

JONES & CO STAB LEYLAND STEWARDS

As the seamen vote for action against the 4½% pay policy, and with a wave of strikes escalating throughout British Leyland reflecting the strength of the working class beginning to break through the TUC bureaucrats' pay deal with the Labour government, the union officials have hit back at those fighting for principle on the shop floor.

Central to their moves was a meeting held on August 19th, convened in London by Jack Jones of the T&GWU and Hugh Scanlon, AUEW President.

In attendance was Harry Urwin, Assistant General Secretary of the T&GWU and Ryder supremo, together with National, Regional and local officials of the two unions from areas covering Leyland plants.

Jones and Scanlon told the assembled bureaucrats that Alex Park, Financial Director of British Leyland, had outlined to them a very serious financial situation in Leyland, had complained to them of the number of disputes, and had pleaded that District Officials work more closely with local management in the Leyland plants.

MAIN QUESTION

Jones and Scanlon went on to say the main question was now getting the next £400 million backing from the government. They argued that it was vital to get this message across when industrial action was considered — however good the reason.

They went on to say that strikes were opening the door to foreign manufacturers, and attacked the so-called "enemy" from within British Leyland.

This was tantamount to a declaration of war against militants in the Leyland plants on behalf of management. The impact in the factories was immediate.

That same day a meeting of 173 workers took place in the North works at the Cowley Assembly Plant to consider the case of a young Asian worker sacked for allegedly not working hard enough.

RECOGNITION

A few days later on August 24th, Leyland management withdrew recognition from four shop stewards who, they claimed, had addressed the meeting. The local T&GWU official, David Buckle, promptly agreed that management

Buckle even refused to use the official procedure, simply saying it was "up to the members to decide" on the issue. The members immediately *did* decide, and stoppages took place on both the Maxi and Princess tracks where the stewards worked.

CONFIDENT

Next day, however, feeling confident he could swing a decision to end any action, Buckle called a mass meeting of the North Works. The meeting was enlarged to ensure that the sections with victimised stewards were put in a minority.

In spite of this, and after a 2½ hour battle against Buckle and right-wing convenor Reg Parsons, who both argued management's case, the meeting voted to support the stewards.

Although shaken by this, Buckle and Parsons recovered enough to close the meeting before any decision was taken on what form that support should take, thus laying the basis for confusion to set in.

As a result, following the mass meeting the sector whose stewards had been victimised took strike action, while the other sections worked.

INTIMIDATION

This opened the door for management to move in with individual intimidation. Each militant was shadowed by two or more foremen who each noted down every word he spoke.

To add to the pressure, Parsons published a witch-hunting statement on the Tuesday which was taken up by the local and national press.

On the Thursday, however, an emergency meeting of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee unanimously backed the four stewards, and issued a statement in their defence to members.

Meanwhile, after a week of consciously created confusion, a crack in the strike came on the



S.AFRICAN REBELLION GROWS

Not only the size and persistence of the demonstrations daily rocking the Vorster regime in South Africa, but also the forms the struggle is taking, are becoming every day more threatening to the oppressive apartheid system.

Latest unconfirmed reports suggest that a further extension of the recent massive 3-day general strike is being prepared — with calls for a three week national stoppage by African workers.

SOWETO

In Soweto the call for the three-day general strike between August 23rd and 25th was followed by 80% of Johannesburg's black workers.

In their efforts to break the strike, the armed police and the BOSS (Bureau of State Security) are using their daily shooting of

demonstrators was not intimidating the rest, took advantage of the especially insecure position of those migrant workers who live in hostels to try to promote inter-necine strife among the black workers.

The hostel dwellers are under the 24-hour vigilance of white hostel supervisors; they can be sent back to their "tribal homelands" at a moment's notice.

By making threats of this kind the police tried to blackmail these workers into attacking the participants in the demonstrations.

Several black journalists present in Soweto all heard a white police officer say to these hostel workers:

"You have been ordered to attack only the trouble makers. If you attack buildings belonging to the administration we will be forced to intervene against you"

SEAMEN VOTE FOR ACTION

The result of the ballot in the National Union of Seamen gave a 309 vote majority for "industrial action of some kind", whatever the executive think necessary. The polling was very high with a 33% vote from a membership which is scattered all over the world.

The seamen's claim clearly goes against the Social Contract's terms which say that no group of workers will have more than one rise within a year.

The executive of the NUS will decide on Wednesday what action to take. Already the leadership of the TUC and the capitalist press are saying they would be "isolated" if they took action.

But, as happened with the miners, if the seamen come out on strike they would bring to the surface all the hatred latent within the working class for the betrayals of this Labour Government and they would no doubt receive mass support.

