



EPS Workers Condemn T&GWU Collaboration

PARTICIPATION MEANS SACKINGS

By decision of the Cars Council - highest body in the British Leyland Ryder participation structure - the entire Leyland contract is to be withdrawn from the Export Packing Services factory at Chipping Warden, near Banbury.

The withdrawal of this contract - over half the work of the plant - immediately threatens 400 jobs and must lead to the closure of the factory.

The response to this was immediate. Nearly half of the 1,000 T&GWU members on the plant (which packs export components for the car industry) travelled last Wednesday in coaches to Cowley and marched through the car factories behind the slogans "Must Participation Mean EPS Extermination?" and "Ryder Out, Nationalisation In".

IMPACT

After the march, which had a big impact on workers in the Cowley plants who came out to watch it go by, EPS workers mounted a mass picket on the Cowley factory gates.

The previous day they had sent over a token picket and had visited the 5/55 T&GWU branch. But at the right-wing controlled 5/60 Cowley Body Plant Branch they had been refused admission - on the basis that a two-thirds majority vote was needed to let them in!

An EPS delegation to the T&GWU District Office was then told by David Buckle, District Secretary, (and member of the 5/60 Branch) that the T&GWU supported Ryder, that the convenors at the KD (export packing) plant in Cowley were involved in participation, and that the policy of the participation committees was to "in source" work.

REAL FACE

This is the real face of "participation". When the scheme was agreed by hand-picked convenors at the plush Allesley Hotel in Coventry last August, we headlined the demand: "NO PARTICIPATION IN MANAGEMENT"

Our lead article went on to say

that the aim of participation was to:

"...integrate convenors and shop stewards into the structure of management and use their influence to achieve rationalisation, speed-up and redundancy."

We went on to stress the need for all-out opposition:

"The Workers Socialist League is completely opposed to these committees and to any trade unionist working on them. We believe that as battles begin in British Leyland and Chrysler against redundancy and in defence of conditions they will be fought against these committees. It is therefore a matter of principle to be separated from them."

The powerful response of EPS workers to the lead given by the shop stewards committee demonstrates that while the bureaucracy seeks collaboration with the employers, there is a willingness in the working class to fight every attack by the Labour government and the employers against jobs and wages.

EXTEND

This strength must now be used to extend the campaign. Demands must be placed on the trade union officials - who almost certainly have been involved in behind-the-scenes meetings before EPS workers were told of the move - to refuse to allow work to be withdrawn into the Leyland factories, creating sackings.

The task of union officials is to defend the whole of their membership, not to play off one section of workers against another or organise mass redundancies.

At the same time demands must be placed firmly on the leading trade union members of the Cars Council. These include right-wing Cowley Body Plant convenor Bill Roche, (who shares the secretaryship with management) and Communist Party Stalinist Derrick

Cont'd back page, col 4.



PAY "OUT OF ORDER" - SAY NUM BUREAUCRATS

At the miners' union conference last week, the Executive took the logical conclusion of the wage-cutting TUC deal with the Labour government. They ruled "out of order" any discussion on wages.

Gormley's argument against fighting on wages went even further, and implicitly attacked the miners' pay strikes of 1972 and 1974 by saying that since 1971 "we seem to be on a treadmill, running like hell to stand still."

FRINGE BENEFITS

Gormley argued it would be better to fight for fringe benefits instead.

A Yorkshire delegate, Tom Mullaney, in attacking the decision to rule the wages debate out of order, described the method of repeated ballots as "government by referendum" and pointed out this device was used by both Hitler and Mussolini.

The conference eventually endorsed the decision of the executive by 145 votes to 128. This means that only the executive has had the right to discuss wages - the conference has been

excluded.

In fact when Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire area president, started to attack the right wing over the £6 deal he was ordered off the platform by Gormley.

PROTECTED

In this way the leadership were protected against any criticism, conference was denied the chance to draw the lessons of the last period of wage-cutting, and any discussion of alternative policy was excluded.

As a smokescreen to cover up for the fact that their manoeuvres had almost made the conference redundant, the right-wing from Nottinghamshire moved a resolution calling for retirement at 60 by January 1977 - leading on to retirement at 55 by 1980.

This resolution also called for yet another ballot of the membership to determine "which course of industrial action shall be taken to bring this matter to a successful conclusion"

UNANIMOUS

The resolution was passed unanimously, and has forced even Callaghan to speak about the 'special case' of the miners, while

of course referring to the economic crisis. In America and Europe most miners already retire at 55.

Whatever manoeuvres are to follow on this demand, it became quite clear at the conference that there is a backlash against the bureaucratic actions of Gormley and Daly - even with the conference stacked against the militant areas, with Yorkshire having less than one-tenth of the delegate while having a quarter of the NUM membership.

FAILURE

A resolution was passed in a closed session on Thursday by 166 votes to 107 which "criticise union leaders for failing to implement conference decisions".

This must be followed up in pursuing the early retirement demand, and by the building of an alternative leadership in the NUM to challenge the domination of the right wing.

More industrial news on pages 10 and 11.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY...
SPARE OUR MERCENARIES!



LABOUR "BLIND" TO SANCTION BUSTING

The connections of Princess Alexandra's family with business scandals and the resignation of her husband, Angus Ogilvy, from his many lucrative directorships, are not the only things to emerge from the Lonrho affair.

Widespread 'sanction busting' in Rhodesia, and the shipment of arms and military equipment to South Africa with the connivance of the British government are just some of the other items that emerge from the Department of Trade investigation into the Lonrho financial empire published last week.

The revelations are by no means the first report of major and systematic violations of international sanctions against the racist regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa.

REVELATION

What is new is the revelation of the ease with which violations were carried through. As the *Guardian* put it:

"...sanction busting is easy provided you have a telex machine, an understanding with your clients and a willingness to travel."

"Tiny" Rowland, the Chairman of Lonrho kept in virtual day to day contact with his extensive business concerns in Rhodesian mining and manufacturing from UDI to the present day and held board meetings over the telex machine.

It was through a Lonrho subsidiary company that Rhodesian timber "found its way" to the National Coal Board in 1974.

In addition, it is now being alleged, Rowlands through his substantial political connections in Black Africa has played a vital role as a go-between and financier in African politics.

It is specifically rumoured that he has acted as a go-between in the 'detente' manoeuvres between President Kaunda of Zambia and South Africa, that he played a

wing group UNITA in Angola which tried to defeat the national liberation struggle led by the MPLA and that he is currently in contact with the Zimbabwe Nationalist movement.

But the balloon really went up when Rowlands attempted to create a smokescreen around his own activities and the Department of Trade enquiry into them. He published in letters to his solicitor, substantial information on widespread sanction busting by major British companies including Shell and BP and British Leyland.

Over 50% of oil products off-loaded at Lourenco Marques in Mozambique (prior to liberation) and bound for Rhodesia were directed there by Shell and BP.

Rowlands even claims that he had the chassis numbers of the rail wagons being used and that he sent them to the British government without result.

Shell and BP are concerns in which the government has 49% ownership. Another largely state-owned company which Rowlands identifies is British Leyland which, he claims, is assembling Land Rovers for the Rhodesian security forces in South Africa and then driving them across the border.

COEXIST

It is quite clear, furthermore, that the State and the Labour leadership are perfectly prepared to coexist with this even to the extent of violating policies to which they give 'support' in public, such as sanctions against racist regimes.

The working class is the only body that can find out the truth about the secret stab in the back being given to the African revolution by British capitalism, with the support of the Labour government.

A trade union inquiry into the arms industry and weapons dealers is called for which must prepare the way for the nationalisation of the arms industry under workers' management. Such an industry would supply arms to assist the liberation movements of Southern

PORTUGAL

General Spinoza is coming home. That at least is the message from Rio de Janeiro, where the man who tried to turn Portugal back to fascism recently expressed his satisfaction with the outcome of the country's presidential election.

Spinoza said that he would return as soon as newly elected President Gen. Antonio Ramalho Eanes has formally taken office (this week), probably in the latter part of this month.

Spinoza's confidence in finding a haven under the new government is doubtless well founded. Eanes, himself confident of the political support of Soares' Socialist Party, has lost no time in taking steps to curtail the left and head off any further advance of workers' control.

One of his first moves was to reimpose restrictions, including a ban on press conferences, on Maj. Otelio Carvalho, the left populist

Presidential candidate who gained 16.5% of the vote, running second to Eanes.

The clearest indication of the policies which Eanes intends to pursue is given by the newly announced guidelines on workers' control.

The constitution guarantees the right of workers "to intervene democratically in the life of a firm...to mobilise it for the revolutionary process."

But the cabinet, by way of "interpretation" of the constitution now declares that no workers' commission may "interfere with the functions of governing bodies or the hierarchies of firms."

This is a blow against any real control by workers of the means of production and a move towards the fake "worker participation" offered by such firms as Chrysler and British Leyland in this country.

Eanes will seek to tie the trade unions to the implementation of government attacks on workers in every way possible.

In this, too, the British model of

collaboration between the TUC and the right-wing Labour government has "very interesting pragmatic advantages for Portugal." If that does not work, however, Eanes has clearly stated that he will bring in the army to crush "political strikes".

The Communist Party dominated union federation, Intersindical, has criticised the new attacks on workers' control, which they rightly say "limit the rights of workers with a view toward making workers' control ineffective and allowing capitalist recuperation in violation of the constitution".

The question is, though, how can these attacks be fought?

Portuguese workers must demand that the Communist Party break with the craven, collaborationist politics shown in its election campaign (and which contributed greatly to its humiliating defeat) and instead actively organise and support strike action to maintain and extend the rights of workers in challenging the bosses for control of production.

LEBANON

The Arab League meeting on Monday was the scene of an international conspiracy to turn the Lebanon into a graveyard for tens of thousands of Palestinians.

Not just Syria, but all the Arab states supposedly 'mediating' the war, as well as Washington and Moscow, look to the 'containment' of the Palestinian resistance as the pre-condition for an overall settlement in the Middle East.

The battle round the Palestinian refugee camp of Tel El Zataar has spread throughout the Lebanon as thousands of Syrian armoured troops co-ordinate their attacks with the Lebanese right-wing forces efforts to suppress the Palestinians and their supporters.

The Palestinian guerrilla movement warned that if Tel El Zataar fell, "the Vietnamisation of the Lebanese war and of the rest of the area will begin."

UNDEMOCRATIC

The year and a half long war in the Lebanon began as a civil war when the Christian right-wing refused to give up the positions of political power it gained after a census *thirty years ago* showed the Christians to be in a majority in the Lebanon.

The predominantly Moslem left wing, who now represent a majority were not prepared to accept the undemocratic imposition of right-wing rule indefinitely.

The key to the present crisis in the Lebanon, however, was provided three weeks ago, thousands of miles away in New York.

There, a United Nations resolution affirming the "inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including their right to national independence and sovereignty" was vetoed by the United States.

RIGHTS

These are the rights which the Zionist state of Israel has tried to abolish.

The majority of the three million Palestinians scattered throughout the states of the Middle East live on the East Bank and Israeli-occupied West Bank of the Jordan.

live in the Lebanon - which lies immediately north of the Israeli state.

It is the prospect of a regime which supports the Palestinian people gaining power through the Lebanese civil war which has terrified the bourgeois leaders of Syria, Egypt and other Arab states.

While they are happy to make endless statements of support for the Palestinians, their real position in the fight against Zionism is closer to the US veto at the UN against the rights of the Palestinians.

DEAL

Egypt's President Sadat formally abandoned his stance as leader of the anti-Zionist struggle in September 1975.

In violation of earlier agreements amongst Arab states, that there should be no unilateral negotiations with Israel, he entered into the Egypt-Israel disengagement agreement - abandoning altogether the confrontation with the Zionists.

In exchange for the return by Israel of 720 square miles of occupied Sinai and the occupied Abu Rudeis oil fields, Egypt agreed to allow Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal.

This unilateral sell-out agreement with Israel and its US backers was vehemently criticised in the Arab world, particularly by Syria's President Assad - who aimed to pick up the mantle of anti-Zionist leadership discarded by Sadat.

"NO RECONCILIATION"

Syrian leaders frequently repeated, in public, statements that no reconciliation with Egypt would be possible until the Sinai agreement was scrapped.

The reality of a possible Palestinian-left wing victory in the Lebanon, however, has forced Syria's rulers to reveal their real interests.

The broken off diplomatic exchanges between Egypt and Syria were hastily resumed as Syria sent a thousand troops into the Lebanon in an attempt to ensure that the right-wing forces would not be defeated.

Egypt, anxious to ensure that Assad's Syrian regime is not overthrown and replaced by one supporting the Palestinians, has agreed

lines for a Middle East settlement.

By agreeing that "propaganda wars should end" Egypt undertakes to withdraw even verbal support for the Palestinians in the Lebanon, while Syria agrees to accept Egypt's unilateral deals with Israel.

Three days after the patching up of differences with Egypt, Syria sent another 3,500 troops with tanks against the Moslem town of Hermal, 65 miles north east of Beirut and another 500 to attack the left-wing held town of Arsa, to the south east of Hermal.

Elsewhere, Syrian troops are holding down groups of Palestinian guerrillas who could be used in the fight against the Phalangist forces.

