

workers' ACTION

No.44

Feb. 3rd-10th

10p

Fraud on the Board

The two hundred-odd pages of the Bullock Report and the thousands of newspaper column inches about it, all stand or fall by one phrase: "the joint interest of capital and labour".

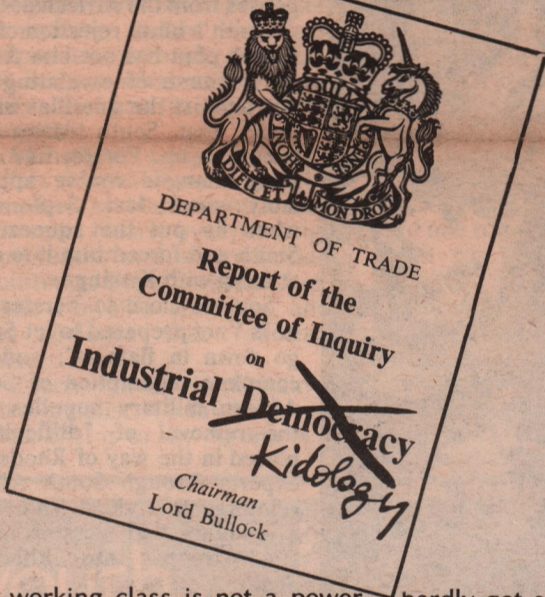
If, like *Workers' Action*, you don't think any such thing exists, then the Bullock Report can only represent an attempt to fog the mind, to turn the face of the working class away from the courses of action that would bring it economic advance and to involve workers further in the snares of the capitalist system.

Every worker on the shop floor knows that the employers try to get as much done for as little wages as possible, and that the worker tries to get as much for his labour as possible. Evidently the supporters of the Bullock Report, the believers in "the joint interest of capital and labour" hope that this simple shop floor sense will soon disappear in the dizzying heights of the boardroom.

If the recommendations of the Bullock Report were implemented, the bosses (although they wouldn't relish restrictions placed on them) would be happy in the knowledge that the working class had taken several giant steps along the road to forsaking collective bargaining, class struggle, independent action and anything else associated with trade unionism.

They would have taken giant steps away from the principle of working class solidarity in favour of company patriotism, introducing thereby into the ranks of the labour movement the very principles of capitalist competition and chaos which that movement aims to do away with and replace by solidarity.

The power that Bullock appears to be offering to the



working class is not a power that can be used to further the interests of the working class. The power that can further the interests of the working class must be created independently by the working class, and incorporated in strong organisations.

In such organisations, and not in the company boardrooms, lies the promise of "a radical extension of industrial democracy".

One of the most basic of these is the factory committee, the committee on which every trade unionist should be represented. Without strong factory committees embracing all the unions, the finest ideas will not find the muscle to force their way through the employers' resistance.

A logical extension to the factory council is the combine committee, bringing together the representatives of all the trade unionists within a single company. And beyond the combine committee there should also be committees of shop stewards representing the trade unionists throughout a branch of industry.

In Britain, where the system of industrial unionism

hardly got started and where trade distinctions remain barriers to real working class practical unity, the development of factory, combine and industry-wide committees is crucial.

Real workers' control will be impossible without such organisations whose basic goal it will be to impose their control over production.

As a first step towards this control, workers must demand an end to business secrecy. With all the force at their disposal they must break the ring of secrecy between the great capitalist concerns and the state.

Any such move will be vigorously resisted by the employers and also by those trade union and labour leaders who today try to talk the working class into believing they are being offered half of industry and all its secrets.

Workers' participation never got a worker a wage rise, it never found an unemployed worker a job and it never stopped a worker being worn out by the drudgery of factory routine. All it ever created was the illusion of power, and with that illusion came the loss of power already built up.

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ROUND-UP OF SPANISH LEFT AFTER WEEK OF FASCIST TERROR



The Spanish government, which is attempting to introduce bourgeois parliamentarism and to peacefully liquidate the Francoist police state set up after the Civil War of 1936-39, has reacted to what looks like an attempt by fascist terrorists to create the conditions for a military coup in Spain by large scale arrests of ... the revolutionary left.

On January 23rd, a 19-year old student was shot dead during a left demonstration. The same evening a young girl was clubbed to death. Four lawyers belonging to the Communist Party and one of their secretaries were murdered, and others in the same office seriously wounded.

Workers in Madrid and Barcelona immediately struck. Tens of thousands attended the funeral of the 19-year old student that afternoon.

Immediately the Government, apparently under Army pressure, brought in measures to curtail civil rights, allowing police to hold people without charge for up to ten days. Three fascist gunmen held for questioning about the massacre of the 5 were soon released, however.

On Friday 3 policemen were shot dead. An organisation called *Grapo* claimed responsibility for the killing of the police, and also for kidnapping two top state officials whom it claimed to be holding. The far left groups denounced *Grapo* — there is a widespread belief that it

is in fact a group of right wing provocateurs.

Meanwhile hundreds of leftists have been arrested. So have some fascists — but many of these are foreign, not Spanish, fascists.

As the Government of Adolfo Suarez balanced delicately, placating the Right and the Army by striking out at the left, the "Democratic Opposition" (which includes the Communist Party and some Maoists) continued to kow-tow to Suarez, from whose hands they expect to get a parliamentary government in good time.

They have not protested at the arrests of leftists.

Certainly the danger of a coup, or an attempted coup, by sections of the Army must be taken seriously. But reports suggest that the Army is now split, between the top brass which is alarmed and lower ranking officers who are said to be impatient with the speed of the reforms.

But the CP will not attempt to exploit such problems of the bourgeois state. Its policy is for National Spanish "reconciliation" between parties and classes. And new talks are planned between the "opposition" and the Government.

Instead of a working class offensive to take advantage of the problems of the bourgeoisie, the tragedy of Spain today is that the main working class party, the CP, is a major strength of that bourgeoisie.

Ian Smith's last gamble

MOST whites in 'Rhodesia' don't believe they will be there for ever. They take for granted that black rule will come very soon, and most will leave the country at that time. Unlike the major capitalist powers, who have a real interest in determining what sort of regime follows that of Ian Smith, for the settlers it is a matter of all or nothing.

The white settlers owe their property and with it their way of life to their control of the colonial state. It was this state which passed successive acts dispossessing Africans from their land — a process finally culminating in the 1969 Land Tenure Act, which legalised white ownership of 98% of land suitable for agriculture.

It was this state, too, which stimulated the growth of small manufacturing industries and passed laws which enabled small white-owned businesses in Rhodesia to take advantage of cheap African labour.

When the whites lose control of their state they have nothing and are nothing. Black majority rule, whether radical or neo-colonialist, will certainly bring a reversal of white domination of the farming land. And the small white businesses will certainly be swamped by the multinationals when the country is opened up again to international capital.

Zimbabwe masses demand control — in 1972 (below) and last month (right). It's still the one thing the white supremacist settlers won't concede — in any form.

A neo-colonialist regime such as Britain and the USA have been striving to achieve will structure economic policy in favour of the economic giants and their future black partners and collaborators, leaving the settler businesses to go to the wall.

This is why Ian Smith has been so intransigent in the face of numerous pressures from Britain, the USA and South Africa. Ian Smith's tactics con-

sist simply of playing for time — even if that time cannot be used to gain even more time.

There is no goal for the settlers short of simply staying where they are and how they are for as long as they can. That is why all the negotiations initiated by the western powers to try to achieve their goals — the Fearless and Tiger talks, the Pearce Commission fiasco, the Victoria Falls, Lusaka and Geneva meetings — all have

ended with Smith refusing ever to hand over the state to any black regime at all.

The Kissinger formula would have given Smith another two years of state control. But, urged on by the black masses of Zimbabwe under the inspiration of the victories in Angola and Mozambique, the nationalist negotiators were not able to agree to an "interim" period in which Smith would keep the army and police in his hands — while they were required to disarm the guerrilla army.

Thus Ivor Richard's attempts to get Smith's agreement to a plan which consisted of simply painting over the question of state power. He proposed a national security council under British chairmanship, with equal representation on it from Smith's forces and those of the black nationalists.

Vorster

But to Smith, this offered no prospect of containing the 'Marxist' forces of ZIPA, and would get in the way of his own plans to do so. For the nationalists, it offered no guarantee that the whites would not launch a coup against majority rule at a later date.

Richard's belief that the loyalty of white military commanders could be ensured by making them swear an oath of allegiance to the Queen must have met with some earthy responses from the Africans.

Smith's blunt rejection of the British plan has set him firmly on a course of escalating the war against the guerrillas in the belief that South Africa will back him up. Vorster has certainly changed course appreciably since last September, when he put the squeeze on Smith and forced him into negotiating with Kissinger.