This would show just how flimsy is the hold of the 'Social Contract' on the working class as a whole. The whole effort of the TUC is "towards discouraging the NUS leadership from such action."

The seamen's vote has expressed the real feelings of the working class in clear contradiction to the manoeuvrings of the bureaucracy at the TUC in Brighton.

The demand must now be on the executive for no piecemeal strikes but *all out* determined action. And there must be a campaign for full support from dockers and other transport workers.

Since the regime was unable to censor such press reports, this manoeuvre backfired and in the long run has merely served to deepen the hatred of all black workers for the racist regime responsible for their appalling conditions of life.

COLOURED

The most striking new upsurge of the last ten days has been in the Western Cape. There the "Coloured" (mixed-race) population has shown itself to be at one with the black workers and students and to share the same militancy and courage.

After demonstrations in the University of the Western Cape in which students turned firehoses on their white teachers, the suburbs of Cape Town itself erupted.

Every day for the past week demonstrations of thousands of workers and students have

INTERNATIONAL NEWS



PORTUGAL

Soares lets Spinola back

Portugal has disappeared from the press headlines in recent months as the social crisis has abated. But this is not to say that the problems facing the working class have gone away or Portugal's political problems have yet been finally resolved by the capitalist class.

Amid much publicity and careful manipulation during the summer, the right-wing General Eanes has been elected President and the minority Socialist Party government of Soares brought into power.

CAPITALIST

Soares presented his programme at the beginning of August as a capitalist politician calling for 'hard work and austerity' and the ending of strikes and occupations.

In an official visit to the Northern city of Oporto on 3rd September, President Eanes took up the same theme in attacking previous revolutionary actions and asserting that 'everyone must work'.

Yet the political problems have not been solved for the Portuguese bourgeoisie by such speeches. Although the Council of the Revolution, the military organisation which evolved after the original coup remains in existence, it is alleged to have handed over its powers to the elected Government.

But has it really done so in practice? When extreme right-winger Spinola returned from exile on 10th August Prime Minister Soares appeared on TV the same



Soares

evening to deny any foreknowledge of it.

Yet he only had to read *Le Monde* the French newspaper on 24th July to see that Spinola's return was already in an advanced stage of negotiation. His two-day stay in prison on the small charge of having tried to organise a *coup d'etat* in March 1975 was obviously negotiated with *somebody*.

Similarly on 1st September, the Council of the Revolution issued a statement against 'provocation and violence' and 'the pseudo-exercise of the right to meet', attacking in particular the numerous families throughout the country who are squatting in houses formerly empty or owned by the rich.

The venom expressed against 'the illegal seizure of goods and property' is thought to apply also to the main enterprises large and small which were taken over from their former masters by workers and peasants, mostly during 1975.

BALANCED

It is clear, therefore, that the military has no real intention of effectively handing over power. Nor has it done so. The Soares administration remains precariously balanced between the working class that voted for the Socialist Party and the forces that stand behind the reactionary army officers.

The political situation remains of a government without real power trying to balance between the



Eanes

factions of the military, and a military caste still balancing itself between the contending social forces.

This delicate and unstable arrangement has manifested itself in the programme of the Soares administration which says it will allow the market economy but that the state must control the 'commanding heights.'

NO MIDDLE WAY

These contradictions will only be solved by one of the main social classes taking power.

Either Spinola and his friends in the big bourgeoisie and international imperialism will take over, or the working class and peasantry will win. Ultimately there can be no middle way.

The need of the hour is to build a movement in the Portuguese working class to demand that the Socialist Party breaks from the military and its class collaborationist policies.

The nationalisation of the basic industries and the development of the revolutionary initiatives of occupations and workers' control must be part of its demands.

Such a movement in the working class will have to expose the criminal collaboration of the Stalinists of the Communist Party, who spoke of the 'positive aspects' in the Soares packet, and refused to vote against it in Parliament.

These leaders also must be called on to fight for the interests of the

working class and poor peasantry, or else be pushed aside to make way for those who will.

JOCKEYING

It is for this reason that some of the most important political jockeying is still taking place within the armed forces.

Talk of differences between various political factions there filled the Portuguese papers at the end of August, with extreme right wing supporters of Spinola moving into a number of leading positions.

Some prominent Socialist Party deputies began to call for the abolition of the Council of the Revolution altogether.

The real question from the point of view of the working class is to bring about the ending of military control altogether, the election of officers and the disbandment of the army in its present form.

The reactionary role of petty-bourgeois hero and former Presidential candidate Otelo de Carvalho was made obvious when he joined the chorus of soldiers denying that there was any split within the military and asserting that all such talk was designed 'to upset democratic life and divide the armed forces'.

