain's gold reserves were very small. A further source of gold reserves was needed — and South Africa had gold in abundance.

With the development of the South African mining industry came also the enslavement



# Africa: S OF PROFIT

black labour needed to work the mines. Conditions for these workers were unparalleled in barbarity: they were imprisoned in compounds, policed by armed squads of overseers, and herded from the compounds to the mining areas through tunnels and closed pathways like cattle at the stockyards. It was illegal for the workers to leave their place of work.

the throes of a crisis resulting from the declining rate of profit. Now, as then, this has encouraged a vast outflow of capital towards more profitable investment abroad.

life-line for the South African racists. At the same time the existence of the apartheid regime allows British capitalists to compensate for their sagging profits at home:

Real rate of return on capital investment in UK—before tax  
(%—annual averages)

1960-61	1964-65	1968-69	1972-73
12.5	11.5	9.3	7.1

Private UK capital flows abroad expressed as a percentage of gross fixed investment in the UK manufacturing sector—annual averages

1960-61	1964-65	1968-69	1972-73
28.1	28.8	40.6	60.2

As mining and other industries expanded, demand for cheap black labour increased. As the directors of the Consolidated Gold Fields Company put it in 1899: 'With good government there should be an abundance of labour, and with an abundance of labour there will be no difficulty in cutting down wages.' In order to force compliance successive governments resorted to the brutal suppression of all democratic rights for black workers, introduced pass laws controlling the movement of blacks, and most importantly forced hundreds of thousands of peasants from their lands through starvation, driving them into industry, only to be thrown back when they were no longer needed.

This pattern has not changed with the growth of the South African industry—the contrary it has expanded and deepened, coming to dominate not only the people of South Africa itself but neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique as well. From this fact has flowed the ever more urgent need of the South African ruling class to intervene in and control political developments outside its own frontiers—through economic domination as much as political action.

South Africa has accordingly transferred a sizeable part of its capital to neighbouring countries in an attempt to secure the 'stability' of the region and maintain a steady flow of cheap labour.

But this has meant too that the liberation struggles of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe are indivisibly tied up with the future of the South African regime. Most especially for Zimbabwe, the struggle in South Africa is quite literally a vital part of the struggle of its own people—since it is they who are forced to work as slave labour for the South African racists.

British capitalism, now as at the end of the 19th century, is in

Because of the ability of the white racist regime in South Africa to maintain very high rates of exploitation of the workers, much of this capital has found its way there. It is impossible to discover the full amount of this investment, because neither the South African or British governments will publish the figures. As a leading South African newspaper put it: 'No information is published about investments by individual countries—to avoid possible political embarrassment, according to a (South African Reserve) Bank spokesman.'

It is indeed certain—from the last available figures—that the Labour Government would be 'embarrassed' by such information: in 1972 Britain was responsible for 55.8 per cent of South Africa's foreign debts.

Not only is this vast level of investment vital to British capitalism. It is a matter of extreme importance for the survival of the apartheid regime too. In order for the South African economy to survive it has needed to attract ever-greater amounts of capital from abroad. In 1966 foreign capital represented 7 per cent of the sum invested in fixed capital (machinery etc.); by 1975 this figure had leapt to 25 per cent. *The Times* recently reported that, had it not been for the high level of capital inflow last year, the South African economy would have been in serious trouble.

The direct connection between the attacks on working-class living standards in Britain and the continuing super-exploitation and brutal suppression of black workers in South Africa becomes clear. British (and other) investment acts as a

Chrysler officials just back in Detroit from Ricardo's last visit to Harold Wilson say contingency plans are ready to shut plants in Britain in less than a fortnight's notice. If no firm aid commitment is forthcoming from the Wilson government, Chrysler officials insist that Ricardo will order an evacuation of its British facilities immediately.

'One pressure on Ricardo, the officials say, is that he feels he has spent enough time trying to salvage a losing operation when there are areas—and South Africa was cited—where profits are to be made.' (quoted from the *South African Financial Times* of last December.)

But the very closeness of the connection between South African and British capitalism means that real opportunities for British workers to strike against the common oppressor present themselves everywhere. The list of British companies with South African subsidiaries is endless. To give one example: Leyland has a subsidiary which has recently taken to using the South African police to suppress attempts by black workers to win trade union recognition. Workers in Britain can help force their management to concede trade union rights in South Africa.

Actions like these are not charity to be doled out in a generous mood: they strike directly at the heart of British and international capitalism. A victorious liberation struggle in South Africa will hasten the day when capitalism in Britain is overthrown.

James Ryan

# IS THIS REALLY A REVOLUTIONARY ALTERNATIVE?

THE International Socialists are now standing a candidate in Newcastle Central as well as in Walsall North, and both IS and the International Marxist Group are talking of standing a candidate in the Stechford by-election, further in the future.

Some indication of the value of these efforts is given in IMG paper *Red Weekly's* report of the opening meeting of the IS campaign in Walsall: "the only concrete proposals... McCallum [the IS candidate] had for the Walsall working class appeared to be to join the *Socialist Worker* election campaign. Not once did [he] raise any socialist demands. ... Nor did [he] mention the importance of supporting the already existing campaigns in Walsall against the cuts and racism". (Meanwhile, according to a letter in *Red Weekly* of 30th September, the Walsall Labour candidate does support the local anti-cuts campaign...)