Sources close to Vorster say he is "not prepared to let Smith go down in flames"; and the complete resumption of South African military supplies and the removal of "difficulties" placed in the way of Rhodesian exports through South Africa, reinforce this view. There are even hints that Vorster might send troops into Rhodesia again.

The sort of moderate black regime that Vorster wanted to see established in Zimbabwe now looks further away than ever. That, together with the impact of the Soweto rising, has led Vorster to the view that he can't avoid being in the same boat as Smith, weathering the "Communist" storm threatening "white civilisation" in southern Africa.

But Smith isn't relying on a military strategy alone.

Internal

After the distasteful experience of being forced to treat with the "terrorist" enemy at Geneva Smith has returned to the business of applying some harmless "inter-racial" cosmetic to his regime. Ignoring the fact that what is required of him is universal suffrage and the handing over of the Army and police, he proposed changes in laws regarding race discrimination and segregation, and some marginal amendments to the Land Tenure laws.

Again ignoring the requirements of the real world, Smith is trying to revive his fantasy that the tribal chiefs he's had in

his cabinet are the real representatives of the "silent majority" of the black population. In fact these chiefs are totally unrepresentative and have always allowed themselves to be used to give some kind of 'native' respectability to Smith's regime. Even Harold Wilson has called them Smith's stooges.

These chiefs have now set up their own party called ZUPO. Conveniently for Smith — or more likely, as a result of his close prompting — they call for all the things Smith is willing to concede, but are vague and non-committal when it comes to one-man one-vote.

Smith's new game-plan is to get an 'internal' settlement along the lines of the Kissinger proposal. Such a settlement would of course exclude the Patriotic Front of Mugabe and Nkomo. But Smith has set his sights on drawing Bishop Abel Muzorewa into this scheme, thus giving it a measure of credibility which might secure him support not only from South Africa but also from the USA.

Since the decision of the 5 "front line" African presidents in mid-January to give exclus-



Bishop Muzorewa — will he keep his support if he deals with Smith?

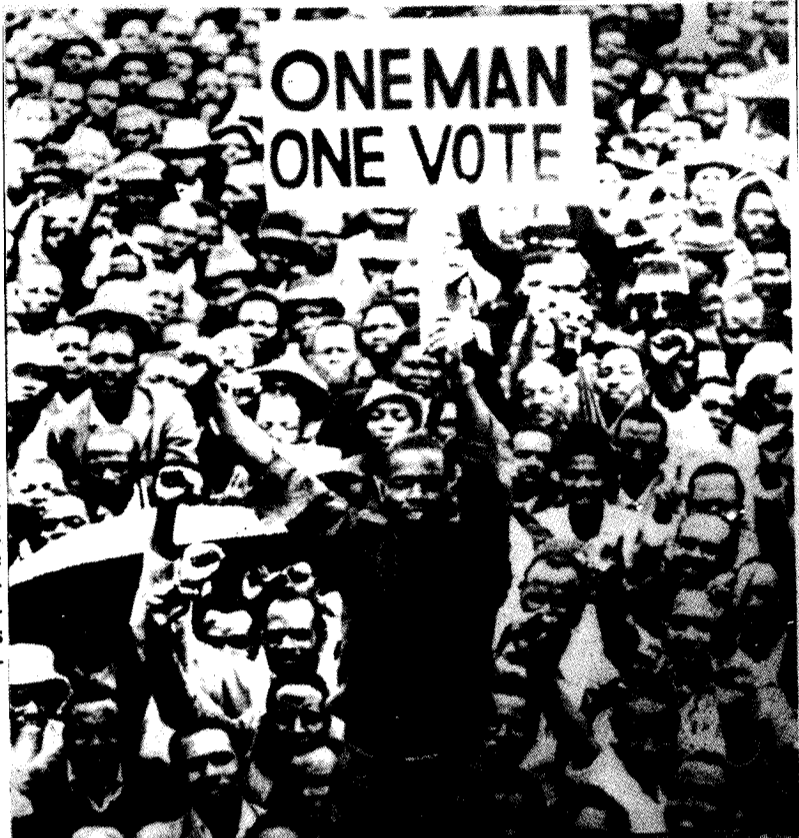
ive support to the Patriotic Front, Muzorewa's political standing outside Zimbabwe is minimal. But he does have mass support within Zimbabwe. Muzorewa has nothing to gain from a ZIPA/Patriotic Front victory since he has no influence there, and the prospect of an 'internal' solution excluding ZIPA must be quite tempting for him.

Yet the dangers are clear, should he decide to treat with Smith bi-laterally, without the guerrillas. Muzorewa is certain to weaken his one principal asset, namely his mass following, should he now decide to accommodate with Smith.

The settlers must now be in some hurry to get their 'internal' solution off the ground. The raising of the call-up age to 50, the rapid increase of white emigration, and the prediction that 35% of Rhodesian firms will go bankrupt by the middle of this year unless a settlement (and with it the lifting of sanctions and the granting of some military aid) is reached, are all indications that Smith is on his last legs.

Meanwhile, the expected increase in ZIPA actions will further shorten Smith's options and probably those of the neo-colonialists too. Socialists in Britain must do everything they can in the labour movement to aid ZIPA's struggle against the forces of white supremacy, and to oppose any further attempts by the British government to turn old-style colonial exploitation into new-style big business neo-colonial exploitation.

BAS HARDY



Israel's warnings to Syria that it must not send troops south of Lebanon's Litani River indicate the sort of options being considered by the Zionist state in this period.

At this time last year Israel was warning that there might be war if Damascus sent its troops into Lebanon. Syrian troops did enter Lebanon — indeed they incited the country, routing their one-time allies in the Palestine Liberation Organisation and the Lebanese progressives, to reverse the defeats of the extreme Right and create a launching pad to the scheme of a Greater Syria.

Israel was not averse to any of this. In particular it welcomed the defeat of the Palestinians, and now it looks like accepting at least some form of Greater Syria scheme.

Israel's present protests (in con-

Israel's protests mask collaboration

trast to last year's genuine threats) are an attempt to cover up its collaboration with Syria in anti-Palestinian actions along the border. According to Lebanese refugees arriving in Cyprus, Syria's "Arab Deterrent Force" has captured two villages in this area previously held by the forces of the Palestinians and Lebanese Progressives.

Meanwhile in Beirut the Syrian "green berets" (the hats they put

on for "peacekeeping") have reinforced further their grip on those districts previously held by the left. Areas have been sealed off and searches carried out for weapons.

Three barracks of the Lebanese Arab Army (which during the war broke away from official military control and went over to the side of the Palestinian and Left forces) have also been occupied by Syrian troops.

SADAT ROUNDS UP OPPOSITION

President Sadat's concessions to the widespread demonstrations in Egypt against rises in food prices brought an end to the protests, but it did not bring an end to the mass arrests of left wingers and other opponents of Sadat's policy of dismantling the legacy of Nasserism.

Arrests of "communists" have been admitted by the Egyptian Attorney-General. According to him, those arrested belong to four clandestine organisations: the

Communist Party of Egypt; the Communist Workers' Party; the Revolutionary Current; and the Organisation of the Eighth January. The number of arrests of "communists" is given as 200.

According to Khaled Mohieddin, however, the arrests are of bigger numbers than this and include Sadat's Nasserist opponents in Mohieddin's National Progressive Party, the left wing of the Arab Socialist Union.

No room for Colquhoun, No platform for Powell!

Maureen Colquhoun is still a member of the Tribune Group and a Labour MP. She is still therefore a prominent leading figure of the British labour movement. And she still thinks Powell is not a racist and that what he says should be listened to.

The Tribune Group meeting on 31st January did discuss the matter as part of what the *Guardian* called "a general discussion on the Labour Party and race". Indeed, "There was some criticism at the meeting of Mrs. Colquhoun but generally that delicate subject was avoided. She put her point of view, with which others disagreed, and it was left at that."

The Labour Party nationally has so far not responded to calls to discipline Ms. Colquhoun, despite the fact that such a prominent immigrant and race relations spokesman as Bashir Mann, deputy chairman of the new Commission for Racial Equality, joined in that call.

Vice

Colquhoun herself has not withdrawn her remarks. Indeed she has repeated them on TV in a discussion with Frank Allaun MP, and in an article for the local paper of her constituency, Northampton.

The general feeling among left Labour Party members in constituencies is that she has either been mis-reported or means something else than support for Powell.

Both are to some extent true. From the article in the Northampton local paper it is clear



Maureen Colquhoun

the press. Peter Evans, Home Affairs correspondent of *The Times*, has demonstrated this in detail in a recent pamphlet published by the Runnymede Trust.

Powell has made vile, insulting and rabble rousing speeches against black people. Moreover, as a prominent politician he has received widespread coverage for his speeches and has produced immediate, violent anti-black responses on each occasion. He knows what reaction he wants and how to get it. And he gets it.