The PLO claim that in some areas, Syrian troops are fighting *side by side* with the right-wing against Palestinian and left-wing held positions.

Egypt and Syria do not lack military backing from the capitalist powers. The Egyptian Minister of War and War Production spent the first week of July in Britain negotiating the purchase of patrol boats, helicopters, submarines, frigates, supersonic fighter-bombers and tanks.

FUTILE

The US State Department has recently approved the sale to Syria of an undisclosed number of Lockheed L-100 turboprop transport planes.

Israel has no need to intervene in the Lebanon as the Palestinians are attacked once again. The Tel Aviv government must be shaking with laughter as Egypt "warns" Israel against intervention.

For the Palestinians, this is yet another indication of the futility of looking for support amongst the bourgeois Arab Regimes of the Middle East who are constantly striving for an accommodation with the world's imperialist powers.

Even those like Libya and Tunisia - whose leaders have demagogically protested against the massacre of the Palestinians have not lifted a practical finger to help them.

As the Syrian-Maronite offensive mounted at the weekend the Libyan 'support' for the PLO revealed itself in its true colours - an 'appeal' by Gaddafi to the Soviet Leadership to bring increased

STALINISTS KEY TO CLASS COLLABORATION

ITALY

The new Italian parliament opened with an agreement between the Christian Democrats (DC) and the Communist Party (PCI) over the division of the most important parliamentary offices.

The right wing DC president, Fanfani, becomes president of the Senate and Pietro Ingrao, a member of the secretariat of the PCI, becomes president of the Chamber of Deputies (a slightly more political version of the Speaker of the House of Commons).

Only one vote was cast against Ingrao - a write-in vote for General de Gaulle!

LONG WAY

This deal is still a long way from the PCI's "historic compromise" coalition with the DC. But it is a sure sign that the belligerent statements coming from both party headquarters since the election are strictly for public consumption only and do not reflect the discreet conversations going on in secret.

The bargaining is now taking place over the chairmanships of parliamentary committees.

The PCI have demanded those of justice and the interior as well as of the parliamentary inquiries into the Mafia and the Lockheed affair.

HIDE

On the latter the DC leaders, some of whom have a lot to hide, may well be less compromising.

The PCI demand for a direct share in a coalition government continues but is being made less



Berlinguer

insistently. The DC leaders have asked the PCI to "make its contribution" from outside the government, which would therefore be a centre-left coalition, which the Socialist Party continues to reject, or a minority DC government.

It is clear that, whatever government emerges, the PCI is secretly negotiating with the capitalist parties a package of policies designed to meet Italy's huge capitalist crisis.

"RESTRUCTURING"

All commentators in the capitalist press agree that this must include a "restructuring" of the state sector (meaning rationalisation, speed-up and unemployment) and some form of incomes policy which as a minimum must include the abolition of the present limited sliding scale of wages.

The employers' organisation, Confindustria, under the guidance

of Giovanni Agnelli, head of Fiat, submitted an economic programme to the trade union federations and political parties.

It is a plan for massive loans from the EEC and the United States to help the "restructuring" of the state sector. Contact has already been made with the US Treasury and, at the economic summit meeting in Jamaica at the beginning of July, sympathetic noises were made about such a plan.

It was also made clear that any loans would have attached to them the most stringent conditions about cutting state spending and controlling wages.

SILENT

The Stalinists are silent about these manoeuvres. Not only are they making no effort to prepare the working class to resist what is bound to be a massive economic onslaught; they show every sign of helping to prepare it.

The trade union leaderships are also silent. This no doubt partly reflects their subordination to the political parties but also their awareness that there is very little possibility at present of their being able to impose these policies on the mass of their membership who are already under attack from accelerating inflation and growing unemployment.

For months, all negotiations on new labour contracts, which were due to be settled last autumn, have been at a halt as the PCI and Socialist party argued that disputes would threaten their votes in the impending election.

Whether or not the majority of the workers accepted that argument they certainly expect some progress with these contracts and not a huge new austerity programme, now the elections are over and the huge PCI gains confirmed.

For this reason, if a government is patched together to the satisfaction of the DC and PCI leaders this will by no means end the Italian political crisis - it will, on the contrary, take it to a new, more acute, state in which the building of a Trotskyist leadership remains the most crucial task.

SPAIN



Carillo

The last man whom Franco named as Prime Minister, Arias Navarro, has been abruptly replaced by the last man that he named to lead the National Movement (the Falange), Adolfo Suarez.

The switch of Premiers is part of a desperate effort by Franco's successors to present a convincing posture of "liberalisation" while simultaneously making sure that not one atom of power falls into the increasingly impatient hands of the working class.

The argument inside the ruling class, then, is purely about the tactics of how to maintain the dictatorship over the working class. Nonetheless this internal conflict has now turned into a public and bitter struggle for power between warring 'clans' of Francoists.

HALT

The regime's plans to give limited legal rights to some bourgeois and reformist political parties had ground to a halt in the Cortes, Spain's fake parliament.

Arias Navarro showed no signs of being able either to persuade 'the bunker' (the Francoists who do not even profess a 'reformist' position) to pass them into law, or persuade anyone else that he was at all committed to the measure.

Arias was widely expected to be replaced by either Interior Minister Fraga or Foreign Minister Areilza, the two smoothest-talking 'reformist' Francoists in the government.

Both of these were vetoed, it is now known, by the chiefs of the army and by pressure from other die-hard fascists.

And that veto reflects the most pressing of the tactical differences inside the regime - whether to legalise the Spanish Communist Party (PCE).

It is Fraga who has most clearly realised that the PCE leadership, given the enormous political weight of the party in the working class, is an indispensable participant in the effort to prevent the working class from taking power.

The PCE leaders are prepared to use all their power to get the working class to limit its objectives to

those which suit the bourgeoisie. Fraga has himself hinted that, after the first round of constitutional reforms, the PCE could be legalised.

Fraga's own political 'party' within the National Movement, the grotesquely named 'Democratic Reform', (organised by a close associate of Lopez Rega, the instigator of the ultra-right death squad in Argentina) has also come out in favour of legalising the PCE.

Fraga, Areilza and five other 'reformists' of the Arias cabinet have now all refused to serve under Suarez who has instead increased the weight in the cabinet of Opus Dei, the ultra-right lay catholic order prominent in the Franco governments of the late 1960s and of other ultra-right catholics.

The result is a cabinet with a less 'reformist' image than even its predecessor. This is almost certainly not what was intended by King Juan Carlos, whose first experiment with using his power has shown just how small it is.

The split in the Francoist ranks now poses a grave danger to the working class movement - that the

PCE and Socialist Party leadership through their joint class collaborationist front the Democratic Coordination, will make some more or less open deal with Fraga, Areilza and the other 'reformists' who have refused to serve under Suarez.

They might then return to power with PCE and Socialist Party support when the Suarez cabinet collapses.

It is known that in the last few weeks the PCE leaders have had secret talks with Fraga and other ministers. At the same time the statements of Areilza in particular about a "national pact" with the opposition have become uncannily similar to the statements of the Democratic Coordination about "negotiated democratic break" with Francoism.

The entire working class movement must be ready to resist any filthy deal of this kind.

It must throw out the leadership which has abandoned the defence of the independent interests of the working class and is prepared to sell the whole movement to the highest bidder.

The Workers Socialist League

The Workers Socialist League was formed in December 1974 to struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism in Britain and towards the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

In the daily struggle to take the demands and principles of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* into the trade unions, the WSL has been at the forefront of the fight for the sliding scale of wages, and work sharing on full pay - demands which at the 1975 T&GWU Conference were the only alternative to Jones' £6 pay plan and the wholesale acceptance of redundancies by the bureaucracy. In today's fight against the TUC's 4½% pay cutting proposals this demand for a sliding scale of wages (rising according to the rising cost of living as assessed by trade union committees) is the essential basis of consistent opposition.

In the Health Service WSL comrades have led the struggle for a sliding scale of NHS spending, for the start of workers' control of the service (beginning with opening the books of the Health Authorities), along with the fight to end all private practice. Perhaps more important we have led the growing call for *strike action* to defend the NHS against the cuts and to implement these policies, fighting those like the ASTMS leadership who substitute the words for the action.

In local disputes also, WSL comrades have tested and developed the demands of the *Transitional Programme*, putting forward in every case the only real opposition to the Stalinists and the right-wing. Our struggle for the "open the books" demand in the motor industry has won a mass response.

At the same time we have put forward a policy to fight unemployment, calling for unity of employed and unemployed through the fight to mobilise the trade union movement.

The WSL is the only movement that fights consistently for transitional demands, going beyond mere trade union militancy to pose the political issues to workers.

In doing this our comrades have been forced also to lead struggles for trade union democracy against the bureaucratic manipulation of the Stalinists and right-wing.

While these interventions have developed the League's grasp of Trotsky's *Transitional Programme* there has been a consistent drive to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International, as an essential part of any serious initiative towards its reconstruction.

We urge all readers who agree on the need for revolutionary leadership and the demands we put forward to find out more about the WSL and join our fight in the labour movement.

BOLIVIA

In Bolivia General Banzer's right-wing military dictatorship is still reeling under the blow of the tin miners' strike.

Banzer, fearing increasingly for the loyalty of his troops, has been touring the barracks in an effort to hold morale together.

On June 29th the government announced the end of the strike. But subsequent reports from other sources say that it continues - which suggests that the government's announcement was a desperate ruse to try to end the month-long stoppage.

The events in Bolivia have been followed in neighbouring Peru by one of the largest and probably the most threatening demonstrations of mass opposition to the reactionary, but left-talking, military junta since it came to office in 1968.

Like the events in Poland a few days earlier, Peru's massive protests were sparked off by very sharp price increases, in this case resulting mainly from the sudden devaluation of the sol by 44%.



The regime of General Morales Bermudez was taken aback by the sharp reaction which included strikes by workers and small traders and violent confrontations in the poverty-stricken shanty towns around Lima, where buses were overturned to make barricades against police attacks.

At least five demonstrators were killed by police on the first day of the riots.

The government declared a state of emergency, suspending constitu-

tional guarantees (such as they are) and imposing a 10pm to 5am curfew.

It tried to calm the demonstrators by offering a £3 a week pay rise. But this is only a small fraction of the cut in real wages caused by the price increases, and it had no discernible political effect.

In both Bolivia and Peru the severely weakened military dictatorships are living on borrowed time. They can now last only so long as the working class fails to find a clear and principled leadership.

ALL-ROUND ATTACK ON WORKERS' HEALTH

The Callaghan government's determination to make further cuts in public spending will have a devastating impact on a whole range of social services - so wide-reaching that simply the defence of individual sectors of the social services is now insufficient to defend the working class.

This is particularly clear in the case of the Health Service. The standard slogan on this is "Stop the Cuts - Defend the NHS" and at face value this is all that is needed.

But in fact, not only do the rag-bag of 'lefts' rally verbally to support the NHS but so (also in words) do the august bodies, the British Medical and Dental Associations (BMA and BDA) - strange bedfellows indeed.

SLOGAN

Why is this slogan so attractive to such diverse groups? More important - what exactly do the Medical associations defend?

A historical perspective on the medical services might clarify some of the issues. The inception of the NHS was a victory won by the working class as part of the struggle for better living standards and these legitimate claims for a decent standard of life and health must be defended.

The NHS, however, was from the start a compromise designed by a Liberal, Beveridge, who claimed that better health would come with simply more medical treatment.

He assumed that a lot of money would need to be spent on getting us healthy and that then the cost of the NHS would fall.

This has obviously not happened. The medical profession has gone on devising more and more sophisticated and expensive types of treatment, many of dubious value to patients, but the NHS remains in real terms a repair service - a cover up.

HEALTHIER?

Are people *healthier* as a result of all this doctoring? If we examine the evidence it would seem not!

The vast explosion in medical expenditure over the last 20 years has not resulted in an increase in life expectancy. In fact for the first time this century life expectancy for men has *fallen* over the last few years.

One of the major claims of modern medicine is that it controlled infectious diseases during this century - but there is evidence to show that these diseases were not actually controlled by medical intervention.

Tuberculosis (TB) for example, was the major cause of death in young adults but was already *declining* before the introduction of drug therapy. Scarlet fever, the most common cause of death in 1-5 year olds, was a reducing threat even *before* the use of antibiotics.

MEASURES

These and many other diseases were in fact more controlled by other public health measures such as better sanitation and education on hygiene and diet.

Improvements in living standards and less crowded housing conditions also contributed to the reduction in the prevalence of these diseases.

But of course *none* of these items are commonly found on doctors prescription pads. Doctors prefer the individualistic bourgeois approach.

