

RED WEEKLY

battle of **ideas**
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REVOLUTIONARIES AND ELECTIONS

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Support National Strike Action on 19 April

DEFEAT LABOUR'S BLACKMAIL



Toolmakers picket the Leyland plant at Castle Bromwich.

BLACKMAIL! There is no other word to describe the threats now being aimed at the carworkers of British Leyland.

Whether it comes from the National Enterprise Board, the Labour Government or trade union leaders, the message to the toolmakers is the same: 'Get back to work or we will throw the lot of you on the dole queue'.

Some still have to look twice to make sure it is a 'Labour' government which is spearheading the campaign; to check that it is one time 'left' union leader Hugh Scanlon who joins in waving the big stick of unemployment at the Leyland workers.

accept the wage cuts you will be unemployed.

But the racket doesn't end there. Under the shadow of mass unemployment, hotel bosses in Oxford and Sheffield feel safe to attack the very principle of unionisation by victimising members of Jack Jones' own union; at the Plessey factory in Merseyside, workers at threatened with the sack due to cut-backs in orders by a Post Office, over which

the Labour Government has ultimate authority.

There is one way to resist blackmail — standing together.

This means insisting that the fight of the Leyland carworkers to obtain a decent wage is the fight of all, and that the occupation of Plessey workers is the occupation of all. This can best be shown in practice by building all those actions which can lead a fight back now against low wages, unemployment and the drop in workers living standards:

Actions such as the meeting

in Birmingham on 2 April, called by the Working Women's Charter against low pay; building the 'rank-and-file' TUC against phase 3 the following day in Birmingham, and turning that meeting into the organisation of a militant offensive against the social con trick; organising now for the national strike action on 19 April called by last month's conference of the Liaison Committee in Defence of Trade Unions.

Don't be divided by the blackmailers. We have paid them too much already.

HISTORY

But it is a Labour government, it is Hugh Scanlon. Looking at the history of the last couple of years, it is not really surprising. For the threat of unemployment is only possible because Labour has created a situation of mass unemployment, which makes all workers have genuine fears of spending a long time on the dole. And it is 'lefts' such as Scanlon and Jack Jones who permitted the situation of mass unemployment, going hand in hand with wage cuts, to come about.

The script reads like a protection racket:

- * They force wage cuts.
- * They create unemployment.
- * They then say if you don't

DEFEND OCCUPATIONS

'IT SEEMS to be a pattern these days'. So said a management spokesperson after the workers in the Plessey factory in Kirby had taken over the factory in protest at the threatened closure of the plant and the loss of 400 jobs.

A pattern it certainly is. In recent weeks there has been the occupation of the Wildt Mellor Bromley factory in Leicester, the occupation of many colleges up and down the country and the occupa-

tion of the infamous Globtik Venus oil tanker by its Filipino crew.

That is one pattern; workers and students taking direct action in defence of their jobs, their wages, their right to education.

But there is another pattern. The owner of the Globtik Venus hires a band of mercenary thugs to smash the occupation; the police at Wildt Mellor Bromley threaten to use 200 men to smash the

occupation there, and the occupation ends; the students at the London School of Economics are taken to the high court and again the police smash their way in.

Students at Kent University and University College, Cardiff face similar court injunctions, while last week occupying students at Bristol were attacked by a 20-strong group of fascists chanting 'Niggers Out, Commies Out'.

Whether under the auspices

of the state, anti-trade union shipping magnates, or fascists, the intention is to smash the fight back, and don't be too choosy about how it's done.

The right to occupy is already under attack by the Criminal Law Bill, which seeks to make occupations criminal offences. Mass action is necessary to defeat these proposals.

But defence of occupations,

particularly those which would be necessary to resist the threatened closures of car plants, is vital. The defence of the Saltley picket in 1972 showed the way to put paid to police attacks on workers' action.

The stand of the Kirby occupiers must be defended, be it against the state, the bosses or their rag-bag scabs. No more Globtik Venuses. Solidarity with the Plessey fight-back.

SUPPORT LEYLAND CONFERENCE ON 3 APRIL

No sell out on abortion pledge!

The Benyon anti-abortion Bill, which passed its second reading by 38 votes on 25 February, is likely to reduce the number of legal abortions in Britain by one half, should it become law.

The next stage in the Parliamentary process is for the Bill to be considered by a Standing Committee. Its members are chosen in proportion to the vote at the second reading. Just like the James White Select Committee, it will therefore have a majority of anti-abortion MPs.

Not unexpectedly, there was a hard core of MPs who were determined, in the debate in the Commons, to oppose abortion in any form. The points made by these MPs speak for themselves. David James (Dorset North) came out with the statement that 'abortion equals the taking of an innocent life, and taking innocent life is murder'.

Jill Knight (Birmingham Eggbaston) claimed: 'I myself know... a girl sought an abortion simply because she wanted to play in a local tennis club tournament'. Of course all these points were backed up with phoney 'medical' evidence that abortion was highly dangerous.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

On the other side, Maureen Colquhoun (Northampton North) pointed out 'Women, and only women, have the right to decide what is to happen to their bodies, and have the right to control them and their own lives'.

Both she and Jo Richardson (Barking) reminded the Labour MPs present that the Labour Party and TUC Conferences of 1975 had affirmed their support for this right.

But between these two positions were a number of MPs who tried to disguise their obvious opposition to abortion by claiming concern about abuses and profiteering in the private sector. Some claimed support for the 1967 Act itself but professed a similar concern about abuses. These latter felt that administrative measures — not changes in the law — were all that was necessary to remedy the situation.

Roland Moyle, speaking for the DHSS, said he would vote against the Bill because the DHSS had already taken action to regulate the private sector. In fact, these measures were none other than the restrictive proposals made by the James White Select Committee and accepted unanimously by all

the pro-abortion MPs in November 1975!

When amendments to the Benyon Bill are under consideration in the Committee stage, pro-abortion MPs will doubtless try to play the Parliamentary manoeuvres game.

Rather than placing themselves at the head of the movement outside of Parliament capable of defeating the Bill, they will succumb to the pressures from reformist organisations such as the Abortion Law Reform Association to limit their activity to parliamentary considerations.

The emphasis will then be on changing the Bill in order to delay this stage and trying to prevent the Bill from ever getting back into the House for its final reading.

However, the only amendments which they could put are those which would make the Bill less extreme, but would still result in restrictions to the existing law.

There is a real danger that these so-called supporters of abortion will be prepared to compromise by putting their names to such amendments, failing to see that their own refusal to seriously build a mass movement on this issue will be an important factor in any restrictions on abortion rights.

The task for the National Abortion Campaign and those who are prepared to fight for abortion rights outside of Parliament, is to ensure that opposition to the Benyon Bill is built in all sections of the working class movement, and expressed in a massive turnout for the demonstration called for 14 May.

Students, women's groups, trade union members and Labour Party supporters of abortion rights should have already begun to mobilise for this event with resolutions, distribution of leaflets, articles in their journals, organising coaches to London, and planning joint meetings and actions in every locality to involve the largest number of people in the build up to the march.

This kind of activity will not only show MPs the determination which exists to defeat this Bill completely, but it will also prepare the campaign for the possibility that these MPs will refuse to base their activity on the needs of the abortion movement and will agree to amendments.

Another sell-out on the abortion issue can only be avoided with the consistent struggle and organisation of those who base themselves on the working class movement, committed to free abortion on demand for women.

WENDY FORREST

LABOUR AND STECHFORD

The debacle of the Labour Government continues. The right wing sabotaged the Devolution Bill. Labour lost the Westminster bye-election and becomes a minority govern-

ment. Now there is yet another success for the right, as the Cabinet drops shiprepairing from its bill to nationalise the shipbuilding industry. The forthcoming Stechford

by-election has every prospect of adding to these defeats. If Labour does lose Stechford the Labour right wingers may point to the presence of the revolutionary candidate of the

IMG, and say our campaign 'stabbed Labour in the back'. But if Labour does lose Stechford, it will be like the defeat on devolution and on shiprepairing — self-inflicted — self-inflicted by giving in to right-wing pressures, be they from Labour's own 'moderate' wing, or the shiprepairing bosses.

Every time Labour gives in to such Tories, be they in 'socialist' clothing or not, Labour's prospects of keeping out the Thatcher's mob diminishes.

The fight for socialism is one which needs to be fought both inside and outside the Labour Party. At the moment an important way of developing that fight is to organise against the right wing manoeuvres of Callaghan, Healey and company. That is why I am standing in Stechford — to build a socialist opposition to the Tory policies of the Labour Government.

Brian Heron
Longbridge shop steward
IMG Parliamentary prospective candidate for Stechford.



BRIAN HERON, IMG candidate for Stechford, speaking at the end of the 3,000 strong anti-racist demonstration which marched through the constituency last week.

WOMEN & THE MEDIA

'WHAT'S "NEWSPORTHY" about the fact that in many areas of the country women are faced by unwanted pregnancies because they can't get abortions on the national health?

'Abortion becomes "news-worthy", as it has this week, when an MP like Benyon gets time to present a private members' Bill to alter the abortion law. But what about the substantive evidence offered by the NAC tribunal a few weeks ago?'

This was the view of guest speaker Mandy Merck, staff writer on the London magazine *Time Out*, in the third of the 'Marxism and the Mass Media' forums sponsored by the IMG. She was challenging the view that sexism in the media operates mainly at the level of masculine language — 'man-made', 'mankind', etc.

PREJUDICE

She maintained firstly that sexism is a descriptive term, alerting us to prejudice. It does describe something, but doesn't tell us why. Like racism, it is an ideological term, which tends to confine the oppression of women to the realm of ideas and not to real, material relations.

It thus leaves us without a way of explaining whose or what interests are served and how such ideology perpetuates itself. She preferred the term 'patriarchy' or father-rule.

Her central argument was that the overt content of media, in terms of image, plot and charac-

terisation was not necessarily the only way that women were oppressed and misrepresented.

She challenged the plot/characterisation emphasis of most feminist film and literary criticism. In literature, she argued, what counts is not the fortunes of the heroine, but how they are ideologically mediated in the text by the stance, techniques and forms of narration adopted by the writer.

She maintained that sexism and the oppression of women through various media takes place not solely at the level of the content, but also through the forms adopted, which have been traditionally structured in patriarchal ways.

Through a brief examination of women in rock music, she said that for women rock musicians, changing the sexist lyrics is not enough — for one thing, in live performances, the lyrics are not heard anyway. Perhaps, she suggested,

the musical form of such music is implicitly patriarchal and hierarchical — or 'ranked', as the avant-garde musician Eno puts it.

Turning to journalism, the speaker referred to the National Union of Journalists' anti-sexist guidelines on reporting, which attempt to de-masculinise grammar and language. While admitting that they had played an important role (though still not generally practiced), she pointed out that women's activities and their under-representation in the 'news' (for example the case of abortion quoted above) could not be changed by tampering with language alone.

Men still control the headlines. What is considered newsworthy, sensational or novel, still depends on men, predominantly through male, capitalist control of those media.

Women's magazines, on the

other hand, reflect the other side of that division — the private, domestic world of clothes, cosmetics, children, cooking and the family, to which women are traditionally relegated. That is still counterposed to the essentially male 'public' world of current affairs — the hard news on which newspapers are sustained.

CARL GARDNER

• The 'Marxism in the Media' Forums are organised by media workers in the IMG, but are of an open nature with participation of individuals of all shades of socialist opinion. The next meeting is on 'Popular Music: Mobiliser or Opiate' with Leon Rosselson speaking. Sunday 20 March, London Film-makers Co-op, 44 Fitzroy Road, London NW1. [Chalk Farm tube]. 20p admission.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

Saturday 12 March is the day set aside in many towns and cities in Britain to mark International Women's Day. The first time the call for a day devoted to women was issued, from the second International Conference of Socialist Women in 1911, it was taken up enthusiastically.

Kollontai explained that: 'Meetings were organised everywhere — in the small towns and even in villages. Halls were packed so full that they had to ask workers to give up their places for women. Men stayed at home with the children for a change, and their wives, captive

housewives, went to meetings. In Austria there was conflict with the police. During the largest street demonstration, in which 30,000 were taking part, the police decided to remove the demonstrators banners; the women workers made a stand... In 1913 International Women's Day was transferred to 8 March and this date has remained the working women's day of militancy'.

This is the tradition of militancy and struggle that should be preserved in the celebration of International Women's Day. In London this year a march is being organised

which will provide such an opportunity.

It has the backing of organisations beyond those of the women's liberation movement itself — including the National Abortion Campaign, the National Assembly of Women and the Greater London Association of Trades Councils. The demonstration will leave from Hyde Park, Speakers Corner, at 1.15pm.

From 3pm to 7pm on the same day, there will be a Women's Fair organised by women from the women's liberation movement for women only.

In addition to women's bands and feminist poetry there will be stalls on, amongst others, abortion and contraception, feminist literature, third world women, battered wives, and rape. The venue is Hinde Street Methodist Hall, W1.

Evelyn Reed - National Tour

- Thursday 10 March: 8.00pm, Adult Education Centre, Peechy Street, Nottingham.
- Friday 11 March: 7.30pm Leeds Trade Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7. Social afterwards.
- Saturday 12 March: University Union, Queens Road, 7pm. Feminists and socialists in the Bristol area have been invited to participate in the International Womens Day demonstration, assemble 2pm, Victoria Rooms.
- Monday 14 March: 1.00pm Middlesex Poly, Enfield Site, Queensway, Enfield, Middx.
- Tuesday 15 March: 12.30pm Central Poly, London. 7.30pm. Room CO18, Clarendon Building, London School of Economics, Houghton Street, WC2.
- Wednesday 16 March: 7.30pm, Assembly Rooms, George Street, Edinburgh.
- Thursday 17 March: 1.00pm, Durham University, Dunelm House, New Elvet, Durham. 7.30pm, Central Methodist Hall, Ridley Place, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

★ SPECIAL OFFER of Evelyn Reed's books

★ SPECIAL OFFER
Red Books is making a special offer of Evelyn Reed's books. Problems of Women's Liberation 60p [regular price 90p], Women's Evolution £2.15 [regular price £3.15]. Orders of 5 or more copies of each title, post free. Less than 5 copies, add 10% postage.
Pamphlets by Evelyn Reed are also obtainable from Red Books. Is Biology Women's Destiny 30p; Abortion and the Catholic Church 40p;



EVELYN REED, speaking at a London press conference last week.

In 1952 Evelyn Reed visited the Royal Anthropological Institute, during a visit to Britain. This set her off on a path of research about why women are oppressed as a sex, which has resulted in her book

At a crowded press Conference called by Pathfinder Press last Friday she explained the obstacles she had confronted during her 25 years of research.

be opened and Reed attributed this to the impact of the 'explosion' of the American women's liberation movement. She said her book was not a closed explanation of women's history and called for 'teams of women scholars' to continue the work, using the rigorous scientific method she had adopted.

She urged everyone interested in discovering the reality beyond the myth of women's biological inferiority to read Engels's Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, as well as Robert Briffault's The Mothers.

WOMEN IN RUSSIA

Reed described women in Tsarist Russia as being treated little better than 'pack animals' and explained how the gains of the Russian Revolution had been rolled back by the bureaucracy. 'When we get our revolution in America the strong women's liberation movement we have will guard against this kind of degradation of the movement.'

Her message to women was to get together and decide on the action necessary to put an end to their oppression.

'Most people say I am optimistic. I am. But this is because I have looked into women's history and I understand the social forces we are up against. But I also understand



One of the first events organised by the recently formed Campaign for Free Speech on Ireland is the showing on Sunday 13 March of 'A Sense of Loss', a documentary on the situation in the North of Ireland made in 1972 and banned both by the BBC and Irish television.