Many black people and socialists blame Powell for the murders of black youths last summer. Nearly every immigrant leader and left politician pointed to the connection between Powell's speeches and the violence that followed them.

Enoch Powell is Britain's Mr. Racist. To say he is not a racist is to say **no-one** is a

racist. It is not just naïve, it gives credibility and cover to his racist message and the violence it incites.

Powell, like Hitler, does not 'argue' his case, he uses demagogic appeal to the most base prejudices of people. Like Hitler he relies on the powerful impact and charismatic image produced by speeches. These serve the same function as Hitler's rallies, with the difference that the mass media give Powell a larger audience than Hitler. The message of race hatred is the same as Hitler's.

Not only should the labour movement not listen to Powell — it should try to stop his public speeches. In direct opposition to Colquhoun, we need to say: **No platform for Powell.**

Racist

All in all, Colquhoun has come out with a **racist** statement. She insists that "there is not a racist bone in my body". But isn't every overt and covert racist statement pre-fixed with the phrase — "I'm not a racist but..."

By helping to promote the ideas of Powell and the respectability of his views she has put herself in his camp. She might not have wanted to, indeed her lamentations over the reaction to her statement lead one to believe she did not mean to. Nevertheless, she has stood by it, she has not withdrawn it, and has in fact repeated it.

Maureen Colquhoun has had a good record on a number of issues. One might be tempted to 'let her off lightly'



that she made her comments over the phone and to some extent off the cuff, not really explaining what she meant. And she is certainly not calling upon Labour supporters to back Powell's position on repatriation (or to be precise, deportation).

However, what she clearly is saying is, **one**, Powell is right in predicting violent racial conflict; **two**, Powell is not making this prediction in order to incite white racists to violent attacks on blacks, rather he is sincerely warning people of impending disaster; **three**, rather than try to silence Powell and his kind, the labour movement should listen to what he is saying; **four**, the cause of racist violence is black immigrants: she does try to set this in the context of urban decay and poverty, but her comments on the Notting Hill Carnival battle make it clear that she accepts the (by now commonplace) identification of blacks as a problem.

Let us get it straight. Enoch Powell has not been distorted by the press as Colquhoun maintains. If anything he has systematically manipulated

and express more sorrow than anger. But the better her record, the greater the damage she has done. As Treasurer of the Tribune Group she will provide a justification for racism in far deeper layers of the Labour Party than could, say, the right wing arch-racist Mellish.

If her boasts are true about the number of letters of support she is getting, she is already acting as a focus and a champion of racist opinion in the Party.

In short, there can be no room for her after what she has said and reiterated. Neither in the Tribune Group nor in the PLP. It isn't only the Tribune Left that is tainted by her continued presence, but the whole of the white left — because to most people the Tribune MPs are the left.

Mockery

Only one thing can remove this complicity (which in the eyes of the black community could extend even to the trade union movement as a whole): a clear repudiation of Maureen Colquhoun and her removal from all position of authority in the labour movement — including her Membership of Parliament.

It is disgraceful that Tribune has brushed this matter under the carpet. All socialists should protest both to the Tribune Group and to the NEC. Her position makes a mockery of the stand adopted by the last Labour Party Conference.

Those fighting racism cannot tolerate it within our own ranks.

Jamaican youth gets Borstal after anti-Relf march



HUBERT THOMPSON, an 18-year old from Jamaica, has been sentenced to Borstal for between six months and two years for an offense he did not commit.

Last May, after a demonstration against the National Front at Winson Green prison, Birmingham (where Robert Relf was being held), many of the marchers headed for the West Indian Federation rooms, where they expected to hold a meeting — only to find the way blocked by a cordon of 70 police.

The demonstrators responded by throwing stones and bricks, while police horses charged people into alleys and doorways.

Hubert Thompson was there; he tried to stop the stone-throwing, and then joined the march when it headed back towards Handsworth Park.

The police swooped indiscriminately on the demonstrators, and Hubert was one of those they picked up at random.

He was hauled into the back of a police car, where he says he was hit in the stomach on the way to the police station, and further assaulted when he got there. He was let out on bail only after he agreed to sign a statement which he says was 'made up as he went along' by one of the officers.

Brutal

Charges were then brought against him of assaulting two police officers and with causing them actual bodily harm; of "criminal damage to a police helmet"; of possessing two offensive weapons, and with conduct liable to cause a breach of the peace.

Hubert Thompson is appealing, and has made a formal complaint against the violence of the police. The *Handsworth 28 Defence Committee* is campaigning for his release.

If the labour movement is to be taken seriously in its campaign against racism, it should give its support to this campaign against the victimisation and brutal treatment of young blacks by the police.

Rouse the genuine democrats

THE witchhunting press has finally panicked the NEC of the Labour Party into 'investigating' the alleged "infiltration" by Trotskyists of the Labour Party and LPYS. Last Wednesday by 16 votes to 10 it approved a motion put by Michael Foot to set up a sub-committee to investigate the report by National Agent Reg Underhill on "Entryism".

The investigation itself can only give credence to the McCarthyite paranoia the press is trying to whip up. And any attempted purge cannot do other than maim and disrupt the local parties, already deeply unhappy with the Government's policies.

One way or another, the NEC's decision can only play into the hands of the anti-Labour press and the Tory Party.

The press has been the baying

pack-leader in the hunt. But it has had the collaboration of right wingers like Shirley Williams and of trade unionists like the bureaucrats of the EPTU, who run the nearest thing to a police-state union in Britain. Members of this union have had to demonstrate wearing hoods to avoid victimisation — and loss of their jobs in consequence — by Frank Chappel and his fellow "democrats" and "moderates".

The EPTU bureaucrats threatened to disaffiliate the union from the Labour Party if the NEC did not act on the "Underhill Report".

Even recent ex-CP member Max Morris, one-time President of the teachers' union NUT, helped out with an article in *The Times*.

Ten members of the NEC voted against the sub-committee being set

up. Perhaps more would vote against a **purge** of Marxists from the Party and YS. But in their own defence they need to do more than just vote. They need to organise and rouse the Labour Party's genuine democrats, the people who believe in the basic rights of working class democracy in the labour movement. For the same press which whipped a majority of the NEC into the 'investigation' is openly arguing that the NEC itself should be purged.

The not-so-liberal *Guardian* (which in fact advocated the expulsion of Aneurin Bevan from the Labour Party in the 1950s) has argued that the trade union leaders need to protect themselves during their sell-out of the interests of the working class by making sure that no left noises or actions come from the NEC of the

Party — actions such as the NEC's sponsorship of the massive November 17th demonstration against the cuts.

The labour movement is not at present a safe place for the trade union bureaucrats who have organised the most drastic slashing of real working class living standards since the world war. It is not going to be safe as long as voices can be and are raised to expose what they are doing and to rally sections of the movement to oppose them and their policies.

Naturally they are anxious to make it safe by silencing their critics.

If the right wing succeed in carrying out a purge of "Trotskyists" that will only be a beginning. Any section even of the Tribune left which shows any fight could be next in line.

ITT AND THE GOOD EMPLOYER IMAGE

by Clive Morris

A recently intercepted secret document circulated by the Business Systems Group of ITT (International Telephones and Telegraphs) reveals just how scared big firms are of workers organising at combine and multinational level.

The circular, published by Tribune MP Jeff Rooker, instructs management at the level of the various local plants to lie to the workers and tell them that all decisions relating to the individual local plant have been taken by local management.

That way, it is hoped, the workers in the different plants will see no need to combine to press claims. And workers will be embroiled in pointless negotiations with managements that don't have the power to make decisions.

In the section on "The principle of plant level bargaining" the circular says:

"2.1 Three levels of relationship are identified — communication, consultation and collective bargaining.

2.2 Communication on a Group basis with union officials has already been committed to. Any extension of this relationship at Group level will be actively discouraged by management.

2.3 Any union moves to extend relationships on a Group basis to include consultation or collective bargaining will be positively resisted by management.

2.4 ...In all contacts with employee representatives, the theme of plant level autonomy in industrial relations should be emphasised and consolidated. Nothing should be said to imply or suggest that decisions on Industrial Relations have been referred outside the unit for determination by Group management in UK or Brussels." (The headquarters of ITT in Europe.)

Section 2.7 instructs management to refuse to recognise the validity of parity claims: "Any claim submitted by an employee group for parity with conditions in other Group units should be rejected as a valid basis for a claim". As 2.8 makes clear, this means management denying that common policy exists on matters like pension arrangements where it is obvious that it does.

The attitude towards new organisations like combine committees is clear. In 3.1 the circular says that "The general desire of management for the period covered by the policy

[up to July this year] is for the present level and pattern of union representation in the Group to remain unchanged. In other words, we do not want new union groups to form themselves if we can help it."