They patch up individual workers bodies to make them



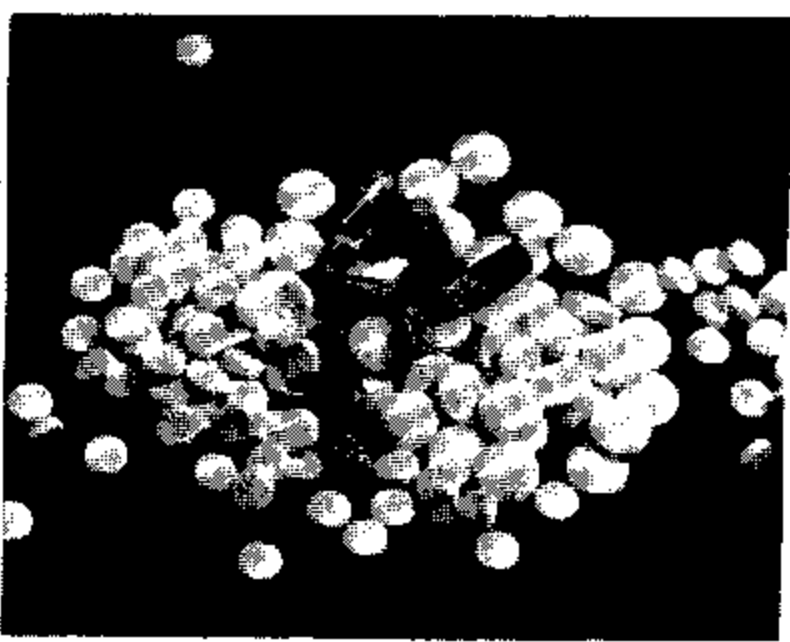
Fisher's call is months overdue - as demonstrated by the closed ward in Oxford's Radcliffe Infirmary

healthy enough to go on producing profits - *without* attacking the underlying social causes of ill health.

Today the major killers are road accidents, heart disease, strokes, bronchitis and lung cancer. These too can be traced to lifestyle - unhealthy unsafe working conditions, stress, industrial pollutants and poor diets. Real changes in health can only be achieved by workers winning control over their working and living conditions.

But of course the medical and dental professions, almost exclusively middle class, do not push for these demands which challenge their class interest and the capitalist system. Instead they devise new, admittedly very clever, tricks, gadgets and drugs which cost more and more.

These things are often available at the doctors whim, varying from the exotic - heart transplants for the rich who eat, drink and smoke too much - to the mundane - drugs to numb the grinding pressure of Measured Day Work, night work, overtime, and the drudgery of housework.



They may stop the working class worrying about low wages and rotten housing, but do they really make you healthier?

The doctors and dentists, the tip of the million-strong workforce, clamour only for safeguards for *their* NHS where their right to have private patients is defended; where middle class patients get more than their fair share of attention from middle class doctors (A Report just published shows that nearly 50% more money is spent on every middle class patient than on one from the working class); where Doctor Kildares dispense or ration the miracles in jargon which only the specialist can understand (after all it is only your body).

They are defending only the present hierarchical system. This has reached the point where 70% of the NHS budget was spent just on hospital services last year.

Of course we *do* need medical expertise and hospitals, but health is too important to be left in the hands of the professions.

They conspire to control and divert the legitimate demands of the working class. Medicine alone cannot alter health significantly and this movement should not endorse this deception.

BEYOND

All workers, not just those involved in the NHS must develop a policy on health which goes beyond the present disease service.

Preventive actions must be taken inside and outside the NHS. This can only be done by controlling the vested interests of capital which exploits workers' and their families' health and pollutes the environment.

Health in other words should not be defined as 'fit for work'. The NHS must be defended but this should be seen clearly as only the *first step* in a transitional programme to better policies on health care. The shortage of money is not the only problem in the health service.

MONOPOLY

The professional monopoly on information must be fought by all workers and patients. The effectiveness of treatment should be publicly scrutinised by committees of trade unionists working with socialist doctors and technicians.

Public health measures such as better housing and social conditions should be included in any overall policy relating to health care.

An NHS under workers control must consider these problems and not be duped by the professions. Then we would see whether the doctors and dentists would really defend and help improve *our* health service.

LETTERS

We welcome letters from readers. Letters for publication should be kept as brief as possible and sent to:

Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

NUPE calls for Strikes

The call from Alan Fisher, General Secretary of the National Union of Public Employees, for "guerrilla tactics", including strikes and demonstrations to oppose the cuts is a sign of the pressure from NUPE members.

Only two days earlier the NUPE executive had announced only another lame round of propaganda against the cuts - printing 35,000 posters and 250,000 leaflets, holding meetings leading up to a lobby of Parliament.

While this would provide much-needed work to the printing industry it is certain that if not tied to a programme of sustained strike action the propaganda will not save a single job or threatened sector of the social services.

The new additional call is to mount a series of "short strikes and mass demonstrations" at critical times, along with working-to-rule; non-cooperation with management; unilateral re-arrangement of work schedules by members to offset the effects of the cuts; and refusal to accept additional work loads.

Drain covers up

"Those authorities that seek to use the latest government circular as the excuse for further cuts will meet the full resistance of my union", announced Geoffrey Drain, NALGO General Secretary, at a Liverpool public meeting last week.

If Drain's words didn't carry much conviction, this is because only a few weeks ago at the NALGO Conference he was leading the right-wing pack opposed to any action to defend jobs, wages or conditions against the concerted onslaught of government spending cuts.

Of course Drain struck a common note in Liverpool when he proclaimed that "my members are getting thoroughly fed up of seeing services cut and posts not filled as though these are the only things that the government can think of to solve its economic problems."

What he did not tackle was the growing anger among NALGO members that no lead for an all-out fight is being given by Drain or his fellow bureaucrats.

His 'left' words are simply a cover for an absolute refusal to call

These forms of action, while important as a *starting point* of resistance, have the weakness that they all isolate action to the individual workplace - with no perspective of coordinated *national* action which can actually defeat the cuts programme.

Indeed Fisher specifically rules out the fight for "extensive and prolonged strikes", ensuring as best he can that his members' actions are reduced to inconvenient irritations for axe-wielding social service managements.

SUPPORT

We support every, even partial, action taken by workers to stop the cuts - but as a *part* of the fight for all-out national strike action.

Fisher has made only a gesture to head off the militancy of his members - NUPE branches must press for the real fight to be taken up. This must begin by NUPE repudiating the 4% TUC wage-cutting plan, and leading an offensive against Callaghan's programme of spending cuts and hand-outs to big business.

official strike action to stop the cuts, joining with other public service unions in a defence of the social services.

Instead, Drain has stayed silent while the TUC General Council, by 20 votes to 3, accepted the new social contract which makes it clear that there will be *further* savage cuts in public spending.

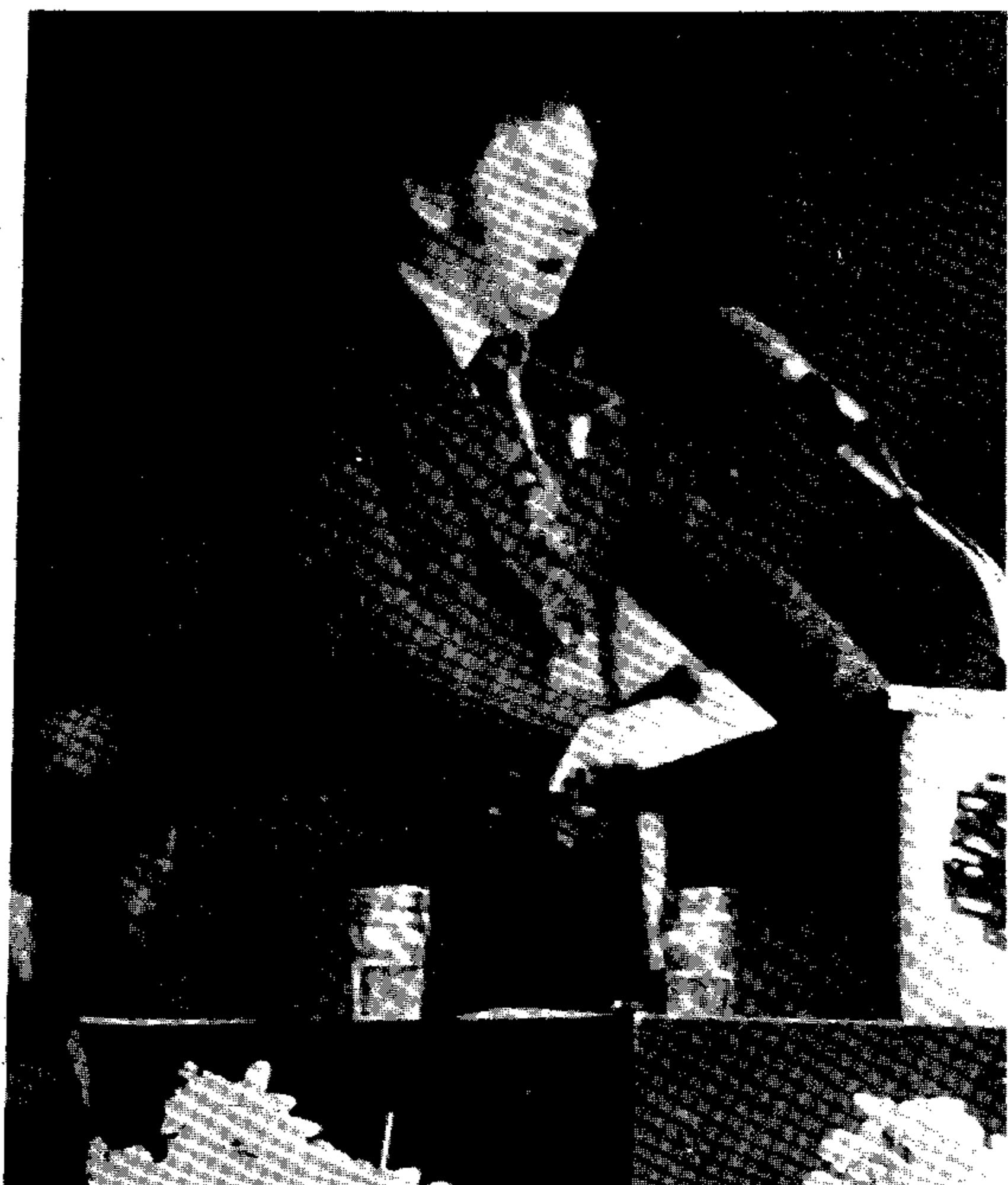
And he is reduced to simply mouthing phrases about "not tolerating" and "not standing idly by" while in practice doing just that.

Rather than call on NALGO members to mobilise in the struggle for a cash injection and a sliding scale of spending to protect the social services against inflation, Drain looks to the extreme right-wing Labour cabinet for a change of policy!

"We look in vain for action to tackle capital accumulation, interest rates, the activities of the multi-nationals and the speculators"

NALGO members must no longer look in vain to Drain and his allies, but begin the preparation of new leadership in NALGO locally and nationally which will use the great strength of the union to defeat the cuts.

MINERS VOTE TO BAN FASCISTS



The NUM at their conference last week called on the Callaghan government to ban the National Front.

A further motion moved by Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire NUM President, which called on the TUC to oppose attempts by fascist groups to infiltrate the unions, was passed unanimously.

The voting on these two motions

clearly reflects a groundswell of feeling within the ranks of the NUM against the growing threat posed to the organised labour movement and immigrant communities by the various fascist organisations.

Any initiative taken by the trade union movement against organisations like the National Front is to be welcomed. Nevertheless it is necessary to point out that workers

Scargill

cannot rely on either the Callaghan government or the TUC bureaucracy to take action against the fascists.

It is precisely because the Callaghan government is cutting wages, slashing jobs and attacking the social services, aided and abetted by the union bureaucracy, that enables the fascists to capitalise on the frustration and demoralisation this causes amongst sections of the working class.

And it is a Labour Home Secretary who ensures that hundreds of police protect the fascists whenever they come out on the streets, while trade unionists like Des Warren remain in jail.

Workers must rely only on their own organised strength in order to defeat the fascist groups and drive the racials off the streets.

If Scargill is serious about the struggle against fascism his task is clear. He must lead the fight to overturn NUM acceptance of wage-cutting and attacks on the social services, so that the fight for an alternative leadership in the workers movement can begin and the fascists isolated.

At the same time he must fight to commit the NUM nationally to support the setting up of workers defence squads in order to defeat the fascist attacks on the immigrant communities and labour movement meetings.

EGA STRIKE - 21st JULY

Workers at the University College and St. Pancras hospitals have agreed at mass meetings to take strike action on July 21st in defence of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, threatened with closure and now operating on an emergency basis.

At UCH, only essential services will be maintained on July 21st while the strikers picket the EGA and then march to the House of Commons to lobby MPs and try to see David Ennals.

This call for strike action follows a series of pickets and meetings against closure of the EGA.

On 5th July a picket of the hospital, supported by health workers from all over London, marched to a meeting of the Area Health Authority to demand that it oppose the closure. The AHA, predictably, refused to commit itself to anything but the setting up of a new committee!

The strike action called for the 21st July is a correct and vital move in defence of the EGA.

However, workers must not have illusions that lobbying MPs or meeting with the Secretary of State will change the situation. David Ennals supports a "slim" health service, that is, he supports the Labour

government's policies of cuts and closures.

And not a single MP has so far taken up the fight to defend the EGA, despite the wide publicity the campaign has received. *Only action by health workers will defend the health service, and will outside support around individual closures.*

"GUERRILLA TACTICS"

The announcement by the NUPE executive that it will back "guerrilla tactics" against the cuts gives a necessary lead in the struggle.