PROP

It is through such statements as these that the power of the military is maintained and a major prop of capitalist rule continued.

SPAIN: STALINISTS KNOCK ON THE DOOR

In Spain this week the leaders of the Communist Party are literally and politically knocking on the front door of the fascist state.

King Juan Carlos' second government looks all set to fall because it cannot decide whether to let them in.

The literal aspect of the problem is that Dolores Ibarruri and Santiago Carillo, the President and General Secretary respectively of the Spanish Communist Party, have said that, although already refused passports by Spanish embassies abroad, they will enter Spain during September.

A special watch on all border posts has been ordered by the Suarez regime to prevent their entry.

CARILLO

Usually well-informed press sources in Madrid claim that Carillo has already spent most of the last six months in Spain.

And he himself admits to having entered the country several times. The most recent occasion was three weeks ago when he went to Barcelona to try to persuade the bourgeois Catalan nationalist organisations and dissident 'separatist' CP members to integrate themselves in the nationwide class collaborationist alliance, the Democratic Coordination.

Carillo's travels have presumably

its political problem, however, is that it cannot permit their open return to Spain without reversing its pledge not to legalise the Communist Party.

But that it is unable to do because it would finally break the already strained support which Suarez has from the Francoist 'bunker' — those fascists who argue that even to *talk* of 'reform' is fatal.

REFERENDUM

This strain is already showing up in the fact that not even the plans for the referendum on 'constitutional reform' originally promised for this month have yet been unveiled.

Informed speculation in the press about its content has now been censored by the regime.

This is undoubtedly because of the resistance of the bunker (which still controls the Cortes, Spain's caricature parliament), which opposes any constitutional reform at all.

While Prime Minister Suarez and the King face this immovable obstacle to their plans to incorporate at least part of the opposition in a plan for minimal constitutional change, they are also having to deal with an outflanking manoeuvre.

This comes from the self-styled 'reformist' wing of the fascists in the person of ex-Foreign Minister

demanding entry to Spain — and the timing is no coincidence —



Carillo

Arelza gave a provocative interview to *Cambio 16* Spain's (in fact Europe's) most widely read political weekly.

It was ridiculous, he said, that the Communist Party should remain illegal. It should be legalised and, he implied, invited to join the Francoists and the other opposition parties in a National Pact.

This proposal is virtually the identical twin of the CP's proposed

Arelza and the CP leaders are gambling on provoking the King to throw out the Suarez government and by-pass the old Francoist constitutional organs such as the Cortes and the Council of the Realm (also dominated by the 'bunker') whose role is to nominate the candidates for Prime Minister.

Such an action would certainly produce a major constitutional crisis which the CP leaders would exploit by attempting to deliver the mass movement behind the King and a 'democratic' provisional government of 'national unity' led by Arelza, as a kind of civilian Spanish version of Portugal's Spinola.

BATTERING RAM

Already millions of Spain's militant and impatient workers oppose the CP leaders' policy of politely knocking at the door of Francoism.

The 'reformist' fascists and the Stalinist leaders now coincide on a plan such as the one just outlined because they both know that if the knock is not promptly answered those millions are waiting with a battering ram.

With this the workers are prepared to destroy not only the whole edifice of fascism, the protector of capitalism and imperialism in Spain, but also anyone, including their own leaders,

ARRESTS

Early in August there was a wave of arrests of extreme right-wingers, including the mayor of a small town under the fascist regime, for being involved in a series of bomb explosions, including one during the election campaign when two people were killed at the Cuban embassy.

The chief of police in Oporto was implicated. With Spinola now back in business, this is clearly not the last we will hear from these quarters.

NAMIBIA

Callaghan Backing Vorster

One of the major questions discussed by South African Prime Minister Vorster and Henry Kissinger in their weekend cabal in Zurich was how best to keep Namibia (South-West Africa) a client state of world capitalism.

This perspective is supported by the British Labour government who have been arch-imperialist Kissinger's main collaborators.

Callaghan said in a BBC interview that:

"With my policy and American power we ought to be able to make some progress in Southern Africa."

For many years the South West African Peoples' Organisation (SWAPO) has been fighting a guerrilla war against South African rule.

Vorster, knowing that this colonial war could be as fatal for his regime as were the African wars to the Portuguese dictatorship, has been attempting to set up an 'independent' state which would be a scale model of South African apartheid — a huge white owned area surrounded by client 'Bantustans'.

On August 18th the Vorster regime announced the successful completion of the independence negotiations in Windhoek, the Namibian capital.

