



'LEFTS' BETRAY JOBS TO "SAVE LABOUR GOVERNMENT"

INSIDE
Trotskyism Today: 4-Page Supplement.
"Death of a Fixer"Page 7
Confusion Fights Corruption. . .Page 8
Trico Strike.....Page 9

Both Left and Right wing Labour MPs are now agreed on the most basic issue workers face today. Both sides consider it more important to "Save the Labour Government" than to defend the interests of the working class.

The statements made last week by Norman Atkinson and Arthur Latham, both leading members of the 'Tribune' group in Parliament, highlight the way that these people are assisting the Callaghan-Healey attacks.

Atkinson said: "All those who seek to sustain the government in office must accept the bankers' cuts in principle - not in their entirety - but in principle."

He claimed there was no alternative to this.

PROTECT

Like Latham, Atkinson said a Tory government would mean at least "two and a quarter million unemployed". The logic is therefore to protect the reactionary Callaghan leadership carrying out Tory policies simply on the grounds that the return of the Tories would be worse.

Healey now talks about four years of pay control, while Callaghan openly says it will be 1980 before the situation is better.

So the right-wing use the threat of an election which everybody knows (and which the by-election results show) Labour would lose because of abstentions and hostility caused by the Wilson-Callaghan policies.

THREAT

This threat has pulled the 'left' into acceptance of 1½ million unemployed, wage-cutting and the ending of free collective bargaining, along with continuous cuts in the social services.

The right-wing have shown that they themselves could not care less whether a Labour government is returned at the next election. They are only worried about the

protection of British capitalism and the defence of its profits. It is this which provides them with their prestige and bureaucratic privileges.

Roy Jenkins for example is just about to take up a £40,000 a year Common Market job.

And the case of John Stonehouse - a Privy Councillor - has revealed only a little of what goes on in the Labour leadership. The Labour leaders have much more to hide. This is confirmed by the way that Eddie Milne, who is campaigning on corruption, was expelled from the Labour Party, and by the attempts to suppress his book. Inevitably, none of the 'lefts' have defended him.

While the Labour right wing is completely tied up in its compromises, collaboration and corrupt deals with capitalism, their 'left' wing counterparts put consideration of their own careers in front of any commitment to principle.

This is why, when Wilson used dire threats of an election in order to pressure the 37 'left' abstainers into endorsing his economic policy during an earlier round of cuts, Callaghan can now even pull the 'left' dominated Labour NEC into acceptance of the full Social Contract by 13 votes to 7.

EXPOSURE

Benn even went so far as not to turn up to the meeting in case it meant him being exposed; if he had voted against the cuts Callaghan was threatening to remove him from his prestigious cabinet position; if he voted in favour, Benn himself, like Foot (who now says he is glad Callaghan beat him in the leadership election!) would have been exposed before the whole working class as nothing but a right-winger.

We have to say that if voting against the cuts or unemployment or the pay 'deals' means bringing down the Labour government then this should be done.

The 'lefts' refusal to fight means that any Tory government that returns as the result of an election would be handed all the anti-working class legislation of this Labour government.

Their refusal to fight assists the development of frustration in the working-class which in turn leads to demoralisation and assists the development of racist ideas.

The 'lefts', accepting only Parliamentary numbers and etiquette, show contempt for the working class who have shown, as the miners did in 1974 that they could defeat a Tory government.

STAND

A stand by any of the 'lefts' fighting the policies of Callaghan with alternative anti-capitalist policies and campaigning throughout the workers' movement for the removal of the Callaghan-Healey leadership, would strengthen the working class and assist it to break through the barriers of their own trade union leadership - which also stands behind the slogan of "Save the Labour Government".

These 'left' MPs and their trade union counterparts however are doing exactly the opposite of this.

They tell workers 'we are weak' and that the alternative to 1½ million unemployed under Labour is 2¼ million unemployed under the Tories.

This simply accepts the
Cont'd Back Page.

STRUGGLES ROCK APARTHEID STATE

The renewed upsurge of black protest in South Africa raises the possibility that white racist rule is now under an attack which it cannot survive.

Fifteen years ago at Sharpsville the cold-blooded murder of 69 people provoked a temporary retreat of the mass struggle.

Last week, however, thousands of young black students, school-children and workers showed in Soweto, Mafeking, Port Elizabeth and other places throughout

South Africa that they will be neither intimidated nor bribed into accepting the continuation of one of the most complete and brutal systems of repression in the world.

Six weeks ago, in June, police repression of riots against the compulsory use of the Afrikaans language in black schools left, even on official estimates, 176 dead and over 1000 wounded.

SAVAGERY

This savagery did not quell the protest which, in the form of

demonstrations, school absenteeism and arson has simmered ever since, not only in Soweto but also in many other towns.

The government was forced to reverse its policy on the use of Afrikaans.

But this concession was no more effective than beating and shooting in heading off the offensive of the young blacks.

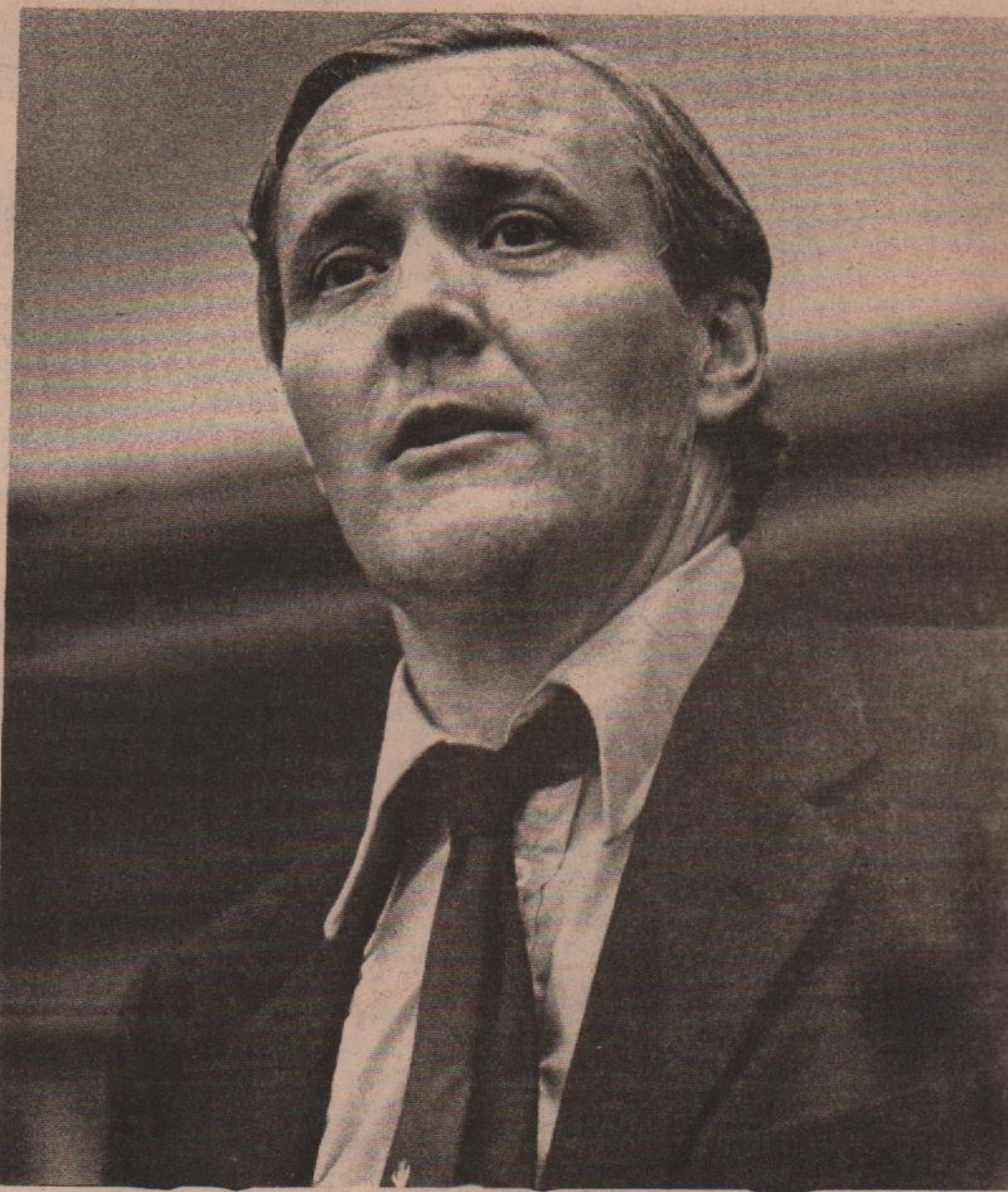


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Benn

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



SPAIN: PARTIAL AMNESTY CONCEDED

Mass demonstrations have forced the reluctant fascist government of Spain to grant a limited amnesty to political prisoners.

Under the amnesty about 400 prisoners will be released and a number of exiled political leaders of opposition parties allowed to return to Spain. But the amnesty does not apply to anyone whose alleged offences involved violence, and so excludes most members of the Euskadi (Basque) liberation movement ETA and the Maoist FRAP.

Other 'non-political' prisoners who were not included staged a protest on the roof of Carabanchel jail in Madrid.

LIMITATIONS

There are two more glaring limitations in the amnesty. First, it does nothing to reinstate those thousands of workers who have been dismissed from their jobs for trade union and political activities.

Any amnesty for them is explicitly left by the government up to their employers. And there has been no sign that the government will amnesty any of its own ex-employees.

Second, the 'crimes' for which the political prisoners have been in jail have not been abolished. Any of them could be rearrested at any time for political activities.

At the present rate of arrests by the Spanish police then any cells emptied by the amnesty would be refilled again within two months.

But, this small if much publicised concession, is one which has been forced on the government. It shows the extent to which the power of fascism is crumbling before the massive upsurge of the working class.

FEAR

The leaders of the Spanish Communist Party (PCE), however, give clear evidence of their fear of this independent offensive of the working class by counting the amnesty a 'great victory' and as virtual proof of the government's conversion to democracy.

The amnesty, said PCE secretary General Santiago Carillo, 'seems to be a step towards the reconciliation of Spaniards' and added that this party would be willing to negotiate with the government. He

meant negotiate openly, since secret talks between PCE leaders and the fascist government have taken place for some time.

Spokesmen of the Socialist Party (PSOE) have given the amnesty an even more rapturous welcome and have said that the 'democratic forces' are considering the establishment of a committee to institutionalise the dialogue with the government.

Only the Workers' Commissions executive, though dominated by the PCE, issued a less abject statement, saying that the struggle would continue "until the last prisoner was out of jail and all political parties and trade union organisations were legalised without exception."

Carillo and the PCE president Dolores Ibarruri, intend to return to Spain next month, it was announced at a widely publicised meeting of the party central committee which took place in Rome at the end of July.

At this meeting it was made public for the first time that a number of the leading members of the workers' commissions were also members of the PCE Central Committee; these include Marcelino Camacho, Fernando Soto, and the Jesuit priest Francisco Garcia Salve.

COLLABORATION

The PCE invited to the open sessions of this meeting not only representatives of Spanish and European Socialist and Social Democratic Parties but also the Christian Democrats, with whom it is allied in the class collaborationist Democratic Coordination and who have already been holding open discussions with the Suarez government.

The Rome meeting confirmed that there has been no change in the right wing policy of the Communist Party. Though this correctly calls for a complete amnesty and the establishment of autonomy for Euskadi, Galicia, Catalonia and any other region of Spain which demands it, the essence of the programme is the most scandalous class collaboration.

Nowhere in its programme does the PCE go a step beyond calling for the achievement of elementary bourgeois democratic rights.

And even these, it thinks, can be achieved by way of a government of national reconciliation which

would be a coalition of left and right, including fascists of the present regime.

The 'dialogue' between the fascist government and the opposition has now become the main talking point of the 'democratic forces' grouped in the class-collaborationist 'Democratic Coordination.'

UNPRINCIPLED ALLIANCE

A group of 32 leaders of the Coordination along with some independents issued a statement about the proposed dialogue on July 22nd. In this the ultimate anti-working class objective of this unprincipled alliance was made clearer than ever.

Spain's serious economic problems it said 'demand a political agreement to create the conditions necessary for economic recovery'; this required the participation of all Spaniards.

There is no doubt that these "conditions" mean an all out attack on the working class in order to help solve the crisis of Spanish capitalism which is every day becoming more pressing.

Without some political agreement with the leaders of the main workers parties the fascist regime knows it has no hope of imposing the requisite economic policy.

WITHDRAWN

For that reason, it has withdrawn completely the programme of economic measures announced by the previous cabinet three months ago and has said that for the time being it will deal with the economic situation with a series of piecemeal decrees.

It sees a longer term programme as being dependent on some political accord with the opposition including the Communist Party.

But the PCE leadership will not easily divert the angry, impatient and militant Spanish working class down this unprincipled road. Already it is losing its control of the workers' parties which stand to its left.

Up to now the Labour Party (PTE) and Workers Revolutionary Organisation (ORT) have maintained a critical support of the class-collaborationist alliances. But their representatives were significantly absent from the 32 who signed the statement calling for a political accord with the government.