We support this move and call on the NUPE executive to give official backing to this strike, to instruct its officers to mobilise their members in support of the strike on the 21st July throughout the Camden and Islington area, and to fight through the Joint Shop Stewards Committee for full support from the other unions in the hospitals.

*It is interesting that NALGO which officially sits on the National Coordinating Committee Against the Cuts in the Health Service is the only one of the hospital unions involved which has refused to give support to the call for strike action

THOUSANDS RALLY AGAINST RACIALISM

More than 12,000 workers and youth, the majority of them Asian, demonstrated through central London on two consecutive Sundays to protest against racist and fascist attacks on the immigrant community.

At the first demonstration on July 4th, about 5,000 people marched, led by a contingent of Asian youth.

The slogans reflected the policies of the various organisations: the Communist Party's "One Race, the Human Race"; the International Socialists' "Enoch Powell - Murderer"; the IMG's "Labour Movement Must Support Black Self Defence".

Only the Workers Socialist League contingent rooted the growth of racialism in the economic crisis and demanded "Work Sharing - Full Pay", "Public Works" and "Reactionary Import Controls - Out" as well as the demand for Workers Defence Squads.

This caused bitter rows with the ICL who claimed that all workers are racist so black self defence was the only answer, and that it was wrong to put forward demands on this demonstration which were not connected with racialism!

A larger crowd of about 7,000 took part in last Sunday's march. This demonstration was organised in opposition to the previous one and while the banners of the various left groups were more noticeable, there was an absence of trade union banners.

When the march reached Piccadilly Circus three Asian youths in the Southall Youth Movement contingent were arrested by police and demonstrators refused to proceed until the three had been released. The police agreed to release the three but picked them up again later when a number of other arrests were also made.

The most serious incident, however, took place in Whitehall when a petition was being taken to Downing Street.

Police "hijacked" the Indian Workers Association van at the head of the demonstration, replacing it with their own vehicle. As

Asian workers attempted to stop the van from being removed two were run over by the police. One youth had his leg broken and another received a back injury.

Open provocations of this nature by the police are only to be expected in the present period and can only be defeated by the organised strength of the working class. The Workers Socialist League contin-

gent's slogan of 'Down with police harassment - Workers Defence Squads - In' was taken up at this point in the march by whole sections of workers.

Efforts to build workers self defence must be redoubled in order to combat not only the attacks of fascists but also harassment and provocation by the police.

BUREAUCRATS ATTEMPT TO STIFLE REPORT

"An unjustified attempt to seize a march leader and grab the lead banner makes no sense unless the aim is to break up the march, discredit the marchers' cause, and stifle their protest".

This was the conclusion of the report of the Independent Trade Union Inquiry into the events which occurred during the Right-to-Work march on March 19 at Staples Corner in North London.

The theme of excessive police violence runs throughout the report. Earlier in the day in question the police had tried to take one of the march leaders from the march and failed, so repeated the attempt with renewed vigour at Staples Corner, right outside the Hendon Police Station.

The police arrested 44 of the less than one hundred marchers. They wielded their truncheons with abandon, injuring many marchers as those at the Albert Hall rally next day saw.

Barnet Borough Trades Council set up the Trade Union Inquiry Committee, composed of prominent labour leaders such as Sydney Bidwell of the Tribune group of MPs and Jack Collins, the Kent miners' leader.

The Committee examined statements from 90 witnesses, none of which were police - in spite of attempts to get their view.

The Committee's approaches to the police were rewarded with a cautionary letter from the Office of

the Director of Public Prosecutions warning them not to 'prejudice' the trials of the 43 who were charged after the incident.

The Committee allowed the State to shackle them with the chains of hundreds of years of anti-working class legislation - with a result that the report is framed in only the most general and abstract of terms.

And whilst the State has been keeping watch on the progress of the Inquiry, its collaborators in the working class in the shape of the Trade Union bureaucracy have done their best to stifle it.

The Committee acknowledges the weakness of the report imposed by the sub-judice legislation and calls, on the basis of its tentative findings, for a full public inquiry.

But in spite of the hostility from the bureaucracy, many trade unions and Labour Party branches and Trades Councils have passed motions of support, while the Tribune group have fully supported it.

The Inquiry Report, in spite of its limitations and with the support it already has, can now form the basis of a campaign in the whole labour movement to break the chains of the capitalist law to defend the 43 and other victims of the State.

Donations to and the Report from: Barnet Trades Council 19 March Committee, C/o J. R. Connolly, POEU Branch Secretary, 80-108 The Broadway, West Hendon, London NW9

BUILD WORKERS' DEFENCE SQUADS!

More racist attacks are going to take place. The necessity for developing defence squads in those areas where attacks are already taking place is therefore becoming more urgent.

The task of revolutionaries is both to defend those being attacked and show that these attacks are a class issue. Fascism is about breaking up the organisation of the working class as a whole.

Those immigrant organisations or individuals who have started the formation of vigilante groups have taken an important step forward in breaking from the reformist position of appealing to the police - the capitalist state, to defend themselves against fascism - which itself is just another form of capitalism.

But, unlike the International Marxist Group and other groups we do not say it is simply a question of "Build labour movement support for black self-defence" (*Red Weekly* front page statement 10.6.76) or "Only the defence of the black communities by blacks themselves are any guarantee for protection against racist attacks" (IMG national leaflet).

We of course support the right of immigrant workers to defend themselves in whatever way necessary against racist and fascist attack.

But we also have a political responsibility to attempt to direct these self-defence groups towards calling on the strength of the organised labour movement as a whole so that the most united class attack can be launched against fascist provocation and violence.

If black workers and youth have been the first target of the fascist picket lines and trade union meetings will be next. Fascists have already attacked meetings in Ireland.

WSL members and supporters in areas affected must therefore propose at their unions, trades councils and Labour Party branches that a fight is waged between immigrant and trade union organisations.

Where possible, we call for this within immigrant workers' defence squads by electing delegates from the trade union bodies, particularly from the councils, in their fight against fascist attack.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION



Red Army soldiers

PART 14: THE RED GUARDS

One of the clearest lessons for Marxists from the experiences of the uprising and the Paris Commune of 1871 was the need for the working class to smash the machinery and the power of the capitalist state. To do this it is necessary to organise on a completely different basis from that of the bourgeoisie.

HEIGHT

Even at the height of the Commune its Central Committee clearly expressed this, declaring it had established: "For the first time... a national militia that defends the citizens against the state power instead of a permanent army that defends the

government against the citizens." Proclamation of Central Committee March 1871.

In the development of the revolutionary crisis in Russia, particularly after February 1917 this same phenomenon began to emerge in different forms.

On the one hand the growth of Bolshevik and anti-war influence within the army began to rot its structure of discipline and render it progressively more and more incapable of being used to defend the Provisional Government "against the citizens", let alone to restore any form of blatantly reactionary regime.

The fiasco of General Kornilov's attempted right wing coup brought this fact forcibly home to both the bourgeoisie and the workers and peasants of Russia.

But at the same time there was emerging a different kind of army, a force based not on the defence of the ruling class, its property and privilege, but drawing on the militancy, class consciousness and self sacrifice of the most advanced layers of workers. This army was the Red Guard.

The traditions of the Red Guard looked back to the 1905 Revolution. It had re-emerged in various forms of Workers Guard during the February 1917 Revolution, and seems to have played a part in the disappearance at that time of 30,000 revolvers and 40,000 rifles from military stores.

For the next period armed companies of workers patrolled working class areas protecting against attacks by counter-revolutionaries.

REAL FORCE

They backed up the struggle for workers control in the factories lending real force to the side of the working class — often removing or arresting managers and engineers and sometimes even receiving payment from the factory exchequer for their time on patrol.

As the employers attempted to sabotage production to disrupt the economy, armed workers would protect the factories, taking over the functions of security guards and also of local police.

The period of reaction which followed the 'July Days' demonstrations set back for a while the development of the militias.

In many areas detachments of the Red Guard were forced to go underground and even bury their weapons to avoid searches and confiscations.

But as the repression eased, the Bolsheviks who had devoted most of their attention to work inside the armed forces, took up the question of arming and systematically organising the various factory militias.

BOOST

This received a boost in August when in the fight against Kornilov machine guns and rifles were given out to the 25,000 workers who enrolled in the newly respectable Red Guard.

Workers from a gunpowder factory presented them with a barge full of grenades and explosives; rifle drill was begun.

By mid October the prestige of the Red Guard had grown still further. It had won the support of the army, from where resolution after resolution demanded the

representatives of the fleet, of the railroad unions, of the factory committees, the trade unions, the party military organisation along with the Red Guard. In this way the Guards were to play a key role in the seizure of state power.

Their forces had grown rapidly. By the eve of the Revolution there were more than 10,000 in Petrograd and some in Moscow.

But nationally there were an estimated 100,000, indicating many areas of strength where the Red Guard's weight would be decisive on the side of revolution.

The structure of the Guard was also distinctively proletarian. Every position of command was elected and not appointed. The armed workers knew each other well from common neighbourhoods and factories — and they were all volunteers.

At the same time the working women mobilised to provide Red Cross divisions for first aid.

HOSPITALS

Hospital bases were established in the factories and vehicles were seized to use as ambulances.

The movement grew so strong that even Mensheviks were drawn into enrolling and playing an active role in the Red Guard.

Backbone of this in Petrograd was the solidly Bolshevik working class Vyborg district.

"From the dwellings, the factory, lunch-rooms, the clubs, the barracks, all the threads lead to the house numbered 33 Samsonersky Prospect, where are located the district committee of the Bolsheviks, the Vyborg Soviet and the military headquarters. The district militia is fusing with the Red Guard. The district is wholly in the control of the workers. If the government should raid Smolny, the Vyborg district alone could re-establish a centre and guarantee the further offensive." Trotsky HRR Vol 3, p. 190

INSURRECTION

And as the insurrection began, the city was divided into military divisions, while the Red Guard took on the task of guarding the most important points — bridges, telephone exchanges and crossroads. Trotsky highlights the class composition of these forces:

"Companies of the Red Guard had emerged from their districts. The worker with a rifle, the bayonet above hat or cap, the rifle belt over civilian coat — that is the essential image of the 25th October. Cautiously and still



Soldiers and guards at the barricades of one Paris Commune



...the armed worker was bringing order into the capital conquered by him." (p. 221)

The occupation of government buildings proceeded and finally the storming of the Winter Palace was accomplished by the victorious soldiers, sailors and Red Guards.

SOVIET POWER

In the provincial areas, where there were no army units, it was to be the Red Guard which decisively imposed Soviet power and reinforced the gains of the insurrection in the capital. It was perhaps in these struggles that the development of the Red Guard went most explicitly from their original function as defence to offensive organisations for the winning of state power by the working class.

In the year following October 1917 the numbers of Red Guards rose from 100,000 to over 200,000 and the Guard itself was transformed by Trotsky into a solid section of the Red Army of the new Soviet state, playing a decisive role in the defence of the revolution against the attempts at imperialist intervention.

Their courage and discipline, together with the fact that they brought into one fighting unit the members of all the oppressed minority nationalities together with working women, provide a model for the struggle of revolutionaries for the unity and independence of the working class.

LESSONS

The lessons from the Paris Commune were taken to a higher level in the proletarian revolution of 1917 in Russia: they must be taken to a still higher level in the fight for workers' defence today and in the preparation of leadership for revolution in the advanced capitalist countries.

The proletarian army must first begin to emerge in the struggles within the capitalist system itself, and come to full strength in the overthrow of bourgeois rule and the seizing of state power.

This is how the capitalist state machine can be destroyed and its standing army disbanded, remembering the judgement of Marx that:

"... the working class cannot simply lay hold on the ready-made state machinery and wield it for their own purpose. The political instrument of their enslavement cannot serve as the political instrument of their emancipation."

SPAIN UNDER FRANCO'S DICTATORSHIP

Review of 'Spain in Crisis', edited by Paul Preston, published by Harvester Press

Forty years ago this week the Spanish Civil War began. It took 2½ years for Franco's army and the Spanish fascists (the Falange) to crush the Republican forces, strangle the Spanish revolution and introduce a regime of unparalleled repression and terror against the working class.

This regime has lasted for nearly forty years. It has survived many crises, including the fall of all the other fascist governments in Europe between 1943 and 1945. It is now attempting to survive the death of its leader.

To understand the reasons for this longevity is a primary task for the Spanish and international workers movement. It is a necessary part of building a revolutionary strategy to overthrow Francoism for ever.

ACADEMICS

Spain in Crisis is a book which cannot contribute directly to that task since it is written not from the standpoint of workers or revolutionaries searching for a political strategy, but from the standpoint of a group of left-wing or liberal anti-Francoist academics observing the struggle from the outside.

None of the ten writers, each of whom tackles one aspect of Franco's Spain (the church, the opposition, the peasantry, the working class, the army and so on), confronts the major political questions.

And where some approach is made to them, as in Paul Preston's introduction, the conclusions are both superficial and dangerous.

Preston claims that a substantial section of what he calls the 'economic oligarchy' is now in favour of democracy in Spain.