The film will be shown at the Other Cinema, Tottenham Street, London W1, at 3.45 and will be followed by a discussion.

Details of the Campaign for Free Speech on Ireland can be obtained from 24, Clarendon

Photo: G. M. COOKSON (Red Weekly)



Police: uniformed workers?

RICHARD CARVER

The breakdown of negotiations with the Government on an immediate £6 pay rise has precipitated the demand for the affiliation of the Police Federation to the TUC. This would bring with it the right to strike which is forbidden by the law at present. It seems that James Callaghan, a former Police Federation consultant, may be able to pour oil on these troubled waters, but the issue will rumble on.

The demand for union rights for police raises complex questions for socialists. The Communist Party prefers to dodge these questions. The CP simply supports the demand of a large number of Police Federation members, overwhelmingly confirmed in membership ballots, for TUC affiliation. According to the *Morning Star*, police union rights are 'of crucial importance for future democratic developments opening the road to Socialism in Britain'. For the CP the problem is one of winning the police force to the side of the working class: 'Granting them full democratic rights is essential for democratising the state.'

So concerned is the *Morning Star* with 'democratising the state' that it will twist the truth in any direction. It says that police earn 20 per cent less than the national average wage. In fact average police pay, up to and including the rank of inspector, is £89.90, compared with the national average wage of £71.80. Gross weekly earnings for a constable in the London area average £100.03.

The *Morning Star* finds itself in the company of papers like the *Daily Mail* in its concern for the poor, under-paid British bobby.

For revolutionaries, on the other hand, the starting point must be a series of tactics which assist in the

breakdown of the repressive apparatus of the police force.

American Trotskyists did not support the demand of New York police for danger money for working in black areas. This contrasts with Spain where the strike of Barcelona traffic police over wages led to just such a breakdown in the police.

Armed traffic police confronted armed riot police on the streets. Frequently traffic police refuse to cooperate with riot police in rerouting traffic to clear the streets for police vehicles. Often they deliberately snarl up traffic in central Barcelona to prevent the riot police from breaking up demonstrations.

This, like the 1919 British police strike which still haunts the memory of the *Daily Mail*, shows that even pay demands can have the effect of preventing the operation of the police force.

But the police issue is different from that of a conscript army. In the latter case, where conscripts are genuinely 'workers in uniform', the attack on the army is advanced by the struggle for trade union rights. French Trotskyists have had some success in fighting for this demand in recent years.

The demand for the affiliation of the Police Federation to the TUC would not have the same effect. The Police Federation is not a trade union but a professional body which mirrors the police hierarchy. The formation of a police union would have all the same defects.

ATTACK

At the moment the attack on the police force can best be served by fighting for the recruitment of police to appropriate existing unions. This is not to say that police men and women have the same interests as the rest of the working class. It is a tactic to bring them under the discipline of the union movement.

The dramatic implications when police are ordered to break a picket line or a demonstration, against

union policy, are obvious. Therefore a fight for police unionisation must also be a fight against those who see such a process as part of the 'democratisation of the state'.

The issue of police pay and conditions is distinctly subordinate to this. In general we are opposed to any improvement in police conditions which would help recruitment and reinforce loyalty to the state.

Particular demands for the abolition of police barracks and police houses help break down the unity of the police force. Yet the latter, in particular, would probably be opposed by any police union since it involves a decline in living standards.

In his drive for unionisation in the armed forces, Clive Jenkins of the clerical workers' union ASTMS talked about mutually agreed disciplinary procedures which would, among other things 'protect the officers themselves in the exercise of their powers'.

Such a demand, which is mirrored in the CP's demand for union status for the Police Federation, is only designed to strengthen the authority of the repressive bodies of the state. Our aim is precisely the opposite.

Labour Conference rejects state interference

FIGHT CRIMINAL LAW BILL

The National Union of Public Employees is the latest trade union to give national backing to the demonstration against the Criminal Trespass Law on 19 March in London.

NUPE, like other trade unions, recognises the threat a criminal trespass law poses to workers in struggle, as the Bill currently winding its way through Parliament proposes to make occupations, be they of factories, empty houses or colleges, a criminal offence.

Already both the TUC and the Labour Party have stated their opposition to the Bill, and the Campaign Against A Criminal Trespass Law is currently speaking at meetings throughout the country stressing that this formal support has to be translated into a major mobilisation on 19 March. Speakers, posters and pam-

THE LONDON Labour Party Conference held on Saturday 5 March was unanimous in its support for an emergency resolution introduced by Newham North East constituency, denouncing the interference of the Courts in the internal workings of the Party.

The resolution referred to action taken by right wingers in the constituency who last week successfully appealed to the High Court to extend an injunction preventing the Annual General Meeting of the local Party. These same right wingers have been renowned in recent months for their wails bemoaning the lack of 'democratic' proceedings in the constituency.

Incapable of relying on their ideas, they have resorted to the bourgeois state to settle political

based on the spurious claim that due notice of 28 days had not been given to members of the AGM — took Labour Party members by surprise.

Julian Lewis of the Social Democratic Alliance first tried to stop the meeting on procedural grounds. A Court Official appeared half a minute later, accompanied by two private bailiffs. Following an hour's discussion by party officials, it was decided to abandon this first attempt to hold the AGM, capitulating to the threat of the law.

Julian Lewis, one of the instigators of the injunction, is an member of the Young Conservatives who formed a break-away right-wing group from the Oxford Labour Club, the Democratic Labour Club two years ago.

sanctions for fighting against the Marxists.

However, the only way to answer these methods is to take up the call for support put out by Newham NE members, organising with forces both inside and outside the Party. This is the way to fight off the intervention of the state into the fundamental right of the labour movement to decide its own actions and procedures.

The fact that the Party officials decided to call off the meeting — and presumably will continue to refrain from issuing another call for the AGM until the affair is settled in the courts — weakens the ability of the entire labour movement to resist the use of the force of the state in the future.

Labour movement bodies

IN FOCUS

RED WEEKLY

BULLOCK

The Bullock Report proposals on participation are now being quietly buried by the Government along with other 'Social Contract legislation'.

But their demise does not mean that the questions raised by the debate on participation are any less important for the workers' movement.

The Bullock proposals are designed to harness the independent action of workers and to co-opt their desire for greater control over capitalism's plans. But these plans themselves are to solve the crisis at the expense of the workers.

Bullock is an attempt to turn schemes like Ryder's in British Leyland and the Social Contract into long-term reformist strategy. The TUC itself has endorsed such a strategy. Its 1976 General Council Report calls for establishing: 'the essentially joint interest of labour and capital in the enterprise' All of the proposals in the Bullock Report are based on this supposed 'joint interest'.

It is no accident that one of the principal architects of the Bullock proposal for so-called 'industrial democracy' is the same Jack Jones who is the backbone of the Social Contract.

The Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers is the principal union opposed to the proposals. It argues, in line with the Communist Party, for the further development of collective bargaining, instead of participation proposals. The advantage of this position is that it bases itself on the existing strength of the trade unions. It rejects the ideas of 'joint interest'.

NEED FOR CONTROL

But this in no way corresponds to the need for the working class to start to assume control of the economy. Collective bargaining, however 'radical', still leaves the right of management to manage unchallenged. The framework of such bargaining is within the traditional role of trade unions as defensive organisations.

In order to carry through the fight for workers control, the working class must not only be organised independently of the ruling class, but independently from the reformist bureaucracy of the trade unions around demands which clearly express the necessity of workers control. The election of the 'Open the Books' Committee at Cowley in response to the Ryder collaboration proposals indicates the sort of independent organisation that can be fought for.

Threats of lay-offs or redundancies should be met with the demand for work-sharing with no loss of pay. Speed-up proposals should be countered by plans for increasing staffing levels to carry out the work and employ the jobless.

Management's defence of their right to manage, expressed in such ideas as the 'confidentiality of information', should be challenged. Business secrets protect no-one but the employers, the bankers and the state who scheme behind the backs of the workers. An end to commercial secrecy must be fought for to expose the bosses' manoeuvres, organise the fights against specific plans, and prepare the way for nationalisation of industry under workers control.

Control is forged through struggle. Some people in organisations like the Institute for Workers' Control spend hours designing plans for so-called workers' control over particular industries. But any rigid scheme is mistaken. In the heat of the struggle, the workers themselves will produce far more creative schemes and will themselves decide the most effective measures for imposing control.

TUC PROPOSALS

Red Weekly has received letters from two readers arguing that the TUC proposals were only a more militant participation scheme. *Socialist Press*, the paper of the Workers Socialist League, argued the same line in its 16 February issue.

But neither our correspondents nor *Socialist Press* quoted from the TUC proposal itself that at least one half of the members of the board be elected by the workers from their own ranks, and that no decision could be taken unless it had a majority of the worker representatives themselves.

Chris Balfour, writing in *Red Weekly* (3 February) argued that if the workers on the board were immediately recallable and accountable, the TUC proposals on worker representatives and on disclosure of information could create a situation in which collective bargaining 'would take place over overall company policy'. He therefore called for the implementation of these proposals.

Comrade Balfour has not suddenly capitulated to the bureaucrats. But he is mistaken. The TUC proposals are wrong because they are divorced from any struggle for control demands at the base of the working class. They would have the effect of defusing the mass struggle rather than assisting its development.

Socialists, therefore, should not campaign for the implementation of the TUC proposals. Had the proposals caught the attention and imagination of broad layers of workers, then it would have been perfectly principled and legitimate to be a part of the movement demanding their implementation. To stand aside from such a movement under the banner of so-called 'principle' would be childish folly. But no such movement exists. The TUC's endorsement of Bullock's proposals themselves will ensure that they wage no fight around their original alternatives. In such a situation, the task of socialists is to

STUDENT LEADERS ATTEMPT SELLOUT

* A step towards organising a principled alternative to the Broad Left in the NUS was taken at a meeting in Manchester last week.

40 students heard Hugh Lanning, presidential candidate for the Socialist Students Alliance, speak on the need for left unity in the student movement. The meeting decided to set up a local branch of the SSA with regular meetings and a steering committee mandated to organise support for action in various campaigns.

21 students, including the presidents elect of the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology and Bolton Institute of Technology, joined the SSA as individual members.

* The national steering committee of the SSA have written to the National Organisation of IS Societies asking to be able to observe and speak to the NOISS national conference due to be held this weekend. Their aim is to further attempts at unity between NOISS and SSA in NUS campaigns and elections.

ACTION against fees increases which has spread to over 40 colleges in the past weeks stepped up with this Wednesday's demonstration in London.

The widespread and massive support for the campaign has shown the willingness of students to fight the Labour Government's attacks. Mass meetings of thousands have been held in several colleges, some of these in right wing strongholds.

FUTURE

By refusing to organise a national meeting to plan the future of the campaign and by aiding the witch-hunt against the all-London Coordinating Committee, the NUS Executive clearly sees the national demonstration as the grand finale of the campaign.

The 200 and 300 per cent increases in fees will hit overseas and self-financed students hardest. But it doesn't end there.

The Times Higher Education

Supplement (4 March) reported that the resources devoted by the Science Research Council to big science (high energy physics, astronomy) would be cut next year by 25 per cent. The only way cuts will be cushioned, if at all, is through big increases in post-graduate fees for next year. Also, students who are not on degree courses and receive grants at the discretion of their local authorities will be drastically affected. Local authorities will only receive 55 per cent of the new fees for these students from central government.

The result will be that students in Further Education will find it almost impossible to get a discretionary award. For students on degree courses the local authorities will be able to retrieve 90 per cent from central government. The other 10 per cent will have to be found through cuts in the rest of their budgets.

The NUS leaders argue that the demand to oppose all fee increases will result in cut-

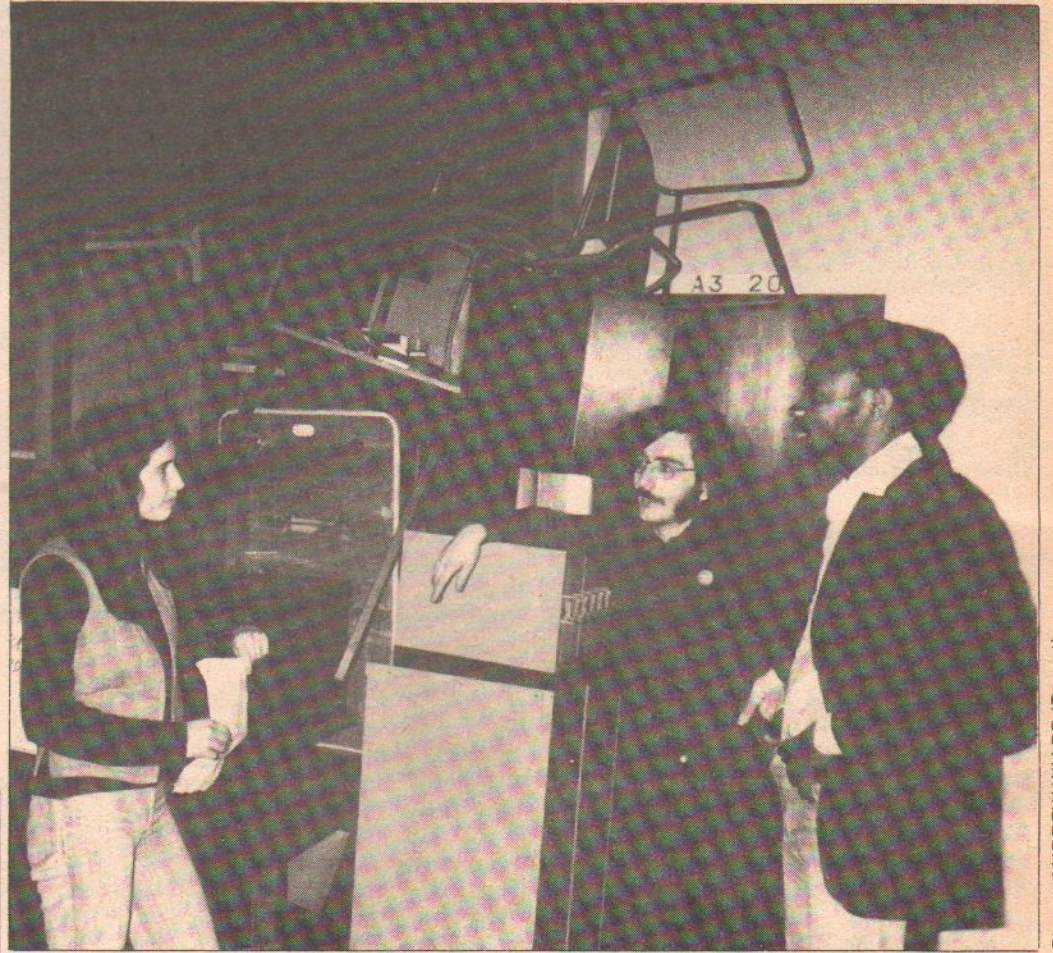


Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

City University students are determined to stay put in the fight against fees increases.

Save our Hospitals

'Save Our Hospitals' — this is the theme of a national delegate conference on 19 March for trade unionists in the National Health Service, called by the Right to Work Campaign and Hospital Worker.

The conference comes at an important time when:

* There are plans to close dozens of hospitals as a consequence of Healey's cuts. Some have already been shut down.

* There are wholesale reductions of services and staffing levels within the NHS.

* The NHS union leaders, for all their rhetoric, refuse to call national strike action against the cuts or to organise widespread support for those struggles which are taking place.