Obviously it isn't only new organisations that ITT don't like, as 3.2 makes clear: "...Unit managers should do everything possible to ensure that employees do not feel compelled or inclined to join a union. Management actions in this area will include improving communications" (though clearly not truthful communication!) "skilled employee counselling, close attention to conditions, and other actions likely to promote the 'good employer image'."

Such close attention to conditions may mean nicer canteens, but it most certainly doesn't include facility time for accredited union representatives; that is explicitly excluded: "any significant improvement for the first time of 'facilities for shop stewards' without the express permission in writing of the Director of Group Industrial Relations" (whose existence, of course, is to be kept a closely guarded secret) is forbidden.

Cover-up

And to complete the cover-up, section 4.2 stipulates that "With the body of employment legislation which now exists, the need arises regularly for the formation of guidelines and rules to cover items not previously incorporated in company policy documents [for instance, rules on time-off for shop stewards during working hours]. On items of this kind Group policy will be to standardise on rules as far as possible and each case should be referred to Director, Personnel and Industrial Relations for a decision. However, even in cases where a Group-wide rule is decided upon by all units, the communication of the rule at unit level should clearly indicate that the decision was made at unit level."

ITT, whose main company in Britain is Standard Telephones and Cables, are no fools: as long as they can divide the workers by plant, forcing them to compete against one another, using an international network to beat any local challenge ought to bring success.

ITT workers didn't have to wait for this document to be disclosed to know that; but now that it's out, it should inspire re-doubled efforts by ITT trade unionists to build strong links at national and international level.

The resistance of the employers to the Majority Report of the Bullock Committee may lead many workers to believe that the Report and its implementation are something worth fighting for.

Nothing could be further from the truth. The different responses reflect the different pressures: on the trade union leaders and the Labour Government on the one hand, and the employers on the other.

The Majority recommendations and, indeed, the setting up of the Bullock Committee in the first place, arose from pressure on the Labour Government to keep the Social Contract alive. "Legislative advances" are a lot cheaper than economic gains, and they can supply the trade union leaders with an alibi for doing nothing to improve the living standards of their members.



Thus in place of higher wages with protection against inflation; an end to unemployment; and the initiation of big programmes of working class advance in health, housing, education and welfare — the things the work class wants and needs — in place of these we were given three stages of what Len Murray has called "an historic legislative programme".

"The third stage" he declared at the last TUC Conference, "is for a fundamental change in company law and in the statutes of our nationalised industries and public services to give organised workers, through their trade unions, the right to parity representation on the policy-making boards of their enterprise."

The employers, of course, are subject to different pressures. They therefore don't need these proposals...yet. The German and Italian employers, who later under different circumstances were the backers and beneficiaries of fascism, were each the supporters in the 1919-1920 period of "industrial democracy" and what went by the misnomer of "workers' control". In the case of the Italian employers, support for fascism came immediately on the heels of support for "industrial democracy".

For the British ruling class today, of course, both "industrial democracy" and fascism are extreme

measures that they have no need to use. But while the ruling class in Britain may therefore today reject the Bullock Report as inappropriate and unnecessary, it might in a different situation ardently advocate it. The fact that it is today not the chosen strategy of the employers, in no way means that Bullock advocates any principles that are hostile to them.

What then is the principle that the Bullock Report is based on? It is the conviction that there is a "joint interest of labour and capital" and that workers and employers not only can



DEPARTMENT OF TR

Report of the Committee of Inquiry

Industrial Democracy

Chairman
Lord Bullock

by Ian Davies

but should be "equal partners in the modern enterprise." There is nothing very new about the principle of class collaboration. Faced with similar ideas in the early 'twenties, Lozovsky, on behalf of the Red International of Labour Unions, drew up an action programme whose preamble attacked the illusion of power conjured up by the phrase "industrial democracy":

"The reformists like to talk about economic democracy or the establishment of a republican form of government within the



Evidence the Select Committee didn't want to hear

1,500 WOMEN and men heard and saw on display a mountain of conclusive evidence that abortion should be a woman's choice, when the National Abortion Campaign mounted its Tribunal on Saturday January 29th.

The audience heard personal testimonies, facts, figures and reports from overseas in support of the case for abortion on demand. They heard, too, of how existing abortion facilities in this country are being threatened.

Madeline Simms, a member of the Abortion Law Reform Association (ALRA), told how the charities such as BPAS and PAS — which shoulder a burden that by right belongs to the Government — are being attacked by the Department of Health.

Inertia

While the DHSS don't even bother to monitor day-care abortion facilities, the private charities carry out 30,000 abortions a year, and BPAS carries out 3 out of 5 abortions performed every year in the private sector. The charities started off in '67 when the NHS couldn't cope with the full demand, and ten years later there is still the same mess due to the "apathy, inertia and incompetence of the Dept. of Health".

Last Christmas came the first sign of the attack: when the DHSS normally issues licences to private nursing homes for one year, it made an exception of the Fairfield Home, which receives patients from PAS. Its licence was for just four months.

An even bigger threat to the charities is contained in William Benyon's Abortion (Amendment) Bill, which would make it very

difficult for GPs to refer patients to the charities. But in many areas these can be a woman's last hope, when the local gynaecologist is a supporter of SPUC and won't do abortions.

Another disturbing aspect of Benyon's Bill (outlined by Patricia Hewitt of the NCCL) is the powers it would give police to investigate the files of any abortion clinic or advice bureau if they so much as "suspect" an offence has been committed. A woman might find herself hauled up in court as a borderline case. And the Bill would especially hit young girls under 16 seeking an abortion — it requires them to have their parents present when seeing a doctor.

Penalty

Evidence at the tribunal came from all over the world: from Belgium, Ireland, Italy, France, the USA and Chile (a tale of barbaric repression against a background of starvation).

For women in the Irish "Republic" even contraception is illegal, and the penalty for procuring an abortion can be life imprisonment. Some doctors refer women to clinics in Liverpool and London — lining their pockets with a £20 fee at the same time. Liverpool BPAS

reckon to help about 20 girls a week from the south of Ireland. But still an estimated 2,500 abortions a year are done in Ireland clandestinely, and that's an under estimate according to Ann Connolly of the Southern Irish United Women.

In the north of Ireland, while contraception is legal, the Orange bigots have stopped the 1967 Abortion Act from applying there. Gynaecologists at the Ulster Pregnancy Advisory Service have turned away girls of 13, women who have been raped, and women with more than 10 children.

Paul Glickard from Belgium told the Tribunal about Dr. Willy Peers who was arrested four years ago while openly performing abortions against severe anti-abortion laws. In this strict Catholic country 400,000 people signed a demand for his release and for improved abortion laws. He was freed after six weeks.

"Cholsier", the French abortion campaign, has been fighting since 1971 for free contraception and abortion, and in January 1975 law was changed to remove a number of restrictions. But still many doctors refuse, and an abortion has to be paid for.

In Italy, restrictions were eased a week ago; but with half the hospitals run by priests and nuns the situation is still very restrictive.

MADE

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factories and workshops. The well-known English reformist, Sydney Webb, put forward the idea of democratic relations within the process of production long time ago in his book "Industrial Democracy". But what constitutes democracy in the production process or a republican type of organisation within a company? How are we to understand it?

"If we are to take the words quite literally, the truly republican set-up is one where the workers establish control over production and transform the boss into a technical worker. The limits of democracy

in this area have been reached in Germany with the creation of works councils running the company on a basis of parity, the board being composed of an equal number of representatives of workers' and employers' organisations.

OO

"The German unions have come up with a theory of the equality of rights of employers and workers, called the parity theory: the workers and the bosses are equal, their organisations are of equal value and consequently they participate on the board in equal numbers. It is true that there are in addition government representatives, but these, as everyone knows, stand above classes in order to guarantee the interests of society as a whole.

"This entire theory of parity rights, based on the protection of private property and the management of the resources of the country by a group of big industrial tycoons, could obviously bring nothing but disaster. For what parity can there exist between the workers who own nothing and the employers who have at their disposal hundreds of millions? We would only be able to speak of parity in cases where the workers had, as far as the management of the country's wealth is concerned, those rights which are enjoyed by the employers' organisations and their state."

OO

Thus Lozovsky doesn't just pour scorn on the democratic jbery of the parity theory — he emphasises the fundamentally determinant role of the relations beyond the confines of the company, and especially between the employers as a whole and the state.

Naturally, the conception of "workers' control" offered by Bullock, quite apart from its explicit grounding in the fiction of the "joint interest between labour and capital", leaves these two elements out of the picture completely.

In this Bullock embodies and imitates, the fundamental political weakness of native British socialism, of which

Fabianism and 'revolutionary' syndicalism represent respectively the most conservative and the most radical strategies. It is therefore not surprising that given that Bullock represents quite a radical variant of the "industrial democracy" charade, it has the whole-hearted support of almost every trend on the Left.