Rioters challenge S.African police in Soweto. Now upheavals have spread to key areas including Mafeking and Port Elizabeth.

MIDDLE EAST:

Beirut is the centre of an international political and military conspiracy against the Palestinian people. Right-wing Lebanese forces continued, throughout the weekend, their merciless bombardment of the Tel-Al-Zaatar refugee camp and the Nabaa leftists' enclave in Eastern Beirut.

Backed by the imperialist powers, with the connivance of the Soviet Union, the aim is to drown in blood the very centre of the Palestinian resistance to Zionism.

This was why the Lebanese rightists had the full cooperation of the Syrian government in 'postponing' the ceasefire talks scheduled to start in Damascus.

With the agreement of the Syrian regime they intend to resume 'talks' only if they succeed in reducing the Palestinian and left-wing positions in East Beirut to rubble.

The conspiracy, however, goes far wider than this. The Israeli navy is now regularly patrolling the sea off the Southern Lebanon to prevent supplies and arms reaching the Palestinian people.

supplied.

Syrian forces are ignoring — under government instructions — the 'cease-fire' agreement and firing on Palestinian positions in wide areas of the Lebanon.

And at the same time, in the South of the country, Israel is promoting the so-called 'good fences' policy, trying to establish control in the frontier areas by permitting a trickle of food and medical supplies in to the population which has been driven into a desperate situation by the months of war.

At the same time the Arab League 'mediators', and the Libyan and Egyptian representatives supposedly 'sympathetic' to the Palestinians, run in diplomatic circles in response to every latest, cynical 'peace' proposal from the Syrian government or the right-wing cliques in Lebanon.

And the Palestinian people are held within this political trap by the nationalist leadership of the PLO, round Yasser Arafat, which pursues each new diplomatic cul-de-sac and the mirages of 'support' from such governments as France, but refused to appeal over the heads of the Arab government to

POLAND:

FREE

JAILED STRIKERS

The strike wave that swept Poland on June 25th had nothing to do with "hooliganism".

It was a powerful class blow at the Stalinist bureaucracy of Gierk, in response to their arrogant attempt to hoist food prices.

Despite the police repression, and the lies and censorship of the Stalinist regime, reports filtering out of Poland show more and more clearly that it was an offensive of the working class that forced the government to back down.

In the Gdansk area not only the shipyards, but many other factories, in response to the price rises, were locking the gates and stopping work in protest.

It was the Gdansk shipyards whose demonstrations against price rises, and subsequent police violence, brought the downfall of Gromyko's government in 1971, and his replacement by Gierk.

And in Radom, scene of the sharpest clashes in June, reports in

gans", the workers formed a demonstration on the morning of June 25th, and marched to the Communist Party headquarters carrying red flags and singing the *Internationale*.

It was police attacks on the demonstration which led to the fighting, in which an estimated 17 workers were killed.

Trade union and labour movement organisations in Britain have a duty to protest in the strongest possible terms against the police violence of the Stalinist regime in Poland.

The workers in Radom and Warsaw who have been singled out for vicious jail sentences must be freed and charges pending against any others must be dropped.

Despite their tactical retreat on the price rises, the Stalinist leadership in Poland have done nothing to alleviate the chronic food shortages that face ordinary workers.

Sugar for example, is now unobtainable in the state shops, and

S.AFRICA

Cont'd from front page.

On August 4th this offensive reached its highest point so far. A march of 20,000 left Soweto for the centre of white Johannesburg to demand the release of all those arrested in earlier demonstrations.

When the march was stopped by the police, the demonstrators built barricades, tore up railway lines and virtually brought transport from Soweto to Johannesburg to a halt.

This, plus a campaign for a general strike, meant that over 60% of Johannesburg's black labour force did not turn up for work on that day.

Mass demonstrations continued and spread during the following two days. The police and security forces were put on national alert and have killed and injured scores of young black students and workers.

The renewal of the mass demonstrations is terrifying the white nationalist government, not only because they seem irrepressible by police intimidation, but because they are clearly better organised than those in June.

Rioters challenge S.African police in Soweto. Now upheavals have spread to key areas including Mafeking and Port Elizabeth.

The demands are becoming more general and they are increasingly taking the form of the call for a general strike.

The signs of panic among the ruling Nationalist party were clear from the tone of editorials of the main Afrikaans newspapers which recognised a need for 'concessions' such as permitting home-ownership for blacks.

SUPPORT

But all reports of the demonstrations make it seem that support for them is so widespread, especially among the black youth, that such concessions would only be dismissed as insulting.

It now becomes more urgent than ever for the fight to be extended in the Labour movement in Britain to force the Labour government to break all economic and diplomatic links with white racism in Southern Africa.

The rapidly growing fight of the oppressed black population of South Africa can be materially strengthened at this crucial time by

ITALY: CP INSTALLS A TORY GOVERNMENT

The small cloud of lethal TCDD gas, which escaped from the chemical plant of the Swiss Hoffman-La Roche company in Seveso near Milan, is having major consequences both medically and politically.

Fifteen people are now in hospital but the long-term medical effects of the almost indestructible poison are expected to be much worse.

TCDD was an ingredient of the defoliant used by the United States in the Vietnam war.

STERILITY

A report from Vietnam in the Italian Communist Party (PCI) newspaper *L'Unita* said that sterility had been caused by the drug and infant mortality had increased by over 50% in contaminated areas.

The new Christian Democratic (DC) government has been ironically forced to advise abortion and contraception to inhabitants of the contaminated area.

(It was DC's opposition to abortion which indirectly led to the June 20th elections).

The PCI leaders have criticized the dangerous delay in the government's handling of the situation.

But they propose that this deadly threat to workers' health

and lives should be investigated through an enquiry *not* by the labour movement but by parliament!

INTERESTS

The systematic subordination of the interests of the working class to those of the bourgeoisie, of which this is an example, last week led the PCI to use its power to install in office another DC government, a government of the bosses.

Led by Giulio Andreotti (who led the centre-right coalition of 1972), the new government survived its initial vote of confidence only through the abstention of the Communist Party (PCI).

The smaller parties, and in particular the Socialist Party (PSI) were all unwilling to abstain and take the responsibility for the continuation of Christian Democratic rule unless the PCI did so as well.

CONNIVING

The PCI and PSI together now have more votes in parliament than the DC; but they are conniving to keep it in office and thus they fully share responsibility for its nakedly anti-working class policies.

The published programme of the Andreotti government contains no criticism of the fascists. It includes a commitment to reduce the vast

government deficit, which means enormous cuts in state spending and increases in taxation; wage control, including a "transformation" (ie. partial abolition) of the already incomplete sliding scale of wages; and the rationalisation of the state-owned industries, leading inevitably to many thousands of redundancies to add to the 1½ million workers already unemployed.

SAVAGE

These savage anti-working class measures — wage cuts, unemployment and state spending cuts — are the price demanded by the other major imperialist powers for a loan from the International Monetary Fund which Andreotti's government desperately needs.

They are also the beginning of the programme required by the Italian capitalist class, whose crisis of profitability has worsened markedly during the last few months of political uncertainty.

The bosses know that they cannot introduce these policies without the active collaboration of the PCI and PSI leaders.

But the policies are bound to encounter massive resistance from the working class. PCI leaders fear this hostility from their own base and in the last week have been touring the country trying to explain to party and workers' meetings why they have already broken their electoral promise to

return to opposition if not admitted to a coalition by the DC.

They point to their gains: a "Communist" as speaker of the assembly, "Communists" in the chair of several important parliamentary committees; old premiers such as Colombo, Moro and Rumor excluded from the Cabinet, as the PCI leaders insisted.

But workers did not give the PCI more votes and more parliamentary strength than ever before in order to see their own parties re-install a bosses' government with a few cosmetic changes and to have unleashed against them an all-out attack on wages, jobs and social services.

CONDEMNED

The PCI leaders have condemned the Polish Communist Party over the prison sentences given to workers after the recent protests about price increases.

Their opportunism in doing this is made clear by their support for the DC's programme of wage cuts and price increases in Italy.

The main criticism of Andreotti's policy speech made by the PCI daily newspaper *L'Unita* was that it did not call strongly enough for "sacrifice, rigorous choices and responsible participation."

Leaders who can behave like this have totally abandoned any struggle on behalf of the working class.



Italian CP leader Berlinguer after meeting Christian Democratic Prime Minister Moro earlier this year.

The Workers Socialist League

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class in opposition to the betrayals of both "left" and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party.

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 deal with Healey 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 and NUPE leadership who substitute the words for the action.

In London this policy has already won a big response with the one-day action against the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital — when 2,000 hospital workers in the area struck and 400 marched to lobby MPs against the cuts.

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 and against all forms of "workers' participation" have won mass responses.

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.

But our struggle for the continuity of the principles of Trotskyism is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the international struggles of the working class and moves to rebuild the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So while many interventions in Britain 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 Trotskyist 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.

SUPPORT IRELAND DELEGATION

It was in discussing the relationship between Ireland and England in the last century that Marx commented that a nation that oppresses another cannot itself be free.

So still in 1976, British soldiers campaign to maintain 'law and order' in Northern Ireland and their allies in the South imprison people on the say-so of policemen. Here in Britain hundreds of people have been picked up under the so-called Prevention of Terrorism Act, including pacifists like Pat Arrow-smith, trade unionists like Joseph Gallacher of the Bletchley Trades Council and members of the Irish Young Socialists who are known for their opposition to individual terrorism.

TRUTH

The truth of Marx's analysis is being clearly demonstrated, as the capitalist press in this country increasingly distorts and obscures what is happening in Ireland itself.

At a time when the Labour government has apparently abandoned its efforts to discover a pro-imperialist 'final solution' in the North of Ireland, the press only reports occasional 'terrorist incidents' or 'loyalist protests' against negotiations, parole or virtually any attempt made to come to terms with the movements fighting for self-determination.

PRESS

Typical of the looking-glass attitudes of the capitalist press has been the account of what has happened after the assassination of the British ambassador in Dublin on 21st July.

Not only was half the entire police force of the Irish Republic directed to finding those responsible, but many people were picked up who could not have had anything to do with it, and increased

jail sentences for even belonging to what the Government decided to be 'subversive organisations' were announced.

Truly, no government could go further in showing its selective concern for the citizens of another!

No publicity whatever has been given by the capitalist media in this country to a further serious reactionary move by the Fianna Gail — Labour coalition government of the Irish Republic.

This is the sentence of death which has been passed on two anarchists who are said to have murdered a policeman.

Noel and Marie Murray have been under this sentence throughout the summer and their next appeal will not be heard until October.

There can be no doubt that this sentence is part of an attempt to increase repression against political movements throughout Ireland.

The Murrays are political activists opposed to the policies being carried out by the present repressive and anti-democratic regimes in Ireland.

NO JURY

The campaign against the sentence passed on them has pointed out the scandalous abuses of their "trial" which took place without a jury.

The efforts to free the Murrays must be supported by all class conscious workers.

It is in order to uncover and report on developments in Ireland that the Troops Out Movement in Britain has been organising a National Labour Movement Delegation to Ireland.

This kind of initiative merits full support within the working class movement.

Already thirteen Labour MPs and ten Trades Councils have expressed their support for the

ing to its literature the delegation has adopted these aims.

"...to establish the facts about what is happening in Ireland, by discussing with representatives of the labour movement in Ireland, thereby enabling the labour movement in Britain to arrive at an informed and progressive policy which will assist the Irish people to establish their right to national self-determination."

UNIONS

Other sponsors include union branches — such as the Hatfield Main NUM branch and the North London District Council of the NUR, as well as a number of individuals from the Irish labour movement such as Phil Flynn, Deputy General Secretary of the Local Government and Public Employees Union and Ramond McGain of the Dublin Trades Council Executive.

So far about ten British Trades Councils have elected delegates, along with seventeen trade union branches, three constituency Labour Parties and five student unions.

The delegation will visit Dublin on 17-18 September when they will meet two Labour members of the Dail, David Thornley and John O'Connell, as well as representatives of Fianna Fail, Provisional and Official republican groups and others.

On 19th and 20th September they will visit Northern Ireland and meet tenants groups, trade unionists and others.

Many further details remain to be worked out by the delegates themselves, but in the meantime union branches, Labour Parties and other working class bodies who want more details should contact the Troops Out Movement at 1, North End Rd. London

MEETING OF CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE FULL SUPPORT TO DEMOCRACY CONFERENCE!



Bureaucrats imposing wage cuts: Jones, Basnett, Scanlon, and Gormley.

In our last edition we carried the full text of a statement by the newly formed Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, an ad hoc committee set up by trade union militants.

As a first step in this campaign the committee issued a call for a conference to discuss "Wage Control and Union Democracy" to be held in Birmingham on Sunday October 24th.

The Workers Socialist League will give full support to this conference.

At the second meeting of the Organising Committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, an indication of the broadening response which the campaign has gained was the diversity of trade unions from which members have come forward.