It is widely felt, he says, that '...continued development is dependent on entry into the Common Market....Entry into Europe requires democratisation.'

As a result, 'the crisis of the regime has created a coincidence of interest between part of the economic oligarchy and the opposition.'

Several of the other contributors to the book share this opinion that the political structure of Francoism has become an obstacle in the path of capitalism in Spain.

TREACHEROUS

This opinion coincides very closely with the conclusions of the Communist and Socialist parties in Spain that the Francoist regime is a bourgeois dictatorship.

...the political structure of Francoism has become an obstacle in the path of capitalism in Spain.

Thus the book helps to give credence to the idea that the liberation of the working class from Francoism is something which will in significant measure be given as a present to the working class by the 'progressive' sections of the capitalist class both in Spain and internationally.

But the book also contains, (even though its authors fail to interpret it) the historical evidence which shows just how wrong these ideas are.

Many of the contributions show how crucial to Francoism was the period at the end of the Second World War.



Franco in 1936

Having maintained a brilliantly opportunistic virtual neutrality during the fighting, Franco was nonetheless widely believed at the end of the war to be close to total defeat. All his international allies had surrendered, some of the exiled Spanish opposition had fought in the British or US armies, confident that the Western democracies would at the end of the war use their power to overthrow Franco.

In Britain the Labour government came to power, in France and Italy the Communist Parties were in the government Spain was diplomatically isolated; it was unanimously refused membership of the United Nations.

ALLIANCE

The Communist Party, scenting the downfall of Franco scarcely needed the prompting of Moscow (which accepted Spain as part of the Western capitalist sphere of influence) to declare a broad cross-class alliance as its strategy for the opposition.

Under the sponsorship of Ernest Bevin, the British Labour Foreign Secretary, the Socialist Party and the Communists signed an agreement which included in the programme...

...the political structure of Francoism has become an obstacle in the path of capitalism in Spain.

Thus the book helps to give credence to the idea that the liberation of the working class from Francoism is something which will in significant measure be given as a present to the working class by the 'progressive' sections of the capitalist class both in Spain and internationally.

PROCESS

But what they feared above all was that the process which was necessary to bring that about could not be controlled and would raise once again the danger of the social revolution which Franco had originally strangled on behalf of capitalism.

Franco appreciated the embarrassment that his regime caused to the capitalist countries and accordingly made a few cosmetic changes.



Militiamen patrol Madrid street

He reduced the power of the Falange by bringing other ultra-right wing, especially Catholic, forces into his government.

The Falange, or National Movement, was reduced in status from a 'state party' to an 'instrument of national unity'.

CHARTER

The fascist salute ceased to be compulsory and Franco issued a new 'democratic' Charter of the Spaniards in which:

'the Spanish State proclaims, as the guiding principle of its acts, respect for the dignity, the integrity and the liberty of the individual.'

BRUTAL

All this did not make the slightest difference in practice to the ruthless and brutal Francoist dictatorship. Yet it proved enough to get the capitalist countries to swallow their embarrassment and one by one to recognise Franco's regime.

By 1951 it was receiving vast amounts of aid from the United States in exchange for American air bases.

The 'progressive' sections of the world capitalist class (with the close collaboration of the Soviet bureaucracy far from helping to overthrow Franco had helped to guarantee him power for life.

FAKE

Franco's successors are now using the same fake democratic language that Franco resorted to in 1945 and at other times.

There is no sign whatever that their democratic intentions are any more honourable than Franco's were.

The strategy of the Communist and Socialist parties in Spain depends on spreading the illusion that the capitalist class is prepared now to support in Spain a growth in democratisation when in the rest of the world, in an effort to solve the economic crisis, it is moving in exactly the opposite direction.

NOT PREPARED

Not that the 'progressive' sections of either the Spanish or the world capitalist class are any more prepared now than they were then to give real assistance to a struggle in which they know that their own power will be called into question.

NO OBSTACLE

Spanish fascism has lasted from the previous economic crisis to the present one. For that reason the features of Francoism which are claimed in this book to be an obstacle to capital are on the contrary, precisely what it requires.

There is no objective basis for a period of bourgeois democracy in Spain. And the post-war capitalist 'economic miracle' makes that more true rather than less true. The defeat of Francoism, therefore, depends on the development by the working class of an independent and revolutionary strategy.

By Enrique Alvarez



Republican forces enter a city

THE FASCIST WHO FELL TO EARTH

by Tony Richardson.

and acting on stage only use current techniques.

MACHINE

For the rest it is the publicity machine of capitalism which does the work. But there is a world of difference between show business publicity and that of the Nazis. Hitler's propagandists did not just work on publicity, but on the brutalising and crushing of the working class deprived of leadership.

The Man Who Fell to Earth, directed by Nicholas Roeg is a "science" fiction film. But instead of guessing at the future (along the lines of "1984" - which was a vehicle for the politics of George Orwell), this film introduces spacemen as an explanation of the past. But through this medium also the politics of the film-maker emerge clearly.

TECHNIQUE

Technically the film is excellent. The camera work is superb, and the treatment of the "visitors" home planet - with his wife and children dying because of a drought - is breathtaking. (Because a film director is right-wing does not mean he can't make a film: witness 2001 by Stanley Kubrick, another admirer of Goebbels.)

Similarly the make-up of Newton (Bowie) as the "visitor", first of all in his disguise as an Englishman, then in his "natural" form with eyes borrowed from a lizard, is all well done.

But when the deeper significance of the film emerges, its reactionary nature becomes clear.

CAMERA

Newton on arrival visits a lawyer to deal with patents on an extremely advanced Polaroid-type camera which takes perfect pictures. He gets the lawyer to set up a company to produce and market this, and follows it with a whole series of other inventions.

As Newton is set on raising a precise sum of money it soon becomes obvious that his aim is to finance the building of a spacecraft

in order to return home.

In the meantime he meets a girl in a motel who seems to consider it only a little bit weird that he can watch a roomful of televisions at one time.

A little later, when Newton take his eyebrows off and reveals a completely bald white shiny body, with lizard eyes she still tries to make a go of it!

SCIENTIST

He also employs a scientist to work on the production of his spacecraft - and he soon works out what Newton is.

This is not surprising - since he produces everything out of thin air in terms of inventions - while appearing to be only about 25 years old!

Such a phenomenon would be reasonably well-known in the scientific world - unless the film-makers think scientists develop like pop stars, suddenly leaping to fame overnight.

To this scientist Newton "reveals" that there have been many other "visitors" - and that the signs are everywhere. This then makes it clear why he was so reluctant to go to church with the girl and why he finds it hard to sing about the "master".

RELIGION

In this way the anti-scientific content of the film connects right up with religion. "He" must have been a "visitor", along with all the self-proclaimed prophets walking the earth 2,000 years ago, we are told.

The advantage of the "visitors" however is that they have receivers that pick up our TV and radio and are therefore able to disguise themselves as human beings!

The film fails to tell the viewer how on earth their make-up artists managed 2,000 years ago.

Of course this is one of the great advantages for a reactionary bourgeois film maker. He can hint and invent without explanation, defy common sense and all concepts of realism, and use the medium of "science" fiction to further his own mysticism.

A Review of the film 'The Man Who Fell to Earth' Starring David Bowie.

The press talks incessantly about the "phenomenon" of David Bowie, around whom this film is entirely centred.

The difficulty is to separate the film, which deals with a "visitor" from outer space, from the blurb on the film, which virtually suggests Bowie himself is a "visitor".

INDIVIDUAL

Crucial to the film is the concept of the great individual who emerges suddenly and unexpectedly because he is a "visitor".

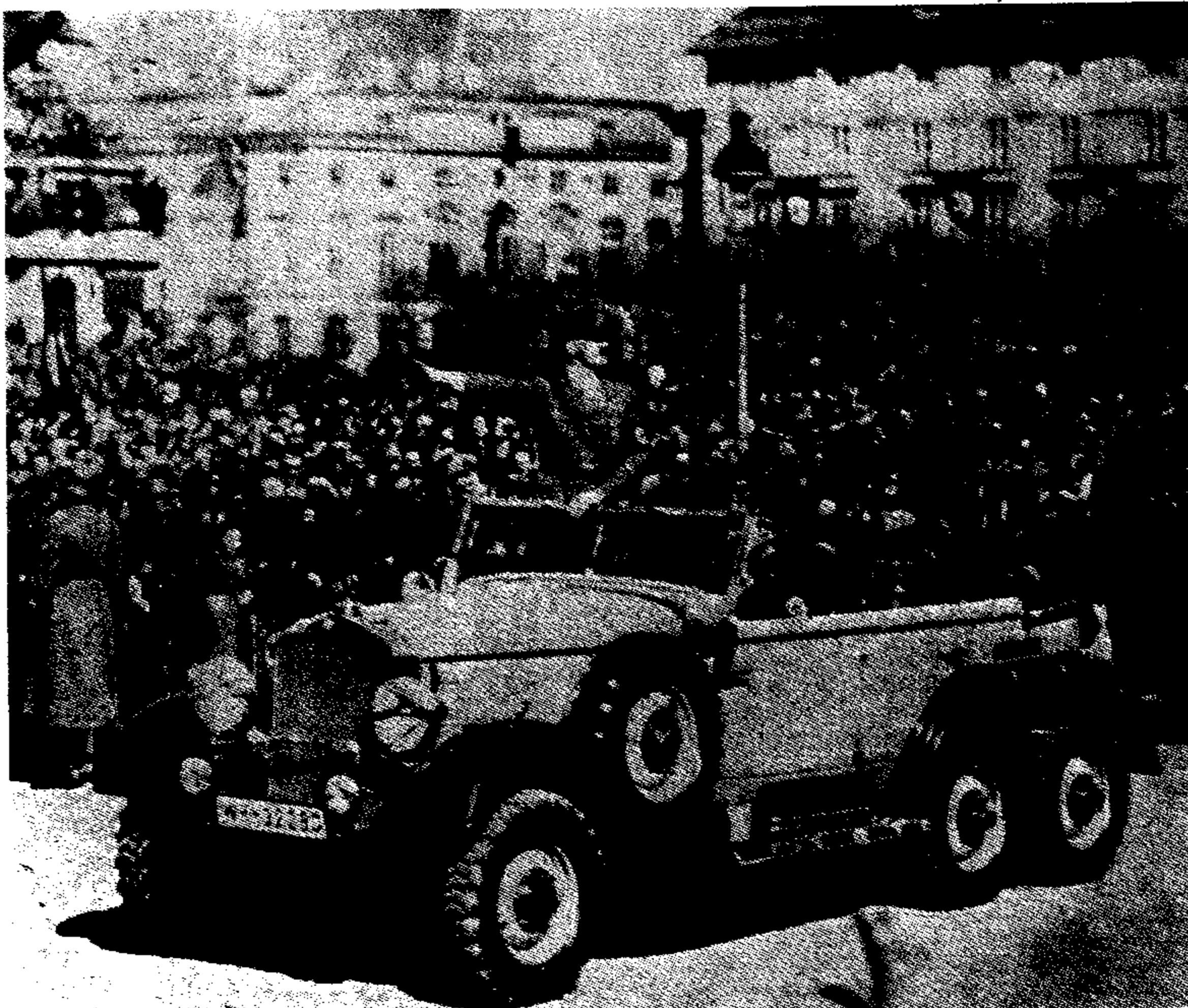
This of course is directly the opposite of historical materialism which shows that individuals develop within a specific historical environment, are shaped and created by that environment, and are therefore not "individuals" in the sense used by capitalists and their ideologists.

Of course this is not to say Bowie is in any sense "great" - however much he deludes himself he is or thinks he can manipulate the public to believe he is.

MANIPULATION

Manipulation of the public is important to Bowie. It is in this way that his publicly acknowledged support for Nazism and its propaganda techniques, and his belief in the necessity for a dictator in Britain (for which role he thinks he would be suitable) find expression. His whole attitude is one of absolute contempt for the working class and his audience as a whole.

Indeed the "phenomenon" of Bowie has been fabricated completely. His music is only an extension of the music already present around him. His miming



LETTER: WOMEN'S CHARTER REPORT

Dear Comrades,

In your report of the Working Women's Charter conference in *Socialist Press* 21 April 1976, you incorrectly imply that the RCG was among the groups arguing for the use of industrial tribunals by women fighting for equal pay.

As the WSL members attending the conference know, the RCG does not, and did not at that conference, support the use of such tribunals. In failing to offer any evidence for its assertion the WSL tacitly admits that it has no basis in reality. In a similar vein you write about the 'bankrupt reformist positions' argued by the RCG at the conference workshops.

You give no indication in the article as to what these 'bankrupt reformist positions' were. We challenge the WSL to produce one instance of a 'reformist position' argued by the RCG in these workshops.

In its report, *Socialist Press* makes no mention of the most important political issues raised at the conference - the provisions made in the Equal Pay and Sex Discrimination Acts for positive discrimination.

Arguments that women should receive positive discrimination in employment, training schemes, etc, accept the bourgeois arguments that the working class is responsible for the capitalist crisis.