Thus a snapshot of "industrial democracy" according to Bullock and one of workers' control in the revolutionary conception would differ in that in the Bullock version the units of decision-making correspond to the individual companies whereas in the revolutionary version, the basic unit is the state which is 'controlled' by the workers. In the Bullock version the decision makers are trapped within the framework of capitalism, while in the revolutionary version they are capable of planning democratically having destroyed capitalism.

OO

Does this mean that revolutionaries do not think that workers' control can be established before the capitalist state is destroyed? No. Workers' control as a situation of dual power within factories, companies, even whole branches of industry could exist prior to the destruction of the capitalist state. Most likely it would in fact correspond to a situation of dual power in society in general. And like the situation of dual power in society, this aggressive stalemate between the classes could only be very short lived before one side or the other proved and enforced its domination.

Workers' control within capitalism therefore is not a peaceful, stable "higher level" of democratic development as the Stalinists present it. It is an unstable, war-like situation which must be used immediately by the working class as bases for its power, and must immediately be extended pressing home each victory until the power of the bourgeoisie is broken — something which the factory committees or soviets exercising control must accomplish not by economic but by military means.

WHAT THE BULLOCK REPORT SAYS



Predictably, the Bullock Committee failed to come to a common set of recommendations on so-called "Industrial Democracy". More significantly, the sides in the argument perfectly reflect the immediate class interests of the members of the Inquiry.

All the trade unionists and the academics voted for the Majority Report. Against the Majority Report were lined up all the employers: Biggs (chairman of Williams & Glyn's Bank), Callard (Chairman of British Home Stores), Heath (Chairman of GKN) and Methven (who retired from the Inquiry when he resigned as the Director of Fair Trading and shifted over to being the head of the CBI).

Taking up a halfway position with a "note of dissent" to the Majority Report was Nicholas Wilson, a solicitor.

Like a brawl at a pacifists' reunion gathering, it paints a clearer picture of realities than either the speeches of the commentaries might.

2x+y

The basic formula proposed by the Majority for the composition of Boards of Directors is what is called "2x + Y". That is, equal representation for workers and shareholders, each electing their representatives who will jointly nominate people for the third element (the "y" element). All directors will have equal rights.

If the elected directors representing the workers and the shareholders can't agree on nominations for the third element, "an independent body will be called in to provide conciliation".

The Board of Directors composed on the 2x+y basis will be the only Board. The Report rejects the proposal to introduce — as in Germany — a two-tier system consisting of a management board and a supervisory board.

Instead it intends to stick with the present British system of unitary boards running companies, but simply to change their composition: "Our twin aims of effective employee participation and effective management can best be met in this country by introducing employee representatives on to the present company boards. ... It would be undesirable in our view to put employee representatives on a board which could not have a decisive influence on ... matters, or which could find its policy changed by the passing of a resolution at the shareholders' meeting which was not supported by the board."

Minority

Nevertheless, "The shareholders' meeting should retain the right to decide whether to pass the resolutions [passed by the board] or not". Once again, the possibility of deadlock (resulting from the shareholders' meeting continually rejecting proposals from the Board of Directors) is met by an "independent body to be called in to provide conciliation."

The whole scheme will be brought into operation by what the Report calls "triggering". After legislation is passed, a union or group of unions representing not less than 20% of the workforce can request a secret ballot on whether workers should be on the Board. The ballot would be of all full-time employees and will be decided in favour of "participation if there is a

simple majority in favour, and if this figure represents at least a third of the workforce eligible.

The responsibility is left with the trade unions to work out a system of selecting trade union members for the Board. At present there is no set method, though the Majority Report does say that selection "is based on the trade union machinery ... internal to the company ... rather than that which is external to it, the branch, the District Committee and the National Executive".

The press has widely reported the Minority Report as accepting the basic idea of having workers' representatives on the Board, and as disagreeing only over how to put them there and how many to have. This is not so.

In the opening statement of their submission, the Minority make it clear that their proposals take workers' representation on the Board as a starting point only because "The Committee's remit required it 'to consider how such an extension [workers' representation on the Board of Directors] can best be achieved'; it did not require the Committee to consider whether 'a radical extension in industrial democracy' should be achieved by the representation of employees on the Boards of Directors. The proposals in this Minority Report therefore represent, in our considered view, the best ways of fulfilling what we regard as a far from satisfactory or even wise remit."

The main things in the Majority Report that the employers' representatives on the Committee would not endorse were:

□ That worker directors should have the same numbers as the shareholders' representatives; the Minority wanted the workers to have fewer representatives.

Two-tier

□ That the Board should remain a unitary board — the Minority wanted a two-tier system with the worker representatives on a supervisory "upper" level.

□ That the worker directors should be drawn from the trade unionists of the company as a whole — they wanted different 'constituencies' represented, thus giving small groups like senior white collar staff and management a guaranteed representation.

□ That only trade unionists can become worker directors.

The minority also proposed a complex web of what they called "sub-structures" — different types of employee councils for shop floor participation — which would have to function for three years before the participation scheme could come into effect.

This Report sees participation on any board with real powers as a "dilution of management expertise", and its signatories worry with mock concern lest such schemes "place employee representatives in the wholly invidious position of being obliged to sit in on discussions to which they might have nothing to contribute because they are not properly equipped to contribute to this particular type of deliberation."

The position of these industrial aristocrats is put, without the restrictions of a "far from satisfactory remit", in the evidence and recommendations to the Committee submitted by the CBI.

Paul Adams

The same combination of legal obstacles and doctors who have enormous power is what deprives a woman of choice in Britain. Another session of the Tribunal heard of the humiliations women have to endure from doctors. Some don't agree to abortions unless a woman agrees to be sterilised. One woman stood up spontaneously from the floor to tell how her doctor had agreed to an abortion because, she said to her, his black patients "breed too much". Such doctors have the sanction of respectable politicians for their insults: people like Sir Keith Joseph who favours abortions for women in "social classes 4 and 5" to stop them "breeding" — whereas middle class women are of course to be encouraged into "motherhood" to keep them in the home.

Day-care

Professor Peter Huntingford of St. George's Hospital and London University outlined an "economic case" for a woman's right to choose. Early stage abortions (which would be much more common) cost only £32 in a day-care clinic as opposed to £80 for later abortions in hospital. Just 500 doctors could meet the demand if this were the case, he said. (Though such an

argument is perhaps useful, it shouldn't be allowed to detract from the principle of a woman's right to choose — whatever the cost; and it doesn't reply to the anti-abortionists, whose argument is entirely ideological.)

The immediate target of the National Abortion Campaign is to be the sinking of Benyon's Bill. It will be organising a week of action leading up to a demonstration to coincide with its Second Reading on February 25th.

Three quarters of all local Labour Parties have passed resolutions supporting 'a woman's right to choose'. The Labour Party should be in the forefront of the fight against this new threat to our very limited rights and facilities. Yet nothing has yet been done in the Party to stay the hand of the DHSS as it slashes facilities. And even the 'radicals' like Benn believe they can vote all over the place on abortion according to MPs' individual "conscience" on this "moral issue".

Labour Party organisations must tell the MPs they have sent to Westminster that as far as they are concerned it is not a matter on which they have a free vote. The Party in its Conference has laid down a policy. And that policy should require all MPs to sign off Benyon's Bill.

MARIAN MOUND



Peter Huntingford

Why the bombing goes on

'NORTHERN IRELAND Secretary' Roy Mason said recently that if the British Army was to withdraw from Ireland, then Belfast would become another Beirut. Many people in Britain — for whom the remark was intended — will have thought about it seriously. The vivid images of the communal civil war in Lebanon, with its sectarian/political killings and the complete breakdown of society, are familiar from newspaper and television coverage. Against the background of the as yet limited savagery in Northern Ireland, between the Protestant and Catholic communities, Mason's line, that the Army is preventing much worse happening, may seem plausible.

Yet the truth is this: if the embitterment of the Loyalist-Republican disputes and the raising up of the elements for civil war were the central objectives of the British Government, then they would behave exactly as they are behaving now.

The British Government has no constructive policy for 'solving' the impasse in Northern Ireland, and Mason admits it.

The policy is one of holding the ring for a period, perhaps a period of years, while the people of Northern Ireland "sweat it out". The line is that if the fever is allowed time, it will exhaust itself — and, specifically, exhaust the Republican movement and the power of resistance of the Catholics, one third of the Six County population.

The British Government hope that at some point in the future it will be possible to create a new political structure within the Six County state. They may still be thinking along the lines of the institutionalised sectarianism which they tried to set up under the label of power-sharing. Or they may be looking to a restoration of a regime of the type of the pre-1972 Stormont, based on 'majority rule': that is, the sectarian rule of the Unionist majority within the artificial Six County state.

Consciously or unconsciously, the preparation of a new sectarian regime is certainly the logic of what is now being done by the British Government and its army in the Six Counties.