Members of the T&GWU, GMWU, UPW, NUPE, SOGAT, NUT, ASTMS, TASS, NUR, NUJ, COHSE and ACTSS were in attendance.

HEALEY

A discussion on the proposed conference resolution was opened with a reference to the statement by Dennis Healey, following the previous week's NEDC meeting, that the Labour Government were planning a further four years of wage control.

It was the imposition of wage cutting from above, which required

continual policing of the trade union membership that was the basis of the Labour and union leaders' increased attack on democratic procedures whenever a voice was raised in opposition.

STATEMENT

It was emphasised that a fight back against the TUC and Labour government betrayals had to be linked to demands which mobilised sections of workers, such as the sliding scale to defend wages, as outlined in the initial conference statement.

Following several proposals, it was agreed that the references to bureaucratic actions within the Labour Party should be extended to include additional material.

CIRCULATED

Copies of the statement are now being circulated to trade union branches, shop steward committees, Labour Party wards and GMC's.



Strongly represented on the enlarged committee are leading members from the "disaffiliated Oxford Trades Council.

Though the aim is for the conference to be based on delegates from these bodies (credentials 50p) all bona fide trade unionists are invited, with supporting organisations being asked to submit additional proposals, amendments and alterations to the main resolution.

The Labour movement press and political groups are also being asked to support.

There has been an enthusiastic response to the campaign so far, and it was reported that arrangements were already being

made for a large delegation of T&GWU members from the Export Packing Services factory in Banbury.

Campaign Secretary Kevin Lee, a SOGAT FOC emphasised that though the Workers Socialist League had provided significant support for the campaign and were organising national meetings as part of this, the conference was open to all those prepared to support the basic demands in defence of wages and trade union and Labour Party democracy.

Details of the conference (subject to confirmation) are for it to be held on Sunday October 24th at Digbeth Hall, Birmingham with morning and afternoon sessions beginning at 10 am and ending at 4.30 pm.

A further meeting of the Organising Committee is planned for Saturday September 4th in Birmingham. All those interested in attending should contact Kevin Lee, 44, Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20, from whom further details and delegates credentials are also available.

WHAT IS JIMMY CARTER?

The overwhelming victory of "poor" millionaire Jimmy Carter as the Democrat's Presidential candidate ensures him the full support of his party in the coming campaign. But what implications does the South-North marriage between Carter and running mate Walter Mondale have for American politics?

First, if Carter is elected he will be the first President of the US from the Deep South since 1848, that is, since the little-remembered Zach Taylor.

"ENLIGHTENED"

And despite Carter's "enlightened" views on Blacks ("there is no difference between the blood of a white and a black man"), his emphasis on the importance of support from such Black political figures as Georgia Congressman Andy Young and his token consideration of Black California Congressman Ron Dellums as his Vice-Presidential nominee - despite all this, Carter's overwhelming image is that of the Old South.

His peanut farming and Southern-Baptist evangelism, his conservatism on "liberal" issues such as public spending and abortion, his reliance on "strong women" behind him, and especially his indifference to the problems of the trade-union dominated industrial North, single out his Southern origins.

ESTABLISHMENT

It is this which made such a Democratic establishment politician



George Meany, AFL-CIO leader has endorsed Carter

support to Carter as a candidate capable of beating George Wallace on his own ground in the primaries.

But after the nomination, Carter's redneck image has become a liability especially as he will probably have to compete for liberal votes with Eugene McCarthy who is likely to stand again as an independent.

Hence the nomination of Mondale, who is reputed to have strong links with organised labour (the AFL/CIO have now endorsed Carter's nomination) and also support from liberals, who are not convinced by Carter

has largely come from those disillusioned Americans who respond to his anti-Washington, anti-big government line, hoping (vainly) that a new face and a new approach will cure America's ills. On this basis, Carter has also drawn support from the ranks of traditional Republican voters.

Although Carter has announced his intention, if elected, to give his Vice-President a major role and a big slice of authority, he has in practice already tempered Mondale's 'liberalism', notably his support for abortion reform - Carter cannot afford to gamble

from Catholics.

Neither Carter nor Mondale has direct experience in foreign affairs, although both have opposed US intervention in Angola and hint that their government would use more subtle means of suppressing national liberation and communism, such as the application of economic pressure to Italy to keep the Italian Communist Party (PCI) out of the government!

But Carter has certainly not ignored international questions in his training programme for the presidency. Since 1972 he has been closely associated with an international political research and pressure group known as the Trilateral Commission (the 'trilateral' referring to its North American, Western European and Japanese membership).

HISTORIAN

The first director of the Commission was the well-informed historian of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe Zbigniew Brzezinski, known as "Carter's Kissinger". Among the members of the Commission are multi-millionaire David Rockefeller (president of the Chase Manhattan Bank) and Giovanni Agnelli (President of Fiat and until recently of the Italian bosses' federation, the Confindustria).

The Trilateral Commission has been campaigning for a less heavy-handed foreign policy by the US.

But what this might mean in practice is suggested by the detailed policy studies for the Commission on Latin America: Lincoln Gordon (US ambassador to Brazil at the time of the right-wing coup in

sador to Bolivia at the time of the right-wing coup in Bolivia in 1964); Linowitz and others who helped to make the Latin American policy of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations which came up with the economic embargo on Cuba from 1961 and the invasion of the Dominican republic in 1965.

So in Latin American affairs and East European affairs at least the simple peanut farmer with the big grin has some sophisticated and experienced friends.

PRIMITIVE

But these connections are not widely publicised. It is with the simple and primitive image that the Carter camp expect to win. He offers to sweeten the dank atmosphere of Washington, where the stench of Watergate still lingers on the air, with a Southern breeze scented with "honesty", "decency", "trust" and de-centralisation.

There is every sign at present that this appeals to the traditional American voter to whom politics remains a question of personal commitment rather than a struggle of classes for political power.

APPEARANCES

Despite the appearances of change it is plain that the class content of Carter's "programme" is no different from that of Johnson's Nixon's or Ford's. The Democratic convention made as clear as ever was that no working class leadership can be found in the Democratic Party. It highlights the need to build in the United States a mass labour party to represent the independent interests of the

SHIPBUILDING: NATIONALISATION TO SAVE THE BOSSES

by Steve Murray

"It is a struggle for jobs." That was how Callaghan described the situation facing shipbuilding workers at the Boilermakers Conference in May.

But Callaghan's trip to this conference was not concerned with the saving of jobs — but rather at securing the co-operation of the Union in the "slimming of the shipbuilding industry" and the destruction of jobs.

The nationalisation of the shipbuilding industry now being carried out by the Callaghan government is intended solely to benefit the shipyard bosses and to set the stage through massive attacks on shipbuilding workers.

ANARCHIC

For years, workers in the yards have been at the mercy of every anarchic boom and slump in the world market.

At the slightest threat of a decline in world trade, ship owners have called a halt to new orders and cancelled existing ones.

Each wave of recession has pushed thousands of workers onto the dole. The boom of 1972-74 pushed up world capacity to 33 million gross tons, as each capitalist fought to expand his share of the profits.

Now, with the slump in world demand, (predicted as no more than 12 million gross tons until 1980) massive closures and redundancies are on the agenda throughout the world.

For the British shipyard bosses, whose tottering and antiquated yards have been pushed one step closer to bankruptcy with each wave of recession, this present slump spells disaster.

With only 33,000 gross tons ordered in 1975 — compared with a capacity of over 1 million gross tons and order books already running short — they are, with few exceptions, faced with collapse.

For them the Labour govern-

ment's Nationalisation Bill is the only means to save their money.

This explains the alacrity with which they have accepted nationalisation, and well paid seats on the new Shipbuilding Board. (When the Tories at one point seemed near to defeating the Bill, Swan Hunter's shares dropped 18% in one day!)

For the 72,000 workers in the yards, it is another story — nationalisation will be the signal for the fiercest attack on jobs yet seen.

Central to this will be the role of the union leaders, courted by Callaghan this May.

The UCS struggle of 1971 showed both the determination of shipyard workers to fight all out for their jobs, and the completely criminal role of the union leadership who refused to fight for the full nationalisation of the and accepted some of the worst agreements on conditions and productivity in return for what was no more than a stay of execution.

Now the union leaders, for all their statements that they will resist any closures or redundancies, have agreed in the tri-partite working committee set up by Industry Secretary Varley to co-operate in the planning of a profitable industry.

COOPERATION

This can only mean one thing — their cooperation in these redundancies and closures.

The only policy Boilermakers' leader McGarvey has offered is the completely diversionary call for British shipowners to "buy British".

But to defend the jobs of shipyard workers a socialist programme not barren nationalism is needed. There must be no cooperation with this capitalist form of nationalisation.

Not one job must be allowed to go. The fight must be for work-sharing on full pay and for a programme of public works under union control to create new jobs for shipyard workers.



The books of the owners must be thrown open to show the need for the nationalisation to go ahead with no compensation to the owners and under the management of elected worker committees.

Alongside this, the nationalisation of the shipowners must be fought for. In no other way can the development of the yards be planned in the interest of the workers.

Occupation of the yards to fight this capitalist nationalisation must be prepared for now before a single job is lost.

TRADES COUNCIL COMMITTEE FIGHTS FOR JOBS

A strong step forward in the fight against unemployment in the Leamington area was taken when on July 11th the Warwick and Leamington Trades Council set up an unemployment sub-committee.

The task of the committee was to be to campaign against growing unemployment and to direct the organisation of unemployed workers into the trade unions.

PLAN OF ACTION

The committee has since met twice and adopted an all-round plan of action designed to take the political questions involved in the fight to defend jobs into the local labour movement.

Among its proposals was to take an initiative to involve unemployed workers and youth in its meetings, and to gather detailed information from shop stewards committees on the development and growth of unemployment, short time working and unemployment among women, youth and apprentices.

Attempts will be made to visit local union branch meetings to take

up the issue of recruiting unemployed workers into the unions.

In addition, plans are being laid for a demonstration in the town in September.

POTTERTON'S

One of the first issues to be taken up in the struggle against unemployment in Leamington is the planned sacking of 140 staff and production workers at Potterton's — which is a part of Birmid Qualcast.

This amounts to a 10% redundancy from the 1400 workforce, and will add to the already above average unemployment in the area.

No lead has been given so far by the unions involved, the AUEW (foundry section) TGWU and ASTMS. In fact before the works holidays the AUEW leadership were even canvassing their members for voluntary redundancies!

Already the firm has succeeded in reducing workers to a four day week.

The fight against this new wave of redundancies must be based on the demand for work sharing on full pay, backed by occupation of the plant if the employer refuses to withdraw the planned sackings.



Previous initiative of Leamington Trades Council - Anti-racist march

RENT-RISE HITS LABOUR VOTE

A sharp struggle has developed in Warley and West Bromwich against rent increases.

The Labour-controlled Sandwell Council is trying to raise rents by £1 per week for flats and £1.50 per week for houses.

A meeting of representatives of tenants' associations from most of the borough's housing estates on Monday 26th July decided on a policy of withholding the increases.

HALTED

A demonstration by 150 tenants at the Council Meeting on August 3rd halted the meeting, with tenants demanding to know how they could be expected to pay the increases when wage increases are limited to 4½%.

The struggle takes on a special

importance because of a Council by-election to be held in Victoria Ward, Smethwick on September 16th.

Victoria has always been a Labour stronghold with the Tory vote being almost non-existent.

DISGUST

But during the last year, disgust with the policies of the Labour government and the Labour council and with a series of allegations of corruption by councillors has led to the collapse of the Labour Party branch.

At the same time the National Front has launched a campaign in Victoria around the questions of jobs and housing conditions.

It seems likely that the Labour candidate will be a supporter of the rent increases and other government policies. In this situation it is generally thought that a National Front victory is likely.

BETRAYALS

This shows very well how the betrayals of the Labour Party, at national and local level open the way for the growth of fascist organisations.

Only if the local Labour Party puts itself firmly behind the tenants' struggle can it hope to

OXFORD MARCH

Two hundred people marched through Oxford on Saturday August 7th to protest against the recent fascist attack on the offices of the Oxford Council for Community Relations (OCCR).

This attack followed the pattern of others in Birmingham and elsewhere, where creosote and red paint were poured into office equipment and over files and furniture, and bore the hallmark of a small well-organised gang of fascists roaming the country attacking chosen targets.

The demonstration called by the OCCR and the Oxford Anti-Fascist Committee, marched through the town to a meeting in the OCCR offices addressed by the local MP Evan Luard.

Remarkable by their attendance on this demonstration were seldom-seen members of the local Communist Party including local NUPE organiser George Anderson who had pointedly boycotted the local march against the cuts organised by the former Oxford Trades Council.

The WSL contingent on the march shouted demands for an end to the Immigration laws and for defence of jobs through work sharing on full pay, as well as pinning the responsibility for the emergence of racism firmly on the Callaghan government leadership.

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".

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 fascists, picket lines and trade union meetings will be next. Fascists have already attacked meetings on Ireland.

WSL members and supporters in areas affected must therefore propose at their union branches, trades councils and Labour Parties that a fight is waged for workers defence squads organised jointly between immigrant and trade union organisations.