So there is a real need for health workers to come together and to plan a programme of action for

resisting the cuts and starting the fight for a socialist health service. Hopefully, the Hospital Worker conference will allow this process to develop.

It would be unfortunate if the Socialist Workers Party-dominated Hospital Worker and Right to Work Campaign saw the conference as no more than a manoeuvre to relaunch Hospital Worker; or offered the newspaper and its organisation as the way forward, ignoring the many militants fighting the cuts who are outside of or hostile to the SWP.

In this respect the conference will only be successful if it seeks to turn Hospital Worker into a non-sectarian paper, campaigning for the broadest possible unity of all those fighting to 'save our hospitals'.

Such unity in itself is not enough, it needs to be based on a set of

policies which could defend the NHS and which militants can fight for. The present policies of Hospital Worker have proved inadequate to meet this task, centring as they do on simply democratising the union and strengthening shop floor organisation.

Such demands are necessary, but in a period where there is a real need to 'save our hospitals', militants need more than simplistic 'rank and file' solutions — they need socialist policies to fight for. Supporters of Red Weekly in urging all health workers to win delegation to the 19 March conference, urge them as well to fight for such policies at the conference itself.

* For a full account of the IMG's analysis of the crisis in the NHS, and of its programme to solve that crisis see 'Crisis in the Health Service — the Socialist Solution', a 'Struggle for Health' Pamphlet. Available from Red Books, 182 Pentonville Road, London N1. Price 15p plus postage.

WHAT'S ON

Deadline: 5pm, Saturday before publication. Rates: 2p per word except for general movement events.

LONDON Socialist Feminist meeting on Women's Unemployment: 13 March Caxton House, St John's Way, N19 (women only).

NAC National Conference, Sat. 19 March, South Bank Polytechnic, London.

March against the Criminal Trespass Bill. Sat 19 March, assemble 1.45 in Cardington St (nr Euston Sq), then march at 2.15 to Highbury Fields. Speakers include Audrey Wise MP.

ALL-LAMBETH Anti-Racist Movement Conference: Sat 12 March, Stockwell Hall, Stockwell Park Rd, Brixton SW9. Open conference with delegations. Contact: ALARM, c/o Student Union, South Bank Polytechnic, 7 Rotary St, SE1.

WALES Day Conference of Campaign Against a Criminal Trespass Law. Sat 12 March, 11am-5pm, Miners Hall, Merthyr Tydfil. For details and booking form, contact: CACTL Conference in Wales, c/o AUEW/TASS, 18 Anne's Close, Merthyr Tydfil, Mid Glamorgan.

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST No 4, February 1977, out now, 25p. Articles on 'The I-CL and Women's Liberation'; the development of capitalism in Russia; and the debate on the Workers Government at the 4th Congress of the Communist International. 'International Communist' No 2/3 still available, 30p. All orders to G. Lee, 98 Gifford St., London N1 0DF. Add 15% for p&p, with a minimum of 10p and maximum of 70p. Subscriptions: six issues — Britain £1.50, Overseas £2. Libraries £3. Twelve issues — Britain £2.75, Overseas £3.75. Libraries £5.75. Cheques/POs should be made payable to 'I-CL'.

LONDON Spartacist Group forum, 'Leninism, the National Question and Ireland', Fri 11 March, 7pm, Conway Hall, WC1.

OUT IN MARCH: 'Labour Focus on Eastern Europe'. News and analysis for communists, socialists and trade unionists opposed to repression and for socialist democracy in Eastern Europe. £2.25 for nine issues per year for subs up to 31 March. Sample copy 30p post free. Write to 116 Cazenove Road (bottom flat), London N16.

CELEBRATE International Women's Day with Cardiff Red Weekly support

THE IRON MAN, musical based on the formation of the First Union. Sunday 13 March, 8.00pm, Theatre Royal, Stratford. Tickets 50p.

ORGANISER for non-sectarian campaign. Required experience of organisation in trade/student unions, women's or community groups; administrative efficiency, basic writing/public speaking abilities. Long hours. Write giving full details, reasons for applying to CACTL and phone number to c/o 6 Bowden Street, SE11, to arrive by 18 March.

'THE USES OF Broadcasting'. For the first time, a revolutionary marxist analysis, by a former TV director, of broadcasting's role in the social crisis. 50p post free (or cassette 70p) from Embla Books, 25 Ladysmith Road, Plymouth PL4 7NL.

'APARTHEID in Britain — an analysis of the Prevention of Terrorism Act'. A new pamphlet by the People against the PTA, forms part of a national campaign against this repressive piece of anti-Irish legislation. It has been sponsored by nearly half a dozen significant labour movement bodies. Read it, use it. Cost 25p, plus 15p postage from: PAPTA, Box 16, 142 Drummond Street, London NW1. Bulk rates negotiable. Write, or ring 01-450 2905.

WORLD REVOLUTION public forum 'National Liberation' against the working class; St Matthews Hall, St Mary's Rd., Southampton. Sat 12 March, 2.30pm.

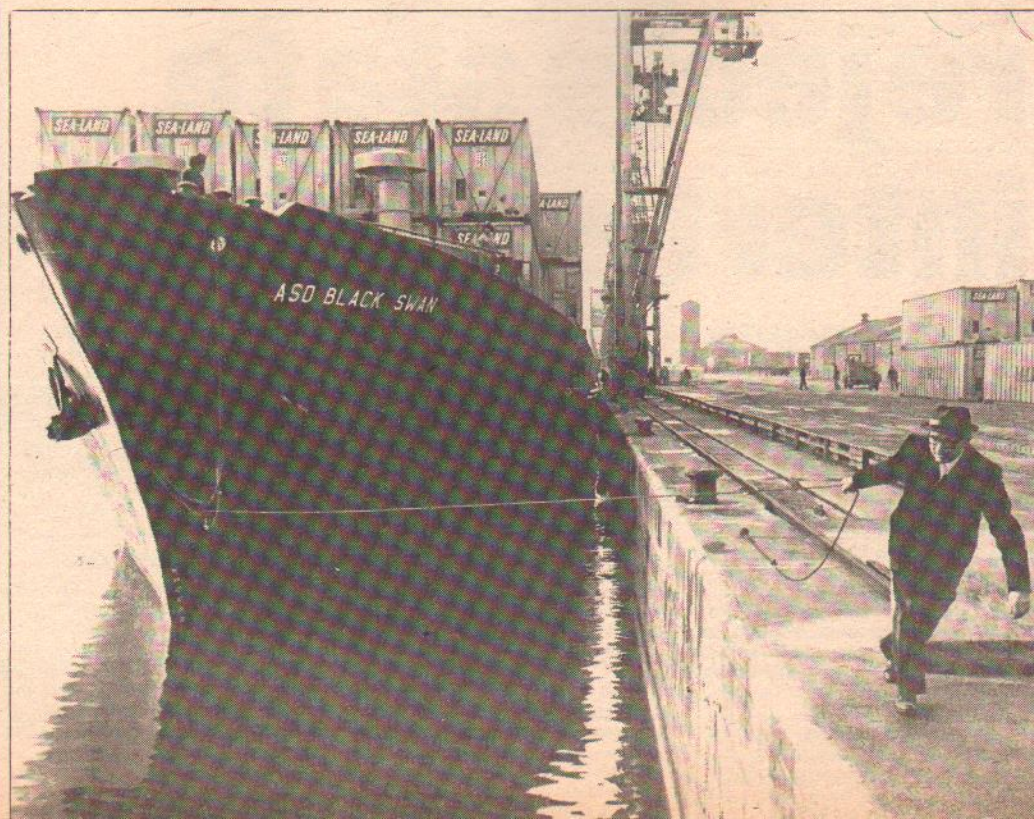
SW LONDON Red Weekly Readers Group. Mon 14 March. Discussion on the 'Rhodesian situation'. Does the breakdown of the Geneva talks mean widespread guerilla warfare, or can Smith split the nationalist forces? 7.30pm Lambeth Central Library (opposite Town Hall).

BRISTOL SOCIALIST CHALLENGE Forum. Tuesday 22 March. 'Peoples Culture, Peoples Power'. Speakers Carl Gardner, Colin Thomas (ACTT Branch Sec.). 7.30pm, Baptist Mills Centre, Horley Rd., St Werburghs, Bristol 2 (off Mina Road).

CACTL public meeting with film 'Occupy'. Thurs 10 March, 8pm, Bolton Employment Resources Centre, 4 Charles St., Bolton. Also meeting in Cambridge. Phone 65449 for details.

MANCHESTER INTERNATIONAL Forum. Wed 16 March. Debate on the Current Economic Crisis. Speakers John Harrison and David Yaffe. 8pm

RISING ANGER IN DOCKS



AVONMOUTH'S 1,300 dockers gross £72 a week, £12 below the national docks' average, despite working longer hours. For several months they have been attempting to negotiate an agreement on working conditions in the prestigious new £47 million West Dock.

The demands of the Avonmouth dockers are modest. Their five points include the provision of donkey-jackets every three years, and of boots every 18 months.

But the management refuses to meet the demands and so the dockers have boycotted work on the first ship into the West Dock. 'These English are mad', said the captain of the ship, while Labour chairman of the Docks committee, Wally Jenkins, parrots these sentiments by saying 'Common sense will prevail'.

But despite a press campaign against the dockers, and despite the backing of the men's stewards, the dockers refused to accept a compromise solution to the dispute last Friday. Only six voted in favour of the stewards' recommendation, and the stewards have now resigned.

The Avonmouth dispute coincides with the decision to call a national one-day dock strike on 21 March in support of a campaign to

Photo: JOHN STURROCK (Report)



TEACHER'S CONFERENCE RECORDS SUCCESSES

One hundred and twenty teachers from all over Britain attended the second conference of the Socialist Teachers' Alliance last weekend.

The Socialist Teachers' Alliance had its founding conference early last December. Many left-wing teachers who had been active in the Socialist Workers Party-led 'Rank and File' grouping had been driven out by the leadership's bureaucratic domination and its sectarian orientation.

The Socialist Teachers' Alliance set out to build a united left wing in opposition to these bureaucratic and sectarian practices of 'Rank and File'. The first STA conference elected a national co-ordinating Committee broadly representative of all tendencies present to carry this out.

In its brief existence, the STA has scored some important successes. In the elections for the National Union of Teachers' Inner London Teachers' Association, two members of the Coordinating Committee stood. In one case they won the same vote as the 'Rank and File' candidate, in another substantially more.

It was provisionally reported that some thirty members and supporters of the alliance had been delegated to the forthcoming NUT conference. In this discussion, it was agreed to continue to attempt to win 'Rank and File' to the holding of a joint meeting. 'Rank and File' had turned down the first approach.

But it was also recognised that the STA had to seize the opportunity of the NUT conference to put it and its policies on the national map. The newly-produced journal, *Socialist Teacher*, would play a major role in this, as would a daily conference bulletin.

The conference voted on a number of resolutions. These stressed that only national strike action could reverse the cuts, and that in order to build such action, it was necessary to break with the Social Contract.

The Conference agreed to launch a campaign for strike action on 11 May, the date called by London NUPE and to lobby the national conference of public sector unions to demand national strike action. It also agreed to build for the conference against the Social Contract on 3 April called by the Leyland stewards and to ensure that the NUT leadership call a special salaries conference to discuss any proposed settlement.

The Conference also voted in support of policies which can act as a real alternative to the Social Contract, such as the protection through automatic increases of all education spending, including wages, against inflation. It was agreed to carry on further discussion on all questions in the journal, in an open and democratic way.

Stockport - where cuts bite deep

Stockport is most famous for its engineering. Giant firms like Hawker-Siddeley, Simon, Mirlees-Blackstone, and Fairey are resident here and, with about 25,000 employed in engineering, the industry accounts for about 27 per cent of the working population.

Industrial workers here have long since established their militant credentials. The now-closed Roberts-Arundel textile machinery factory was the scene of an epic battle for union recognition nine years ago and it was in Stockport that the 1972 engineering sit-ins began.

Now this militancy has begun to spread to the town's previously passive public sector workers. On 24 February, 4,000 National Union of Public Employees members held a one-day strike against the cuts, bringing schools, highway maintenance and cleansing and refuse collection to a standstill. This fighting spirit can be put down to a determination to defend jobs and public services, which the local Tory Council considers fair game for swipes with the axe handed it by the Labour Government.

Stockport Council, apart from its reputation for jailing pensioners for non-payment of rates and evicting homeless families from temporary accommodation, is notorious for its 'economies'. It spends less on primary education than any other authority in England and Wales.

It meets only half the estimated need on such essentials as home helps, meals-on-wheels and day care. Out of 36 Metropolitan Boroughs, Stockport is in the bottom six for spending on housing, self-services, libraries and museums. The end product is that total spending per head of population is so low that Stockport comes 34th out of the 36 Metropolitan Boroughs.

The crisis of capitalism and the attacks on public expenditure have propelled the public sector unions into a head-on clash with the Council. The latest batch of cuts, to the tune of £2.5 million, has been the last straw.

On the eve of the NUPE strike, Stockport's six public sector unions — NUPE, NALGO, NUT, NAS/UWT, NATFHE and GMWU — issued a statement making this clear: 'we ... are no longer prepared to act as apologists for the failure of the Council to maintain its service ...'

The same statement spelled out what the new cuts will mean: the sack for 400 manual workers (including a quarter of the binmen), closure of an unstated number of school kitchens, redundancy for 40 cleaners and 'rationalisation' of many jobs. All vacancies will be left unfilled.

It is this refusal to cover up for and implement the cuts which has galvanised these unions into taking unprecedented — for Stockport — joint action.

EDUCATION

Since 1974, Stockport's Tories have hidden behind the diktats of the Labour Government. *Where Healey has said 'cut', the Council has added 'into shreds'*. And, because education is the largest item on the Council budget, it is the teachers who have been singled out for the chop. In 1974/5, 70.04 per cent of the budget went on education. But 1977/8, it is to be reduced to 63.21 per cent before taking inflation into account.

The Tories brag about their 'policy', which has made Stockport's primary school staffing position worst in the country and which has produced the disastrous situation whereby 278 classes have upwards of 35 pupils and 10,000 children are in oversize classes. Since 1974, the NUT has sought an improvement, to no avail.

BALLOT

Eventually, last September, it was decided to ballot the 1300 NUT members on a no-cover policy. The response was overwhelmingly in favour. Several large NUT meetings were held, with national speakers, and a joint National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers-NUT liaison committee was set up. Further approaches, including a national deputation, failed to move the Council and, in

November, it was announced that official union sanctions would commence on 4 January. This declaration sent the Tories into a flurry of activity.

SUSPENSIONS

In the *Stockport Express* of 22 December, a 'Town Hall spokesman' was quoted as agreeing 'that the legal department was looking at the possibility of sackings'. This had been prepared for by the NUT, which informed the Council that: 'The Union will not be deflected from this policy by threats of retaliatory action and will give full support, including financial support, if necessary, to any members against whom such action may be taken.'

The Council was forced to retreat, but is obviously bearing victimisation in mind as a future possibility.

The refusal to take oversize classes and to cover for colleagues absent for more than a day has been maintained, backed up by a refusal to undertake dinner duties. Support has been reflected in a rapid increase in union recruitment.

At the last count, all 20 secondary schools and 101 of the 126 schools are involved, with over 5,000 pupils a week being sent home. The action has begun to bite.