It wasn't just one bad meeting elsewhere in this week's *Workers' Action* we show that *Socialist Worker's* "answer to the crisis" is no real alternative to reformism. A few weeks back *Socialist Worker* carried the texts of a debate between McCallum and a leading Communist Party member on "which way to socialism?".



IS's candidate  
McCallum

All McCallum could say was that the Labour government are attacking the working class, the rank and file must fight back militantly, and IS are the only people supporting that militancy. Revolution? Smashing the capitalist state? The lessons of Chile? Workers' councils? NOT A WORD on any one of those points. The CP speaker was left free to cover up his reformism with unctuous (but formally quite correct) phrases about something more than ordinary trade union militancy being necessary to win socialism.

The IS approach was summed up most vividly, perhaps, in an article *Socialist Worker* published on 11th September on 'Why we need a workers' party'.

"To those militant trade unionists who agree with us but are scared off by the 'red' label we say that if you join with us you will become more effective in your fight because you will have the support of an organisation". That is: join IS not because it's 'red', but despite that,

because IS are the people who can help you in trade union militancy.

IMG is supporting McCallum in Walsall. But their attitude is, in a certain sense, the exact opposite of IS's 'we are the only real militants' bravado. Modestly they report "the possibility of standing Tariq Ali, a member of the IMG [as candidate in Stechford] was discussed. It was stressed, however [by the IMG Political Committee] that if a candidate emerged who could represent those tasks [of class struggle] more clearly, then a campaign in support of that candidate would be pushed forward".

This candidate who, as the IMG so self-effacingly appear to think, could put forward working class politics better than the IMG can manage, would, it transpires be a "class struggle candidate" — that is, a candidate with a broad left wing support. This candidate need not however have revolutionary politics. All the IMG requires, apparently, is "opposing all cuts, mobilising action against unemployment, and campaigning for the repeal of the racist 1971 Immigration Act". (*Red Weekly* statement, 16th Sept.) — that is, politics somewhere on the wavelength of, though not quite as advanced as, the more left-wing resolutions passed at the recent Labour Party conference.

The IMG's major theme right now is 'revolutionary unity' — whose mighty purpose (judged on the politics they propose as an electoral platform) is to put forward a Left Reformist candidate! And this in opposition to the mass party of the working class, whose support the broadest united front has no chance of even denting, and which already has a wide range of left social democrats in Parliament...

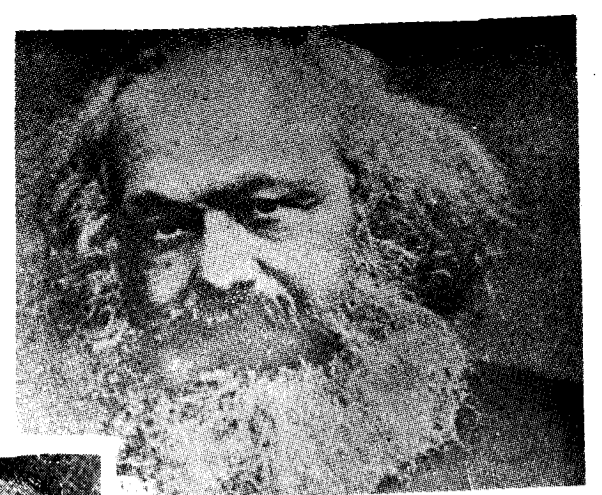
This is an absurd sectarian AND opportunist gimmickry — worse than IS's, in fact, because for the IMG the purpose seems to be to get a hearing with ... IS members and supporters!

When McCallum's candidacy was first put forward, we criticised those revolutionaries who wanted to vote McCallum on the grounds that their vote would, (however critical they said they were) imply endorsing centrism as an alternative to reformism. Now, it appears, IMG and IS, in their different ways, are willing to endorse not only centrism, but left reformist politics, as their alternative to Callaghan and Healey.

IMG and IS make a great show of being more revolutionary than those, like *Workers Action*, who favour a vote for Labour in Walsall, Newcastle and Stechford, coupled with Marxist criticism of Labour policies and the mobilisation of Labour militants and supporters on a revolutionary programme to fight those policies.

In reality, IMG and IS's attitudes are no more than catch-penny opportunism.

# ORGANISING THE PROLETARIAN PARTY



KARL MARX, in his later years, expressing a wish to meet Auguste Blanqui, described that heroic revolutionary as "the head and the heart of the proletarian party in France".

It was that simply a phrase for the occasion. Decades earlier, in 1852, Marx had declared that, as against petty-bourgeois socialism "the proletariat rallies ever more about revolutionary socialism, around communism for which the bourgeoisie itself has invented the name of Blanqui".

He had also written of "Blanqui and his comrades, i.e. the real leaders of the proletarian party." Although later 'Marxists' have conceived of 'Blanquism' as a fixed theory irreconcilably opposed to Marxism — a theory of revolution through putsches rather than mass action, based on generalising Blanqui's tactics of the 1830s and 40s — Marx clearly thought of his current and Blanqui's as two tendencies within the proletarian party.

In fact, after the deaths of both Marx and Blanqui, the majority of the 'Marxists' and of the 'Blanquists' were to unite in a single organisation. But generally Marx and Engels thought of the "proletarian party" as embracing all those seriously on the side of the working class, even though they might be scattered in different and opposed organisations.