Where possible, we must fight for this within immigrant organised defence squads by attending as delegates from the trade unions and urging that they unity with trade union bodies, particularly trades councils in their own areas.

LETTERS

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

Socialist Press, 51, Dorchester Park Hill, London, N6 5HP

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

THE RISE OF BUREAUCRACY

Part 16

By Terry Clarke

The Soviet bureaucracy was not the heir of the Russian Revolution but out of the defeat of European revolutions in 1918-1923. It emerged not as the outcome of Bolshevism but only over the bones of revolutionary Bolshevik traditions and principles, of persecuted Bolshevik cadres liquidated by forces hostile to the political independence of the working class.

These points are crucial to an understanding of the origins of the present-day Stalinist bureaucracy which inhabits the Kremlin and besmirches the name of communism by world wide payoffs of the working class and most squalid deals with world imperialism.

The material breeding ground of the bureaucracy was in fact the economic backwardness of Russia - the weakest link in the chain of capitalist powers internationally, and the first to succumb under the strain of revolutionary upsurge.



Left Oppositionists (left to right): Top: Preobrazhensky, V. Smirnov, Muralov Bottom: Sosnovsky, Pyatakov, Antonov-Ovseenko

Stalin

PEASANT-BASED

The Russian economy was overwhelmingly peasant-based, with only a few centres of very modern industry which had always been dependent upon foreign investment and technology. The aftermath of the war, the February and October revolutions, and the long protracted wars of intervention (throughout which the imperialist states attempted vainly to restore capitalism in Russia) together with economic decades, served to dislocate and overthrow the soviet economy, bringing chronic hardship and want. These were material conditions completely unfavourable to the establishment of communism. Trotsky made this quite clear in analysing the rise of bureaucracy in *Revolution Betrayed*:

Marxism sets out from the development of techniques as the fundamental spring of progress, and attracts the communist programme upon the dynamic of productive forces... The material premise of communism should be so high a percentage of man that productive work having ceased to be a means will not require any goal, the distribution of life's goods, being in continual abundance, not demand - as it does not in any well-off family or boarding house - any other except that of education, and social opinion. Speaking frankly, I think it would be pretty hard to consider such a really utopian perspective as "utopian". (*Revolution Betrayed*, pp 45-6)

the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means all the old crap must revive". (*Revolution Betrayed* p 56).

As the administrators of this "generalised want", resting on layers of managers, technicians, prosperous peasants who benefitted from the concessions in the New Economic Policy, and generally the most conservative strata in post-October society, the Soviet bureaucracy which began increasingly to ensconce itself in a position of material privilege and unchallengeable authority, represented "the old crap".

APPARATUS

They were the mediators, the regulators, the apparatus men. A far cry indeed were they from the top grade Bolshevik cadres, the best and most valiant of whom had either died in the civil war or were absorbed into senior posts which isolated them from the masses.

The ebb of revolutionary enthusiasm which follows all revolutions strengthened the growing ranks of budding bureaucrats. The 5 million-strong Red Army was demobilised, and its commanders gradually moved into leading positions in the soviets and the administration.

And all the time a series of international defeats inflicted on the working class was strengthening the hand of the bureaucrats whose basic beliefs were founded on the one hand on lack of confidence in the working class and on the other on the pursuance of self-interest.

LOW LEVER

The relatively low specific weight of the working class compared to the mass peasantry in Russia together with the extremely low cultural level of the masses inherited from Tsarist oppression, further tipped the scales in favour of the bureaucrats.

workers' state and the "administrators" took over.

But central to the predominance of the bureaucracy was the conquest of the Bolshevik Party itself - the vehicle of the October Revolution and the essential organisation for the struggle against bureaucracy.

The gradual annexation of the Party by non-proletarian social forces began immediately after the October Revolution, but escalated after the victorious conclusion to the Civil War.

From the very outset it was fought by Trotsky, taking up the offensive against the bureaucracy at the request of Lenin, who, though incapacitated by a crippling illness, could see the dangers posed for the revolution.

The take-over of the Party by the bureaucracy rested (as do all bureaucracies) upon an attack on the inner democracy of the movement. Trotsky, in 1923, explicitly linked the questions together:

"To pose now the question of party democracy without analysing the membership of the party, from the social point of view as well as from the point of view of age and political standing, would be to dissolve it into a void..."

The conquest of power was followed by a rapid, even abnormal growth of the party. A powerful magnet, the party attracted not only workers with little consciousness but even elements plainly alien to its spirit: functionaries, careerists and political hangers-on. In this chaotic period, it was able to preserve its Bolshevik nature only thanks to the internal dictatorship of the Old Guard, which had been tested in October". (*New Course* p 4-5).

Most of the careerists were quickly purged from the Party, but the dictatorial regime, which had been consolidated at the Tenth Congress (in a constitutional amendment outlawing factions

administrators of the Party apparatus.

In 1922 Stalin had been elected General Secretary of the Party, the supreme controller of the apparatus. Piece by piece the apparatus proceeded to dismantle the elements of Bolshevism and replacing them with bureaucratism.

"However exaggerated were the forms it sometimes assumed, the bureaucratism of the war period was only child's play in comparison with present-day bureaucratism which grew up in peacetime, while the apparatus, in spite of the ideological growth of the Party, continued obstinately to think and decide for the Party." (*New Course* p 7).

UNANIMOUS

A resolution submitted on these questions to the Central Committee and calling for a "new course" was formally passed unanimously.

But in practice no change was made, and only Trotsky and the Left Opposition fought for its implementation.

They alone called for the reassertion of inner-Party democracy, for an increasing attention to the cultivation of working class cadres (by 1923 only one sixth of the Party was workers employed in the factories), and a turn to the youth to fight the dangers of bureaucracy:

"It is quite clear that the development of the party apparatus and the bureaucratisation accompanying this development, are engendered not by the factory cells, linked together through the medium of the apparatus, but by all other functions that the party exercises through the medium of the State apparatuses of administration, of economic management, of military command, of education. In other words, the source of bureaucratism resides in the growing concentration of the attention and the forces of the

industry". (*New Course* p 13).

But instead of carrying out the recommended turn put forward by Trotsky, the "Troika" of Stalin, Kamenev and Zinoviev who moved into complete control of the Party after the death of Lenin in 1924 announced the "Leninist levy" supposedly to commemorate his death. As Trotsky described it:

"The gates of the party, always carefully guarded, were now thrown wide open. Workers, clerks, petty officials, flocked through in crowds. The political aim of this manoeuvre was to dissolve the revolutionary vanguard in raw human material, without experience, without independence, and yet with the old habit of submitting to the authorities. The scheme was successful. By freeing the bureaucracy from the control of the proletarian vanguard, the "Leninist levy" dealt a death blow to the party of Lenin". (*Revolution Betrayed* pp 97-98)

Some 200,000 raw recruits were brought in in this way, and the task of the Left Opposition in fighting the bureaucracy made insuperable. All the time the tentacles of the bureaucracy were reaching out and engulfing wider and wider spheres of operation.

In 1927 the platform of the Left Opposition called for a special law to be written into the Criminal Code:

"punishing as a serious state crime every direct or indirect persecution of a worker for criticism". Instead of this, there was introduced into the Criminal Code an article against the Left Opposition itself". (*Revolution Betrayed* p 99).

MORE POWERFUL

The Soviet bureaucracy, then, resting on national and international social forces more powerful than the revolutionary Russian proletariat, but at the same





The Dnieper Dam - one of the first products of planned production insisted upon by the Left Opposition.

consolidated its rule, and at the same time developed the necessary police and military repression within and outside the party to protect itself against challenge or criticism.

And when we talk of "bureaucracy", we are not talking in small numbers. The parasitic social grouping which in this way usurped the political power in the world's first workers' state mushroomed and flourished in a manner similar but much greater in scale than the armies of officials and functionaries that feed off the trade unions in capitalist countries.

In Russia the bureaucracy could use as its empire not simply the labour movement but the entire state administration.

TWELVE PERCENT

By 1936, Trotsky calculated that the bureaucracy itself and its immediate circles constituted between twelve and fifteen per cent of the population. (Revolution Betrayed p 139)

Whereas there are very definite demarcations and ranks within the bureaucracy itself, they are united by a bond of self-interest and privilege:

"Where a separate room and sufficient food and neat clothing are still accessible only to a small minority, millions of bureaucrats, great and small, try to use the power primarily in order to guarantee their own well being. Hence the enormous egoism of this stratum, its firm inner solidarity, its fear of the discontent of the masses, its rabid insistence upon strangling all criticism, and finally its hypocritically religious kowtowing to "the Leader", who embodies and defends the power and privileges of these new lords". (Revolution Betrayed p 139)

GAINS

The gains of the October revolution were enormous. Even the degeneration of the Bolshevik Party and all the incompetence, corruption, narrow vision and caste privilege that the bureaucracy brought in its train did not prevent the nationalised property relations bearing fruit particularly after 1928 in a rapid industrial and technological growth impossible under Tsarism or capitalism.

But the continued parasitic existence of the Stalinist bureaucracy, which lives on to this day, poses the task firmly before the international workers' movement. In the struggle for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism internationally, the fight must be pressed ahead for the political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist Kremlin bureaucracy. Only in this way can the bureaucratic shackles be severed, and the full benefit of new technology and world resources be brought to bear on the task of building socialism in the Soviet Union and eliminating the last vestiges of "the old crap" of privilege and want.

Next edition, last instalment: The International

DEATH OF A "FIXER"

A Trotskyist obituary to Vic Feather by John Docherty.

Victor Grayson Hardie Feather, life-long advocate of class capitulation and anti-communism, and General Secretary of the TUC from 1969 to 1973, died on 28th July, just as our last issue was appearing.

Feather was a dedicated supporter of capitalist exploitation, and an opponent of every form of independent action by the working class. He never led the smallest strike nor won office through the support of any section of militant workers whatsoever.

Most of his life was spent within the deepest recesses of the TUC machinery, where he derived his support from the caste of trade union bureaucrats, and where his role was to bring them into closer collaboration with the employers and their state.

Feather was a 'bureaucrat's bureaucrat, one step further away from the working class even than most trade union leaders.

He played a particular and important role in the growth of the special forms of collaboration between union leaders and capitalist state which have been foisted on the working class in recent years.

ENEMIES

What is special about Feather is not that he has obtained praise from the enemies of the trade union movement and the working class.

It is of course true that he was called "a great friend" by employers' leader Campbell Adamson, and that former Tory leader Heath thought he "always had the national interest at heart" - in other words the interests of capitalism.

But other union leaders of the past, like Jimmie Thomas in the 20s and Ernest Bevin in the 30s and 40s have been described as 'patriots' by the same sort of people.

Nor is there anything particularly new about Feather's virulent anti-communism. In this he was simply following in the footsteps of his predecessors at the TUC, particularly Citrine and Tewson, besides Arthur Deakon, Jack Tanner and the other cold war warriors of the 1950s.

Pictures can of course be produced of Feather hobnobbing with aristocrats and generals, in formal dress sporting his Order of the Commander of the British Empire, and of his membership of the House of Lords by courtesy of a Tory Cabinet in 1973.

PREDECESSOR

But in doing this he was only following a precedent set as long ago as 1886, when his predecessor as TUC Secretary, Henry Broadhurst, joined Gladstone's government and visited Queen Victoria in Windsor Castle.

What marks out Feather was not the outward manifestations of his craven betrayal of the interests of the working class.

His particular contribution was to channel the great measure of unity and strength achieved by the working class in the early 70s into collaboration with the enemy.

No TUC leader before Feather was in a better position to hold together and mobilise the deepfelt opposition to the attacks on organisation and conditions represented by the Labour government's *In Place of Strife* in

Not since 3rd May 1926, the first day of the General Strike, had the different sections of the trade union movement moved with such unanimity as they did on these questions.

Yet no other trade union leader fought harder than Feather to prevent this unanimity resulting in action against the employers and the Tories, and in defeating their allies in the Labour leadership.

DESPITE FEATHER

It was despite Feather and not because of him that the attacks of trade unionism coinciding with his period of office as TUC leader were driven back.

In Place of Strife was withdrawn not as a result of the comings and goings in the corridors of Downing Street and Transport House, but because millions of trade unionists demonstrated, went on strike, and showed their utter unwillingness to accept any attack on their organised strength.

Nor was the 1971 Tory Industrial Relations Act defeated by the beatings of Feather, or his famous 'Anti-Bill Kit' complete with a 33 rpm record of his call for 'Cooperation not Confrontation'.

It was the defiance of the dockers and the engineers and the enormous strength of the miners that forced the defeat of this piece of reactionary legislation, and brought the Heath government tumbling down.

Feather was not the clever tactician who organised the confounding of the Tories, portrayed in the capitalist press. On the contrary, he and the other TUC leaders were negotiating both secretly and openly to prevent the overthrow of the Tories. The real victory was won by the millions of workers who took action to defy the schemes of the Tories and employers.

What came out of this victory was a Labour government, not prepared to press home the advantages that had been gained by the rank and file but determined to tie the working class to capitalism by other means.