The I-CL drew out the logic of the demand for positive discrimination when it argued, in the paper which it presented to the conference,

'We are against redundancies on any basis. However, where redundancies go through, we are against weaker sections, such as blacks and women, being put on the redundancy list first as a matter of principle.'

This reactionary demand can only split the working class by reinforcing sectional views which already exist.

The RCG was the only group to challenge this dominant position (shared by the I-CL and the IMG) at the conference. Why did no WSL member speak out against this 'bankrupt reformist position' at the conference?

Why does the report in *Socialist Press* ignore the issue of positive discrimination?

When the bourgeoisie is doing its best to divide the working class - between men and women, black and white, productive and unproductive workers - the dangers of positive discrimination should be apparent to anyone claiming to be a revolutionary.

The WSL did not warn of these dangers at the conference, and now fails to mention them in its newspaper - instead, it makes unsubstantiated allegations. State clearly where the WSL stands on the issue of positive discrimination.

Provide clear evidence that the RCG argued one reformist position. If the WSL fails to do this, it has a duty to apologise to its readership for the dishonest statement contained in *Socialist Press*.

Women's subgroup
Revolutionary Communist Group

Our Reply - and an
Apology

As the *Socialist Press* report in question stressed, WSL comrades attended only one of the two workshops on legislation at the Conference. This workshop was certainly attended also by at least one RCG member, and we can categorically state that she did not

support our position of boycotting the tribunals, because we received no support from any quarter.

However it may well be that RCG members were involved in the other legislation workshop, where there was also resistance to the tribunals, and they may there have put a principled position. It is to be applauded that the RCG does hold the position that these tribunals should be boycotted, and the fight for equal pay and against discrimination taken up within the trade union movement, directly confronting the bureaucracy, and we will be interested to see the RCG in practice on this policy.

We agree with the RCG position of opposing positive discrimination, and also noted the logic of the demand as the IMG fell into the trap of arguing for redundancies of men workers in order to produce more favourable balance between male and female workers. The issue was "ignored" in the article because as already stated, the WSL delegates did not attend the workshop which dealt with this matter.

Just as the Bolsheviks saw the need for the oppressed peasants to be won to the leadership of the working class so we see that central to the fight for women's rights and against their oppression is the necessity of directing women towards the organised working class as a whole, organised in the trade unions.

We therefore regarded as the central issue of the Working Women's Charter conference the need to focus on how the trade union bureaucracy is not fighting for women's rights, and specifically how they are reacting to the Equal Pay Act and the Sex Discrimination Act.

They are diverting individual members into the industrial tribunals instead of leading struggles to improve conditions and fight for rights. Our answer to this must be wherever possible to mobilise women to boycott these tribunals, refusing to be diverted there by the bureaucrats. Instead we urge women workers to demand that the bureaucrats lead industrial action on equal rights.

In this way the bureaucracy can be exposed, and defeated in struggle. For this reason the fight for women's rights is in no way separate from the fight against the cuts in social services, or the wage cuts being forced in by the Labour government - on every issue we direct towards exposing the collaborationist positions of the bureaucracy.

In referring to bankrupt reformist positions supposedly argued by the RCG our article was however at fault. Some editorial amendments resulted in the reference to the RCG becoming confused with that to the opportunist politics of the IMG and IS. We therefore do apologise to our readers and the RCG for any misunderstanding that may have arisen as a result.

The
TRANSITIONAL
PROGRAMME

NEW EDITION

AVAILABLE NOW

Price 30p plus 10p p&p from:

WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill,
London NW5 1HR

NO PRINCIPLED BASIS FOR UNITY

A Reply to the Statement in Perspectives by IMG "Tendency 1"

by John Lister

For some time within the ranks of the International Marxist Group there has been a grouping of members who profess political agreement with a number of the positions of the Workers Socialist League.

Yet rather than put these views into practice in the logical way by leaving the IMG and joining the WSL they have remained within the IMG ranks, declaring themselves the "Trotskyist Opposition Faction" last November.

The result of this has been a curious partial critique by these comrades of the practice and perspective of the IMG - a critique which has failed to go to the historical and political roots of the wrong positions put by the IMG leadership and leaders of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International of which the IMG is the British section.

This has emerged clearly with the publication in the IMG's paper *Red Weekly* of a pre-conference statement by "Tendency 1", which concludes by advocating:

"Conference should resolve to unite the forces of the IMG with the WSL as a vital part of our perspectives for the year ahead".

Red Weekly, June 3rd.

MISLEADING

Couched in these terms, and coming at the end of a political statement which pulls back from a full-scale critique of the practice of the IMG, this statement is completely misleading. It gives the impression that the very real political and theoretical differences on principled issues which divide the IMG from the Workers Socialist League could in some way be skipped over if the IMG Conference passed a formal vote for a "merger".

This is most certainly *not* the case. Political questions must be treated more seriously than this if a principled way forward is to be found for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Why is the WSL an organisation independent of the IMG? *Not* because we wish to preserve an artificial division, or to remain a small group of people, but because we are in fundamental disagreement with the IMG's view of the working class and the crisis of leadership; with their consequent practice of only paying lip-service to the demands of Trotsky's Transitional Programme; and with their political support for the United Secretariat, whose history and practice must be critically reexamined (along with the other international groupings claiming to be Trotskyist) if firm grounds are to be established for a principled reconstruction of the Fourth International.

None of these disagreements can be swept aside by an organisational "fusion" of IMG and WSL - indeed such a step would only impede discussion to clarify these questions by relegating them to secondary importance.

NOT OVERNIGHT

The cadres of the IMG and the USFI leaders did not in our opinion simply arrive at wrong political positions overnight. They derive their wrong political conclusions from a history of empirical opportunist and centrist politics within the USFI itself - a history which stretches back to before the 1953 split in the world Trotskyist movement.

This is why the Tendency 1 statement falls short on its critique of the USFI. It states for instance that:

"...the political positions of the

USFI concerning the nature of the petty bourgeois leaderships of the Chinese and Cuban workers' states and the need to build Trotskyist parties in these countries reflect grave weaknesses."

But in the same statement, Tendency 1 *itself* even talks wrongly of the "state power of the bourgeoisie" apparently being overthrown in Angola (succumbing to the same type of empirical conceptions as the USFI leadership). And they plainly fail to grasp the political roots of these wrong positions.

Those roots, as the WSL has repeatedly analysed and documented, are in the USFI's continuity of political method with that of Michel Pablo whose lethal combination of liquidationist politics and bureaucratic regime forced a split in the Fourth International in 1953.

IMPRESSIONS

Working on the basis of surface impressions Pablo saw Tito's split with Stalin as evidence that under certain conditions Stalinist parties could become centrist and even revolutionary parties. He therefore advocated scrapping the careful work of cadre building being carried out by sections of the Fourth International, and instead began to instruct them to secretly enter the national Stalinist parties, dropping all external appearances of Trotskyism.

Any resistance to this line drew a bureaucratic response from Pablo and his supporters - who included the present USFI leader Ernest Mandel. In fact until 1953 only the French section resisted Pablo's line, while the British section (led by Gerry Healy) and the American SWP (led by James P. Cannon) backed Pablo.

Only when moves were made to apply the same line to the British and US sections did the fight against it really begin, giving rise to the famous Open Letter of 1953 which formed the basis of the split in the International.

DISTORTED

And since 1953 both sides in the split have pulled back from an analysis of its lessons, and have presented a factually distorted history of the International. Until these questions can be confronted there is no way to reconstruct the International and no way of grasping today's wrong method and positions advocated by Mandel, Healy, Hansen and Lambert - political leaders of the main international groupings calling themselves Trotskyist.

Indeed the very instances Tendency 1 quote - abandonment of the call for Trotskyist parties in Cuba and China (as well as Vietnam), and talk of a "class struggle tendency" emerging in the labour movement bringing sections of the bureaucracy - are clearly today's evidence that Pablo's perspectives live on in the USFI.

And if the "class struggle tendency" has already since the IMG Conference been swamped in the pages of *Red Weekly* by an empirical adaptation to the emergence of black self-defence groups and an idealisation of the forces they represent, then this, too, is Pabloism - opportunist and superficial to the core.

INITIATIVE

The WSL document *Fourth International: Problems and Tasks* was an initiative towards an international discussion on these questions of method

balance sheet of the post war developments in the Fourth International.

It has not been seriously replied to by the IMG or the USFI. Yet the Tendency 1 statement does not press for such a full discussion but instead simply criticises what it calls the WSL's "failure to grasp adequately the history and development of the USFI."

What Tendency 1 clearly has not grasped is the importance of these questions to the international movement.

For Tendency 1 - the "Trotskyist Opposition" - in the IMG the big question therefore remains: do

they agree with the WSL analysis or not?

If they *do* agree then we recommend them to draw the logical conclusion and apply to join our movement, help us build a principled leadership based on a firm working class cadre and the fight for the Transitional Programme.

If they do *not* agree, or if they have reservations, then how can it be principled to fuse the two organisations together?

It is rather their task to find a means to locate and clarify those disagreements which they feel are central, so that the public polemic between the WSL and the IMG can

develop to a higher level.

Only in this way can Tendency 1's practice bear out its statement that:

"The emergence of the Workers Socialist League out of a struggle for Trotskyism in the degenerated International Committee represents an important development for the political reconstruction of the Fourth International."

The need in our view is now to attempt to take up the struggle for Trotskyism against the other degenerated body, the United Secretariat, of which the IMG is a part. We wait to see which side members of the Trotskyist Opposition take in that struggle.



Mandel



From left: Liu Po-ching, Chu Teh and Chen on the rostrum

CHINESE LEADER DEAD

The ashes of Chu Teh, veteran leader of the Chinese revolution, and 'father' of the People's Liberation Army, were interred in Peking last week.

His death, at the age of ninety, leaves Mao Tse Tung as the only leading survivor of that generation of the Chinese Communist Party.

The meeting in Chingkanshan (South China) between Mao-Tse-Tung and Chu Teh in 1928 - so often romanticised by the Chinese Stalinists - was indeed a most important event in the development of the Chinese Revolution.

STALIN

It followed on the massacres of workers and communists in Shanghai, Canton and Nanchang - made possible by Stalin's policy of liquidating the young Chinese CP into the bourgeois nationalist party, the Kuomintang.

Chu, in fact, organised the Nanchang rising and later fled with about a thousand men into the hills.

Here Mao and Chu set up a new type of regime, based on the peasants rather than the working class, with guerrilla warfare as its defence.

This regime established for the first time in China an alliance between a political commissar and a

peasantry.

Chu was a brilliant military strategist. He has been called 'the Chinese Joffe', and the 'Red Napoleon'. He perfected the method of guerrilla warfare and of tactical retreats, which was used so successfully from Yen-an in 1947.

The defence and organisation of the 'Long March' of 1934-5 were under Chu's command.

In 1937 he headed the creation of the 8th Route Army and the 4th Army, which together finished off both the Japanese and Chiang's rump Kuomintang forces.

With the declaration of the People's Republic of China, Chu continued his military career, commanding the army during the Korean War, and holding the position as vice-president of the defence council.

His positions as vice president of the People's Republic and president of the permanent committee of the National assembly were largely honorific.

They were a tribute to a man who played a vital role in the outcome of the revolution, who was admired by millions of workers and peasants for his courage, his determination and simplicity.

Chu did not, however, join the CP until late in his life. He was born in 1886, in Szechwan, into a rich peasant family and enjoyed the decadent fruits of a relatively wealthy background - opium

The anti-Manchu revolution of 1911 and the corruption of the old dynasty had a profound effect on him.

He supported and fought with Sun Yat sen, broke with his old lifestyle and travelled to Europe. He joined the Communist Party in 1922 in Germany, at the age of 36.

He travelled to Paris and Moscow and returned to China in 1926.

Throughout his life, however, he was a supporter of Stalinist policy - including Stalin's worst crimes against the Communist movement - and of Mao's leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

His prestige - and his achievement - rest on his genius for military leadership.

Even this, though, was disputed during the Cultural Revolution. In 1968 Chu was attacked by Red Guard posters against the supposed opponents of Mao on the Party leadership.

And Lin Piao - himself to be driven out as a 'Moscow agent' in 1971 - suggested that in reality it was Mao - not Chu - that led the Long March and the creation of the Eighth Route Army.

In his last years, however, Chu retained his senior though largely honorific positions, and at the beginning of this year his name appeared as the signatory of attacks on the 'revisionist' of Tse Tung



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

RETIRING—ON £10,000 PER YEAR

An intriguing insight into the world of privilege and hand-outs that cushions full time union officials is to be found in a row between leaders of UCATT and the T&GWU.

The dispute is over which union should supply a new chairman for the Construction Industry Training Board - a job which carries a salary of at least £1,300 a year.

INCENSED

George Smith, UCATT General Secretary, was incensed when he heard that Mr Leslie Kemp, shortly to retire as full time secretary of the T&GWU Construction Group, had been appointed to the post.

Particularly when Mr Kemp's stated reason for retiring early (he is only 56) was grounds of "ill health" - yet it emerges that he has already netted major posts on various boards and Corporations totalling over £10,000 a year!

Only recently, Kemp was appointed chairman of the Corby Development Corporation - at a princely £4000 a year - and chairman also of the neighbouring Peterborough Development Corporation - for another £2000 a year!