Consequently they advocated the broadest possible organisational forms. The First International (1864-72), under Marx's influence, disavowed special allegiance to any particular socialist doctrine. Seeking to unite the militant forces of the working class, Marx was confident that they would draw their own class-conscious conclusions from their experience of struggle.

## The Second International

The Second International (1889-1914) crystallised this conception of the proletarian party into powerful mass organisations — the Social-Democratic parties.

Along with this fight for a broad working class party — and against the conceptions of the sects and secret societies which had embodied socialism in the first half of the 19th century — Marx and Engels conducted the most rigorous theoretical polemics.

When, in 1875, the two Socialist Parties then existing in Germany — the "Eisenachers" and the "Lassalians" — united, Marx and Engels welcomed the unity.

But Marx submitted the draft programme of the united party to merciless criticism ("The Critique of the Gotha Programme"). If no better programme could be agreed on, he wrote "one should simply have concluded an agreement for action against the common enemy".

IF the workers' movement continued to mature in a genuine broad proletarian party, and if the scientific socialist theoreticians carried through rigorously their task of education and polemic (as Engels did for example in "Anti-Duhring"), then a better programme would in due course be possible.

History refuted the evolutionary optimism of Marx and Engels' view of the development of the working class from its primitive state — where it generally lacked even the most elementary industrial organisation, and was leavened only by a few more-or-less doctrinaire socialist societies — towards class organisation and class consciousness. A labour aristocracy, topped by a labour bureaucracy, grew up inside the workers' parties of the Second International, and became increasingly dominant.

For example, inside the German Party — the major party of the Second International — there developed three distinct currents, though none was ever organised as a formal faction: the left radicals (Mehring, Luxemburg, Liebknecht etc): the

**LAST month's split from the International Communist League, the fragmentation of the revolutionary left over the last few years, and the recent international drive for 'left unity' by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International (in France, negotiations with the PSU; in Italy, orientation to Democrazia Proletaria; in Britain, the 'Faction and Party' articles in 'Red Weekly'), have all provoked discussion among socialists on the question of party organisation.**

**WORKERS ACTION has carried statements and letters on the I-CL split, and this week we print the first of 3 parts of a discussion article contributed by Martin Thomas. We welcome further contributions to this debate, from socialists both inside and outside the Labour Party.**

'Marxist Centre' (Bebel, Kautsky etc); and the reformist right wing, led by trade union and party bureaucrats like Legien or Ebert. Each current had its own open publications.

The hostility between the right wing and the left radicals was sharp; yet only in three important cases before 1914 did two sizable organisations compete in one country for the title of 'the Socialist Party': Russia (Bolsheviks/Mensheviks), Bulgaria (the 'Narrow' and the 'Broad' parties), and Poland (SDKPiL/PPS). Of those three cases Russia was the most significant.

Of course, there were expulsions and splits elsewhere. The German Social-Democracy, for example, expelled a group of anarchists or semi-anarchists in the 1890s. They were not expelled for being non-Marxists — indeed, German Social Democracy always contained many people who openly rejected Marxism. Anarchists were expelled because they were considered to be disrupters of the labour movement. For the same reason Lenin, in 1905, favoured excluding anarchists not only from the Party but also from the Soviets.

Members or groupings could also be expelled for routine organisational reasons (indiscipline, mishandling of funds etc) and, obviously, for simple class treachery.

'Revisionism', however, was another question.

## The Centre against Bernstein

What most incensed men like Bebel against Eduard Bernstein (the leader of 'Revisionism') was that while Bernstein was obviously in fact a bourgeois liberal he still pretended to be a Marxist theoretician. A man like von Elm, the tobacco workers' union leader, who had exactly the same views as Bernstein but who did not claim to be a theorist, never received letters from Kautsky (as Bernstein did) urging him, in his own interests and those of Social-Democracy, to leave the Party as soon as possible.

In Russia the idea of building a party of all those who were "on the right side" could not even start to work. Once the immediate task had been defined as the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy, almost all classes and groupings were 'on the right side' — not only the proletarian Socialists, but also the bourgeois liberals, the populists and the terrorists. Those trying to build a proletarian party in Russia had to carve out very precisely an ideological demarcation for their party; they also had to find organisational forms adequate for the Russian police state.

In the famous dispute at the 1903 Congress of the Russia Social-Democratic Labour Party over the Constitutional definition of Party member-

ship Lenin opposed, as too 'soft', a formula which Martov had borrowed from the Constitution of the German Social-Democracy. Why? Because Lenin opposed the organisational principles of German Social-Democracy? Not at all. Lenin simply insisted that conditions at that time in Russia demanded a different formula.

(In the same spirit, when Lenin replied to Rosa Luxemburg's polemic against him on organisational questions — a pamphlet usually published under the title 'Leninism or Marxism' — the main burden of his argument was that Luxemburg had not understood conditions in Russia.)

Ideologically, the general label 'Marxist' was not at all sufficient to mark out the lines for a proletarian party in Russia.