The response of the Council has been to launch a propaganda war using every lie at their disposal. Right-wing Tory and Education Committee Chairman, John McCarron, broadcast to the nation on BBC with the absurd claim that 'he did not know what the teachers wanted'. This after national deputations on 2 September, 3 November and 29 December! The Council's quarterly newspaper *Civic Review*, delivered free to every ratepayer, has also been used as an instrument. In the September issue the Council Chief Executive fired the opening shots, warning that 'cutting standards could lead to bigger classes in schools ... It could also lead to reductions in staffing'.

With the onset of teachers' action, the January issue went the whole hog, featuring a full page article headed 'Focus on the Teachers' "Strike"' and containing such gems as 'research suggests ... that standards are often higher in the larger classes'. Teachers now eagerly await the 250 pupil class!

EUPHEMISM

Another lie has involved the 'maintenance of the pupil-teacher ratio', which the Tories have promised, as if it was somehow 'pro-

average of 23.9.

Because the school population is declining, this 'maintenance' of existing levels is, in fact, a euphemism for a cutback of at least 119 jobs over the next two and a half years.

At the Education Committee of 3 February, when the cynical pledge above was made, a new batch of cuts was proclaimed. When the Labour minority proposed keeping the teaching force at its present level, it was defeated — exposing the Tories as arrogant liars.

The main cuts were as follows: further reductions of equipment and furnishing, reduction of nursery assistants, the sack for some school clerical staff, reductions of ancillary staff, half-time education for under-fives, reductions in swimming instructions, restriction of the number of LEA paid exam entries to seven subjects, and the transfer of one week's holiday from summer to winter ... a scheme which will cause enormous loss of earnings and increase in fuel and food bills for working parents.

By the time they got to further education and administration, the Tories really got down to it. A Teachers Centre was closed, the Technical College budget was slashed by £147,000, evening class fees were raised, holiday meals (for the poorest children) were stopped, administration salaries were cut by £10,000 leading to redundancies, and school cleansing frequency schedules were 'adjusted' — more redundancies. It was also decided to consider hiving off the cleansing service to private companies!

But the small print also revealed that over £1 million was to be spent on providing places in Independent schools and that 118 pupils (an increase of six) would be sent to non-denominational schools in September — no cuts there.

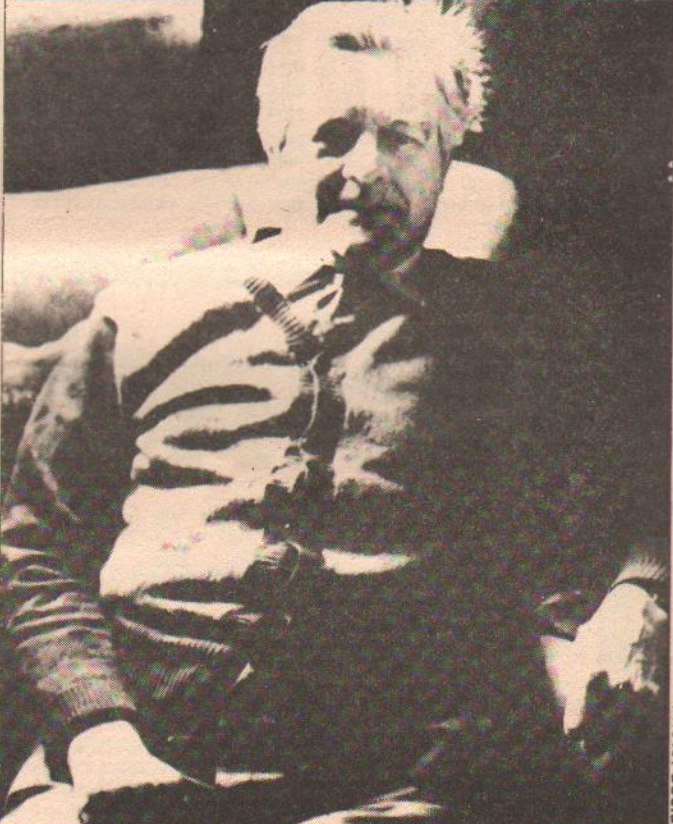
A councillor, who probably subscribed to an earlier statement that 'there is no money for further expenditure on education', went on record as saying, 'we will defend independent school places no matter what the cost'.

This the Tories are doing. The £1 million is more than the whole sum set aside for both primary and secondary resources ... and over twice the proposed £487,000 cut!

POLITICAL

The Stockport fight is political, against a Tory Council and Labour Government, with national implications. The Stockport Trades Council, in supporting the teachers, had grasped this. The local AUEW District Committee too has passed a resolution supporting the teachers. Yet despite its 'official' blessing, the NUT leadership's anti-cuts policy has been totally inadequate, confining the campaign to isolated actions. The cuts will not be stopped by taking on the employers, authority by authority. Nevertheless, national action is rejected on the idiotic assumption that it would 'increase unemployment'.

In fact, the NUT Executive, a body dominated by headmasters, has been more active in attacking those who fight the cuts than those who implement them. The censure



BILL JACKSON is 73. He is disabled after being knocked down in an accident and gets £21.14 a week. This means that he couldn't pay his rates. Stockport's Tory Council refused his offer to pay £5 a week and put him in jail. Only supporters who rallied around him and paid the arrears were able to get him out.

constant warnings about 'unofficial action' suggest that the right-wing majority on the EC views a real conflict with horror.

Apart from Stockport, Bolton and Oldham are also involved in a no-cover campaign, but no effort has been made to bring the rank and file together to pool experience or plan moves to intensify the effort. Prolonged isolation is a real danger.

DANGEROUS

There are other dangers too. In Stockport, the policy is based on arguments for increased rates. This is reactionary. The leaflets distributed on the estates and outside schools by teachers and trades council members, call for a 2p increase in rates which 'can end the dispute'. It might do so, but it won't end the cuts and will throw the burden onto the backs of other workers when wages are cut, prices are rising ... and when Stockport rates have already gone up 37.5 per cent.

'Increase rates' is another way of saying the working class must pay for the crisis. It covers the tracks of the Labour Government, which sacrifices the public services at the altar of capitalism.

programme to unite the whole public sector in defence of jobs, wages and conditions:

- * Co-ordinated national strike action;
- * Opening the books of councils to expose plans to slash services and sack thousands;
- * Expose all suppliers profiting from public services, nationalise these firms without compensation and under workers' management;
- * Total opposition to the Social Contract;
- * Demand Labour honours its pledge to restore all cuts.

The leaders of the public service unions will not fight for such a programme. So reluctant to act is the NUT right wing, for example, that a resolution tabled for the Easter Conference is said to have caused them great anxiety because it aims at joint trade union action at rank and file level against the cuts.

Like similar motions tabled in other public service union conferences, it indicates disaffection with 'don't fight' or 'cut elsewhere' policies, a desire to move these unions off the political fence and an understanding that the only way to prevent the education service from demolition is by forming a real public sector alliance.



Photo: Socialist Worker

Leyland's Crisis, Labour's Blackmail

Once more carworkers have become the chief scape-goats of the ruling class, the Labour Government and the trade union leaders. British Leyland is in crisis. Fleet Street screams that it is the workers who are to blame.

★ The Labour Government threatens to withdraw what it likes to pretend is a huge subsidy to the wage bill.

★ The National Enterprise Board blames the 'disastrous industrial relations record' for the crisis.

★ Eric Varley, Labour's Industry Minister, accuses the workers of low productivity and threatens 100,000 workers with the dole queue.

★ Hugh Scanlon, leader of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, said that he 'fully supported the demands of the toolroom operatives and other skilled grades for adequate and acceptable differentials' and that his executive 'would support them at the appropriate time'. Meanwhile he orders the toolroom workers back to work.

The National Enterprise Board argues that they are doing Leyland workers a favour even keeping British Leyland alive. They mention the £200 million subsidy granted to Leyland when the Government bailed the company out, and the extra £100 million offered last year.

The original £200 million was allocated for investment, and the £25 million of the latest £100 million which has so far been used has again been earmarked for investment uses.

Why is this money needed for investment?

Reason one is that for years British Leyland have been using old outdated plant. Even now machinery being used to build the Mini 1000 is that which was used to produce the original Mini in the 1950s.

Reason two lies in the history of British Leyland and why the Government felt it necessary to allocate money for investment by Leyland management in the first place.

The Ryder Report, published in 1975, explained: 'An examination of past trading results shows that throughout the period since British Leyland was formed in 1968 nearly all the profits were distributed as dividends instead of being retained to finance new capital investment'.

So even Ryder was forced to admit that the money allocated to Leyland was needed not as a result of strike-crazy, money-grabbing workers, but because those who owned and controlled Leyland preferred to line their own pockets rather than invest in new machinery and equipment.



Toolmakers picket the Leyland plant at Castle Bromwich.

But if this is the main reason underlying the crisis in Leyland, the history of the company since Ryder also contradicts the NEB fairy tale. The bosses accuse the workers of two major sins; low productivity and strikes. But:

Productivity at Leyland last year increased by 11 per cent, nearly four times the UK average for car output. This year the trend has continued. According to the *Financial Times* of 9 February, January 1977 'saw a further sharp increase in output at British Leyland'.

Strikes fell by half in 1976 compared to the previous year, throughout the Leyland combine. This was despite the decline in spending power. Leyland workers, as with workers elsewhere, suffered under Phase 2 of incomes policy.

Despite the rise in productivity in 1976, British Leyland's share of the UK market dropped from 30.9 per cent in 1975 to 27.4 per cent. Its share of the Western European market fell from 6.4 per cent to 5.6 per cent.

Whatever the reasons behind this fall; the factory floor workers at

Longbridge, Cowley and elsewhere are not to blame; they delivered the goods, despite suffering wages cuts. They have done more than enough.

Shamelessly covering up the true facts of the Leyland situation, Varley and the National Enterprise Board now threaten Leyland workers with the dole queue.

They talk of the way the taxpayer 'subsidises' Leyland — a subsidy needed because of the failures of Leyland's former bosses to invest. Yet the 'nation' makes £600 million a year in the form of export payments from

the cars and lorries the Leyland workers produce.

Add to that the cost of social security and dole payments if they did close Leyland, and the surrendering of a substantial section of the home market to 'foreign' competition, and it becomes obvious that the Government would be committing economic lunacy if they closed Leyland.

They would have only one reason to do so; to try and inflict a massive defeat not just on car workers, but the entire trade union movement.

Behind the Toolmakers' anger

So the story of the strike-mad, lazy Leyland workers is a myth. But there is a reason why the myth is perpetuated — it hides the real reasons behind the car workers' actions.

In early October 1976, Leyland boss Derek Whittaker threatened Longbridge workers with the sack, if they did not commit themselves to making productivity on the new Mini comparable to that on other small cars. The stewards proposed this to a mass meeting and by a vote of four to one the workers agreed.

This type of blackmail, now repeated by Varley and friends, goes hand-in-hand with Leyland workers sharing in the general decline in working people's living standards. Figures from 1972 to 1976 are particularly revealing:

Year	Toolroom	Production
1972	£46	£39.28
1973	£45	£46
1976	£63.30	£61.80

Compare this 'rise' in wages with the rise in prices. Prices have risen by just under 62 per cent from December 1972 to December 1976. The wages of the toolroom workers on the other hand rose by under 38 per cent. Is it any wonder they are angry?

The table above shows that the differences in rates between the toolroom workers and those in the production line haven't changed as much as the press have pretended.

When papers such as the *Daily Express* express sympathy with the toolmakers' demands, it is obvious that something is afoot. The *Express* is simply playing the old trick of trying to divide worker against worker — taking up the cause of the skilled worker against those of the unskilled. But this is not the real

reason behind the anger of toolmakers throughout the country.

Rover, Solihull	£71.40
Jaguar Radford	£69.40
Castle Bromwich	£66.55
SU Carburettor	£66.30
Drew Lane, Birm.	£66.26
Longbridge	£63.45
Cowley	£63.20
Swindon	£62.16
Elsewhere	
Massey Ferguson	£84.48
Rolls Royce	£82.50
Dunlop	£81.00

This is the justice behind the toolmakers' demands for country-wide parity; a parity which would not take one penny away from either production line workers or from workers at better-paid Leyland factories.

For some time now, Leyland bosses have agreed to uniform rates throughout the country. When Leyland switched from piece work to measured day work, there was a clear understanding that wage levels in the various plants would be brought progressively into line with each other. The reason they have not been is admitted by *The Times* of 22 February: '... the operation of pay restraint has made it impossible for management to honour these undertakings'.

Whether the general drop in the wages of Leyland workers, or the issue of country-wide parity of toolroom workers, the culprit is the same — the Social Contract of Callaghan, Healey, Scanlon and Jones.

The smashing of the Social Contract is the most necessary precondition for the advance of Leyland workers. But there is an alternative being offered.

At face value there seems to be much to recommend the idea that there should be one negotiating team for the Leyland workers, uniting all the work force and agreeing to a common review date for all wage negotiations. But in practice such a suggestion has a whole series of flaws.

It would mean: that negotiations would, inevitably, be in the hands of full time officials, far removed and not accountable to the shop floor.

It would mean: the same type of trade union leaderships who negotiated the Social Con-Trick would be given even greater powers of negotiation than they have at present.

It would mean: special sections of workers — such as the Longbridge toolmakers — would find it very difficult to be represented in such negotiations — it is because they have found it impossible to have representation even under the current system that they are demanding separate bargaining rights.

It would mean: that if, for example, a national agreement was found unacceptable by, say, 40 per cent of the Leyland workers, because the majority had accepted, the large minority would find it very difficult to gain support for opposing an agreement accepted by the majority.

The real sufferers under such a system would be the shop stewards movement, who by being directly involved in plant negotiation and open to control from the shop floor, are less able to indulge in the sort of attacks on their members' living standards which the trade union bureaucracies have sanctioned in the last couple of years.

Instead of corporate bargaining and instead of the Social Con-Trick, workers in the car industry can fight back by demanding:

• An immediate return to free collective bargaining, both at national and plant level.



HUGH SCANLON fearlessly defends the interests of Government and Leyland management.

work force to be represented at all levels of negotiation. The right, say, of toolroom workers to negotiate nationally, for national rates, is not the same as corporate bargaining and is a right which must be defended.

• For an immediate 'levelling up' of all wage rates, for all sections of workers throughout the country.

• For an immediate increase of all

earnings suffered under the Social Con-Trick.

• For a wage system which automatically guards against inflation — for a sliding scale of wages, which rises with prices.

• For the opening of the books of Leyland, and other car manufacturers, to establish just who is responsible for the present state of the car industry.

entire motor industry — under workers control.

The starting point for a fight for these demands, which open up a socialist solution to the crisis of Leyland, is nationally organised action against Phase 2. That is the best way to fight the isolation which the bureaucracy are trying to impose on the toolmakers in the justified demands.

Jones and Fisher try The Big Wages Carve Up



ALAN FISHER — big talk, little action.

IN ITS JOURNAL **Public Employees**, the National Union of Public Employees has proudly announced the conclusion of a series of wage agreements for local government, wage service and health service workers. The pages of this journal are, not surprisingly, silent on the fact that these agreements will end up in a wage cut for public sector workers.

The bureaucrats of NUPE argue that the results of their negotiations — reached under Phase 2 — will enhance workers' pay packets by £2.50 or 5 per cent of total earnings — which ever is greater, but with a maximum of £4 a week.

But, as their own figures show, inflation is likely to run at 15 per cent until the end of the year.