GRABBED

The UCATT leadership brought these matters to light in letters from Smith to three of their sponsored MPs, not because of the principles of trade unionism which are being abused daily by such practices, but because Kemp had grabbed more than his share of the takings, and thus obviously deprived a UCATT nominee of the job.

Smith claims this is because the T&GWU has more pull with senior ministers than other unions and says:

"Political nepotism does not make for good parliamentary democracy, and I think you will agree with me that one individual T&GWU member appointed to major posts valued at a total in excess of £10,000 per annum when retiring on grounds of ill-health is peculiar to say the least".

For the working class the question involved here is not a complex one of "parliamentary democracy" but one of the all-out fight against bureaucracy and privilege within the unions themselves.

BACKBONE

It is precisely people like Kemp and the network of other appointed full time officials within the T&GWU which are the backbone of Jones's right-wing wage-cutting, job-slashing policies.

These officials are the ones who argue for belt-tightening and acceptance of "inevitable redundancies".

Yet they themselves daily abuse their powers and position to further their own interests - to the extent that Kemp can retire onto an income which none of his members will ever reach.

The fight for the regular election of all full time union officials and for their salary to be no more than the average earnings of their members is the only answer to this kind of behaviour.

INQUIRY

At the same time T&GWU branches must demand an inquiry into the Kemp affair. It is worth noting that MPs are obliged to



Jones

declare their directorships and financial interests - while clearly Kemp must be no exception as a union official with large numbers of undeclared and lucrative posts.

Workers must begin to scrutinise the behind the scenes activities of their officials, and take steps to remove those linked with management.

BLOW AGAINST PARTICIPATION

An important blow against workers participation schemes has been dealt by workers at F.H. Biddles, Nuneaton.

Over the last three years the firm has operated a "Works Council" consisting of three management representatives and one shop-floor representative from each of the four sections.

The purpose of the Works Council was to draw workers into joint efforts to boost the company's profits.

Its uselessness to the workforce was demonstrated by the fact that, despite persistent requests, nothing was done about the paintshop windows which had remained unopened for years.

The "Assembly" representative who had sat on the council from its inception decided to resign and expose its collaborationist nature to the workforce.

He attended a Works Council meeting with a prepared statement and despite a 4-3 vote, management refused to enter the text of it in the minutes which go to every worker.

In response to this the statement was pinned on the works notice board where it caused considerable interest.

Attempts by management to get a replacement from Assembly were rejected by the workers there.

A new meeting of the Works Council was called and no shop-floor representatives attended.

Management then cancelled the next one and will call another in August.

In opposition to the Works Council workers are now arguing for a Health and Safety Committee responsible to the Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

So far, however, the convenor has refused to call a meeting to elect such a committee.

MORE JOBS! DEMAND COVENTRY BUSMEN

Coventry's bus crews voted last Monday (July 5th) to stage a series of lightning strikes covering two days each week.

This action follows management's refusal to meet union demands for a reduced lunchbreak in order to shorten the working day, which at present is around nine hours.

The crews have rejected management claims that a reduction in hours would violate the government's pay limit and that the cost to the West Midland Passenger Transport Executive of implementing the reduction would be £250,000 a year.

One busman told *Socialist Press*: "We believe that the extra work

involved would mean the creation of twenty more jobs. This would cost approximately £900 a week - quite a way from the £250,000 figure."

Throughout the strike the right-wing Coventry *Evening Telegraph* has thrown its weight behind management.

When reporters came to the mass meeting they were surrounded by angry busmen protesting the attack on the dispute carried by the paper.

Cuts in local government spending have led to a reduction in subsidies to WMPTE, which has announced the need for fare increases.

The present dispute will obviously be used as a cover for part of the increases.

BONUS SLASHED - BY T&G OFFICIAL

In a startling set of "negotiations" the T&GWU Oxford District Secretary David Buckle has recommended a deal for car ferry drivers which includes a £14 a week cut in bonus payments.

This deal confirms that the hallmark of a bureaucrat is not that he has an office and a briefcase, not that he manoeuvres against militant workers and destroys trade union democracy - but that he represents the interests of the employers.

This point is demonstrated with extraordinary clarity in the struggles of the ferry drivers - who work for Cartransport Co. driving new cars from the Cowley car factories, ready for delivery to distributors.

Buckle, an extreme right-winger, has used every trick in the bureaucrat's book to protect his chief henchman in the ferry drivers' branch, Henry Shepherd. Shepherd is not only assistant branch secretary and chief negotiator (after Buckle) - but is also senior fore-



the right to remove Shepherd from his union positions Buckle was then forced to reverse this at the T&GWU District Committee, and say that the Branch has the right to decide.

But since then Buckle has manoeuvred to stop a branch meeting from taking place. When finally pinned down to a date, he cancelled the T&GWU hall on the grounds that it was double booked.

But all this is only one side of the story. The primary question is Buckle's relationship with the employers - not on a personal level (his son Alan Buckle holds a high position as Group Traffic Coordin-

table. The deal Buckle is recommending reduces the bonus of the ferry drivers from over £20 a week to a flat £6 incorporated into the hourly rate.

The renegotiation of the bonus was brought about by a change in the work pattern.

According to reports from members, Buckle told the branch meeting that the existing bonus was too high.

Then, having negotiated a substantially reduced rate, Buckle argued the entire employer's case, (backed up by the threat of redundancy if the offer was rejected) adding a few further points of his own, in a leaflet to the drivers

BEHIND FIREMEN DISPUTES

Recent reports in the national press on a series of disputes in the London Fire Brigade involving Fire Brigade Union members have publicised a number of festering problems which have been developing over a long period.

It is of course correct that union members should unite to defend against abusive authoritarian officers and unite to fight for improvements in conditions of service.

What is perhaps surprising is that this militancy had been suppressed by local union officials until after the union's annual conference in May.

At the conference, held in Bridlington, the EC were able to count on the support of the London FBU officials for the TUC pay policy.

The London delegation further fully backed the EC's policy of negotiating with, rather than confronting the employers with demands for improvements for a shorter working week, better annual leave arrangements and

Now, after supporting the union's EC to get through the National Annual Conference without taking any resolutions which could lead to national demands by the membership, the London union officials embark on limited contained action with seemingly tacit support from FBU head office.

In return for their support at the conference for inaction by the EC, the London union officials are given support for their local issues. The full extent of their limited demands are now likely to be met, with an offer of an enquiry into industrial relations in London Fire Brigade.

It is worth noting that in Strathclyde, Buckinghamshire and other brigades which have had disputes on various issues (eg local payments and conditions of service) the brigade union officials have had their credentials withdrawn to force the membership back to normal working.

The FBU opposed the £6 wage limit but one year later with the help of the London delegates and the recommendation of the EC, voted to support the TUC 4½%

TASS EQUAL PAY SELLOUT

TASS's claim to lead the fight on equal pay for women received another dent last week with the settlement at Metal Closures, West Bromwich, makers of bottle tops.

Women clerical workers who were looking for a £4 a week increase, back-dated to December 29th 1975 voted unanimously for strike action on July 2nd. They postponed the action to July 6th to allow last minute negotiations to take place.

The local divisional officer, however, convinced himself that a successful strike was impossible because of the apparent hostility of some male workers.

DELAY

On Tuesday July 6th he asked for a further 24 hours delay, and in this period negotiated an improved offer of £2.20 back-dated to February 16th 1976.

He then recommended that this offer be accepted, saying that strike action would probably "split the workforce", and end in defeat.

His recommendation was thrown out by 19 votes to 11. He then declared that 19 to 11 was not a sufficiently convincing majority and asked if those against the strike

would abide by the majority, virtually inciting them to say 'No'.

He was then able to use this as evidence of a "split" and persuade the women who had voted for strike action to abstain in a second vote!

SHABBY

This whole shabby episode allowed a handful of backward male workers with the backing of the officials to sabotage the equal pay fight by the majority.

It shows very well how the willingness to struggle for their rights is not lacking in working women.

It is the trade union leadership which finds excuses to sabotage this fight on the basis of splits and indecisiveness that it, itself, creates but blames on the union membership.

It is necessary that the local TASS women's committee takes up this case and investigates the role of the officials, in this and other recent disputes in the Birmingham area.

SUPERVISE

Representatives of the committee should be delegated to supervise the activities of officials in future disputes over equal pay and sex discrimination.

SEABOURNES STRIKE

Drivers at the Nuneaton depot of Seabournes Shipping Co. - a haulage contractors mainly engaged in long distance continental work - are in the second week of a strike for trade union recognition.

In a statement put out by the strike committee the drivers say:

"The work force at the above company are on strike for the basic Trade Union right of recognition. For almost the last two months the workers have rightly demanded that this basic right should be conceded by Management. The Management's only response has been to remove some of the more

lucrative work from Nuneaton which has effectively cut some of the workers' wages by substantial amounts."

Both the Nuneaton Trades Council and the T&GWU 5/166 branch have supported the Seabourn workers' action and have called on the T&GWU executive to make the strike official.

This call has as yet received no response.

The strike committee is calling for all Seabournes work to be blacked and for urgent financial support.

Donations should be sent to: D. Colledge, 68, Ivanhoe Avenue, Attleborough, Nuneaton.

TEACHERS TO TAKE ACTION

Pressure from the student teacher occupations and further announcements of massive cuts in education spending have finally forced the National Union of Teachers 'Action Committee' to speak out.

They have at last declared as official policy measures which are already being demanded and even carried out in many areas unofficially by members, in spite of the vicious disciplinary measures recently introduced by the union.

Max Morris, Chairman, is now saying "We decided to take the offensive".

This, after allowing cuts right, left and centre for the past year and more. The Oxford Divisional Secretary recently outlined in close detail the swiftness of cuts he had already allowed through, saying "enough is enough".

Indeed on the same weekend as the Action Committee made its announcement, twelve of the countries biggest local authorities

This means teacher unemployment will certainly top 20,000 this year, while the NUT has remained virtually inert, giving no lead to the wave of occupations by student teachers in recent months.

The Action Committee has now decided to extend the action taken by members in its chosen action areas to include: refusing to cover for absences of more than one day (previously the condition was after three days); refusing to cover unfilled vacancies; and refusing to teach classes of more than 35 (30 in reception and infant classes).

POLICY

The fact that NUT policy since 1969 has been to refuse to teach any class over 30 shows how "extreme" this last measure is!

All these moves, however inadequate and belated, are to be welcomed and should be accompanied by enquiries into staffing and pupil figures at individual schools to provide ammunition



Gerry Casey, Chairman of Oxford and District Trades Council



Oxford Trades Council fights the cuts.

OXFORD & DISTRICT TRADES COUNCIL

Following the disaffiliation of Oxford Trades Council, the TUC bureaucracy, jointly with the Stalinists and local right-wingers in Oxford are to "re-constitute" the Council on Wednesday 14th July.

Before they start they are doing everything they can to completely shackle the democratic rights of delegates to the new Council.

Firstly the meeting will be a "packed" meeting because virtually every Trade Union official has worked flat out to get delegates who will oppose the previous fighting leadership.

Secondly the meeting will only be for the election of officers and to accept a constitution. In order to make sure of continuing bureaucratic control over the Council the TUC has ruled out of order in advance any amendment to the model rules that seeks to get rid of the "gag rule" Rule 14 (renumbered as Rule 15 in the new Model

Rules).

To make doubly sure of this the supporters of the Stalinists have moved a resolution saying:

"A delegate refusing to accept the president's ruling as final shall, on a point of order by any delegate present, be suspended from participation in the meeting".

ONLY ANSWER

The only answer of the bureaucrats and Stalinists to the movement forward of the working class and the struggle for alternative leadership, is to try to tighten their bureaucratic hold.

Oxford Trades Council had a powerful record in the town; last Friday they organised a well attended public meeting against the dictatorship in India. Those who fought to establish this record will not be silenced by bureaucratic moves.



Max Morris - Stalinist chairman of the NUT Action Committee.

HULL STEWARDS CAPITULATE

Three months after their shop stewards credentials were withdrawn by the Region 10 Committee of the T&GWU the shop stewards committee in Hull docks has capitulated to the bureaucracy and lifted the blacking of the Barge Aboard Catamaran (BACAT) system - which is a threat to jobs in the Port.

Far from leading any fight against the T&GWU bureaucracy as

part of the fight for democracy in the T&GWU as a whole, the stewards resorted to bureaucratic methods themselves.

The blacking was imposed by a mass meeting of dockers, yet they lifted it simply on a decision of the stewards, who then had their credentials restored by the grateful regional bureaucracy.

Their action has strengthened the T&GWU bureaucracy and has struck a blow at the traditional independence and militancy of dockers in the port.

OUT NOW!

THE BATTLE FOR TROTSKYISM
Two documents of the WRP opposition plus an account of the expulsions prepared by the Executive Committee of the Workers Socialist League.
Available from WSL, 31.



MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

HOT AIR FROM NUR CHIEF

NUR President David Bowman hit the headlines on Monday with another blast of hot air.

After accepting each round of cuts as they have been handed out by the Labour government, he told the NUR conference at Paignton that it may be necessary to "close the bloody lot" if the government tries to implement its Green Paper proposals to cut a further 4,000 miles from the remaining 11,000 miles of rail network.