The populists also claimed to learn from Marx — and Marx had specifically endorsed them. The school of 'legal Marxists', flourishing around the turn of the century, used Marxism as a justification for a bourgeois policy: from Marxist prognoses of the inevitability of capitalist development in Russia they deduced a programme of support for capitalist development. Against such 'Marxists', the Social-Democrats had to sharpen the theoretical tools of revolutionary, proletarian Marxism.

Lenin's attitude to P.B. Struve, the most eminent of the 'legal Marxists', is instructive. In his youth Struve



Above: Lenin: a new conception of the Party. Top (clockwise): Marx, Blanqui and Bebel

was a Social-Democrat. Lenin (in 'What is to be Done?', Spring 1902) was the sharpest polemicist against the trend in Social Democracy to which Struve was closest — 'Economism'. The 'Economists' advocated that the Social Democrats should organise as groups promoting workers' economic struggles, leaving the wider political struggle to the bourgeois liberals (or, at best, envisaging only a gradual, 'spontaneous' evolution of workers from economic to political questions, without the Social Democrats forcing the pace). Lenin argued for a centralised party, conducting all-round propaganda and agitation. (☆)

## The divisions in Russia

Struve, however, soon became a bourgeois-liberal. Lenin was then the most energetic in seeking practical alliance with him. Fighting against Martov's opposition, Lenin insisted that joint efforts with Struve were desirable — provided only that in those joint efforts Struve said clearly that he was a bourgeois liberal (making no pretence at being a Social-Democrat) while Lenin/Martov declared themselves communists.

On the contrary, the stronger our Party organisations consisting of real Social-Democrats are, and the less wavering and instability there is WITHIN the Party, the broader, the more varied, the richer and more fertile will be the influence of the Party on the elements of the working class MASSES surrounding it and guided by it.

Indeed, at that time Lenin had a more positive attitude to the Struve liberals than to the 'Socialist Revolutionary' party (founded 1901-2) — precisely because the SRs, though in fact populists, claimed to be socialist revolutionaries.

Against the routinist conception that everything is all right provided one bows to the right titles and creeds, Lenin was developing an audacious policy combining ideological rigour IN the party with the boldest approach to initiatives in action OUTSIDE the party.

This contrast came out again in the 1903 Congress, with a resolution on relations with the liberals from the Menshevik Potresov, which proposed alliance with them on condition that they adopt certain Social-Democratic demands and a friendly attitude to Social Democracy.

Lenin and Plekhanov counterposed a different resolution, much simpler: there was, in fact, only one bourgeois liberal tendency in Russia, that represented by Struve: Social Democrats should ally with it in practical actions against Tsarism while ruthlessly exposing its anti-proletarian political character.

Fighting to clarify the basis of a proletarian party in Russia, Lenin arrived at both a deep understanding, similar to Luxemburg's, of the creative potentialities of the mass activity of the working class as

a class-for-itself (an understanding enriched by the revolutions of 1905 and, of course, 1917) and a sharper operational definition of the proletarian party than was current anywhere else in the Second International.

In 1914 the Second International appointed a special commission on the splits in the Russia party. Inessa Armand, for the Bolsheviks, admitted that an opportunist wing might in general be permitted in Social Democracy. But in Russia, she contended, the Bolsheviks had had to split definitively from the Mensheviks because without that split it was impossible to constitute a proletarian party sharply defined from the swamp of semi-liberalism and semi-populism.

Only a few months later, with the start of world war 1, Lenin's illusion that he was applying in Russia the principles of Bebel and Kautsky was shattered. The Second International collapsed, each major party supporting its own bourgeoisie. The revolutionary internationalists set about preparing a Third International.

☆ Those who think that 'What is to be Done?' is the manual of Leninist party organisation, and those who think it was an old text denounced by Lenin after 1905, are equally wrong: it was a stage in the development of Bolshevism, later subsumed into a more complete theory. Paradoxical though this may seem, the most advanced texts on the Leninist theory of the party are not Lenin's, but Trotsky's and Gramsci's.

# Whispers in the ear of the Brent Council



## CUTS

ON 27th September Brent education Committee decided to cut 250,000 pounds from its current education budget — that is, from money it had already agreed to spend this year.

These cuts were intended to fall mainly on major (promised) repairs to schools — roof repairs, heating repairs, provision of toilets, etc, and on remedial books and equipment.

Meanwhile the Brent Labour Council has refused to take up a loan of 195,000 pounds offered it by the government for nursery education.

The Brent National Union of Teachers [NUT] newsletter has put forward a six-point plan to fight the cuts; but a feeble one.

1. Remedial departments of secondary schools and staff of primary schools to write to the chairman of the Education Committee urging the restoration of the Special Remedial Allowance.
2. All schools to write to Councillors on their governing bodies.
3. NUT members who are rate-payers to write to their local councillors.
4. Informing Parent-Teacher Associations of the situation "as it affects their schools" and encouraging them to "join the protest".
5. Letters to the local press.

6. Arranging for as many parents and teachers as possible to join a protest lobby outside Brent Town Hall on October 7th, when the full council was to decide on the cuts.

The president of the local NUT addressed the Education Committee — and could claim success. They agreed to reinstate the 6,000 pound cut in the Special Remedial Allowance. However, the main issue was untouched. Labour councillors were on a three-line whip to vote for the main cuts at the council meeting.

About 150 people, mainly teachers from the larger secondary schools, turned out for the lobby. This could have been a starting point for action against the cuts going beyond pressure-group, 'whispering in the ear of the Council' politics.