Public Employees lays out the facts in black and white:

'The latest retail price index, the official measure of price changes, showed a rise of 15.1 per cent in the twelve month period between January 1976 and January 1977; with food prices up by 22.7 per cent. Chancellor Denis Healey, who at one time was forecasting a 9 per cent level of inflation by the end of 1976, now states that it will be running at 15 per cent by the end of the current year. Recent figures from the Department of Employment show that in the twelve months up to November of last year average earnings rose by 12.9 per cent against a 15 per cent rise in

prices.'

Contrast this 15 per cent inflation rate resulting from the Labour Government's anti-working class economic policies to the grand 5 per cent presented by the union leadership. This is the reality of wage cuts under Labour's Social Contract. It is one experienced daily, especially by the 321,000 women who make up 63 per cent of NUPE's membership.

Now Jack Jones is trying to sell the many low paid NUPE members a third round of incomes policy. These lower paid workers have always relied on many hours of shift work and overtime to make up a living wage. It is this source of wage increase gained under Phases 1 and 2 which he proposes to consolidate into basic rates.

NUPE's General Secretary, Alan Fisher, has also embarked on a sales drive for Phase 3. He is arguing that the lower paid and weakly organised workers have nothing to gain from 'a return to free collective bargaining'.

Both these bureaucrats know that it is the lower paid workers who have been hit less hard by the across the board increases of Phases 1 and 2. They realise that lower paid workers have nothing to gain from restoring differentials. In the coming weeks and months, these 'leaders' of the labour movement in the TUC and the Government will be throwing

in every argument they have. They will try to turn these workers against the 'greedy' higher paid workers — saying that only the 'strong' will gain from an end to wage restraint.

Jones, Fisher and their ilk will be saying 'We have a political solution to the crisis so you must be patient — the alternative is anarchy where the strong survive and the weak go to the wall'.

That is why **Red Weekly** has been arguing for a set of policies on wage restraint which can unite all workers in a struggle to restore Labour's wage cuts and defend real wages. We have argued for:

* across the board increases which can restore the wage cuts of Phases 1 and 2;

* automatic compensation for inflation to protect wages in the future — 1 per cent rise in wages for every 1 per cent rise in prices, using a cost of living index calculated by the trade unions;

* immediate implementation of a minimum wage of £50 a week basic pay;

* an end to low pay, equal pay for women.

Unity around these demands will give the Joneses and Fishers of the world what they deserve. Only these policies can provide the basis for organising a determined challenge to the divisive anti-working class policies of the union leadership.

RICH PALSER

SWP wages policy: 'Survival of the Fittest'



Index-linked wages have not dulled Italian workers' militancy.

One of the 'Ten Demands' of the Socialist Workers Party-led Right to Work Campaign is: 'Break the freeze. For across the board increases with no time limits to agreements. £15 now.'

'Fight back' is the essential message of this demand. We agree. Socialists must support to the hilt workers going into struggle around flat-rate increases. We reject the Jack Jones's notion that workers must pay for capitalism's crisis, and that they have to accept responsibility for it.

Consequently we fight for wage claims which can restore the wage cuts under Phases 1 and 2 of the Social Contract.

But simply restoring wage levels to that of two years ago is not enough; future wage rates also need protecting — especially in a period of high inflation.

The policy of the SWP for 'no time limit in agreements' is inadequate to deal with this — since in a period where inflation is running at 15 per cent or more, workers will scarcely have secured an increase before they are preparing to struggle for another claim.

That is why **Red Weekly** has argued that in addition to an immediate across the board increase, wages need to be protected against inflation by automatic increases in wages, determined on the basis of a cost of living index drawn up by trade union bodies.

The SWP has consistently opposed this demand. Arguing against thresholds in his book *The Crisis: Social Contract or*

Socialism, Tony Cliff, the leader of the SWP, writes:

'They [thresholds] tend to suppress profits as a factor in wage negotiations. They tend to orientate workers towards the defence of existing standards rather than towards improving them and cutting into the level of profits.'

The truth is that the real situation in Britain today is that workers do face a 'defensive' struggle to maintain real wages — a struggle which is presently being lost.

Far from this being a spur to fight back, it can have a demoralising effect on workers; particularly the weaker sections who have seen their regular attempts to keep up with the cost of living prove inadequate.

When Cliff argued in *Socialist Worker* in June 1974 that 'Hyperinflation can become a locomotive drawing workers towards unity and struggle', he should draw a balance sheet two years later when despite continuing inflation the number of days lost in strikes has fallen from 14,750 in 1974 to 6,021 in 1975 and an estimated 3,000 in 1976.

In reality a successful struggle for a sliding scale of wages would be a tremendous victory for workers in Britain today. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that this would necessarily lead to passivity — the struggles of the Italian and Australian workers testify the opposite.

The effect of the SWP policy is to wage the struggle over wages on a sectional basis. As Cliff put it in *Socialist Worker*:

'The way wages are won under capitalism is simple: workers in the strongest sections win increases — then it is up to the rest of the working class to keep up by comparing their own wages with those received by the strongest and best paid.'

Tell that to the weak and low paid workers who gained more from even Heath's threshold payments than through their previous wages struggles, and for whom £6 under Phase 1 seemed a substantial increase.

Today the defence of real wages requires the maximum unity of all the class in struggle.

The SWP have recognised this empirically, and so look for class wide demands to unite the struggle. That is why £15 across the board has suddenly popped up.

Rather than coming to grips with the new situation however, it is just a figleaf covering over a policy which simply amounts to militant trade unionism.

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SCOTTISH NATIONALISM

Against Independence

Gunther Minnerup in his letter on Scottish nationalism (*Red Weekly*, 24 February) unfortunately loses touch with reality.

The central point of comrade Minnerup's view is summed up in his statement: 'It is hard to see how the breaking up of the British imperialist state as a result of mass action and, hopefully, the creation of a separate workers' state in Scotland can do anything but strengthen the socialist cause all over what is now the UK.'

Indeed not! If the British bourgeois state were going to be broken up by mass action, even better with the formation of a Scottish workers state, revolutionaries should be actively struggling for leadership of this movement. Given the scale of class confrontation involved, only revolutionaries could lead it to success.

Unfortunately, in his rush to present this glowing prospect comrade Minnerup has leapt over the real facts of the situation. Where are the examples of mass action threatening to break up the state? In all cases where revolutionaries take the lead in the struggle for national independence one expects gigantic struggles around national demands such as those in Ireland, the Basque country, Catalonia and Québec.

Minnerup will have a hard time producing any such history of working class struggles for national demands in Scotland. Scottish nationalism instead has taken the form of a vague cultural and sometimes electoral movement which has conspicuously lacked mass mobilisation to back up its demands.

Gunther Minnerup may well reply to this that this sort of action can be expected in the future.

But this also seems dubious. Mass social struggles, reflecting vast social contradictions, do not in general appear suddenly. As with the examples I have given, they have a tradition prolonged in some cases for centuries.

On the face of it, it is unlikely that vast social clashes would develop without the immense contradictions which would feed these struggles being revealed in prior history.

The tremendous development of national consciousness which drives forward any mass struggle for national independence is not fuelled by pure ideas. Its development is based on real material forces and real material oppression (at least for those who believe in Marxism and not idealism).

In order to avoid false debates I must immediately point out that by material forces I do not mean purely economic forces. One of the most common threads between those who reject national struggles in favour of purely economic struggles (most of the British left) and those who develop the thesis of struggle for national independence in Scotland (including Minnerup) is that they do not distinguish between economic or social elements and specifically national ones.

Extreme economic exploitation or social deprivation is not the same as national oppression — indeed it would be hard to make out a case



that Scotland was qualitatively more deprived than, say, North East England.

National oppression is specific oppression of those aspects which make a social formation a distinct nation. Furthermore those aspects are not simply ideas but are rooted in the real material institutions and social structure of a nation — its language, education system, state bureaucracy, etc.

Comrade Minnerup provides no evidence that such national oppression exists in Scotland at present. Consequently he fails to prove his case for revolutionaries being the most consistent fighters for national independence. As I indicated above, although it is possible that such features would develop in the future, and the practical denial of the right of the Scottish people to an Assembly may be one step along that road, the fact that these have not developed in the past make Gunther's perspective a diversionary one.

MICHAEL RIFF (London)

and For Independence

Bob Purdie's criticism of Günter Minnerup's letter on Scotland shares many of the mistaken, contradictory positions of both Neil Williamson [Battle of Ideas no. 5] and Alan Freeman [Scottish Socialist no. 2].

He is mistaken in his opinion that the Devolution Bill embodies the right of the Scottish people to self-determination. It is Bob Purdy, not Günter, who is being abstract when he states that 'the demand for an Assembly... is not consistent with the principle of self-determination for Scotland'.

How, concretely, can the right of the Scottish people to self-determination be granted? Either by a referendum offering a choice of independence, union or autonomy; or by immediate elections to an Assembly which could determine what powers it required.

Such an Assembly is a different kettle of fish from the actual Assembly proposed in the Devolution Bill. For as Freeman points out: 'The measure of devolution proposed... is very limited. It sets up an elected government but that is all.'

'In no way does it recognise the right of the Scottish people to determine their own future and relationship to the rest of the UK... and Westminster retains the right of veto over Assembly decisions'.

It is on the question of Scottish independence that Freeman, Purdie and Williamson display the greatest political confusion. All three are supporters of the Union of England and Scotland and yet all three call for a Scottish Assembly with powers to implement socialist policies.

Freeman spells out what powers would be required: '... Scotland's particular social problems... cannot be tackled without the institution of proper socialist planning. But this means taking on the oil barons, the banks, the monopolies and the multinationals... It means taking them over and instituting workers' control... to impose obligations on companies to open the books'. But an Assembly that is going to have 'powers to impose obligations on companies' will also need 'armed bodies of men' at its disposal.

Minnerup is therefore correct to enquire '... how on earth can a Scottish Assembly implement a socialist programme if it does not have the powers of an independent state?'

Purdie fails to answer this question merely reasserting the

policies'.

Yet surely the essence of independence is the ability of a nation to create its own state apparatus with powers over its national market. The comrades advocate an Assembly that would have all the above powers but would not be independent! How on earth is such an Assembly subordinate to a British bourgeois Parliament?

The comrades' positions become even more contradictory when they give indications that the present conflict over the Scottish Assembly has a dynamic towards a Scottish Workers Republic.

Williamson writes: 'Either working class democracy is shunted into the form of industrial disputes, or is both politically and physically paralysed by the higher laws of the land. The setting up of the Assembly provides an opportunity to break that practice. Our aim is to encourage and promote the masses to relate to the Assembly, using their own self-organisation, their own collective weight, their political organisations.'

Purdie is more circumspect. On the one hand he argues for political autonomy as a means of arresting the growth of bourgeois nationalism. On the other he appears to expect an interaction between the deepening social crisis, the mobilisations of the Scottish working class and the extension of the role of the Assembly: 'We fight for the Assembly to be granted; demands for specific policies to extend its powers will be posed concretely as the



Assembly is confronted with the impact of the crisis in Scotland'.

How do the comrades land themselves in such self-contradictions? It arises from the healthy aspects of their analysis. They quite rightly reject what comrade Purdie aptly describes as the impotent fuming of those such as the SWP, WSL and ICL about 'diversions'.

They recognise, as comrade Williamson states, 'In Scotland today it is necessary to link up with this profound desire for change'. However, they seem to be continually looking over their shoulders at these self-same impotent fumers by proclaiming their support for a rather anaemic British working class unity.

OSCAR GREGAN (London)

What wages policy in Leylands?



In reply to a letter by Paul Mitchel (*Red Weekly*, 17 February), you stated that the next issue would carry a reply by Rich Palser and other correspondence on the Rover stewards' wages policy.

There was no mention of this at all in the 24 February issue, so I am writing to ask that this debate be re-opened.

British Leyland management want a 'corporate', i.e. company-wide bargaining structure on wages, grading and differentials, because it would drive yet another nail into the coffin of the shop stewards movement as we know it.

As with their participation scheme they hope to build on the bureaucracy and class collaboration of the leadership of the carworkers' unions (both the works committees and the full timers) by conducting all negotiations with them and them alone, nationally, and thus commit them more fully than ever to the role of policing their members in the bosses' interests.

Simultaneously this would reduce still further the role and importance of stewards on the shopfloor and thus follow up the work, already begun by the Measured Day Work agreements, of binding the unions hand and foot to management's and Government's strategy for rationalisation and greater productivity.

Now questions of principle are of course central to the revolutionary attitude to participation — not so with corporate bargaining. It is fundamentally a tactical question whether to advocate cor-

porate or plant-level bargaining at a particular time.

The proponents of the corporate idea in the union do sometimes claim the 'principle of trade union unity' is on their side, but this is nonsense. Revolutionaries have always asked: 'Whose unity? What is its class nature?', and this is the key to a correct understanding of bargaining structures in this case too.

Regardless of the formal merits of the scheme for a national negotiating committee elected from a stewards' conference each year and recallable by them, the actual class meaning of proposing this at the present time is reactionary — it plays into the hands of the bosses and the Government because such a committee would be at least as craven and class collaborationist as the plant negotiating committees are.

In addition they are even more removed from the rank and file and in a better position than ever to bring down the whole weight of union apparatuses on workers and stewards who attempt a fightback.

Of course abstractly speaking, if a great movement to overturn the Social Contract and the trade union bureaucracy's and Broad Left's domination of the carworkers' unions were successful, such a scheme could then, as part of that, have a different meaning for us. But to call for its institution now, as the Rover stewards do, is disastrous, even when the people doing the calling also say, separately, a few words against the Social Contract as well.

STRAIGHT ANSWER NEEDED

1. You write (*Red Weekly*, 24 February) that the British Communist Party presents Poland 'as a model of socialist democracy' and 'turns a blind eye to the persecution of working class militants by the Gierak regime'.

A search through the *Morning Star* and other CP publications



completely refutes this statement, and it would be interesting to know where you derived it from — or did you just cook it up? You might particularly like to comment on the report appearing in the *Star* on 14 September last: 'The executive committee of the Communist Party, meeting at the weekend, expressed its concern at the severe sentences passed on Polish workers arrested after the recent announcement of food price increases. General secretary Gordon McLennan has written to the central committee of the Polish United Workers' Party expressing the British Party's concern'.

2. In the same column you report favourably on the shouting down and pelting with stones and paint of the Italian Communist trade union leader Luciano Lama by ultra-left students. Does this mean that you approve of physical violence against, and the denying of a hearing to, Communist speakers? Do you approve of the 'left-wing terrorism' that you report Lama as having come to denounce?

It will be interesting to see whether you have the courage to print this letter and give a straight answer to its questions.

SIMON SIDNEY (London).

Comrade Sidney omits to mention that the quote he gives is the text of the whole article, tucked away at the bottom of page five. The day after the strikes began, the *Morning Star* carried a report of some half dozen lines, saying that the price increases were suspended but making no mention of the strike action!

This obvious embarrassment was cleared up in December, when Bill Brooks wrote a series of articles for the *Star*, reporting in what 'really' happened last June. We prefer to rely on this — a total of some five thousand words — rather than one paragraph, as an indication of the CP's position.

This point is not the only important one raised by the article 'Leyland Bosses get a Bloody Nose'. Paul Mitchel's letter makes a few others with which I agree.

But in view of the overall situation in British Leyland and particularly the dangerous corporate logic of the toolmakers' demands for company-wide wage negotiations, I think it is perhaps the most important one, and I hope that *Red Weekly* and your supporters in the industry will reconsider your agreement with the Rover stewards' policy.

DICK BRADLEY [Longbridge, T&GWU].

* Rich Palser replies: Paul Mitchel's points on the Rover Stewards' policy were of course correct — that they accepted existing penalty clauses in the lay-off agreements, and accepted pay restraint until August 1977.