The native breed of whore politicians has had the ground



cut from under their feet, and now feel so redundant that some of them have, at last, found a voice to denounce the British Army terror. It is everywhere true that no-one except the small ruling minority has

much real say under present-day 'parliamentary democracy': but it is doubly true for the Six Counties, confined since the Convention scuttled itself by its foreseeable inability to agree on a power-sharing scheme to 12

members at Westminster as its 'democratic representation'. In practice, British rule is militarist rule through the Army, controlled by British Minister Roy Mason — a military dictatorship.

That rule is increasingly a typical military-occupation regime of lawless terrorisation of the Catholic population by British soldiers who obviously feel as different from the Catholic Irish population as other British soldiers have felt from the people of Aden or the Greek Cypriots.

Rule

Inescapably, military rule means extending the areas of collaboration with, and reliance on, the Protestant community and the Protestant para-military organisations. That is what the policy of 'Ulsterisation' — reliance for 'peace-keeping' on local forces — means. Only a few odd Catholics can be got to join the British Army part time force, the Ulster Defence Regiment. Britain is increasingly relying on the UDR, and hopes to scale down its present troop commitment (over 14,000 as of now) slowly, by substituting the UDR on full mobilisation.

The UDR has an overlapping membership with the Ulster Defence Association [UDA], the largest of the Unionist para-military organisations. The UDA is still legal, while carrying out sectarian anti-Catholic killings under the alias of the 'Ulster Freedom Fighters'. The massacre of the Miami Showband, a southern Irish group, was actually carried out by men in UDR — that is, British Army — uniform, who accidentally blew some of themselves up and scattered clues as to their identity.

Every step in 'Ulsterising' the Six County conflict is simultaneously a step in increasing its sectarian character. And at the same time the British Army itself takes in an increasing element of anti-Catholic terrorists.

Logic

The logic is inescapable, and it is not credible that the Army staff and the Northern Ireland Office do not realise it.

The fundamental policy of Britain remains what it has been since before the present crisis began in 1968. Firstly, to guarantee the 'stability' of the Irish state system, set up in a deal between the British ruling class, the 26-County bourgeoisie, and the Six County Unionists in 1920-21. And secondly to disengage from direct military involvement and financial obligations.

The British ruling class is not withdrawing from Northern Ireland. It has too much at stake in

Nine years in the Six Counties

1968
Movement for civil rights for 6 Counties Catholics, who are legally second class citizens because they number 1/3 of the population and the Unionists fear them. Organised by socialists and socialist-republicans. William Craig, Minister of Home Affairs in the Unionist Stormont government, bans a march in Derry in November. Police charge the marchers with batons. Those injured include the Westminster MP for West Belfast, Gerry Fitt.

1969
Civil Rights movement grows. Organisers explicitly reject the idea that partition is at the root of the lack of civil rights. The Republican Movement is extremely weak, not in evidence. The Orange backlash gathers force. August's traditional march of Orange 'Apprentice Boys' in Derry leads to clashes. The RUC attempt a pogrom in Derry's Bogside. People put up barricades and defeat the police. Pogromists attack Catholic areas of West Belfast, which defend themselves. After 3 days, with the RUC defeated in Derry, the British Army is sent in to restore order. August to October: 'Free Derry' and 'Free Belfast' are autonomous areas, refusing to let the British army in. They are finally liquidated by future SDLP leaders and Catholic church leaders, and the army enters. End of the civil rights phase: disenchantment and disillusionment amongst Catholic youth. The Republican Movement splits: the Provisional wing denounces the Official leadership for inactivity and pacifism. No revolutionary socialist movement exists. Prominent socialist individuals make abstract socialist propaganda and mostly say 'socialism is the only answer'. No understanding of the national question in Ireland. The youth begin to go to the Republicans, especially after October.

1970
The Catholic activists, especially the youth, turn towards the Republicans. The traditional Republican view of politics, as regards both methods (military action) and objectives (an end to Partition, independence for Ireland) has regained credibility as the movement for

civil rights within the 6 Counties proves bankrupt. The British government overhauls the 6 County regime: B-Specials disbanded, UDR set up. June: clashes between Unionist sectarians and armed defenders of a Catholic church. July: a curfew is declared in the Falls Road area of Belfast. Gun-fights between the British army and Catholics: both Provisional and Official IRA begin to attack British soldiers and 'economic' targets. SDLP set up.

1971
All-out guerilla war develops. In August, Internment is introduced by the British Army and the Unionist Stormont government, led by Brian Faulkner. Later the European Court of Human Rights will find the British government guilty of systematic torture of those interned. Initially socialists and other critics of the 6 County and British governments are picked up together with Republicans, but released after some weeks. A massive upsurge of Catholic indignation leads to the creation of no-go areas in Derry and Belfast. Casualty figures mount. People in Belfast begin to shift out of 'mixed' areas into either Protestant or Catholic areas.

1972
There is full-scale guerilla war. The Catholic areas have virtually seceded within the 6 County state. On January 30th, British paratroops kill 13 unarmed men during a peaceful demonstration in Derry (Bloody Sunday). British government condemned world-wide. The first Republican attack on the British Army in Britain follows, at Aldershot. In March, the British government abolishes Stormont and introduces direct rule. The Protestant areas begin to organise militias — the UDA — the British army takes a benevolent attitude. Civilian/sectarian assassinations

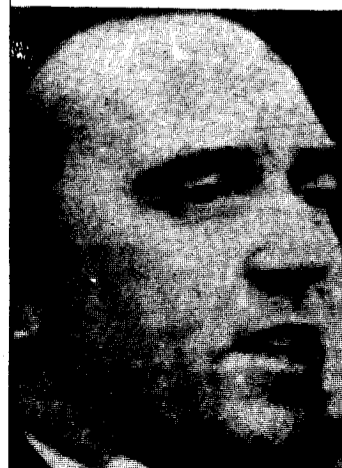
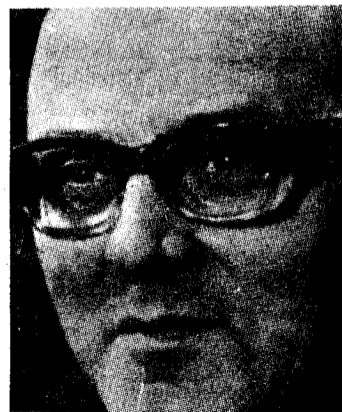
mount, as the armed Orange backlash asserts itself. Population movements continue. In July, in Operation Motorman, the British Army occupies the no-go areas.

1973
The Faulkner Unionists still have a majority in the 6 County election; the power-sharing Executive is 2/3 Faulkner Unionists and SDLP, 1/3 hard-line Orange supremacists. Guerilla war continues. Some explosions in British cities. Sunningdale agreement sets up power-sharing executive in the 6 Counties and agrees to set up the Council of Ireland.

1974
The 'United Kingdom' general election in February allows the uneasiness of the Orange population to express itself 'prematurely'. 11 of the 12 MPs returned from the 6 Counties to Westminster are Orange supremacists. In May, a general strike of Orange workers topples the power-sharing executive. The process of the break-up of the Unionist political monolith, which has been going on since the fall of Stormont in 1972, now culminates in decisive fragmentation.

1975
Elections for a constitutional Convention. Faulkner Unionists wiped out. Convention unable to reach agreement on a constitution, which Britain insists must be power-sharing.

1976
Impasse. Indefinite direct rule of 6 Counties by Britain. Guerilla war and assassinations continue. Fierce repression against Republicans in the 26 Counties. Biggest death toll since 1972 (295); sectarian assassinations are now carried out also against Protestants.



Britain's direct rulers (not forgetting the military!): Whitelaw, Rens and Mason.





the whole 32 Counties of Ireland to risk such action unless it is sure of stability and security for its interests. But since the breakdown of the Convention, itself a forlorn Six-County gimmick of political bankrupts, a definite lurch towards an alliance with the Unionist paramilitarists is visible.

As British forces relied on Jews to put down Arabs in 1930s Palestine, and then in the '40s shifted its weights onto the Arabs, so in the last years it has shifted its weight from Protestants to Catholics, and increasingly back to the Protestant bigots.

Options

It is now generally agreed by the bourgeoisie that the Heath government made a 'mistake' when it simply scrapped the Stormont system, nearly five years ago. Every attempt to set up a new structure has failed. The increasing reliance on Unionist forces and the regret for Stormont's dissolution are strong indications that, if the British forces succeed in beating down the Republicans, they will entrust the 'democratic majority' — that is, the rigged Unionist majority within the rigged 6 County state — with power. A Thatcher government would find such an option — if blows against the Republicans give it to them — attractive.

For this and other reasons, SDLP [Social Democratic & Labour Party] politicians and some Catholic leaders have set up a cry for a 'political initiative' to try for a new power-sharing Executive. The SDLP leaders know that their strength in bargaining as representatives of the Catholic community with Britain and the Orange politicians will wane if the Republican resistance wanes. That doesn't stop them slandering the Republicans. But it does lend urgency to their cries to Britain for a new deal for themselves. The British government is turning a deaf ear, seeming to say: let the Northern Ireland politicians reach agreement, then they can ask us.