But the local NUT leadership — a local NUT leadership of some prominence in the NUT nationally, which includes the well-known Max Morris — say they cannot present an emergency resolution on cuts action to the next General Meeting of the Brent Teachers Association. They have conveniently found that the constitution says that emergency resolutions cannot call for action!

The fight will thus have to be taken up by the rank and file, despite the local leadership.

Pete Firmin

# ACTON REJECTS PARTICIPATION



AUEW members at London Transport's Acton Works resisted 'participation' proposals at their quarterly meeting on 12th October.

Only some 50 were present out of an AUEW membership of 400, but leading Communist Party militant Kevin Halpin nevertheless proposed that the meeting rubber-stamp the stewards' policy for workers' participation.

Halpin's speech was devious. He said the stewards proposed only starting discussion, not accepting participation; but he stressed that the NUR and the TGWU (the other large unions in the works) have already accepted the principle of participation, and that the AUEW should not let itself lose out in comparison with them.

Many floor speakers criticised the stewards' policy, but Communist Party stewards defended it, referring to Party policy of favouring participation in nationalised industry (while opposing it in privately-owned firms).

The resolution carried by the meeting — 31 to 12 — deferred the proposals until we get a satisfactory conclusion to the present wage negotiations. There will then be an open discussion on the whole question of workers' participation.

This resolution will at least push the stewards to do something about the deadlock on wage negotiations. But a hard fight will still be necessary against participation, countering the alternative of workers' INSPECTION in debates at mass meetings throughout all sections of London Transport.

# THE UNIONS



# Call for strike on November 17th

BY 35 votes to 10 with 8 abstentions, Lambeth Teachers' Association [local branch of the NUT], decided on 11th October to support the November 17th day of action in the following way:

"This Association... calls on all its members to join the members of the public sector trade unions and withdraw their services on the afternoon of November 17th, and instructs members of the [Lambeth] executive to tour schools to mobilise for this demonstration. Further we call upon the members to approach the other public sector unions at school and local level to secure the maximum attendance of all workers in the area at the demonstration."

The resolution is more hard-hitting than it appears. Its decision for a half day strike is a defiant response to the NUT

national executive's feeble decision to allow only 10 members from each association to take part in the November 17th demonstration. Further it directly challenges the union's notorious rule 8 which says:

"No constituent Association or Division of the union, or members or member thereof, shall organise or engage in a strike or industrial action without prior approval of the [National] Executive"

This rule is backed up with penalties of suspension or even expulsion from the union.

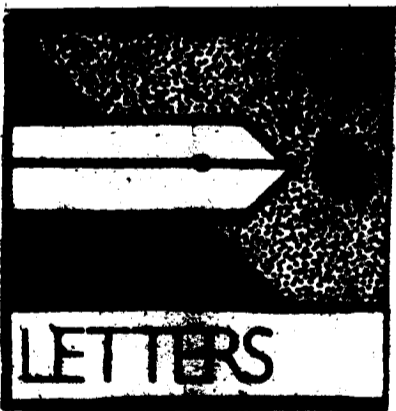
Rule 8 is at present being openly defied by some 50-odd London schools which have voted for unofficial "no cover" action. A further resolution was adopted at the Lambeth meeting which "reaffirms existing policy of giving all possible support to those members in schools which have voted

to initiate 'no cover' for teachers absent over 3 days"

Also, last June 16th, 500 London NUT members came out in support of the unemployed student teachers without National Exec approval. 200 of the strikers are in Lambeth. The size of the action has prevented both the employers and the Union from taking disciplinary action, though threatening letters were sent out by the employers over the summer.

It now remains for the fight for action on November 17th to be taken into the schools, to ensure mobilisation on a massive scale which will make the Government take notice and which will once again forestall the danger of victimisation.

CHEUNG SIU MING



I watched with bemused interest the goings-on at the Labour Party conference in Blackpool. My cynicism at their so-called 'socialist' policies on the economy, social services, education, etc quickly turned to anger as I listened to the unholy mess they made of the discussion on the "Ulster situation".

The fashion in which the motion was put down did considerable disservice to the complexity of the 6-county problem, while the amount of time allocated wasn't nearly enough to deal adequately with the pros and cons of withdrawal; or with the economic depression in the the 6 Counties which has 11% of the population out of work; the role of the British government; the role of the trades unions; etc. etc. I personally got the distinct impression as an Irish socialist that the Labour Party was doing its utmost to sweep under the carpet a problem which it doesn't want to face, indeed which it would prefer to

## IRELAND

# CONFERENCE DUCKS ISSUE

forget.

Most of the speakers made the point that to withdraw or even given a declaration of intent to withdraw would be acceding to one of the demands of the Irish Republican Army, and the British government could not be seen to give in to "terrorists" and "terrorism".

Where are the Labour Party's socialist principles? Here we have socialists who believe that whether the other side are right or not doesn't matter, what counts is the party image.

Then there was much harping on the fact that if the British Army withdrew tonight, tomorrow would see a Lebanon situation or worse develop within the six counties. Great play was made of the fact that the sectarian atrocities presently taking place would escalate with no British Army "peace-keeping" force to keep the two sides separated. (the fact that the British army is using repressive measures to defend the capitalist investments of British imperialists in Ireland and the continued exploitation of the Irish working class, was not even mentioned).