Instead of this policy on lay-offs we should fight for full staff status for all hourly paid workers, and the elimination of all penalty clauses.

This week's letter from comrade Bradley is also in many respects correct. At the present time, when the management are trying to introduce corporate bargaining in order to place all negotiations under the control of the union bureaucracy, the concentration of the Rover resolution on negotiating structures on a national level can only confuse resistance to corporate bargaining [See centre-spread].

However we should not thereby confuse waging a fight against corporate bargaining with fighting for plant bargaining. At the present time this should be defended given that no real alternative exists.

Comrade Bradley implies a 'corporate logic' to the demands of the toolmakers for separate company-wide negotiating rights. Should we then oppose the toolmakers' demands? On the contrary, the toolmakers' struggle has indicated yet again the need to link all those workers in different plants wishing to strike against wage cuts, in a united struggle even in the face of the sabotage of the union bureaucracy.

It is precisely this type of struggle which can create a new relation in the factories bringing negotiations under the control of the mass of workers.

The Rover resolutions however merely argue for national negotiating rights outside of any fight against Phase 2, and as such deal only with structures rather than the steps necessary to make real control over negotiations by the mass of workers.



arrested for striking [6 December]. He draws this conclusion: 'It was not, however, a "weakness" that in the face of opposition especially from the factories, the prices package deal was quickly withdrawn. Rather it was a response by the country's leadership to a flexing of democratic muscle.' [10 December]

Comrade Sidney is correct to criticise the one-sidedness of our report on the events at Rome University. We are opposed to denying a platform to a Communist Party speaker and to the use of violence in such a case.

What we said however — which we stand by — is that the failure of the Italian CP to support the students' struggle against fascist terrorism meant it was 'not surprising' that Lama got the reception he did.

The burden of his speech was to make no distinction between fascist terror and workers' and students' self-defence. Remember that it is Lama who has gone on record as supporting the Christian Democratic Government's attacks on, index-linked wage increases

OPEN LETTER

On Tuesday 1 March, Southampton University students voted by a considerable majority to occupy the campus administration building in protest against the massive rise in tuition fee levels.

The inadequacies of the demands put forward by the student union meant that the campaign focusses solely on local issues rather than on the need for a national fightback by the student movement.

The Socialist Society continually fought for the broadening of the campaign and put forward a programme to do this, which included the extension of the occupation until 10 March.

the link between the fees increases and immigration restrictions.

However these proposals were countered by an alliance consisting of the Federation of Conservative Students; the Union of Liberal Students, Tribune supporters and the Communist Party, who insisted on the immediate ending of the occupation, on the grounds that there is a possibility that the Vice Chancellor will establish a working party to look into the question.

The ensuing demoralisation will make suggested forms of future action extremely difficult to organise.

sals to extend the campaign received the support of 150 out of 500 students at a union meeting. This was, unfortunately, not enough to defeat the bloc calling for an immediate end to the occupation.

We feel that the ending of the occupation by much of the so-called 'left' will destroy the tuition fees campaign, weaken the student union, and open the way for further advances of the right wing.

Carol Hayden (Southampton University Union Exec/Occupation Committee, Sian Jones (Tuition Fees Action Group/Occ. Comm.), the other members of the Occ.

Trotskyists Answer

the
British
Road to
Socialism
Draft

The basis of revolutionary tactics in the trade unions is the drive to stimulate the extra-parliamentary mass struggle of the working class around a revolutionary programme. Such tactics must centre on the building of new organs of power of the working class and smashing up the capitalist state.

The Communist Party has a quite different starting point. RICH PALSER continues our series of articles answering the draft of the new British Road to Socialism.

The Draft correctly points out that the trade unions 'are not, and cannot be, a substitute for political parties of the working class'. For revolutionaries, however, because each 'trade union is, by its very nature, the arena of an ongoing united front of revolutionary parties with reformist and non-party masses', the task is clear. It is the fight to win the leadership of the mass of workers organised in the unions, by breaking the unions from their policies of class collaboration.

One of the most important errors in the Draft in this respect is its complete failure to provide a perspective for how this fight for alternative policies must be launched. There is no attempt in the Draft to come to grips with the reformist bureaucracy, nor the political struggle that must be waged against it.

RIGHT-LEFT DIVIDE

This central question is conveniently avoided through advancing the notion of the right-left divide in the labour movement. In doing so, it avoids the political nature of the trade union bureaucracy — a reformist bureaucracy which must be politically confronted and defeated in order to win the masses from its leadership.

Trotsky puts this clearly in his writings on the English trade union movement:

'Up until now we have not mentioned the Labour Party, which in England, the classic country of trade unions, is only the political transposition of the same trade union bureaucracy. The same leaders guide the trade unions, betray the general strike, lead the electoral campaign and later sit on the ministries. The Labour Party and the trade unions — these are not two principles, they are only a technical

division of labour. Together they are the fundamental support of the domination of the English bourgeoisie. The latter cannot be overthrown without overthrowing the Labourite bureaucracy.' [1]

BUREAUCRACY

It is precisely because this Labourite bureaucracy is the major political force which must be defeated in order to win the mass of workers in the unions to a revolutionary programme, that the concept of 'right-left' divide, a divide which for the CP runs through the bureaucracy, actually leads to tailoring the left bureaucracy.

Far from this 'right-left' divide within the bureaucracy expressing a contradiction between different forces within the bureaucracy as the CP would have it, it is actually a result of different class pressures acting upon the bureaucracy.

Whilst tied hand and foot to collaboration with the capitalist class and its state, the bureaucracy nevertheless is based directly on the working class through its organisation in the trade unions.

In so far as it takes a left stance it does so in order to maintain its leadership over the workers moving into struggle at any point in time, and to keep those struggles within a reformist framework. Far from being 'at core a healthy trend' however, the left bureaucracy remains at core a left reformist bureaucracy.

LEFT UNITY

Does this mean at all times the revolutionaries should limit themselves to denouncing the bureaucracy, lefts and all? Clearly not. Revolutionaries have a duty to consistently enter into united action with the left leaders around concrete



BOB WRIGHT speaking at the LCDTU Conference last month. Action which goes beyond the control of the likes of Wright is denounced as 'ultra-left' by the Communist Party.

aims and objectives which can advance the struggle of the working class, maintaining a consistent struggle for their revolutionary programme. Furthermore, revolutionaries must be prepared to decisively break from the lefts, the minute they sell out the specific aims of the limited unity that has been achieved.

For the Draft British Road however, these 'left political alliances' take on a very different meaning. They are strategic alliances and as such are alliances which — far from stimulating independent mass action of the class in its own interests — suppress that

action.

The results of this policy of reliance on the 'left' bureaucrats have been demonstrated time and time again in the British class struggle. In the late sixties and early seventies, the Communist Party built alliances with 'lefts' such as Scanlon and Jones.

It was not the right wing bureaucrats like Boyd who then turned around and sold workers the Social Contract, but people like Scanlon, Jones, of course, was its principal architect.

The result of the CP's policy was to leave millions of workers disarmed and demoralised in the face

of the Labour Government's attacks, with their former leaders heading the attack upon them.

Even today the CP wish to insist that 'Hugh Scanlon might have been wrong about the Social Contract, but he has played a magnificent role in the trade union movement', and that what is required is to convince him of the error of his ways.

At last month's conference of the LCDTU, Derek Robinson, CP member and Leyland steward, said that: 'Those who attack those like Scanlon don't hesitate to attack people like me as well.'

We freely admit to guilt on this score. Derek Robinson voted at the Leyland stewards conference last month not to support struggles against the present phase of incomes policy. It comes as no surprise to us that the same CP which supposedly opposes the Social Contract acts in such a manner.

ALTERNATIVE

It reflects the 'alternative' policies contained in the Draft itself, which include a government 'to exercise effective control over the operation of the economy', coupled with the 'extension of democracy' through industrial democracy, so that independent unions 'could play a part in supporting the Government's general policies against attacks from the right'.

In short, this is not a programme for struggle, but a programme for a 'left' Government to implement, with supportive extra-parliamentary action.

Given this perspective, it is hardly surprising that the Broad Left of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers carries in its paper *Engineering Bulletin* ('the voice of progressives in the AUEW') a programme centred on free collective bargaining, import controls and expansion of industrial investment, and the 'implementation of Labour's election manifesto' — the document which first set out the policy of class peace called the Social Contract.

CRUCIAL

As became clear at the LCDTU conference, because it is crucial for the CP to build an alliance with the left bureaucrats, then any action which threatens that unity, which goes beyond what the lefts are prepared to countenance, becomes a barrier to unity and suddenly 'ultra-left'.

That is the logic of the CP's strategy of 'left political alliance' — unity with the left before strengthening the actual struggles of the class itself.

FOOTNOTES

1. Trotsky: The errors in principle of syndicalism.

Workers' Jubilee 1917 1977



Events moved with swiftness in Petrograd as the workers and soldiers seized the city. The same cannot be said of the Tsar.

Nicholas II was gripped with indecision. Politics for him was an intrusion into the gentle life he led as an autocrat ordained by God. In 1915 there had been a ministerial crisis and the Duma was dissolved. The Tsar noted the fact in his diary:

'Very busy morning. Half hour late to breakfast with the officers ... A storm came up and it was very muggy. We walked together. Received Goremykin. Signed a decree dissolving the Duma! Dined with Olga and Petia. Read all evening.'

POLITICAL CRISIS

The state of the Tsar's breakfast seemed to have caused him greater concern than the political crisis over which he was presiding. Indeed the events of February in Petrograd caused the Tsar no undue worry. On the morning of 27 February, Rodzianko, the President of the Duma and a large landowner, sent the Tsar an urgent telegram, 'The last hour has come when the fate of the fatherland and the dynasty is being decided'.

On the day when the strikes

nonsense, which I won't even bother to answer'.

The news of the uprisings by the Petrograd garrison forced the Tsar to think again. The decision was taken to move 'reliable' troops from the Northern and Western fronts against Petrograd. These were put under the command of General Ivanov, who in 1906 crushed a mutiny by the sailors of Kronstad.

The Tsar decided to move from his Army headquarters at Moghilev to Tsarskoe Selo, near Petrograd, where the Tsarina and the rest of his family, suffering from the measles, were living. The Tsar left by train on 28 February. He never arrived at the Palace.

Railways workers at Vishar and Bologoe refused to let the two imperial trains pass. For a time the train's whereabouts were unknown — all telegrams were returned to sender. Finally the Tsar turned back for Pskov, the headquarters of the Northern front under the command of General Ruzsky.

MONARCHY

Nicholas arrived at Pskov on 1 March. General Ruzsky proposed the establishment of a constitutional monarchy whereby the Tsar

Chief of Staff, supporting Ruzsky's proposal. The Tsar, seeing the army hierarchy against him, agreed. Early in the morning of the next day Ruzsky held a four hour exchange of views over the telegraph with Rodzianko.

INSUFFICIENT

The President of the Duma outlined the state of play in Petrograd and came to the conclusion: 'I think it necessary to inform you that what you have been considering is not sufficient, and that the dynastic question demands an immediate decision'.

Rodzianko simply echoed the views of the Petrograd masses that the Tsar must abdicate. 'Down with the Romanovs', 'Down with the autocracy', the workers and soldiers demanded.

The message was beginning to be heard in high places. A copy of the statement by Rodzianko was sent to all the most important Generals. Not one stood by the Tsar. All urged abdication. As Alekseev said: 'The army in the field must be saved from disintegration'.

Having read the replies of his Generals, the Tsar decided to abdicate in favour of his son and make his brother, Grand Duke Michael, regent.



abdication. Guchkov, a Moscow capitalist and founding member of the Octobrist Party of the industrial bourgeoisie, and Shulgin, a landowner and monarchist, left Petrograd on behalf of the Duma against the wishes of the Soviet. Guchkov explained to Nicholas how the Provisional Committee of the Duma was trying to save the situation and restore order and army discipline.

Shulgin added how the Petrograd Soviet meeting in the same building as the Duma exerted control over it. 'The Duma is like a lunatic asylum', he added. Both considered that abdication in fa-

the monarchy.

Nicholas changed his mind. He would abdicate in favour of his brother Michael and then emigrate with his family to England where, no doubt, he would be made welcome. The Duma representative agreed. Michael would be the new emperor and rule according to a new constitution. Prince Lvov was appointed the new Prime Minister.

The Tsar announced his abdication to the court and officers. Several fainted with grief, no doubt at the thought of their future. While swearing the new oath of allegiance a corps commander died of a heart attack!

thing would now be fine they were sadly mistaken. The masses were not satisfied. They had no intention of replacing one Romanov with another. Michael's reign as emperor lasted 24 hours before he too abdicated.

MASS REVENGE

On 8 March the Tsar was arrested and taken to the rest of his family. Seventeen months later at Ekaterinburg the Romanovs were shot. The Russian monarchy, like an over ripe, rotten apple, had fallen. The masses had taken their revenge.



Italian far left change partners

★ Eurocommunism

Last week's Madrid summit of the leaders of the Spanish, Italian and French Communist Parties was seen as an attempt to boost the fortunes of the Spanish party, particularly when the question of its legalisation is being considered. The Spanish Government in turn organised its own propaganda coup by arresting a member of the Soviet trade delegation for 'spying'.

While the bourgeois press waited for some sensational 'manifesto' of Eurocommunism, the real purpose of the meeting was accomplished. Santiago Carrillo of the Spanish party wanted to establish his organisation's lack of international connections. One of the criteria for legalisation is that parties must have no international affiliation. The LCR, Spanish sympathising section of the Fourth International, has been denied legal status.

But if this is a tactical consideration for Carrillo, the conclusion of the meeting was determined by



SANTIAGO CARRILLO

of this issue is essentially tactical. It would do them no good politically to be lined up with the major bourgeois political leaders against the Soviet Union.

★ Sweden

More in the Eurocommunist saga. A minority group, based mainly in Göteborg and Malmö, has split from the Swedish Communist Party (VPK).

This is the 'orthodox', pro-Moscow wing of the party which has become increasingly distanced from the 'Eurocommunist' positions of the leadership. The split is similar to that of the Greek CP into pro-Moscow and 'Eurocommunist' organisations. Moscow tried the same trick in the Spanish party in the later 1960s, setting up an old Civil War party leader as head of the new organisation. The project flopped, mainly because of the mass support of the Carrillo party.

Rolf Hagel, the leader of the minority split, describes the alignment in this way: 'On one side the class conscious workers, students and even intellectuals; on the other, a bunch of loud-mouthed petty bourgeois who never do anything'.

In fact the new organisation does take with it a sizeable part of the VPK's working class base. Also it is a blow to the party's electoral strategy. To be represented in Parliament an organisation has to have at least four per cent of the vote. The VPK has little more than this at the moment. The split may mean the end of its parliamentary representation.

The Moscow bureaucrats directly intervened to force a split in Greece and Spain. Perhaps they have done the same in Sweden.

★ Belgium

The Belgian strike wave, reported in last week's Red Weekly, has initiated a political crisis for the right wing coalition Government of Leo Tindemans.

The leader of the Rassemblement Wallon, the largest of the purely French speaking parties which also participates in the Government, has threatened to withdraw the party's support unless there are immediate concessions on the devolution of power to the French speaking regions. This would be serious but not fatal for the Government, which could carry on as a minority with Liberal abstentions.

But this problem is compounded by working class action. There has been widespread support for the strikes against unemployment in the French speaking areas. All French speaking bourgeois politicians are afraid that this will lead to gains for the working class parties. Thus Tindemans faces a revolt from within his own Christian Democratic Party against his economic policies.