It was Feather who played a crucial role in channelling the unity and strength of 1972-4 into the infamous 'social contract' and the various policies of wage cutting and attacks on the social services which have followed.

The legacy of Feather has been to provide the basis for turning the victories of the early 70s into the present cuts in living standards and rising unemployment.

It is precisely the collaboration between union leaders and Labour government that is the central method of inflicting these policies on the working class. It is as an architect of this collaboration that Feather bears a significant responsibility for deteriorating living standards and fewer jobs.

NO LINKS

Because of Feather's position in the more rarified atmosphere of Government and administration, it became increasingly difficult for him to claim any links with the working class at all.

For this reason it was necessary to place his biography in the working class movement of Bradford and in the labour pioneers whose names he bore.

Feather was born in 1908 in a city that was a particular centre of 'labour idealism'. In Bradford the Independent Labour Party was set

But it always had close links with middle class pacifists and do-gooders, and was thus quite unable to face the decisive tests of imperialist war in 1914 and the betrayals of the great class battles up to 1926.

Keir Hardie, who provided one of Feather's middle names, was noted as a leader of the ILP in its early period.

But despite all the mythology that has been put out around his name, Hardie was by no means averse to secret electoral deals with the Liberal Party which was part of the strategy of the early Labour Party.

Victor Grayson, who won the famous Colne Valley by-election in 1907 fought as an 'independent socialist' in defiance not only of the Liberals and Tories, but also the electoral pacts of the West Yorkshire ILP.

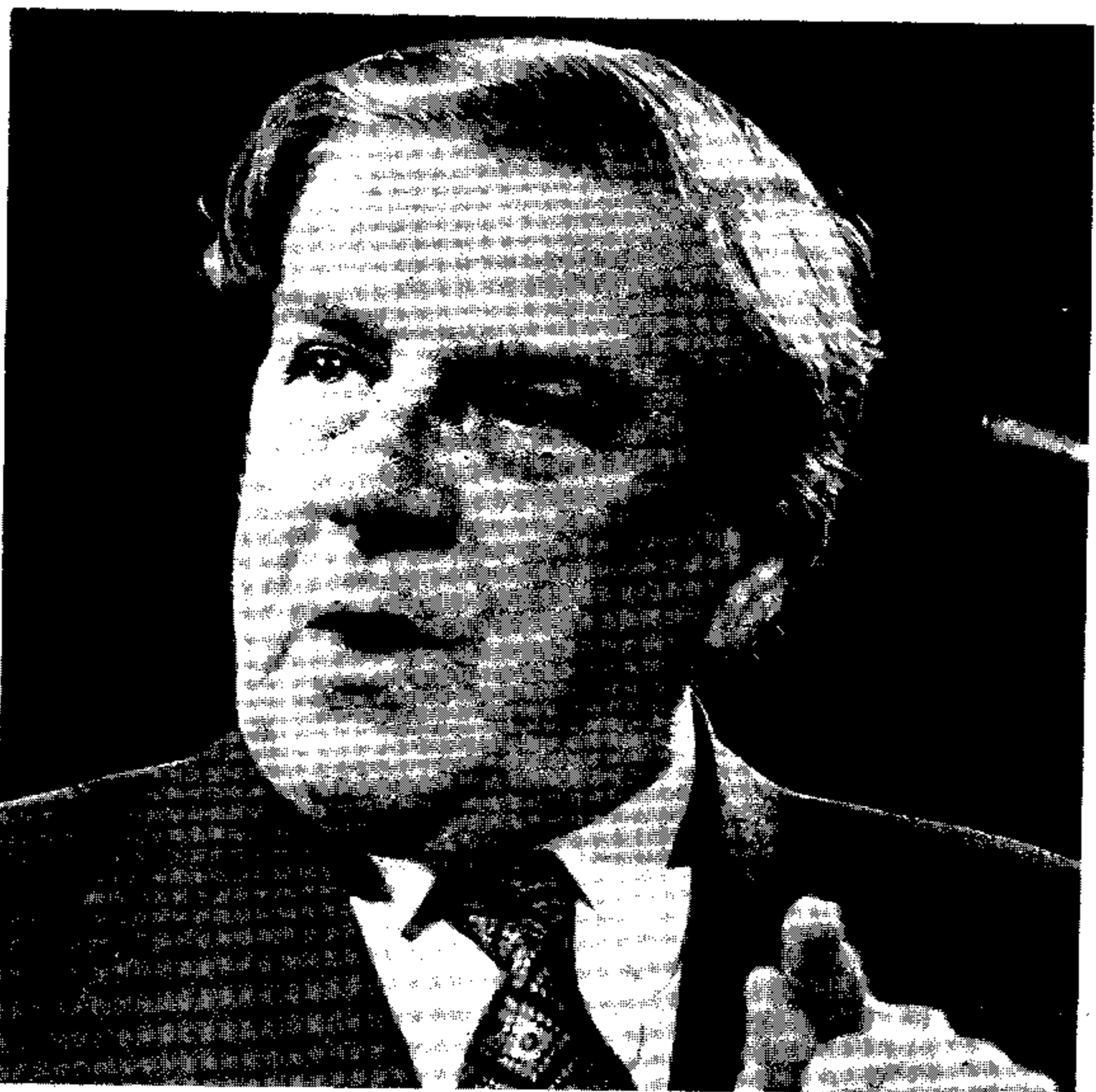
HERO

Grayson became a hero among workers in the area as a result, and it is not surprising that the infant Feather was named after him. The trouble with Grayson, however, was that he confused the struggle for socialism with making dramatic theatrical gestures.

He thus collapsed politically at the time of the imperialist war in 1914, joining the army, and personally became an alcoholic. He disappeared not long after the War, possibly murdered.

Feather's roots in 'labour idealism' were typified by the names chosen for him. They were roots nurtured with middle class philanthropy and pacifism that in a Snowden or a MacDonald could lead directly to openly joining with the Tories in 1931.

Or they could grow into the hypocritical politics of a Jimmie Maxton who praised Chamberlain



Feather

on his return from Munich in 1938 or a Fenner Brockway, who in 1976 is bemoaning the fate of the Angolan mercenaries.

For Feather the roots in the labour idealism of the ILP did not grow into political pacifism of this effete and ineffective variety. Instead he became a pacifist in class war, a manipulator whose purpose it was to hold back the fighting spirit of the working class.

From 1938, Feather served in the Organisation Department of the TUC. One of the main purposes of this body, established a decade earlier, was to dampen down any militancy within local organisations of the working class movement, particularly the trades councils, and this was one of Feather's special jobs.

In order to keep the active rank and file of the trade union in line with the dictates of the leadership, Feather followed the examples of his predecessors Citrine and Tewson, in organising witchhunts against any trades councils that showed either independence or militancy.

He visited many of them over the years, and it was in his day that the particularly bitter cold war battles took place, when the historic London and Glasgow Trades Councils, as well as

Feather also, according to his Obituary in *The Times*, kept 'a private list of names and records' of Communists and other militants.

In the days before such bodies as 'Common Cause', and the more active interest of Government intelligence services in the internal life of the working class movement, this must have been of particular value to the trade union bureaucracy and their capitalist masters.

As TUC General Secretary, Feather not only fought to organise permanent capitulation to the enemies of the trade union movement, but also set up the regional TUC machinery to continue the process of taking the initiative within the unions as far as possible away from the base and place it instead in the hands of full-time officials.

He also strengthened the industrial committees of the General Council, making it easier to arrange collaborationist planning with any capitalist government.

Feather was known as a 'fixer' because of his careful manipulation, through key individuals of the control of the trade union bureaucracy over the movement.

This was his role in his intervention at the end of the bitter struggle at Pilkington's in St Helens in 1970.

Feather came to offer 'mediation' at the end of a bitter dispute when the bureaucrats of the General and Municipal Workers Union had been utterly discredited and the workers had confidence in a rank and file strike committee.

Feather's role was to re-establish the position of the G&M leadership by convincing the men that their only hope was in a return to work.

As a result of Feather's efforts, the leaders of the strike were

victimised, and the original demands largely rejected, but the G&M bureaucrats, much to the relief of the employers, were back in the saddle.

That was the kind of 'fixer' Feather was. He was able to effect a level of betrayal on a national level in the 'corridors of power' not usually possible for an individual union leader, who, whatever the apparent permanence of his position, always has his members breathing down his neck.

TUC leaders have no such constraints.

However, now the bargains struck by Feather and his successors are having their effect, as wages buy less and less, health and social services are subject to increasingly vicious attacks and unemployment climbs yet again to record levels.

The real results of high level 'fixing' grow obvious to widening sections of workers as they prepare for the inevitable battles ahead against the unprecedented attacks on their conditions and the unprecedented connivance in these attacks from the rotten bureaucrats who sit at the top of the trade union and working class movement.

Bureaucrats like Feather along with the capitalist class that serve,

REVIEW

CONFUSION FIGHTS CORRUPTION

A REVIEW OF EDDIE MILNE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY "NO SHINING ARMOUR",

by Richard Brooks



Eddie Milne

Despite the frantic efforts of Labour leaders including Edward Short, to prevent its publication, Eddie Milne's new autobiography 'No Shining Armour' is reported to be selling like hot cakes.

Labour MP for Blyth from 1974, Milne fought a consistent fight against corruption in the Labour-controlled councils of the North-East — a corruption which, as the book clearly demonstrates, did not stop with the gaoling of architect Poulson and Councillor Edward Cunningham.

By attempting to expose the corruptive traditions of local government in the area Milne encountered a systematic cover-up involving all levels of the Labour leadership — the cabinet and the left-wing National Executive Committee (of which Cunningham was a long-standing member of the Transport House) down to the Constituency Committee and the Constituency Party.

EDWARD SHORT

Edward Short, the party's former leader, has been in the forefront of efforts both to prop up a corrupt Labour leadership and to discredit Eddie Milne, making him one of the party's "stars".

Notably, in fighting the Labour Party bureaucrats, Milne has been himself increasingly under attack from the counterparts in the Labour leadership. Cunningham, as the East boss of the G&MWU, has been all one of them.

ates in jail.

Milne, on the other hand, has lost his Union's nomination support, his post as an official and his pension. "Rocking the boat" is the one unforgivable sin.

The tactics which the right-wing used against Milne will be instantly recognisable to any socialist who has fought on principle against the bureaucracy.

FOUR SETS

At the Labour GMC meeting in 1974, for instance, which voted to drop Milne as parliamentary candidate, a local taxi proprietor, a new "recruit" to the Labour Party, arrived with four sets of delegate credentials whereas at a previous meeting several NUM delegates who arrived to vote for Milne were refused entry. These are the tactics of weak men who feel the danger of the working class pulling the carpet out from under their feet.

Wherever the actions of bureaucrats are challenged they automatically raise the cry against those who "split the movement" and "rock the boat". The assumption behind these charges is that the only forces which gain from such a struggle within the ranks of the working class movement are the employers and the Tories.

It is to Milne's credit that he understands that it is precisely the leadership of the Labour movement which suppresses all forms of democracy, that actually splits and demoralises the Labour movement.

MORAL

But Milne's weakness is that he never moves beyond the level of simplistic moral condemnation of corrupt individuals to an understanding of the economic and political roots of this corruption. He repeatedly trumpets his own

minimal political awareness:

"I was soon to realise that the loyalty that Callaghan and Wilson owed, was less to the Labour Movement than to the cronies they had around them, and that those who suffered as a result were the great mass of ordinary folk whose immense sacrifices had created the opportunities for the Wilsons and the Callaghans to achieve power and influence, built on the great Movement that others had made possible."

Undeniably true, but banal, observations like these cannot possibly provide a perspective for a fight against political corruption.

Corruption is an inevitable product of the development of a capitalist state. In all the recent bribery scandals, from Watergate to Japan, the question has arisen in the press as to how widespread this "problem" is.

SAME REPLY

The reply, from official, politician, or capitalist is always the same: "What constitutes corruption?" For the "problem" whose most shocking exposures elicits such pieties from the press goes by many names and under some of them it doesn't seem like a problem at all, at least to some people.

A certain amount of "gift-giving" is built into the capitalist system: a capitalist must try to influence his market in a more or less competitive situation, and if the market is the State then it is those in control of its administration that he must influence.

The role of the politician in the bourgeois state leaves him open to bribery, for as Trotsky pointed out, no-one who has the power to distribute wealth ever entirely omits himself.

Capitalists can no more give up the struggle for 'undue influence'

than they can afford to give up scrambling after 'undue profits' — their survival depends upon it.

As the crisis continues and their markets contract, capitalists face increasing competition, which must lead to further, and wilder, attempts to exert "influence".

The dependence of Labour Ministers like Short on individual capitalists like Poulson is only a reflection of a political dependence of the Labour leadership in general, on capitalism.

Their position as negotiators between capital and labour requires a struggle to hold back the struggle of the working class and to prop up capitalism.

To expect that these men will fight consistently against capitalism is to demand that they undermine the system that gives them their privileged positions.

Such a fight would expose them to the same dangers as would a thorough investigation of corruption within the Labour Party.