In fact, as anyone who has taken time out to find the facts will corroborate, the Republican movement has made it abundantly clear that what we want is a phased withdrawal over a negotiable period of time. We realise only too well that an overnight pull-out could panic certain groups into a violent reaction which might then because of the uncertainty created by the sudden disappearance of British troops snowball into an all-out bloody civil war. It is for that precise reason that we demand a phased and orderly withdrawal which will allow everyone plenty of time to acclimatise to the new situation.

The Six Counties are in a mess, and the situation regardless of the 'Peace' Movement, the Trade Unions, the politicians, etc will only get worse. Unless those socialists in England who still retain their socialist principles get up and demand the only realistic policy available, i.e. withdrawal, the war in Ireland which has lasted so long and left behind it so much death and destruction, will continue unab-

ated. The Republican Movement is determined that this shall be the last campaign ever against British imperialism in Ireland.

R.G. McAuley

Long Kesh

## REPLY

Editor's Note:

Workers Action does favour immediate withdrawal of troops from Ireland. The basic reason is that we believe British troops have no right to be in Ireland, whether for five weeks, five years, or five centuries.

"Phased withdrawal" inevitably concedes some right to British troops to be in Ireland. In fact, the British government already says it is in favour of a policy leading to troop withdrawal from Ireland. And it is sincere. If and when the Republican and Socialist forces have been thoroughly beaten down the British Army will withdraw.

But "phased" or "negotiated" withdrawal means that British troops stay there until the British ruling class is satisfied. They can always use an excuse to reverse the "phased" withdrawal. They can use the negotiations to impose conditions on the Irish people, for example guarantees against the nationalisation without

compensation of British property in a united and independent Ireland. And if Republicans and socialists have committed ourselves in advance to phased withdrawal, it will be more difficult to fight those excuses and those conditions.

In fact, of course, it is physically impossible for all British troops to leave Ireland overnight. Inevitably there will be negotiations. By saying 'troops out now' we are saying that our view is that all attempts by Britain to impose conditions on the Irish people during such negotiations should be regarded as illegitimate and unjust; our view is that negotiations should be about what reparations Britain is going to give to Ireland.

Would immediate or very rapid withdrawal of British troops lead to a possibly snow-balling violent reaction? Yes. But changing our demand to 'phased' withdrawal only makes sense as a way of avoiding that danger if we think that during that 'phased' withdrawal the British troops will set about disarming the UDA, handing over munitions to the IRA, dissolving the repressive bodies of the Six County state, etc. All the evidence is that they would do just the opposite. Their efforts would be directed towards 'ulsterisation', towards building up the Loyalists, or possibly towards an agreement with the Dublin government to ensure a safe neo-colonial regime in which all left-Republican socialists would be repressed.

The only policy that makes sense in face of the real danger of all-out bloody civil war is to try to break the will of Orange bigotry; as quickly and as completely as possible to withdraw the British troops which help prop up the Loyalists; to strengthen the Republican and Socialist forces; and to work for the building of a revolutionary Marxist party in Ireland which can mobilise the majority of the Irish working class as a decisive force in the situation.

# WORKERS IN ACTION

## TRICO STRIKERS WIN

The strikers at Trico-Folberth have won their 21 week strike for equal pay. On Monday 18th the strikers marched back into the factory five abreast celebrating their victory and showing the impressive unity that has kept them together for so long.

Management has conceded equal pay in the form of a common operational rate for payment by results. They have agreed on no

victimisations, immediate implementation of the new agreement and full continuity of employment with Trico making up the lost benefits — insurance stamp, pension fund contributions etc. The workers will also still get the holidays they would normally have taken.

AUEW District Secretary Roger Butler pointed out, "This is a lesson to the movement on how equal pay can be achieved. It will

not be brought about by tribunals. It is only by trade union unity and working class struggle that justice for women workers will be won.

### Boycott

"Our decision to boycott the industrial tribunal when the company took the case to it has been fully vindicated by this complete vic-

tory."

But the victory may be incomplete. There was no success on negotiated back-pay for the strike period; but more important are the new work practices that appear to have been introduced. Here there is some mystery. It seems that a more extensive piece-work system has been introduced and that there will be new norms set for work.

Whatever these details

turn out to be, the decisive question will be the organisation of the workers in the plant. Trico shop steward Eileen Ward spelt out when the strikers were going to do once they got back.

They will continue to build up the union, recognising the vital role of solidarity in winning at Tricos, they will organise to give support to other workers in dispute; a weekly 10p levy was agreed to provide

funds for such support. There will be monthly factory mass meetings.

"If one person is in trouble, then we're all in trouble", she argued, "so we stick together."

One first essential move will be to extend the efforts of Trico Brentford workers to help organise their sisters in Trico Northampton, who are paid £11 below the basic rate at Brentford and have no equal pay.

## 22 Victimised at FORDS

As WORKERS ACTION reported last week, the strikes and lay-offs which had halted car production at Ford Dagenham stopped when the striking 'B' shift workers in the Body plant voted to return to work, on terms a long way short of the striker's demands (full pay for the night shift on 28th September; no victimisations; guaranteed shift payment).