The reason for the militant rhetoric is likely to become clear later in the week when eight motions come up calling for return to free collective bargaining.

Bowman may well rule these out of order in the same way that pay was ruled out of order at the NUM conference the week before.

If this is so he needs some left talk to set the scene.



AUSTRALIAN GENERAL STRIKE

Almost three million workers struck against Australia's right wing Fraser government last Monday, paralysing the country in a 24 hour stoppage from midnight on Sunday.

Called by the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) - the equivalent of the TUC in Britain - the strike was officially supported by all but three of Australia's 130 trade unions.

The official reason for the stoppage was the decision of Fraser's Liberal Party-National Country Party coalition (in effect a Tory government) to scrap the Medibank scheme for universal health care prepared by the Labour government last year, before Whitlam's administration was railroaded out in a rigged General Election called by the Governor General.

Fraser promised during the election campaign in November to keep Medibank, but now - along with many other cuts in public spending - he has effectively destroyed it.

The levy to finance it will be

much higher than planned on wage-earners but lower on the rich and space is planned for a flourishing "private sector" of the medical profession.

But the massive response to the strike call was not just about the health service. It showed the readiness of the Australian labour movement to take class action to oust Fraser's reactionary government.

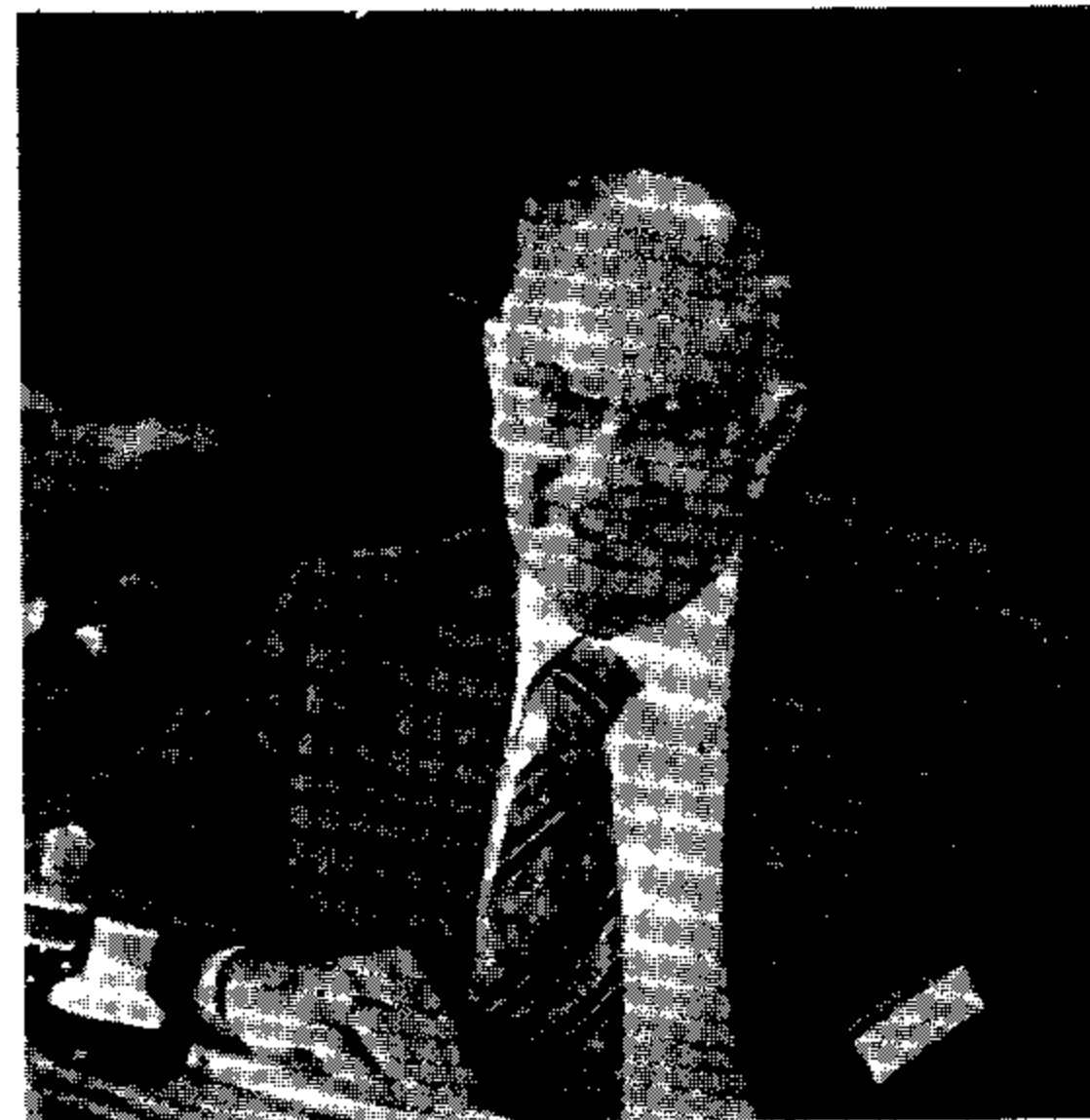
IMPOSED

Fraser was imposed in a snap General Election last December, manipulated by the Queen's representative as Governor General, former military intelligence officer, Sir John Kerr.

The strike is a huge blow at the efforts of ACTU chief Bob Hawke to reach an "agreement" with Fraser on limiting wage claims in return for tax concessions. It shows that without the efforts of the trade union bureaucracy in holding action to a 24 hour protest stoppage, this anti-working class government could easily be toppled.



TUC leaders Drain, Jackson and Scanlon. They voted for the wage cutting 4½% pay deal knowing that more public spending cuts were on the way.



MORE CUTS COMING

All commentators now predict that £1000 million of additional public spending cuts will be announced next week by Chancellor Healey.

And among the reactionary supporters of this plan to please the world's bankers and the Confederation of British Industry is Tribunate MP Leslie Huckfield, now Under-Secretary for Industry.

In a speech to the Manchester branch of ASLEF, Huckfield said that if Britain wanted to remain an industrial nation she should put "factories before hospitals", adding:

"For the time being we cannot do justice to both. We have got to put factories first".

Huckfield simply admits the logic of 'left' reformism - as soon as a crisis emerges the 'lefts' rush to support capitalism, shelving socialist policies as a matter for the indefinite future.

Sounding just like Callaghan, Huckfield went on to say:

"We have to expand our industrial manufacturing base so that we can afford all the social improvements to which the

Labour Party is pledged". This position is also that argued at the TUC special conference by speakers including AUEW President Scanlon, and UPW leader Tom Jackson.

The "expansion of industry" worked for by TUC and the Labour leaders is simply the expansion of capitalist industry. And of course it ignores completely the objective crisis of capitalism which is the root of the present recession internationally.

It is the fall in the rate of profit caused by the workings of capitalism itself which has created the slump in investment and the low level of production.

It is capitalism itself which stands squarely in the way of fully utilising and developing the productive forces, and which has, with the help of Healey's measures, thrown 1½ million onto the dole queues, and slashed workers' living standards.

Rather than muttering on and daydreaming about "expanding production", while creating more unemployed, and further cutting living standards through huge spending cuts, the TUC, along with Huckfield and his Tribunate colleagues should be spearheading the fight for an alternative, socialist, strategy.

This would begin by a rejection

of wage control and all forms of tinkering with capitalism - one of the worst of which is Labour's National Enterprise Board supported by the Labourite 'lefts'.

Instead workers in crisis-ridden industry must be mobilised in the fight to open the books of the employers, to show to the working class the necessity for nationalisation without compensation.

At the same time preparations must be made for threatened plants to be occupied, to back the nationalisation demand, while pressuring the trade union leadership to generalise action in support of these struggles.

The expansion of industrial production can take place, around a programme of planned useful public works allocated to nationalised firms under the management of elected trade union committees.

Only such a programme can provide new jobs for the unemployed, reopen closed plants, and bring production up to full capacity.

The refusal of the 'lefts' and public service union leaders to base their verbal opposition to the cuts on a fight for such a perspective leaves them impotent in front of the determination of Healey and Callaghan to make the working class pay for the crisis.

PARTICIPATION, cont'd from front page.

Robinson, Longbridge convenor, who is joint chairman.

These men must return to trade union principle; resign from the Ryder collaboration scheme; and add their support to the struggle to stop these sackings.

There is no longer the slightest room for confusion. Implementing Ryder means standing four-square as part of management.

At the same time the EPS workers must demand that the books of both British Leyland and EPS itself be opened to inspection by elected trade union committees.

A thousand jobs are at stake. The secret deals and financial connections must be exposed, along with further plans to reorganise and speed-up workers in the Cowley factories (where fewer workers are being taken on to do

the work than are being sacked by EPS). All information surrounding these moves must be made available.

This will show that the only way that jobs can be protected in the long term is to make EPS a part of a planned nationalised motor industry organised and run under the management of the workers themselves.

This programme is not new to Banbury workers. The Trades Council and the EPS 5/104 T&GWU branch have for nearly a year had a policy of fighting for work sharing on full pay, the opening of the books and nationalisation in case of threatened redundancies.

Now is the time to implement this policy in practice. The fight will be supported by all principled trade unionists.

MASS DEMO IN SPAIN

The week-old Spanish cabinet has already been shaken by the biggest outbreak of workers' demonstrations since the civil war.

In Bilbao on Thursday July 8th, over 150,000 joined a march through the city organised by a committee of unemployed workers and supported by all the major workers' organisations in the Euskadi region.

The slogans of the demonstration were for an amnesty for political prisoners, political freedoms and the reemployment of jobless workers

JOINING

This joining of political and economic demands, which the Spanish Communist Party has consistently opposed in order to maintain collaboration with sections of the bourgeoisie, marks an important advance in the mounting struggle against fascism.

The huge scale of the Bilbao

demonstration (permitted by the local authorities under a new law) gave a stimulus to an enormous wave of anti-government demonstrations (both permitted and banned) throughout Spain in the following few days.

POLICE

The police, who did not dare to attack the Bilbao march, have since moved in ferociously against the demonstrators.

In Santurce (near Bilbao) a woman was murdered by plain clothes members of the Civil Guard and others were injured, as they were also in savage police attacks in Madrid, Pamplona and Sadabell near Barcelona.

At the same time the regime is faced by a new eruption of strikes including a national postal workers strike, suspended a few months ago only through drafting the strikers into the army.

King Juan Carlos' attempt to establish a more effective cabinet has collapsed as soon as it began.

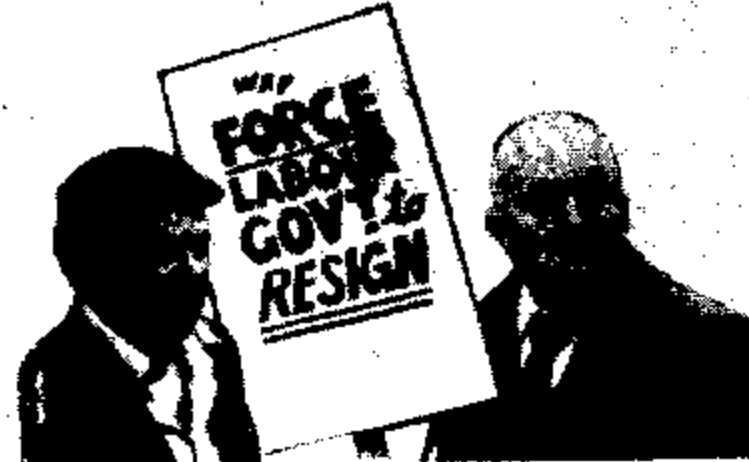
TASS STRIKE

TASS members at Christopher Relf's of Redditch have been on strike a week and a half in support of their shop steward who has been sacked by management.

90% of the work carried out by Relf's is for the Leyland factories in Cowley where it is effectively blacked.

BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN

AN ANALYSIS OF THE SECTARIAN POLITICS OF THE WORKERS REVOLUTIONARY PARTY



JUST PUBLISHED

"BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN"

An analysis of the sectarian politics of the WRP

48 pages
Price 40p plus 10p p&p

Available from
WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill,
London NW5 1HR

SUBSCRIBE to Socialist Press

BRITAIN	EUROPE
6 issues £1	6 issues £1.15
12 issues £2	12 issues £2.30
24 issues £4	24 issues £4.60

REST OF THE WORLD

6 issues	£1.50
12 issues	£3.00
24 issues	£6.00

I would like to take out a subscription to Socialist Press. I would like . . . issues, I enclose £ . . .

NAME

ADDRESS

COMPLETE and SEND to: 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

£600 FUND

The final total for the June Monthly Development Fund reached £537.56 - a little over £60 short of our target.

With the holiday season now upon us it is important that the fight for finance is not allowed to slip as comrades go off on their holidays.

We have so far received the following amounts towards the July fund.
Coventry, £10; Oxford Assembly, £3; Central London, £45; Banbury, £2.40; South London, £21.50; Aylesbury, £1.00; North London, £41; Oxford NHS, £30.
Total so far: £153.90.