★ Southern Africa

Sisa Muambo, long time member and organiser of the Unity Movement of South Africa, has been assassinated in Botswana.

He was stabbed in his bed in the early morning of 10 February. He managed to get himself to a friend's house, but died in hospital on 12 February. His funeral was on 26 February.

Sisa Muambo's death means a great loss not only to the Unity Movement, but to the liberation struggle as a whole. He helped organise the escape of freedom fighters from South Africa.



GEORGES MARCHAIS

deeper issues. It has been useful for the larger Communist Parties of Western Europe to take their distance from the Moscow bureaucracy over the repression of dissidents.

However, it is not possible for these parties to make a decisive historical break with the workers states. Their supposed continuity with the Communist International of Lenin and their links with the first workers state are a major political justification for their existence separate from social democracy. To sever those links would be to remove their central political feature in the eyes of the working class.

So the bourgeois commentators were disappointed. No 'Eurocommunist movement' emerged. They were even surprised that the joint declaration made no explicit mention of dissidents in the workers states and only called for



ENRICO BERLINGUER

the implementation of the Helsinki agreement by all parties.

The reason is that the Eurocommunist parties have had their fingers burnt on the issue of support for dissidents. Firstly, the Bukovsky-Corvalan exchange was a considerable embarrassment, with its implicit recognition of the existence of Soviet political prisoners. Now the French party in particular is drawing back. The dissidents question has become a unifying element for all the bourgeois political leaders. The recent interventions of President Carter and British Foreign Secretary David Owen are examples of this.

Again, the use which the Western European parties want to make

THE PARTY of Proletarian Unity [PDUP], one of the three large organisations of the Italian far left, has split in two. It seems likely that the majority of the organisation will organise a fusion conference with the minority of Avanguardia Operaia [Workers Vanguard], while the minority is preparing fusion with the majority of AO!

This centrist square dance is the practical culmination of the long-heralded fusion process between the two organisations as a whole. The PDUP split was preceded by a long internal crisis which came to a head with the split of the party's Milan federation into two. Mariano Capanna, a prominent oppositionist with the support of the majority of the Milan federation, left the organisation.

Capanna charged that the right wing of the PDUP was actively preparing a split, while Lucio Magri responded with fuming accusations of 'maximalism'. According to Magri, the PDUP minority and the majority of AO were attempting to create a force which was 'a parasitic and ill-intentioned expression of social extremism'.

But these vitriolic exchanges have more than a purely local significance. The three main centrist

Trotskyist movement it inherited the vocabulary of Leninism but little more. Like its long-time fraternal organisation in Britain its routine trade union work was larded up with high-sounding phrases.

Its strategy was based on the immediate formation of rank and file workers committees on a revolutionary programme, thus dodging for years the crucial questions of trade union unity and the united front and the relationship to the Communist Party.

But, again like the IS/SWP, it proved itself capable of swinging sharply in the other direction. Its election programme last year talked of a twofold 'programme of struggle' and 'programme of government'. The limits of the latter are determined 'by the relationship of class forces and by the certain degree of "rigidity" (economically and institutionally) that cannot be



organisations in Italy are not tiny grouplets but have a total membership of around thirty thousand. The issues at stake are crucial ones for revolutionary strategy, particularly in southern Europe at the moment.

The PDUP, as constituted at the time of the split, was the product of the fusion between the group around the paper *Il Manifesto* and a section of the old PSIUP. The Manifesto group, led by Magri and Rossana Rossanda, left the Communist Party (PCI) in 1969.

It remained a small grouping of dissident intellectuals until 1974 when it joined up with the former left wing of the PSIUP. The latter had itself been a split from the Socialist Party in 1964. In 1972 the leadership majority decided to enter the PCI and the minority formed the PDUP.

IMPLANTATION

The new organisation had a substantial implantation in the trade unions. From the PSIUP it inherited leaders of a number of the major unions including the metal workers. With its leading core of intellectuals it was also more theoretically developed than the other groups to the left of the PCI, but the split which has emerged openly in recent weeks was always latent.

Broadly speaking, the main divisions over trade union work and the relationship to the PCI were never resolved between the two component parts of the PDUP. In common with AO and Lotta Continua, its international relations were generally pro-Chinese, but within that all sorts of differences and empirical adjustments were allowed to co-exist.

AO, on the other hand, has attempted to maintain a more unified attitude internationally, though still an eclectic mish-mash. A justification of every twist and turn of Chinese foreign policy by recourse to 'objective' considerations was combined with relations with organisations such as the International Socialists in Britain.

AO was formed from a split in the Italian section of the Fourth

eliminated in the short term'.

This is the crucial problem which is unresolved by any of the three centrist organisations. To a greater or lesser extent the strategy of all three is based upon pressuring a government in which the PCI would be the major party. The PDUP majority does not even specify whether this would be a government of the workers parties or the 'historic compromise' with the Christian Democrats envisaged by the PCI.

When AO talks about economic and institutional 'rigidity' it can only be referring to the structures of the bourgeois state. In the last analysis all three organisations will be thrown back upon the PCI. Because they have no strategy for dealing with this problem and therefore no clear guidelines for what a government of the workers' parties should do.

For all its left bluster AO presents a programme (or two programmes) which is little more than a radical-sounding version of the PCI's. The PDUP, including its left wing, is reduced to pressuring



Rossana Rossanda and Lucio Magri

the 'revisionists' of the PCI. Lotta Continua relies on the spontaneous desire for 'autonomy' on the part of the masses when they see the betrayals of the PCI.

COMMON LACK

Although these organisations have in common the lack of a programmatic alternative to the reformists, their differences have proved an insuperable obstacle to the formation of a united organisation. In the case of the PDUP, the lack of programme has led to an overt tail-ending, while LC, and to a lesser extent AO, conceal this gap in their central political perspectives with recourse to ultra-leftism.

Lotta Continua was in practice the most enthusiastic exponent of this unification, being prepared to take a distinctly subordinate position on the 'Proletarian Democracy' joint slate in last year's elections. But this sacrifice was also an attempt to insert itself between the other two organisations, whose fusion process seemed well advanced. Like the others, LC was thrown into an internal crisis of spontaneism as women and men members slugged it out at the last congress.

The crisis of AO was also one of internal regime. It was long regarded as the most 'Leninist' of the three. By this was understood a rigid 'commandist' structure and the practical banning of tendencies! But there emerged a grouping, led by the national secretary Campi, in sympathy with the Manifesto group in the PDUP, which rejected this regime in favour of the laissez-faire indiscipline which characterises the PDUP.

SPLIT

This was balanced out by the emerging split in the PDUP. The rise of working class struggles against the Government's austerity measures and the craven capitulation of the PCI — which continues to support the Government by abstention in the Chamber of Deputies — exposed the bankruptcy of the Manifesto grouping's perspec-

tives: its tailing of the PCI and its neglect of the trade union struggle.

The old PSIUP group, led by Vittorio Foa, struggled towards some alternative. But all that Foa could come up with on the question of the left government was the need to 'pressure it, by struggle, every time it accepts (capitalist power) as unchangeable'.

With the latent splits in each organisation deepening, even those sections of the leadership least sold on the idea saw the need to accelerate the PDUP/AO fusion. Events proved that they did not act quickly enough. Now it's all change partners.

Every indication is that neither of the new organisations — if indeed their fusions come about — will be capable of meeting the tasks of leadership posed by the Italian crisis. Already both organisations have lost large numbers of members, particularly from the workers movement.

DEBATE

For revolutionaries today the central debate is around the tactics for a working class united front which can point the way forward to a workers government and organs of an alternative workers' state power.

These are not on the immediate agenda, but they are the questions which determine all practical action at the moment. The only organisation which is correctly directing itself towards these issues — the GCR, Italian section of the Fourth International — is far smaller. However the clear assessment of the present political crisis which emerged from its recent congress will arm it to intervene effectively into this flurry of realignments on the left.

Many workers have been lost to the centrist parties and may now be lost to left politics unless a clear programmatic alternative emerges. The GCR, the only organisation not to have suffered these massive breaches and haemorrhages, provides such an alternative. Neither AO/PDUP nor PDUP/AO is even asking the right questions.

RICHARD CARVER



A picket of the Egyptian Embassy last Friday, supported by the General Union of Palestinian Students, Middle East Research and Action Group and IMG protests the detention of political prisoners. The same organisations are holding a seminar at the LSE on 18 March on repression in Egypt.

7 Days in the 6 Counties



The first anniversary of the withdrawal of political status from the political prisoners of the Six Counties occurred on 1 March 1977. Currently about 60 Republicans are lying virtually naked in H-Block, Long Kesh, with scant respect paid to hygiene facilities, locked up 23 hours a day, always liable to be beaten up by screws and the British Army garrison. In Crumlin Road jail, in Belfast, regular waves of brutality have been meted out to Republican remand prisoners. One of the direst measures introduced by the Secretary of State, Mason, is the forced mixing of Republicans and Loyalists.

The removal of political status a year ago heralded the beginning of an escalation in repression by the army and the Royal Ulster Constabulary — after all, if anti-unionists don't swallow wholesale the 'Ulsterisation' forces which label their militants as gangsters and criminals, then they must all be raving psychopaths as well! And as for the 'convictions' of Britain at Strasbourg for 'inhuman treatment' and torture — it takes five years to get your case heard, plus an OBE for the lucky RUC commandant or British Army general who gave the orders, making it all worthwhile.

If some unfortunate soldier happens to commit a particularly outrageous atrocity, then anti-unionists can always voice their complaints to the RUC, safe in the knowledge that — if convicted — the soldier will be flown out of Ireland and set loose in a few months to terrorise the British working class. But, of course, if the RUC happen to step over the mark, then that's where Strasbourg comes in — perhaps in the 1980s if you're lucky.

In the meantime the RUC merely issue an innocent statement which fools no-one. How about this example: '.... he took detectives completely by surprise by leaping from his seat and diving through a glass window'. 'He' is Eddie Rooney, a 25-year old Ballymurphy man, taken from his home at 6am on Monday 28 February, detained all day in Springfield Road Police barracks in Catholic West Belfast. At 9.50 that night, Eddie was rushed to hospital with a fractured skull and punctured lung after 'falling' 25 feet from a second storey interrogation room. If he recovers sufficiently, the RUC intend to charge him with an explosion offence.

The Association of Legal Justice (ALJ) had this to say: 'Considering the highly fortified condition of Springfield Road Barracks, the police story of a break for freedom from a second storey window must be severely questioned. Even if such an event did happen, at the very least a

stringent investigation into methods employed in his interrogation is urgently called for'.

Parallels for this sort of occurrence are not difficult to find — in RUC barracks at Coledon and Lurgan there have recently been suicide attempts by detainees. Last year a young man tried to hang himself in the same barracks from which Eddie Rooney is supposed to have 'leapt for freedom'. Last summer in the highspot of the RUC Special Branch torture campaign, Castlereagh barracks in Belfast, another young man slashed his wrists after an interrogation in which he was threatened with being handed over to the Loyalist para-military Ulster Volunteer Force. A few weeks ago, the ALJ made this report on four Derry men interrogated in the same barracks:

Prisoner one: Fingers swollen, bruising to stomach, bruising to right kidney and both ears, upper arms bruised and swollen, and extensive body injuries.

Prisoner two: Repeatedly beaten on the head, abrasions on forehead and cuts on cheek bone.

Prisoner three: Kicked in the groin and punched, hand held against hot pipes causing burns.

Prisoner four: Knead in back, kicked about legs, finger pressed behind ears, punched and spread-eagled against a wall for lengthy periods of time; again, extensive bruising.

Sensory-deprivation techniques were also used: wall-standing, no sleep, restricted diet, bells ringing and, just for variety, 'silence wings' with no windows, painted white and sound proof.

But most anti-unionists look still further afield — to the white supremacist police of South Africa who have developed a novel method of keeping down the black prison population — by throwing them out of high windows.

At the weekend the 'Peace Movement' warned of 'total carnage' this summer — 'there are enough explosives to level Belfast, and there are those who are determined to do just that, and to kill innocent people whom they regard as innocent targets'. No-one pays any attention these days to the Peace Movement, but perhaps if they had slightly altered their statement — 'there are enough windows in the RUC barracks of Belfast and the RUC are determined to do just that, and to kill, etc.', they might just be taken a bit more seriously!

MIKE PINTER



FAULKNER DEAD, HORSE SATISFACTORY

The last horse to play a dramatic role in Irish history was that of King William III, Prince of Orange, who fell over a mole hill and threw King Billy to his death.

The achievement of Brian Faulkner's 'Cannonball' is a similar and comparable feat.

Not wanting this to go unnoticed, Red Weekly secured an exclusive interview with Cannonball.

his (Orange) lodge today, shoulder to shoulder with wage earners This is a healthy state of affairs. This is the right ground on which to build the soundest of industrial relations'.

RW: Why did you wait so long Cannonball?

Cannonball: Well, I don't like to move so far ahead of the mass movement. After all, the Provs clipped his wings in '72 when they overthrew Stormont, and the Prods taught him a further lesson when they brought him down the Executive. Politically it was the masses which killed him. I just thought I would put the icing on the cake, so to speak.

RW: What was the precise reason for your action?

Cannonball: Until the overthrow of Stormont, every single internment order which was issued had his name on it. His policies gave free reign to the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the British Army and the Protestant terror gangs to kill, maim and torture Catholics at will. People who do things like that can't be allowed to die peacefully in their beds, can they?

RW: But even Gerry Fitt has praised him as an 'enlightened' Minister of Commerce.

Cannonball: Yes, well, as soon as Gerry Fitt says it, you can be sure the opposite is true — incidentally he doesn't go riding does he? Anyway seeing you appear to need convincing what about this example of Faulkner's view of industrial relations: 'Many a company director has marched with

RW: Both the British Communist Party and the British Army have denounced you as an 'individual terrorist'. How do you answer that charge?

Cannonball: I am part of a mass movement; the same mass movement that is currently keeping the Brits out of Turf Lodge, that is on the streets demanding political status for republican prisoners. If that movement occasionally has used individual violence, then so be it. After all, demonstrations are not very popular in the part of the country where I operate, it's not exactly Crossmaglen you know.

RW: Finally, what is your epitaph for Faulkner?

Cannonball: Well one's already been written. It's from a song called 'Tuten Carson's Tomb' available on an LP entitled 'England's Vietnam'. 'He was wearing a bowler hat made of solid gold, A twist on his lips but his feet were cold, Up on the wall was a mummy's curse. Here lies Pharaoh Faulkner, one of the worst, The foreign speculators pride, They were making a fortune until he died'.

RW: Thank you very much, Cannonball, for everything.

Cannonball: My pleasure.

TERROR = the Franco connection

THE DISCOVERY of a fascist arms factory in Madrid and subsequent arrests have provided further evidence of the international connections of the Spanish far right.

The most prominent detainee was the Italian fascist Salvatore Francia, arrested in Torremolinos with another Italian, Flavio Campos. As we reported (Red Weekly, 17 and 24 February) Francia and Stefano delle Chiaie were the originators of the Italian 'strategy of tension' and central to the links between Spanish and Italian fascism.

Francia was a leader of Ordine Nuovo, a participant in the coup attempt by Prince Borghese and one of those responsible for the Piazza Fontana bombing in 1969, in which 16 people were killed.