The main agreements were: 50% pay for the night shift on 28th September; a management agreement not to lay off shifts after 11pm at night, or 12 noon during the day; agreement to deal with 'problems' through 'procedure'; union agreement to co-operate on starting lines on time, even when 're-manning and/or mobility' questions were raised, and an installation of 'process changes'; that the introduction and use of 'door setting aids' should start 24 hours after the resumption of work, and that the 24 hours be used to discuss their 'orderly introduction'; that the agreement only applied to the stamping and body plant at Dagenham.

One report of the mass meeting which accepted this agreement said that it had been 'railroaded' through. Apparently, the shop stewards' committee had previously rejected the agreement, but their recommendation was never put to the meeting. Instead, a motion from the floor to return to work was put straight to the meeting.

The agreement represents a defeat also for the door-setters, whose action in refusing to use new jigs provided the initial spark for the whole dispute. The same is also true for the plasma welders on 'A' shift, who returned to work on the basis of further negotiation. They haven't got the relief that they were demanding.

Management showed that they thought it was victory for them by proceeding to victimise 22 workers from 'B' shift. By Friday they had sacked six, and suspended the rest without pay for five days.

There was an instand walk-out on Thursday, after four sackings, but at a mass meeting of 1000 on Friday morning, a motion to resume work was carried. Seeing this as a victory, management sacked two men and suspended the rest.

The only group to maintain a resistance against these victimisations were the door setters, who have remained on strike. A door setter was one of those sacked.

An important element in this defeat for the workers has been the lack of clear leadership in the plant. Of the three unions involved (T&GWU, AUEW, GMWU), only the AUEW came out clearly against victimisations. The GMWU had a policy of not supporting any of their members found 'guilty'.

While a shop steward, Tony Doyle, had stated: "There will be no disciplinary action", no victimisation, we stand together on the protest — the general union position had been equivocal. From the beginning, their position had been one of waiting and seeing the 'evidence' — i.e. one of accepting the possibility of victimisation.

A report on Friday morning's mass meeting pointed out that 400 voted for the return to work, BUT 600 ABSTAINED. This can only be explain-

ed by the lack of a clear line to fight the victimisations.

With this victory, management will undoubtedly step up their attacks on shop floor organisation in the plant, particularly in relation to manning levels and speed-up.

Fight-back policy must include the demand for 100% pay, irrespective of number of hours and shifts worked.

The effects of management's lay offs have not only been loss of pay, but also demoralisation and division amongst the workforce. They have also produced, in relation to the last three weeks at Dagenham, both the spontaneous eruption of anger on 28th September and the demand for a guaranteed shift payment. One of the main weaknesses of the situation was that this demand was never taken up by the workers laid off.

The demand itself needs to be extended to one for 100% pay, because the problem of lay-offs is not only a problem concerning single shifts. The demand also needs to be CAMPAIGNED for amongst the workforce. With this fight, or a continuation of the situation where car workers are placed on a SEMI-CASUAL basis.

LATE NEWS (19.10.76). On Monday the 'B' shift body plant door-setters decided to continue their strike. As a result there was no work on that shift. Ford management tried to get black-legs on the door-setters' job, but the unions said no. At 4pm, after giving them 15 minutes' ultimatum, Ford sacked the 8 door-setters. The production manager has now issued a circular saying that tomorrow (20th October) management will try to re-man the door-setting job. He threatens that there will be a complete lay-off if there is any obstacle to this re-manning.

The unions have blacked the door-setting section. A leaflet produced jointly by WORKERS ACTION and RED WEEKLY supporters has called for a strike for the reinstatement of ALL THOSE VICTIMISED.

J.M.

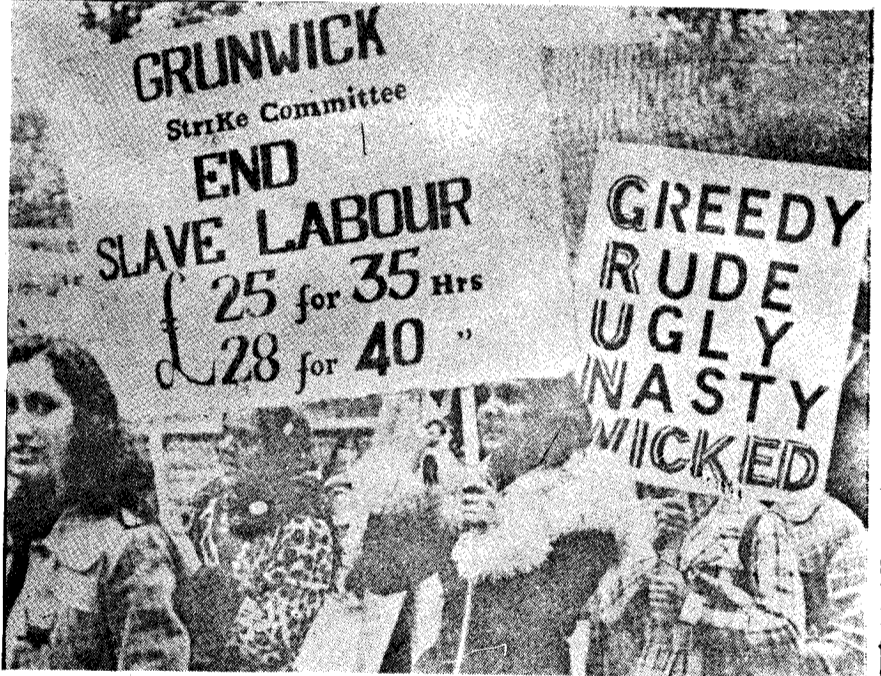
## A FIGHT FOR UNION RIGHTS

The strikers at Grunwicks are firm and determined to win in spite of the past outcome of union battles in this factory. They call on the trade union movement to send money and messages of support, and, most importantly, to black Grunwicks and its subsidiaries, Cooper and Pearson, Bonuspool and Trucolour.