SECRET DEALS

Yet it was these men in whom Milne trusted: it was the leaders of the Labour Party, and the Unions, the men who make secret deals with the employers every day in the year, to whom he turned — with an innocence that begins to seem, as the book drags on, less touching than touched — to appeal for an investigation into the Labour Party.

In fact he turned to every available force, including the police and the Tory government, in his attempt to launch a State investigation into the problems of the Labour Movement; every force, that is, except the working class.

Milne's support among the working class in Blyth was certainly considerable, yet he made no serious moves to mobilise that support against the bureaucracy until after he left the Labour Party.

INDIVIDUALS

Within the party his fight, as he proudly testifies, was almost wholly with individuals. Only when he required a new machinery to campaign for him as Independent Labour candidate did he bother to lead his supporters against the right-wing.

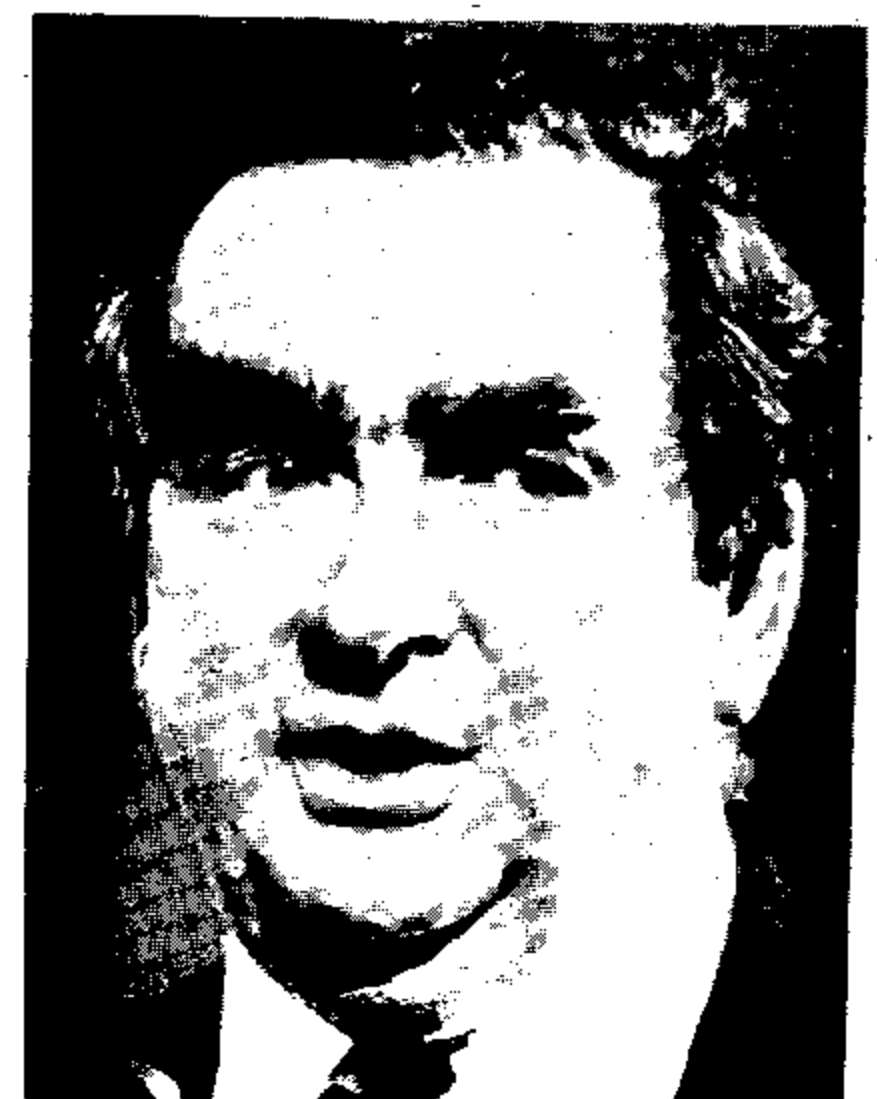
In the event, he received nearly 23,000 votes. It is not difficult to imagine the huge effect his struggle would have had if, instead of appealing to Wilson and even Heath to set up a Royal Commission, Milne had fought within the local Labour Movement for a workers' inquiry into the affairs of the Council and for the demand that the full details of all transactions be made available to elected workers' committees.



Basnett, GMWU General Secretary. His union pays Cunningham £60 a week!



Callaghan



Healey

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

The effects of such a struggle would have reached far beyond the North East.

Milne's great weakness is his inability to see clearly the political or the real principles at stake in the struggle with which he is dealing, or to grasp the fact that only an independent working class can find the strength to carry that fight through successfully.

POLICE

This weakness leads him to rely on forces such as the police whose interests are opposed to those of the working class. He has a particular faith in the press, even the right wing press; his book has been serialized in the *Sunday Telegraph*. In his obsession with the honesty or dishonesty of isolated individuals, and the revelation of "the truth", he has lost sight of the fact that selected aspects of the "truth" are used as well as lies by the capitalist press to damage the Labour Movement.

Milne only confuses his supporters and weakens his fight by seeking anti-working class allies. He cannot recognise that what he is fighting is a manifestation of class-collaboration; and is therefore equally unfit to recognise class-collaboration in his own tactics.

Since its foundations Eddie Milne's new ILP has won one parliamentary election and at least eleven seats in the local Council.

Yet at no point in the book does Milne make any reference to the programme of his party on any issue other than that of corruption; and even on that he prefers rhetoric to specific proposals:

"We must compel authority to tackle the problem of corruption in its midst. Or let those in authority get out and make way for those who can and will."

Only a genuine working class party committed to the destruction of capitalism can successfully fight the corruption which thrives on the capitalist system.

Milne says nothing of his record in this other, broader struggle. He mentions none of the major struggles which have taken place in his area — including two miners' strikes — or what direction and support he gave them.

POLITICAL FIGHT

For Milne the issue of corruption is an isolated one. But for the working class, on the other hand, a leadership which assists in the ruling class attack on workers' living standards must be opposed, not by allowing the Tory press to feast on their personal corruption, but by a political fight both for democracy and for an alternative leadership in the workers' movement.

TRICO BATTLE EXPOSES FAKE "REFORMS"

"WHAT'S OPPRESSED AND RARE AS A DODO? - A SUCCESSFUL APPLICANT TO THE TRIBUNAL!" (Trico Strike Bulletin)

The willingness of the Labour government to use the full force of the police alongside scab forces hired by the employers against pickets at the Trico-Folberth factory exposes the fraudulence of both the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act and the Equal Pay Act.

Both these measures had been described in glowing terms as "reforms" by the Labour leaders who of course have sided with the employers and against militant workers in every dispute since they came to power in February 1974 - ironically as the result of the miners' strike.

SOLID

The Trico factory in Brentford, which manufactures windscreen wipers for British Leyland and Chrysler, has been hit by a solid twelve week strike of 400 women demanding increases of £5-£6.50 to bring their pay level with five men workers doing the same job.

Management at first attempted to level out pay rates by refusing the five men any increase - which drove the men to join the strike action which began on May 24th.

Since then the company have offered the women a £2.50 pay increase - which was rejected by the last mass meeting.

The strikers have maintained a 24-hour picket on the factory despite attacks and harassment by police and gangs of scabs coordinated by management.

But on July 29th came the most blatant attack, when a convoy of lorries driven by scabs employed by General Express Services was forced through the picket line by five coachloads of police.

POLICE

Despite the peaceful picketing that had taken place up to that date, the police set out by force of numbers to enforce an arrangement whereby only six pickets were allowed to approach the lorries as they passed.

In theory this is illegal under the much vaunted Trade Unions

and Labour Relations Acts.

But for those who retained any illusions in the "impartiality" of the law, the police soon dispelled them by their obvious determination to intimidate and arrest pickets. As the convoy arrived, the police used physical violence to keep strikers back as the first driver refused to talk to the picket.

In the event no pickets were allowed even to approach the lorries or communicate with them. AUEW Divisional Organiser Bill McLaughlin was manhandled by police who waved the lorries out of the gates.

This attack on the right to picket - reminiscent of the police action during the strikes by the miners and building workers during 1972 - comes only a week before Shrewsbury picket Des Warren was eventually released after serving all but one month of a savage three year jail sentence for picketing, enforced by the Labour government.

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

While the TUC strikes wage-cutting deals with the Callaghan-Healey leadership, claiming it is necessary in order to prevent a Tory government, the Labour leaders are supervising an all-round attack on the democratic rights of trade unionists, through the police, the courts, and full support for the employers.

The bitterness of the Trico strike also confirms the futility of the feeble provisions of the Equal Pay Act, hailed by the reformists as the day of women's emancipation.

The women strikers have correctly understood the way in which the Tribunals set up under the Act are a conscious attempt by employers and trade union bureaucrats to prevent widespread struggles for equal pay - siphoning the fight off into interminable individual legalistic wrangles.

The Trico strikers have refused to go to the Tribunal - and point out that both management and union leaders have agreed the women workers do identical work to the five men. Management's refusal to concede equal pay is therefore simply an open expression of the task of the tribunals - to prevent women



Police pave way for scab lorries through Trico picket line

winning equal pay through farcical legal quibbles.

The right to equal pay and equal opportunity can only be won through mobilising working women as part of the working class movement - in the trade unions, in confrontation with the employer.

For this reason it is vitally important that this strike which has taken the correct road to winning equal pay is made successful.

The successes of the strikers have so far been limited by the inadequate blacking of Trico's products which are fitted to BLMC and Chrysler cars.

The strike has nominal official

support from both T&GWU and AUEW, and GMWU members are also involved. Yet none of these unions is leading a coordinated national fight to bring Trico management to its knees by completely blacking the use of their products. Officials in many areas are clearly suppressing circulars and appeals from the strikers.

MOBILISED

In answer to this the support of BLMC and Chrysler workers must be mobilised behind the Trico strikers who are in the front line of the fight both for equal pay and

against the latest wage-cutting pay deal.

Wherever possible, speakers from the Trico strike committee should be invited to branch and shop stewards meetings to put the case and rally full support behind the strike, sending delegations from the major factories to support the continuing picket.

At the same time the fight for donations and factory collections must be taken up to assist the hardship fund.

Donations should be sent to the Trico Strike Fund, c/o AEU House, 1 Woodlands Road, Southall, Middlesex.

SOUTH AMERICAN NEWS

The most brutal forms of political repression in Latin America are not confined to the military dictatorships.

Venezuela has a parliamentary political system and even criticised the Chilean regime at the recent conference of the Organisation of American States.

In Venezuela three weeks ago, Jorge Rodriguez, the best known leader of the Socialist League (*Liga Socialista*, sympathising section of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International) was tortured to death by the police.

Rodriguez had been accused of participation in the kidnapping of an American executive, William Niehaus. This barbarous murder has made it clear that torture is widespread in 'democratic' Venezuela.

EMBARASS

The parliamentary opposition has, for its own opportunistic reasons, used the murder to embarrass the government of Carlos Andres Perez, who has been forced to arrest the police torturers directly responsible for Rodriguez' death.

Meanwhile, the real instigators of the murder are at large, still

ruling the country.

The new government in Peru is every day giving signs of its extreme right-wing complexion. Relations with the Chilean and Argentinian dictatorships are improving.

A summit of the three dictators is planned for a few weeks' time. The Peruvian generals have expelled Argentinian refugees and closed down exile organisations, which were critical of the Chilean or Argentinian regimes.

The new government is maintaining the emergency state of siege regulations.

Under them it has arrested leaders of the Fisherman's Federation, who have protested against the return of the nationalised fishing industry to its former owners.

In neighbouring Bolivia, military dictator Banzer has lifted the state of siege imposed for the miners' strike; though this is a formality for propaganda purposes since he in no way lacks dictatorial powers.

News of the mining areas is under a government blackout. But reports say that there has been a return to work and an imposition of the government's wage offer of a 30% increase (compared with the more than 100% demanded by the

tin miners' union).

But the mineworkers persist with their demands that the military occupation of the mining areas is ended and that arrested and exiled leaders are released.

1700 SACKED

To this is now added the demand that 1700 workers reportedly sacked during the strike be reemployed.

General Banzer may have imposed his will through repression in the short run but has almost certainly seen only the beginning of the struggle to destroy his power.

In Argentina, General Videla still fights to impose his own power for the first time in the context of growing divisions within the military dictatorship.

In spite of the blows which the left-wing guerrilla organisations have suffered, it is reliably reported that the left Peronist organisation, the Montoneros (now negotiating a united Argentina Liberation Organisation with the Peoples Revolutionary Army (ERP) and another guerrilla group the Red Brigades of Workers Power (BRPO), were able to hold their own military parades in defiance of the dictator-



Bolivian tin miners - their strike stopped 75% of tin production

day, July 9th.