'Peace'

Like many trade union leaders, the Communist Party, and indeed all those who want to evade the realities of the British role in Ireland, the Government has hoped for some mileage from the Peace Movement. But this movement's activists could not even agree on possible social arrangements for securing peace. They are united only in agreement to opt for peace without change. Perhaps the middle-class liberal-Unionist 'Alliance Party' will gain something. No-one else will. The Peace Movement is a collapse into a fantasy view of reality by war-weary people, manipulated by churchmen and politicians.

Talk of an 'independent Ulster', by both Loyalist and SDLP people, is equally removed from the realms of the possible. An independent 'Ulster' is conceivable only at the end of a process of civil war and almost certain re-partition. Northern Ireland bourgeois political life consists of a great deal of bubble-blowing and kite-flying, and even more so now



1,000 Commemorate Bloody Sunday

A thousand people marched in London last Sunday. The BBC chose to say they were commemorating the deaths of 13 people "in disturbances in Derry City" five years ago. This is a blanket of vagueness drawn over a very precise event. After all, when people die in "disturbances" the question of who is to blame is a matter not of fact, but of political interpretation.

But the 13 people who died were shot in the back by the British Army — probably under orders. As Bernadette Devlin wrote a few weeks after it happened, "Nobody will convince me that the Paratroop Regiment is incapable of discipline in crisis. The British people do not

pay vast sums of money for the upkeep and training of a crack regiment that loses its head at the sight of 20,000 unarmed marchers."

And this is how the Guardian's correspondent Simon Winchester described it: "Four or five armoured cars appeared in William Street and raced into the Rossville Street square and several thousand people began to run away. ... Paratroopers piled out of their vehicles, many ran forward to make arrests, but others rushed to the street corners.

"It was these men, perhaps 20 in all, who opened fire with their rifles ... Army snipers could be seen firing continuously towards the central Bogside streets and at one stage a lone sniper on a street corner fired two shots towards me as I peered round a corner.

"Then people could be seen moving forward in Fahan Street with their hands above their heads. One man was carrying a white handkerchief. Gunfire was directed even at them and they fled or fell to the ground... The sound which predominated was the heavy, hard banging of the British SLRs, and this continued for about 10 or 15 minutes."

The commemoration, organised by the Troops Out Movement, heard of the continued harassment of the Irish community in Britain, where 2,200 have been arrested under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and 80 deported. There were now some 2,000 Irish political prisoners in British, Irish and American jails. Those in British jails had nearly all been subjected to brutal treatment "as a matter of administrative policy" said Michael Maguire of the Irish Political Prisoners Committee.

Of the Oxford Street bombs, the Troops Out Movement said: "Every Act of violence, be it in Ireland or in Britain, is the result of Britain's denial of the Irish people's right to self-determination. As long as British troops remain in Ireland, then so long will there be violence between our respective countries."

Mr. T. J. GADD

It has been brought to our attention that in issue No. 3 of January 29th to February 4th 1978 reference was made to the Deputy Governor of Wakefield Prison, Mr. T. J. Gadd. We should like to make it clear that the information we had and published in that issue with regard to Mr. Gadd's family connection was incorrect. We are now informed that Mr. Gadd has not and has never had any connection with a convicted Orange paramilitary activist nor has he any connection with any para-military organisation in Northern Ireland. We wish to withdraw any suggestion there may have been that Mr. Gadd was in any way politically influenced in the execution of his duties at Wakefield Prison, and apologise to him for any embarrassment he may have been caused.

Import Controls call not challenged by YCAU rally organisers

by Siu Ming Cheung

ABOUT 800 Young Socialists attended the "Conference" of the Youth Campaign Against Unemployment last Saturday (Jan. 29th). As it turned out, it was yet another example of a Militant-dominated YS rally: an impressive array of Left platform speakers and mundane speeches from the floor about the wonders of the planned economy. The whole event fell very far short of dealing with the concrete tasks involved in fighting unemployment now.

Eric Heffer MP, the first platform speaker, began by declaring his opposition to the witch-hunt that is gathering force in the Labour Party. But then he rambled on about public ownership and the National Enterprise Board, appealing for this and that from the Government and taking care to stress that "none of us want this government brought down".

He finished by calling for "temporary import controls" and "taking over our (!) overseas assets, and stopping capital from leaving the country".

This nationalistic blind alley policy received no reply from either the platform of the floor speakers supporting Militant. Instead Nick Bradley gave a grand performance of the politics of exaggeration (there were "cockroaches in hundreds of thousands of hospitals") and of Militant as the Salvation Army of youth: "no wonder young people are drinking [tut tut], fighting and involved in petty crime." His predictions about the horrors of a future Tory government made Hitler sound almost benign. Going on to berate the "aliens" in the Party who are against Clause 4, and the leadership who are the "fainthearts of our movement"

he would have had us believe that but for "capitalist infiltrators" and a lack of daring from the leadership, we'd have seen socialism already.

No resolutions from the floor were accepted, nor were those sent in by YS branches even put to the meeting. In fact members of Cardiff and Wokingham YS branches, which had sent in resolutions, were not even allowed to speak in the general discussion.

Several opponents of Militant did initially get onto the list of floor speakers due to the inexperience of Dave Cotterill, who succeeds Andy Bevan as YS Chairman (they'll miss Bevan's chairing "skills"), but were weeded out before they had a chance to speak.

Finally just one dissident voice slipped through the net, and a WSL supporter from Sheffield spoke strongly against the import control line — much to Heffer's embarrassment — and Militant's too.

Militant felt obliged to answer the leaflet put out by Workers Action, and the Cardiff YCAU resolution, having prevented these points of view being put to the rally. Their reply to the demands suggested, (work-sharing without loss of pay, and a campaign to end overtime working) was simply that these are "difficult issues".

How better could they illustrate their habit of taking the path of least resistance in the labour movement, and their consequent tailing of the most backward elements of the class!

Eventually when the microphones started breaking down most people were bored beyond the limits of endurance and the rally whimpered to a close with no clear way forward in sight.

WORKERS ACTION

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Write for details of meetings and activities to:
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WORKERS IN ACTION

EVENTS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Paid ads (including ads for publications) 8p per word; block ads, 25 per column inch. Send copy to 'Events', 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's issue.

FRIDAY 4 FEBRUARY. Revolutionary Communist Group meeting on "Women's Oppression under Capitalism", to launch 'Revolutionary Communist' no. 5. Speakers: Olivia Adamson, Carol Brown. 7.30pm at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq.

MONDAY 7 FEBRUARY. "How peaceful protest could become a crime". Meeting organised by Campaign against the Criminal Trespass Law. 7.30pm at Waterloo Action Centre, 14 Baylis Rd, London SE1.

MONDAY 7 FEBRUARY. "Which Way for Labour". Manchester Workers' Action meeting. 8pm at the People's Centre, Moss Lane East, Manchester 16.

TUESDAY 8 FEBRUARY. "Socialism and Feminism". Cardiff Workers' Action meeting. 7.30pm at the Rhymney Hotel, Adam St, Cardiff.

WEDNESDAY 9 FEBRUARY. "How peaceful protest could become a crime". Meeting organised by CACTL. 7.30pm at Deptford Town Hall, New Cross Rd, SE14.

THURSDAY 10 FEBRUARY. "One year on from the Sex Discrimination Act". Meeting organised by Hammersmith Working Women's Charter. Speakers: Pat Turner (GMWU), Ann Holmes. 7.30pm at the 'Swan', King St/Hammersmith Broadway, London W6.

THURSDAY 10 FEBRUARY. LECAC meeting on Little Ilford. 6pm at NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, Theobalds Rd, WC1.

SATURDAY 12 FEBRUARY. Cambridge Working Women's Charter day conference on the Sex Discrimination Act and the Equal Pay Act. 2pm to 5pm at Mawson Hall, Mawson Rd.

THURSDAY 17 FEBRUARY. "Women's Liberation and the Struggle for Socialism". Cambridge Workers' Action meeting. 8pm at Mawson Hall, Mawson Rd.

FRIDAY-SATURDAY-SUNDAY 18-19-20 February. "Portugal-Chile-Britain" conference at Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. Details from PWCC, 12 Little Newport St.

MONDAY 21 FEBRUARY. All-Lambeth Anti-Racist Movement public meeting. 7.30pm, Brixton Centre, 2 St Matthews Rd, SW2.

SATURDAY 26 FEBRUARY. Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions Conference. Credentials from J Hiles, 137 Wanstead Park Rd, London.

SATURDAY 26 FEBRUARY. "A Rally for Women's Rights". 11am at Alexandra Palace, N22. Rally secretary: Mandy Snell 33 Wemyss Rd, London SE3 (S18 3763).