To take a phrase from a different context, "We cannot go back, nor can we turn to the right or to the left. We must go straight through. Victory, therefore, must be ours".

Messages of support and donations to: Jayaben Desai, Grunwick Strike Committee, Brent Trade and Labour Hall, 375 High Rd, Willesden, London NW10.

Robert Johnston



## EVENTS

**Saturday 23 October.** Campaign to Repeal the Immigration Act benefit social, at the Tabernacle, off Powis Square. Tickets 50p.

**Sunday 24 October.** Planning meeting for open conference of left wing teachers. 11am at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq, W/C1.

**Friday 29 October.** Coventry Workers' Action readers' meeting. Martin Legassick on South Africa. 7.30pm at the Albany Hotel, Albany Rd.

**Saturday 30 October.** National WWC day school on nursery campaigns. 10am to 5pm at the Centre of Environmental Studies, 62 Chandos Place, London WC2. Creche provided.

**Tuesday 2 November.** Cardiff Workers' Action readers' meeting on "The Lessons of October 1917". 7.30pm at the Rhymney Hotel, Adams St.

**Saturday 6 November.** Anti-Apartheid one-day delegate conference on Southern Africa. 10.45am at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. More details from Chris Child, 89 Charlotte St, London W1.

**Tuesday 16 November.** Cardiff Workers' Action readers' meeting on "What is Working Class Internationalism?". 7.30pm at the Rhymney Hotel, Adams St.

**Saturday 24 November.** Open Conference of left wing teachers. Sir William Collins School, Charrington Street London W1. 11.00am to 6.00pm.

## DUBLIN, WESTMINSTER, 'PEACE' WOMEN

### PROP UP STATUS QUO

Noel and Marie Murray, two young anarchists, are in death cells in southern Ireland, waiting for November 1st. On that day the Dublin 'Supreme Court' is to rule on whether the charge they were convicted on is in fact definable as subject to the death sentence.

If the Supreme Court decision goes against them, they will be hanged.

The Murrays were convicted by a 'special' court (without a jury) on the basis of statements admitting involvement in a bank robbery during which an off-duty policeman was killed. In court the Murrays rejected the statements and said they had been made under police pressure.

Men like Dublin Minister Conor Cruse O'Brien, who consider themselves liberal and humane people, and who oppose the death penalty in general, have raised no outcry to save the Murrays. The task of defending the Murrays has been left to a small Defence Committee, which calls on all trade-

union branches and Labour Parties to send protests to the Irish Embassy, Grosvenor Place, London SW1, to Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave at Government Buildings, Dublin (and a copy to the Defence Committee, c/o Fr. Denis Faul, St Patrick's Academy, Dungannon, Co. Tyrone).

The political significance of the Murrays' case was made clear by the Dublin government's simultaneous pushing-through of the Emergency Powers Act, which finally became law last weekend. Republican leader David O'Connell has also been arrested in the South. The Fine Gael-Labour Party government is clearly set on an all-out policy of collaboration with Britain to crush those fighting for a united and independent Ireland.

While persecution increases in southern Ireland, the British Government seems to have become more liberal. The Government is considering lifting the ban on the use of Trafalgar Square for demonstrations on the Irish question.

But this move is not the victory it seems to be. The application to use Trafalgar Square which may be granted is "from the 'Women's Peace Movement'".

If the government grant the use of Trafalgar Square, doubtless they will argue that a movement calling for peace in Ireland is so much in line with what everyone wants that it deserves to be made an exception.

Noel Jenkinson answered that argument, in his last letter from Leicester Jail before he died in the hands of the British prison system: "The people will only be at peace when the invaders are driven out. Nobody denies the absolute right of the Irish people to peace but nobody in Ireland will have peace so long as any trace of Brit power remains. The violence in Ireland today is imported counter-revolutionary violence — it can only be destroyed by revolutionary violence. Everybody wants peace — but not peace at any price — better to die on our feet than live on our knees".

The 'peace women' have been to the USA to try to stop funds being sent to help the IRA. They have not called for funds to be stopped to the British Army in Ireland — and an army is nothing but an instrument of war. They have not called for the dismantling of the Six-County state — a state which has for 50 years been an instrument of 'cold war', and sometimes 'hot' war, against the Catholic minority in the North.

The 'peace women' say: let there be peace while the division of Ireland continues and while the British military occupation of Ireland continues. They are like those who say: let there be 'industrial peace' while the bosses keep their control and their profits. Workers' Action says: there will be no 'industrial peace' in the factories until the working class rules society, and there will be no national peace in Ireland until the Republicans and Socialists win their war to establish a united 32-county Ireland free of British domination.