He is known to have connections with Luis Garcia Rodriguez, the Barcelona arms smuggler who is leader of PENS, the Spanish National Socialist Party. Garcia Rodriguez is one of the names on the contact list of the Iberian section of the Anti-Communist International Alliance. This is the same list on which the names of Colin Jordan, David Stirling, Walter Walker and Robert Butler appear.

Last year Francia was also identified at the El Pinar factory which is owned by Franco's widow. It is no coincidence that he was arrested at Torremolinos. The Costa del Sol is the fiefdom of one of the 'respectable' leaders of the far right, José Antonio Girón. As we reported, Francia and delle Chiaie were given accommodation by Girón at

his house at Fuengirola.

It was at Torremolinos in 1974 that Luciano Bruno Stefano and the German striptease star and pornographic model Gudrun Kiess Mardou were arrested for the murder of Police Commissioner Calaresi in Milan. Another of those accused, who was never arrested was Gianni Nardi.

Nardi escaped and his steps can be traced through Switzerland, Chile and Bolivia. Then the trail stops. At about the same time an Italian registered car was involved in an accident on the Spanish Mediterranean island of Majorca. The driver was killed. Only his initials were revealed: GN.

Another of those arrested was Jose Luis Clemente, the proprietor of the 'El Apuntamiento' pizza restaurant in Madrid. Delle Chiaie and Francia are known to have been employed there last year.

Even more interesting is the history of another of those arrested, the Argentinian Jorge Cesarsky Goldstein. He is accused of the murder of Arturo Ruiz, the first of the week of killings in Madrid in January. Cesarsky was a right-wing Peronist who founded a terrorist organisation called the Juntas de Autodefensa Justicialistas in 1972.

He was later employed by Sanitas, a private medical company in which the Marquis of Villaverde, Franco's son-in-law, has a con-



ELIO MASSAGRANDE — the Greek Link.

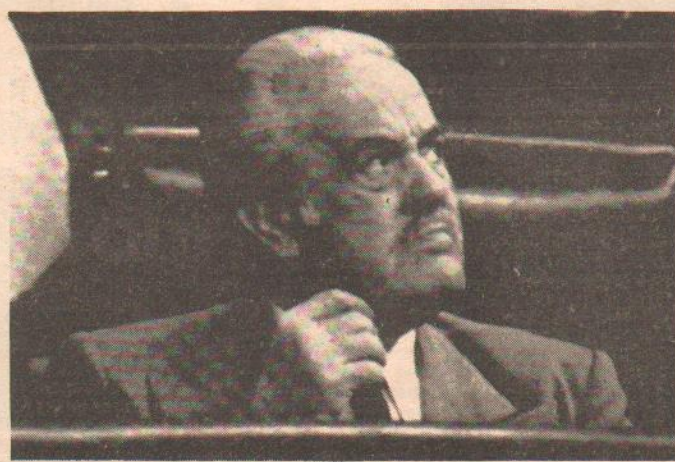
siderable financial interest. Conveniently, this job involved a lot of travelling to Europe.

Cesarsky has particular links with the Fuerza Nueva organisation, another of the 'respectable' parties, and spoke at its conference last December. Fuerza Nueva's leader is Blas Pinar, another of the names on the names on the AIA's contact list. It would be interesting to know if the El Pinar factory, owned by Franco's widow, with which Francia and delle Chiaie were connected, has any connection with Blas Pinar.

We reported (Red Weekly, 3 February) that the killing of the Madrid labour lawyers and the three policemen later in the same week were done with the same guns. A Barcelona arms expert has now revealed that the cartridges found in the arms factory owned by Sanchez Covisa, the leader of the Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey, match the spent cartridge cases found at the scene of these two killings.

Identical cartridges were discovered in the Rome apartment of Pierluigi Concutelli, who was recently arrested for the murder of an Italian judge. The presiding magistrate then said that he suspected the involvement of Concutelli in the Madrid killings. The discovery of the cartridges is firm evidence that this was so.

Another arrest in Madrid gives a clue to international fascist links spanning the whole Mediterranean. Elio Massagrande, yet another of the names on the AIA



JOSE ANTONIO GIRON — mine host to the Fascist International.

made contact with one Kaletsis.

Massagrande was expelled from Greece and fled to Spain after his involvement in a bombing in Salonika. By coincidence Kaletsis was also arrested recently after the discovery of an arms factory in Athens.

Greek fascists received firm support from the secret police in the years of the military junta. After the fall of the junta in 1974 there was an unsuccessful attempt to initiate an Italian-style 'strategy of tension'. The secret police helped establish strong links with the Italian far right.

Massagrande is the only link with Spain which we know of at the moment. But the trail does not stop there. The AIA's Iberian

there will soon be more vermin crawling out of the woodwork.

CHRIS O'BRIEN

• This week Carmine Galante becomes the new Godfather of the American Mafia. But Galante is no ordinary gangster. It was he who first developed the Transatlantic heroin route — the French Connection. He has announced his intention to restore the French Connection after the 'soft' era of the last Godfather Carlo Gambino.

It was Galante who shot down the leading Italian anti-fascist Carlo Tresca on Fifth Avenue, New York in 1943. The killing was arranged by gang leader Vito Genovese as a good turn for his friend Benito Mussolini. Perhaps Galante's new 'get tough'

IMG Notes

National Anti-Racist Commission. Friday 11 March. At National Centre.

National S. Africa Campaign Commission. Saturday 12 March. 10am. At National Centre.

National Health Fraction. All comrades in NHS. Sunday 20 March. 11am-5pm. At the Fire Station, 84 Mayton Street, London N7. Nearest tube Holloway Road (Piccadilly line).

National Working Women's Charter Fraction. Saturday 26 March. Ring National Office for further details.

National NUPE Fraction. Saturday 16 April. Details of venue to follow.

National NATFHE Fraction. Saturday 12 March. 11am. At National Centre.

National Carworkers Fraction. Sunday 20 March. 11.30am. Birmingham. For venue phone 01-278 9526.

Trade Union Commission. Saturday 26 March. 11am. At National Centre.

Pierre Rousset, leading member of the LCR (French section of the FI) and author of a major book on the Vietnamese Communist Party is coming to Britain. Public meetings will be held in the following places: Oxford: Monday 21 March. Vietnam since the fall of Saigon'. Details, phone 01-278 9526.

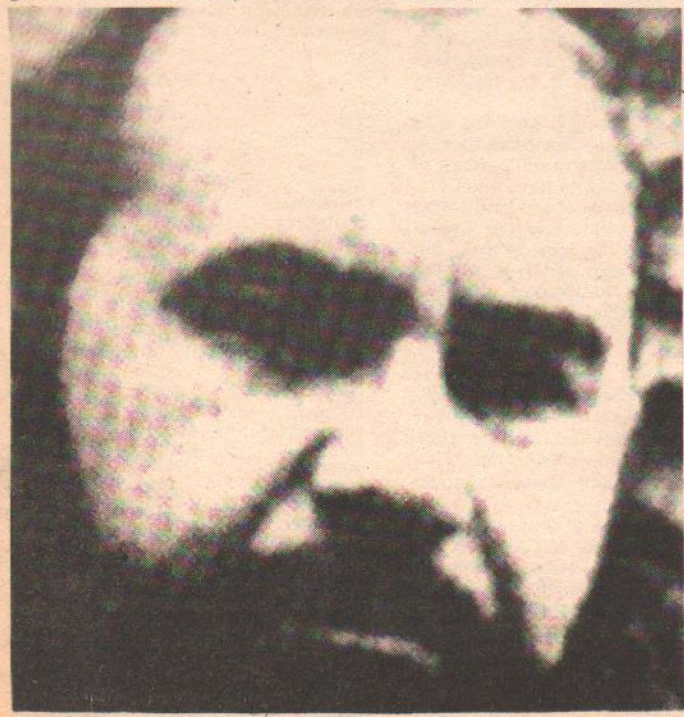
London: Tuesday 22 March. 'China Today'. Details, phone 01-278 9526.

Manchester: Wednesday 23 March. 'Vietnam since the fall of Saigon'. For details see 'What's On'.

IMG Day School on Maoism. Saturday 26 March. Morning session on the Chinese Revolution to 1949. Afternoon session with workshops on the national-democratic revolution, and Maoism in Western Europe. Pierre Rousset (LCR) will be leading first session. For members and close contacts. For further details, phone National Office.

London IMG Gay Fraction: Monday 14 March. 7.30pm at London Centre. For documents and agenda ring 7366716.

Extended Irish Commission: Sunday 13 March. Starts 10.30am sharp. London



FIRST STEP TO S. AFRICAN SOLIDARITY

Demanding that the Labour Government end its collaboration with the racist regimes in southern Africa, 3,000 people marched from Speakers Corner last Sunday. The day before 700 had demonstrated in Glasgow.

These marches were important steps on the road to building a massive campaign of solidarity with the black masses of southern Africa. The London demonstration had broad representation from the workers' movement. Apart from the Anti-Apartheid Movement groups which made up about a third of the demonstrators, a number of trade unions carried their banners, notably NALGO, AUEW, ASTMS and ASLEF. The National Union of Students was represented by eleven of its areas and colleges. The African Students Union, Ethiopian, Zimbabwean, Iranian and Iraqi students were also present.

as a success, but it also reflected the weakness of the solidarity campaign in Britain. The Anti-Apartheid Movement failed to mobilise the broadest possible forces. It has 17 national trade unions affiliated, but only four were represented. These unions also failed to mobilise their own membership.

INABILITY

The inability of the AAM to draw from all parts of the workers and African liberation movements was emphasised by the platform of speakers at Trafalgar Square, where only a representative from the African National Congress was allowed to speak. Speakers from the revolutionary left were excluded despite their supporters making up an important part of the march.

If in the future the campaign is to be built in a mass way then the local AA groups have to take an offensive approach to drawing in the broadest support from the labour and student movement. It was clear that this had not been done for this demonstration.

MAJOR

Of the major left-wing political organisations only the Communist Party, the International Marxist Group and the Socialist Workers Party had contingents, all of the same size.

The Labour Party Young Socialists, with the honourable exceptions of Lewes and Kensington North, were notable by their absence.

Due to its representative character the demonstration can be seen



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

collaborationist policies of the Labour Government. More mass action is urgently needed — the obvious focus is the first anniversary of the Soweto uprising in June.

As part of the IMG's contribution to the solidarity campaign, a rally was held on Saturday evening in Conway Hall. 200 people came to hear a range of black and revolutionary speakers.

After a minute's silence for the freedom fighters and black people killed in southern Africa, a comrade of Combat Ouvriere spoke on

behalf of the international tendency of which Lutte Ouvriere, a French organisation, is the most well known part. Combat Ouvriere is a group of militants from Guadeloupe and Martinique.

Another Caribbean speaker, Tony Bogues of the Jamaican Revolutionary Marxist League, spelled out the importance of events in southern Africa to the world wide struggle against imperialism.

To thunderous applause, Barney Mokgatle, the Soweto student leader now in exile, rose to speak. He gave a description of life in

Soweto and called for all links to be broken with the Vorster regime. As part of such a campaign he urged the audience to support a picket of Ipi Tombi, the musical in London performed by black Africans, under white management, which is part of Vorster's attempts to cover over the oppression of the black masses.

He then read out a statement calling for international solidarity action on the first anniversary of Soweto.

The final speaker was C. Gabriel, a member of the French section of the Fourth International

and the leading authority of the Fourth International on African affairs. Having explained the role of imperialism, the front line states and the Organisation of African Unity in Africa, he pledged the support of the Fourth International with the struggle of the African masses.

RIC SISSONS

• Picket Ipi Tombi, Friday 11 March, 7-8.00pm. Her Majesty's Theatre.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

One thousand people marched through London last Saturday demanding the dropping of the deportation orders on Phil Agee and Mark Hosenball, the release of John Berry and the dropping of all charges against Berry, Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell. The demonstration passed by the HQ of the M16 whom Labour Home Secretary Merlyn Rees does so much to protect.



Photo: ANDREW WIARD (Report)

REGINA FISCHER was fined £20 by a magistrate for obstruction during her hunger strike near Downing Street in protest against the deportation of the American journalists Phil Agee and Mark Hosenball. Her appeal

comes up on 16 March. You will notice from the picture how Fischer had planted herself in the middle of the pavement completely obstructing anyone who wants to walk past.

A LETTER TO OUR READERS

Dear Friends,
As you will have seen from past issues of the Red Weekly, the IMG has been in the forefront of the fight against sectarianism and for a principled re-groupment of the revolutionary movement. The next stage in this process is our support for the project to launch a new newspaper.

In the traditions of Leninism, we have begun to show in the columns of Red Weekly that it is possible to have an open debate on the crucial issues facing the working class nationally and internationally. This debate — in our discussion columns, our Battle of Ideas supplement, and our reports on internal debates — have aided our ability to project a strong, clear line.

But the task today in Britain is much bigger than the small gains recorded by the Red Weekly. In the face of continuing fragmentation of the far left in Britain, more dramatic steps are needed to arrest this process.

The most important aspect of the project of a new paper will be the ability to seriously integrate revolutionary political forces which do not, at present, endorse the majority line of the IMG or the Fourth International.

The new paper will carry discussions between different organisations. It will encourage reports and analysis of struggles and events which do not necessarily represent the exact tactical views of the IMG. Space will be allocated for a 'Tribune for the Left' where serious currents in the labour movement will have an opportunity to express themselves in a way normally denied to them.

cant space will be allocated to this much neglected area of revolutionary reporting and discussion.

The responsibilities confronting revolutionaries today are enormous. The explosive struggles in southern Africa, the unfolding class struggle in Spain and the capitulation of the 'left' reformist leaders in the face of the current attacks on the British working class are a testimony to the urgent tasks we confront. In the face of these responsibilities, the fragmentation of the far left is a crime.

Large minorities exist inside the unions who are opposed to the class collaborationist policies of their leaders. Large mobilisations of women in defence of their rights have been witnessed. Black people have replied in kind to the vicious attacks of the fascists and the feebleness of the reformists in the face of this. But the broad workers' vanguard which is leading the fight back could be dissipated unless a credible, global alternative is presented to them, arming them in their struggle against the mis-leaders of today.

The project of a new paper is a serious attempt to meet this challenge. But it will require massive resources. The size of the paper will have to increase. Technical and full time resources will need expanding. New machines and premises will have to be acquired.

It is our view that the size of such increased resources should not be an obstacle to the realisation of the project. We cannot guarantee success. But we think the project should not flounder simply because of lack of resources. For this reason, we ask you to contribute what you are able, and join in politically endorsing

You can see from the table that the progress of the Fund Drive is not all it could be. We are still less than a quarter of the way to our £15,000. With some honourable exceptions — Preston, Newcastle, Birmingham, Cambridge — areas are still way off target. So rush your money, bankers orders, cheques..... to 97, Caledonian Road, London, N1.

Area	Target	% Gained
Bath	£70	0
Birmingham	£790	67
Bradford	£90	12
Brighton	£160	26
Bristol	£270	23
Cambridge	£145	57
Canterbury	£160	6
Cardiff	£235	5
Colchester	£70	0
Coventry	£215	15
Crewe	£55	12
Darlington	£90	11
Hemel/Watford	£270	6
Huddersfield	£35	0
Hull	£90	25
Lancaster	£55	0
Leeds	£360	12
Leicester	£160	12
Liverpool	£200	0
London	£3,060	26
Manchester	£830	0.7
Middlesbrough	£55	0
Newcastle	£160	62
Norwich	£35	0
Nottingham	£360	9
Oxford	£430	3
Portsmouth	£90	17
Preston	£70	85
Reading	£125	0
Sheffield	£340	6
Southampton	£160	22
		16

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