THURSDAY 3 MARCH. Cambridge Workers' Action meeting, "Struggle in Southern Africa". 8pm at the Chetwynd Room, Kings College.

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"SOCIALIST ACTION", new quarterly magazine of the League for Socialist Action. Includes articles on 'Racist Offensive', 'Struggle for Abortion Rights', 'Crisis in South Africa', 'The Transitional Programme today'. Available in all leading bookshops or from ISA, 58 Auckland Rd, SE19. 25p + 11p postage.

International-Communist League public meeting "IMPERIALISM & THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST"

Speaker: JACK PRICE. 7.45pm, Sunday 20th February, at the 'Roebuck', 108A Tottenham Court Rd, WC1 (Tube: Warren ST.)

Rebel 10p No.2
A BULLETIN FOR YOUNG SOCIALISTS



UNITE AGAINST THE WITCH HUNT!

Available (10p + 6½p postage) from Basement Flat, 118 Tollington Park, London N4.

THE NATIONAL UNION OF MINEWORKERS' deal with the government has survived the ballot of the miners. But only just.

45% voted against the Coal Board's offer, which postpones the introduction of retirement at 60. A 55-45 margin is a close shave for the Government and its Social Contract. Quite clearly the majority of miners do not agree that early retirement arrangements in the pits should wait until British capitalism is in a better condition. Only the confidence which miners have developed in the NUM leaders in the struggles of the last 5 years explains the grudging majority with which the deal was accepted.

Daly and Gormley, by putting agreement with the Government and its social contract

first and the demand of the miners second, show that the essence of the Social Contract, and of Government policy in general, is nothing other than bleeding the working class and cutting its living standards to help the bosses' system.

For what can be clearer than the miners' case? In most of Europe the age for retirement is between 55 and 60, occa-

tionally 50. Yet in Britain, even after the new deal, it remains 62. And this is confined to underground workers of at least 20 years' service. Surface NUM members are excluded for the transparent reason that if they are granted earlier retirement, then other workers throughout British industry can more easily claim the same conditions.

The government and the NUM have agreed to base their settlement on the 'special conditions' of the underground workers. Thus, while failing to fight for the interests of the miners, the leaders of the NUM rat on the rest of the working class at the same time.

Even within the framework of the 'special conditions' arrangement, the NUM leaders have failed the miners. For, even though the Government uses such considerations to fend off the demands of the rest of the working class, it is a fact that there are especially onerous conditions in the pits.

Miners do back-breaking work in dangerous and un-

healthy conditions. Their illness, accident, and death figures are among the highest for any group of workers.

Yet, while the Government and the NUM leaders use the special conditions of underground workers to mark off miners from the rest of the working class, they do not take those conditions seriously enough to even grant the very modest demand for retirement at 60.

Meanwhile unemployment is rising and Callaghan has recently said that he "doesn't know the answer", though certainly the rise will continue. Maybe — he is reported as saying — governments throughout the world will have to cut the working week to give more employment.

'Throughout the world' here means that Callaghan and his government will not be the first to move. Why not? The working class needs a cut in our hours with no loss in wages. The miners' deal shows clearly that it will need a fight against this government to gain that.

COURT BACKS UNION BASHING AT MASSEYS

Massey Ferguson management are clearly out to smash trade unionism in the militant Banner Lane plant in Coventry.

Before Christmas they broke procedure, suspending a group of Cab Shop workers for "lack of effort". This came only four weeks after giant illuminated signs greeted the workers saying "85,000 tractor sets in 1976. Well done everybody." They are trying to introduce the new line of cab tractors at the cheapest possible price.

The assembly shop voted overwhelmingly to support the Cab Shop and came out on strike. The strikers shut the factory down and took over the office block, nerve centre of Massey's European operations.

The law, with amazing swiftness, came into play, giving a court order for Massey's against the strikers to open up the offices. In face of this injunction the

strikers backed down.

The latest move from the company was a 30-lorry convoy of components smashing through the picket line last Sunday afternoon [30th].

The company is trying to play one group of workers off against another: staff against shop-floor, tool-room against assembly workers. As soon as the offices opened again, the office workers broke the assembly workers' picket line. Now components are through, the tool-room workers have gone back. The assembly workers are now on their own. They need strict solidarity to win this strike and maintain any working class dignity at all.

It is symptomatic of the demoralisation among workers in Coventry from large-scale unemployment and the miserable sell-outs from the Labour Government and the TUC that a company like Massey's can try out these cowboy tactics.

Protest at plan to close Scots Colleges

In an impromptu demonstration of their disgust at recent proposals to close 4 of the 10 teacher training colleges in Scotland, a delegation of 80 students from Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh, marched from a general meeting to New St Andrews House, the main Government offices in Scotland. There they demanded, but failed to get, a meeting with Bruce Millan, Secretary of State for Scotland.

The motion which the 300-strong general meeting had just passed condemned the closures and the fact that they and other cuts would mean 542 lecturer redundancies (400 in the next 15 months), and also substantial redundancies among janitors, cooks, cleaners, librarians, etc.

The motion stressed that the cuts in Scottish colleges are only part of the attack on social services, and called for strike action on the Nalgo-NUPE joint day of action against the cuts in Scotland, at the end of February.

The closures are justified on the basis of 'falling birthrates'. Rather than reducing class sizes — the Department of Education & Sci-



ence stated only last year that 58,000 new teachers were needed in Britain to bring class sizes down to 30 — the Government wants to cut the number of teachers.

Reaction to the closure threat has been predictably dominated by 'special case' arguments. Right-wing Tory MP Teddy Taylor described the announcement as a "tragic day for Scottish education", a sentiment echoed by the EIS (Educational Institute of Scotland, the main Scottish teachers' union) and the SNP (Scottish National Party).

But what we need is not a struggle just to save education, or Scottish education, or this or that college, on the grounds that they are special cases. That approach inevitably divides and fragments the general struggle against the cuts. Students in Scotland must take up the struggle against the closures as part of a militant broad-based campaign against all social service cuts.

We're in charge, say Fords. Not entirely, say Halewood workers

AFTER A WEEK on strike, 5,000 workers at Fords Halewood plant, Liverpool, returned to work on Wednesday 2nd February, having wrung a new agreement from the management on disciplinary procedures.

The management has high-handedly been sacking and disciplining workers without consultation with the stewards, and without allowing workers the right to defend themselves, either personally or through the stewards. When a welder was sacked for alleged vandalism, workers struck and demanded the right to repres-

entation at all disciplinary hearings.

Fords have accepted this, and also that the time for appeals against 'disciplinary action' should be extended. This is a big climb-down by the company. It is not enough, though.

Why should profit-happy employers have the right to decide, with or without the workers having a hearing or an appeal, to put a worker out onto the streets? The workers themselves, through their shop organisation, should insist on the right to control hiring and firing.

LITTLE ILFORD DEFENCE

THE NATIONAL UNION of Teachers Appeals Committee, sitting last Friday 28th January, took no decision on the case of 30 suspended NUT members in East London. The 30 teachers, from Little Ilford School, were suspended by the NUT Executive after they took unofficial action against the cuts by refusing to cover for absences or unfilled vacancies.

80 supporters of the victimised teachers picketed the appeal.

One teacher is considering taking the NUT to court, but the rest are undecided. For socialists there can be no doubt that it is wrong to allow the interference of the capitalist courts in trade union affairs.

ELIZABETH GARRETT ANDERSON

AT THE Tribunal on Abortion Rights last Saturday, 29th January, Pam Jones, shop steward at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson women's hospital in North London spoke on the effects of the cuts in the NHS. She said that 300 abortions per year could no longer be performed at the EGA because of the Area Health Authority's refusal to repair the lift, and that plans to open day care abortion facilities have been stopped.

The EGA has been occupied since 15th November, to prevent

the AHA's plans to close it being carried out. Previously the AHA had said they would move out equipment on 28th January, in preparation for closure on 15th February. But last Thursday they backed down, and have extended their ultimatum for another eight weeks. In that time, they say, they will improve the wards at the Whittington hospital, where they intend to move EGA patients.

Certainly it is about time the AHA did something about the conditions of some of the antiquated wards at the Whittington hospital. But that should not be used as an excuse for closing the EGA!

The EGA workers are calling for support for the "Save the EGA" conference on 12th February. Information and credentials from: Arthur Churchley, Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, Euston Rd, London NW1.

THE FIVE CLEANERS at the Holbrook annexe of North East London Polytechnic, on strike since 30th September against unsafe conditions, have agreed to a settlement.

They will receive 3 weeks' pay for the strike period, with the rest negotiable, plus four weeks' lay-off pay while the annexe is reorganised. The outside firm, Office Cleaning Services, will be laid off for four weeks, and the reorganisation will be done through direct labour.