The dictatorship has more willingly granted the freedom of the streets to the secret police of other South American dictatorships

the security services of other countries, especially Uruguay and Chile, have complete freedom to operate in Argentina against political refugees from their

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

BOSSES MANOEUVRE AT EXPORT PACKING

SUDDEN RUSH OF TGWU OFFICIALS

Following the recent and successful campaign of picketing and demonstrations by workers at the Export Packing Services factory in Banbury, both British Leyland management and the T&GWU bureaucracy are attempting to head off the struggle.

Both were highly embarrassed when EPS workers pinned the responsibility for the withdrawal of the BLMC contract (which would cost 400 jobs) — where it belongs — on the collaboration of the trade union officials and the BLMC "participation" committees where the decision to destroy the jobs was taken.

IMPOSSIBLE

After finding it impossible during the first two weeks of the struggle to get a union official interested, things changed dramatically as EPS workers returned from their annual holidays last week.

First management announced that they had been involved in discussions with British Leyland and things were not so bad after all. The contract would now be withdrawn over the course of a year and not in the next few months as previously announced.

A few hours later, two T&GWU officials arrived on the site (with a national officer on the other end of a telephone) to say that they intended to defend the jobs at EPS and that all the demonstrations and militant action had been unnecessary!

From the reaction of EPS workers to these manoeuvres there seems little chance that the struggle can be defused in this way as the officials hope.

The first stage in the new Leyland time table is the withdrawal of the Allegro mechanical parts in October of this year throwing up 100 jobs. This is to be followed by the withdrawal of the Allegro body panel work in April next year, destroying a further

hundred jobs, and culminating in the withdrawal of the last Rover contract in the middle of 1977.

NOTHING CHANGED

Workers who have spoken to *Socialist Press* are clear that nothing has changed. The issue is the defence of jobs — not whether they go this month or next month.

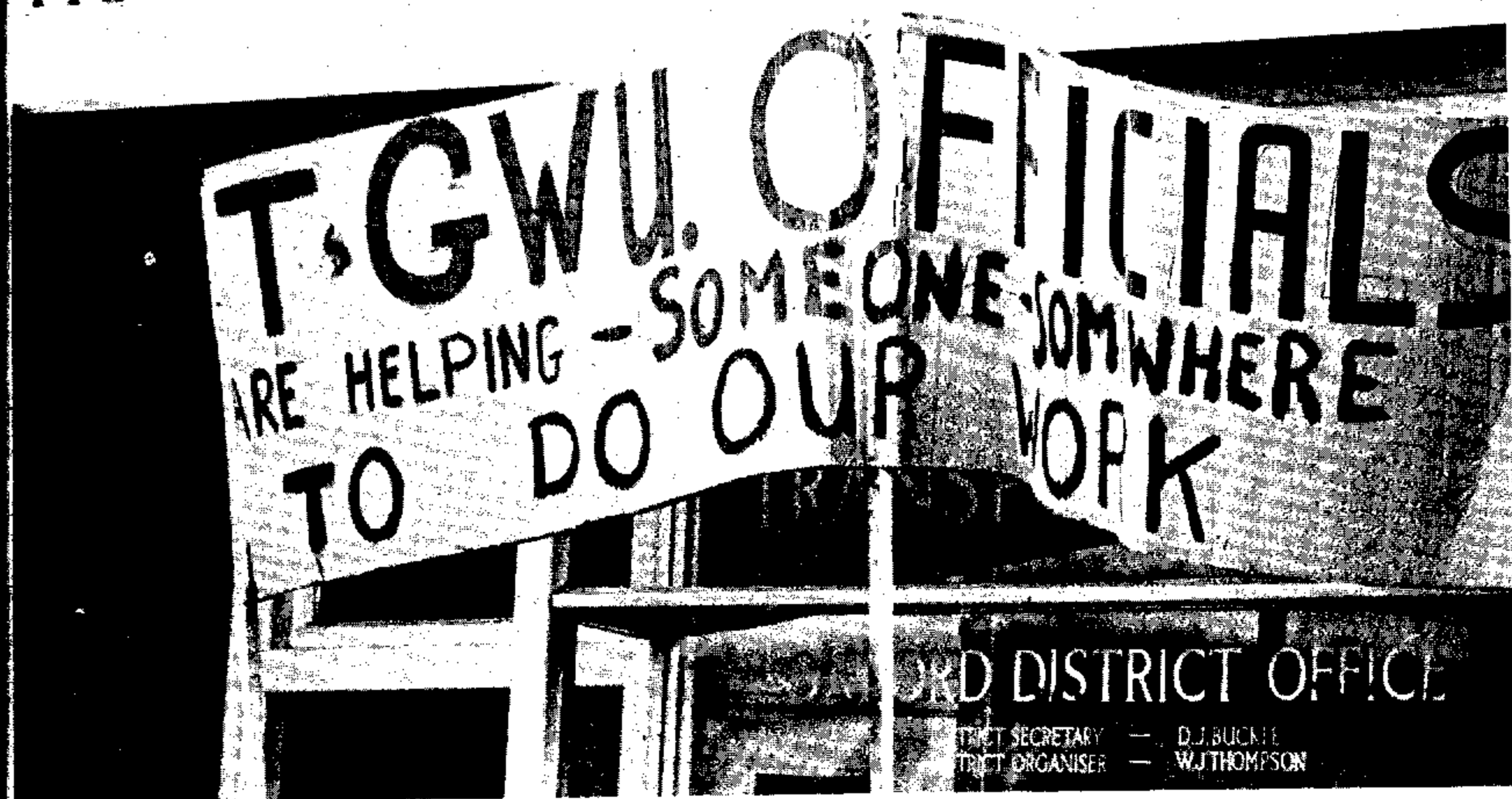
The crucial fight must come over the first redundancies in October. If the battle is won on that, and the work retained at EPS, it can be won on the rest.

The danger now is delaying tactics by the officials. They are to organise a meeting with stewards in the BL packing plant in Cowley to which the work is being transferred.

This is alright but it must not be used as a delaying tactic to divert the campaign.

Banner left by EPS marchers

TRANSPORT & GENERAL WORK



JAGS HIT BY CARS COUNCIL

Jaguar workers in Coventry have begun a work to rule in defence of the jobs threatened by the decision of British Leyland to build its new paint shop at Castle Bromwich, Birmingham, rather than at the Brown Lane plant in Coventry.

DECISION

As they begin this action it has been revealed that the decision to move the paint process was taken by a sub-committee of the Cars Council — the highest body of

committees of this sort is a new and sinister development of the Ryder scheme.

JOB OF MANAGEMENT

The "participation" bodies are increasingly carrying out the job of management — moving from plant to plant, taking decisions on the jobs of workers and pronouncing on their work effort.

It is essential therefore that a struggle in defence of jobs at Jaguar does not just direct in general towards management and MPs but focuses the blame on the craven collaboration of convenors leading stewards and full time union

representatives of the trade union movement and a complete break from the reactionary "participation" set-up, Jaguar workers will be only one of many sections hit by coming plans for "rationalisation".

Latest move against Leyland workers is the offer in the latest *Leyland Mirror* (the management rag that indignantly denies it is a 'management rag') for a joint editorial board of management and so-called "employee representatives".

The paper announces that management and these same "employee representatives" (the bureaucratized layers of convenors



Photo: Camden Chronicle.

2,000 London hospital workers stop work against cuts on 21st July.

NUPE HOSPITAL STRIKE

Two hundred members of NUPE entered the second week of official strike action at the weekend against management's drive to cut staffing and facilities at the Hammersmith Hospital, West London.

Their action follows a sustained management campaign to press through the cuts in the health service planned by the Area Health Authority for Hammersmith and the Labour government's Department of Health and Social Security.

This has meant permanent and deliberate short staffing, management refusal to provide cover for workers sick or on holiday and refusal to allow union representation for members threatened with discipline or 'reassignment'.

On top of this the management have refused to withdraw their threat to discipline any NUPE member carrying out official union policy.

Bill Geddes, Chairman of NUPE's North Hammersmith District Branch, angrily refuted management accusations that their action is putting patients at risk.

As he told *Socialist Press* on the picket line it is the cuts in the Health Service that are to blame. Hammersmith Hospital is a world centre for open heart surgery. But under present plans the number of patients being given heart pacemakers is to be cut from 70 to 50 a year — and they are to be given cheaper, plastic pacemakers!

In effect the government's cuts are condemning twenty people a year to probable death. On top of this nine entire wards in the hospital are out of action for

various reasons, and NUPE members fear they are planned for permanent closure.

The strikers at the Hammersmith include porters, cooks, cleaners, laundry and store workers, and those responsible for sterile supplies.

There is only one of several struggles in London hospitals provoked by the government's policy of financially mutilating the National Health Service in the attempt to solve the economic crisis at the expense of the working class — both health workers and other workers needing health care.

Plans drawn up in secret with the DHSS allow for 120 out of London's 150 hospitals to be closed entirely!

NUPE members on strike at the Hammersmith are in the front line of the struggle to defend the Health Service and the interests of patients.

Trade unionists have responded by refusing to deliver non-essential supplies — though urgent medical supplies (blood etc) are allowed through the picket lines.

At the Hammersmith the question of basic trade union rights and the overall fight against the cuts have come together in the sharpest fashion.

The half-hearted official 'support' given by NUPE officials, part of the NUPE leadership's call for local 'guerrilla' strikes against the cuts, are totally inadequate.

Only a policy, backed by national action, to force health spending to be increased in line with prices, and to repair the cuts already made, can defend the jobs and conditions of union members and provide the health care which workers need.

RELF GOODS BLACKED

The attempt to find a "compromise" solution to the dispute at Christopher Relf's of Redditch has failed.

At the local conference, the Company informally offered a pay-off for the secretary of the office committee if he would accept his victimisation, and reinstatement for the member supposedly being made redundant.

The TASS members had made it clear that they would not accept a deal of this kind.

As one member said of the firm's owner and managing director:

"Mrs Smith has always been able to buy anything she wants. But we

bought."

The stand taken by the members has brought an enthusiastic response from shop stewards at British Leyland in Oxford and Birmingham.

They have imposed once again a total blacking of Relf's goods in Leyland, which represents 95% of Relf's total work.

This is in spite of a written call from David Buckle, T&GWU District Secretary in Oxford for the blacking to be lifted.

An industrial tribunal case on the dispute has now been cancelled after it was correctly argued by the TASS members and Leyland shop stewards that it could only undermine the blacking and at best

40,000 RAIL JOBS TO GO



The Labour government's policy of continued public spending cuts will mean a continuing decline and deterioration in the rail network and services if not reversed.

This is the conclusion of the 87-page reply by the British Rail Board to the government's transport policy consultation document.

The Board goes on to point out that government plans would mean

a real increase in South East commuter fares of 7½% every year until 1981, driving an estimated 60,000 passengers (15% of commuters) off railways and into forms of road transport.

But while critical of the government's inadequate provision for spending on track and equipment, the management document also forecasts a 40,000 cut in the workforce over the next five years. This would slash 20% of the present payroll and of course be linked as in

every industry to speed up and intensification of working for those left in a job.

NUR General Secretary Sid Weighell voiced immediate opposition to the planned sackings, claiming that the forecasts were based on a continuing decline in the use and activities of the railways.

However, Weighell still has not outlined any proposals for action to defend jobs and conditions on the railways, let alone to combat the gloomy view of the coming period described by retiring Rail Board Chairman Richard Marsh, who anticipated:

"We will begin to withdraw more services, we will impose speed restrictions, not bring in modern equipment. The net product is not even a cheaper railway. It will be a more expensive railway and the Treasury will have to pick up the bill".

STRENGTH

To fight this prospect the industrial strength of the rail unions, held in check until now by the union bureaucracy, must be mobilised in action to force a halt to the cuts wherever they first take effect, calling on the Labour government to make additional finance available.

The demand at both local and national level must be for the full accounts, plans, manning levels and outside commitments of the Rail Board, along with National Bus and haulage operations to be opened up for examination by elected committees from the transport unions.

On the basis of the information revealed, the unions must draw up a planned national transport system, under workers' management, incorporating the nationalisation of key suppliers, and preserving all jobs in the three main sectors of transport through the implementation of work sharing on full pay.

EXPANSION

Within this framework local plans can then be drawn up for an expansion of public transport systems, creating new jobs at trade union rates of pay.

In no other way can the thousands of jobs threatened by the Labour government's pro-capitalist strategy of rationalisation and closure be defended or the right to adequate public transport be achieved.

BOSSSES LIKED

£10,000 A YEAR MAN

Building trade employers were so grateful to former T&GWU national building secretary Leslie Kemp for his cooperation over the years that they have taken an initiative to establish a testimonial fund in his honour to finance the training of young people.

This was revealed last week by Jack Jones, T&GWU General Secretary, who attempted to answer press revelations (reported in *Socialist Press*) that Kemp, after premature retirement from his full-time union job through "ill health" was taking on a number of other jobs giving an income of over £10,000 per year.

Jones' statement vigorously denied that the T&GWU itself had had any part or influence in securing numbers of part-time government appointments for Kemp, whose new jobs include posts on two neighbouring towns' development corporations.

Kemp himself arrogantly hits back at those who had exposed his lucrative 'retirement' prospects, pointing out that in his opinion he was well worth the money.

He told reporters that he had been advised that he should give up his full-time union position because of the "strain that goes with being a union national secretary".

It is not known whether the T&GWU's building group membership, thousands of whom already face unemployment as a result of the policies of Jones, Kemp and the gang of appointed officials who bureaucratically run the union and support the anti-working class policies of the Labour government, would endorse Kemp's view that he is "worth" £10,000 a year or that he was worth his hefty salary as a T&GWU national official.

What is clear is that Kemp, as a valued and long-standing friend of the employers has built a comfortable position for himself by resting on the back of the labour movement.

The struggle for the regular election of all officials, for them to be accountable to their membership and for them to be paid no more than the average wage of their members must clearly be stepped up within the T&GWU to drive out such careerist elements and pave the way for principled leadership.

All union officials must be forced to declare their other sources of income and be subject to scrutiny by branches and stewards



Jones

COURT SLAMS NUM FOR "CONTEMPT"

In yet another intervention by the courts into the internal running of the trade unions, a High Court judge a week ago ruled that a decision by the Yorkshire Area NUM to suspend two right wingers from holding union office for two years was "contempt of court".

Deputy Judge Rubin granted William O'Brien - Glasshoughton Branch Secretary, and Tom Roebuck - former Secretary of Manvers Main, a temporary injunction against the suspensions pending full trial.

The case, which has been followed in *Socialist Press*, revolves around the collaboration of the right wingers with lawyers representing the *Sheffield Star*, which was defending against a libel action brought by Yorkshire NUM President Arthur Scargill on behalf of the union.

DAMAGES

The newspaper was eventually required to pay £3,000 damages in compensation for remarks made about Scargill's handling of picketing during the miners' strike.

O'Brien and Roebuck (both long-term opponents of Scargill and crucial figures to the right-wing

Labour Party) were charged by the Yorkshire Area Council with giving confidential union documents and information to the paper's lawyers.

The judge, of course, in supporting the two right wingers against the disciplinary action agreed by the Union, serves the interests of the employers.

He raised the deceptive argument that anybody ought to be able to go into a witness box and testify without fear of being punished by "anybody".

PRINCIPLE

Yet O'Brien and Roebuck were in clear breach of trade union principle when they took the initiative to cooperate with the *Sheffield Star* lawyers, presenting confidential material which could aid the defence against the union. The disciplinary action centred on this question alone.

And their present moves to appeal to the courts of the employer against the trade union movement makes clear their class position.

The claim that Scargill in pressing for disciplinary action against the men acted both as "prosecutor" and as chairman of the disciplinary proceedings is simply ridiculous. In using the internal machinery of the union to raise these questions Scargill was simply following the rule book, and

LOBBY THE TUC

BRIGHTON: TUESDAY SEPTEMBER 7th.

The announcement by Healey last week that the main TUC leaders voted in a NEDC meeting for proposals which include four years of wage control adds urgency to the call to lobby the TUC in Brighton on Tuesday September 7th.

Since the Special TUC which accepted the wage-cutting 4½% deal on June 16th, the first round of new spending cuts, which every union leader knew were coming but purposely concealed, has been announced.

And now even more protracted and savage wage restraint is already being accepted by Jones and Scanlon, with complete contempt for the union membership's views or interests.

The impact of the latest series of cuts by Healey has stepped up the pressure from members of those unions which will make up the bulk of the admitted 70,000 coming redundancies.

This has even forced some union leaders like Alan Fisher of NUPE to declare against the cuts. This opens the possibility of conflict between him and Jones and Scanlon, who have consistently supported the cuts.

The depth of the betrayal of the June 16th Special Congress is shown by the latest unemployment figures - standing at 1½ million, a post-war record. In this is included a huge number of youth on the dole - over 200,000 without jobs.

The International Socialists are organising a Right to Work March from London to Brighton where they will lobby the TUC on September 7th.

This march is along the lines of their previous march, against "excessive overtime", for a 35 hour week, and a number of other mainly straight trade union demands.

None of them in any way direct the working class to the fight for workers' control as a transitional step towards the struggle for nationalisations, and towards state power. Without this, the IS talk of 'socialism' remains simply hot air.

The call by the Workers Revolutionary Party and their Young Socialists for a separate lobby two days later, against youth unemployment puts forward such correct calls as "full training on demand" at "trade union rates of pay". But this is coupled with the incorrect, sectarian-propagandist call to "force the Labour government to resign!" detached from any programme for action.

Indeed the demands advanced by the WRP are all simply governmental demands - which without programme for local, particular struggles, become simply abstractions.

It is important to direct every struggle towards the question of government but this must be connected with the immediate struggles of the working class.

For a real fight to begin, the demand for work-sharing on full pay must be put forward wherever redundancies are declared.

The betrayal of the working class has not just taken place at the national level, but at the factory level also, where leaderships have come out in favour of voluntary redundancies or simply allowed redundancies or closures to take place.

Similarly, if the employers claim they cannot pay, the demand must be 'open the books' of that particular firm, backed by occupation. This directs towards the necessity of nationalisation without compensation.

The demand for a programme of public works to create new jobs ties in with the fight of the social services unions, and the struggle for a sliding scale of state expenditure on social services.

Both these demands show the necessity for a massive government injection of finance and a programme of nationalisation of building and supply industries which would open up new jobs for employment of youth at trade union rates.

The WSL will be lobbying the TUC on September 7th on this programme of demands, linked to the necessity of new leadership in the unions and the recruitment of unemployed workers and youth into the unions.

Only in this way can youth and workers opposed to the TUC betrayals be enabled to fight inside the unions alongside employed workers on the central political questions in the struggle against unemployment.

the Yorkshire Area Council itself and by the Union's National Executive, which despite its right wing bias could find nothing unconstitutional about the disciplinary action.

This latest interference by the capitalist courts into the running of the unions must be fought and a

clear lesson drawn on the reactionary role of those who seek to use the law in this way.

The fight for internal democracy must therefore be combined with a tenacious fight for the complete independence of the workers' movement from state dictatorship.



MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

Address.....

Post to WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

FOUR YEARS OF WAGE CONTROL

46 000 MORE JOBS AXED

Last Wednesday night millions of television viewers heard Chancellor Denis Healey gleefully announce that TUC leaders at the NEDC meeting that day had voted along with government and CBI spokesmen for 'four years of wage control'.

The embarrassed response of the TUC was to immediately get Healey to withdraw his statement which of course goes much further than even the reactionary 2% deal agreed by the TUC.

CONCEDED

But the fact remains that in the presence of Jones and Scanlon have already conceded to this prospect. In fact, their whole cringing attitude at the meeting could only be summed up as "take all the profits you want, but please invest some of them to give jobs to our members."

To these so-called 'leaders' of the working class jobs for workers is not a right which must be fought for, but a favour to be obtained by prostrating themselves before the representatives of the capitalist class.

Profits, they all agreed, were the first priority.

The jobs, conditions and wages of workers could be nothing more than a desirable by-product of satisfying the capitalists' interests. The NEDC (Neddy) meeting was called to consider two fairy stories.

There were "forecasts" for the economy produced by the economists of the Treasury.

GROWTH

One of them forecast what would happen if the growth of the economy continues at the present rate.

According to this, unemployment by 1979 would not have fallen below the present post-war high of 1½ million. It might even be higher.

Afraid to admit openly that they were willing to accept this prediction, the TUC joined the CBI representatives in voting for a resolution which declared the inclusion of this fairy story as 'acceptable'.

ALTERNATIVE

They preferred the Treasury's alternative fairy story which predicted a small fall in the number of unemployed workers in 1979 - but only on the assumption that the rate of industrial growth would rise to 8% a year - a figure completely



Scanlon

unprecedented in the history of British capitalism and about ten times as high as the average for the last six years!

It is just as well that Neddy (NEDC) did not seriously discuss this second forecast - or it might have been difficult to see how the crisis-torn capitalist system which for the last few years has produced nothing but slump and unemployment was suddenly going to perform this unheard of economic miracle.

The TUC leaders did not make a murmur about the assumption which was common to both the Treasury forecasts - that wages would not rise any faster than prices.

But, with the effect of the tax system, this means that living standards would fall continuously for the next four years.

And that, of course, means that the Labour government and the TUC leaders casually work on the assumption of long-term continued state control of wage bargaining.

"FREE BARGAINING"

So much for Jones' talk of a 'controlled return' to free collective bargaining! Both he and the TUC leaders are well aware this could only occur if fought for by the unions against the government. Such a fight they have no intention of carrying out.

Such gatherings as this meeting of Neddy emphasise once again the urgency of throwing out the TUC and Labour government leaders along with all the class collaborationist treachery they represent.

Those who claim to lead and represent the working class are in fact simply sitting around a table with the capitalists, playing with the interests of workers as if they were bits of paper in a Monopoly game.

A report just published which examines to whom cars are being sold estimates that now 33% of all cars registered in Britain in the year to February were on company books - and 50% of the British car industry's output is sold in this way.

This gives the clue to the way employers and managers are evading the wage control measures - giving selected managers cars to compensate for nominally limited salaries.

CP ATTACKS SPANISH STRIKE

The 3-month old strike at Motor Iberica in Barcelona is holding out against the bosses, the police and the Spanish Communist Party.

The bosses have refused the workers' demands for a large increase to cover inflation and the reinstatement of workers sacked for militancy.

Scab workers have been brought in and threatening letters sent to the strikers.

The police have been enforcing the anti-picketing law; they have smashed the doors of a church to disperse a 3-week solidarity

The recent government announcement that 46,000 Civil Service jobs are to be axed over the next three years represents a massive attack on the jobs and conditions of Civil Servants.

The main government departments affected are Defence (20,000 jobs), Inland Revenue (5,000 jobs), Health (5,000 jobs), and Environment (2,500 jobs):

Of course "defence" itself - the maintenance of the British imperialist army with its overseas detachments and repressive forces for home use - is not being cut. The sacking of office staff is simply to axe jobs.

Moreover, the cuts can only result in worsening working con-

ditions for all Civil Servants.

The Civil Service union leaders have spoken out against the cuts but argue only that the figures on which the government based its case are "innaccurate".

What is needed however from these union leaders, and in particular from the leadership of the CPSA, the largest of the Civil Service unions, is a determined fight to defend everyone of these jobs.

Civil Servants must refuse to cover the work of colleagues who have left and not be replaced. The Civil Service unions should monitor manning levels and call strike action if the management try to force employees to do the work of those whose jobs have been cut.

LEFTS BETRAY Cont'd from Front Page.

prospect of 'sacrifice' to make capitalism work. Even where they talk 'left' their policies accept this necessity. Their demand for import controls to save 'British' industry is the clearest of these.

There are many 'left' talkers both inside and outside the Labour Party, the sum total of whose talk means 'Don't fight'.

The Militant group inside the Labour Party Young Socialists (who even call themselves Trotskyists) say for example:

"It would be a serious mistake, as the 'Tribune' group recognises, to vote in such a way as to bring down the government. As Arthur Latham said, the Labour government might be like a bad meal, but another Tory government would be like a dose of arsenic for the workers."

The WSL says that the central question is the mobilisation of the strength of the working class, not as a pressure group but in a way that declares workers will not accept capitalism's crisis put on their backs.

We say no redundancies, no cuts. We demand the 'lefts' both

vote against these attacks in Parliament and fight for alternative policies, organise in the trade unions for strike action and occupations to fight the cuts.

*Fight for work-sharing on full pay worked out by elected committees of trade unionists.

*If the employers say they can't pay, then open their books to prove the necessity for nationalisation without compensation of that industry.

*For a programme of public works paid at trade union rates in order to employ the unemployed.

*No state control of wages! For a sliding scale of wages clause in every agreement so that wages rise automatically with the cost of living.

*Reject the Callaghan-Healey attacks at the Labour Party Conference. Every delegate must take a stand against Labour imposition of Tory policies.

FUND

The July Fund closed with a total of £536.11, including a donation of £20 from J.W.

Those areas which have made an early start with the August Fund include: Hull, £4.75; South London, £8; Banbury, £1.55; Central London, £45; North London, £36; Aylesbury, £1.15; Oxford Assembly, £9.50; Oxford General, £10; which makes the total £115.95.

It is important that all branches make a particular effort during the holiday period to raise the full fund. This 16-page issue is a great step forward for us but of course means an increase in our printing costs.

All donations should be sent to: Socialist Press Monthly Development Fund, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

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WSL MEETINGS:

HULL
Thursday September 2nd
Hull Central Library
7.30pm

NEWCASTLE
Friday August 27th
Bridge Hotel
High Level Bridge
7.30pm

OXFORD
Thursday 26th August
East Oxford Community Centre
Cowley Rd.
7.30pm.

SHEFFIELD
Sunday September 12th
Prince of Wales
Division St.
7.30pm

LEEDS
Thursday August 26th
Trades Council Club
7.30pm

COVENTRY
Wednesday 25th August
Heartford Tavern
Junction St.
7.30pm.

LONDON
The Struggle for Socialism
in Spain
Kenilworth Hotel
97, Great Russell St., WC1
Friday 13th August at 7.30pm