SWAPO have dismissed the Windhoek agreement as "a gimmick aimed at buying time for the South African regime".

On the other hand the SWAPO leaders have continued their dangerous policy of reliance on the

IRAN: LABOUR LEADERS PROP DICTATORSHIP

Review of "Workers of Iran: Repression and the Fight for Democratic Trade Unions" by T. Jalil. (Published by the Campaign for the Restoration of Trade Union Rights in Iran, and available from them at BCM 816, London WC1V 6XX for 75p plus postage).

"Many workers in Britain may have been deceived by all the talk about 'oil wealth' into thinking that the workers in these countries which produce the wealth are benefiting by it. Such an impression is quite false, particularly in Iran, ruled by the brutal dictatorship of the Shah."

These are the opening words of an important and timely pamphlet which goes on to set out many details about the conditions of Iranian workers under one of the world's most vile and brutal regimes.

Though very few statistics are published, the average wages of those in work can be calculated at £7.35 per week, with the cost of living increasing rapidly, to the level of Western Europe, and rents in the capital Tehran as much as £50-£60 a month.

HILLMAN

The cost of a Hillman car produced by the Chrysler-controlled Iran-National is about half as much again as in this country, but the worker who makes it gets about one-eighth as much as his counterpart in this country.

Many other forms of exploitation are quoted, including the employment of children, the subjection of women to their male relatives, and a vast army of unemployed and under-employed people, at least 7% of the labour force.

How is all this brought about? By the brutal suppression of trade union rights and of every effort to establish independent organisation

in the working class.

Thus in Iran, there are large numbers of soldiers present in big factories, usually under orders from Savak, Iran's notorious secret police.

At the steel mill Aryamehr at Isfahan, there are 500 'security guards' for between three and three and a half thousand workers!

Strikes and all other forms of trade union activity are illegal and suppressed with the utmost brutality.

STRIKE

In June 1974 when the workers at Tabriz Transport in North-western Iran struck for higher wages, their leader Majid Seheh Jahani was rushed off to hospital by the police and died in mysterious circumstances.

An enormous funeral procession of workers in Tabriz was convinced that Jahani had been poisoned — they were never allowed to see the body or to carry out any kind of post mortem.

There is one other interesting way in which the struggle of Iranian workers to improve their conditions is held back.

The unspeakable Shah has (p47) "decided that the form the worker participation in the economic life of the country should take: it is profit-sharing which is the answer to all problems."

HAND-OUTS

With nominal wages extremely low indeed, then some additions can be made through 'handouts' from profits.

This system is used by the regime to direct workers into the

manufacturing sector, to more easily slash wages and conditions, and to confine disputes to discussions about profits earned in particular enterprises.

Both repression and 'participation' are thus used to hold back the struggle for the right to set up unions and to improve conditions.

There have been numerous attempts by Iranian workers to fight this. Despite their illegality, many strikes have taken place, notably in the early part of this year, and many of them are described in the pamphlet.

They take place without publicity in the censored press and in the face of the utmost brutality. In defiance of 'union' organisations run by the employers and the state there have developed "embryonic elements for organisation similar to the Spanish Workers' Commissions and UGT". (p39).

NOT COLLECTED

Such facts as these have not, so far as we know, been collected together elsewhere, and their appearance now will play a part in building the international solidarity of the working class.

Of considerable importance is the expression in the pamphlet of "confidence in the indestructible strength of the workers of Iran in overthrowing the Shah's regime".

This in itself represents a considerable advance on the bourgeois democratic views normally held in this country by opponents of the Shah's CIA-established regime.

Also important in the pamphlet is the way that attention is directed to the need for a workers' enquiry into conditions in Iran, and for leaders of the TUC and other workers' organisations to take part.

A list of some Labour and Trade Union leaders has already been gathered in support of the campaign.

QUESTION

Yet the pamphlet does not seem able to go beyond the question which is posed in one footnote, which must have been added almost as an afterthought: (pp29-30)

"We invite all who embrace the cause of the working class on an international scale to contribute to...1) understanding comprehensively the Shah's anti-working class policies; 2) exposing these policies; 3) formulating alternative methods to combat them; and 4) finding a method of putting such formulas into practice for the establishment of a socialist society in Iran."

What we would say in answer to this is that it is not possible to see the struggle for workers' rights in Iran any more than in Britain as a matter just of 'information' and then struggle.

It is also a political question,



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.

URUGUAY: RIGHTS ABOLISHED

Uruguay's new President, Aparicio Mendez, (a civilian puppet of the military who seized power in 1973) has issued a decree which deprives all known left-wing political leaders of all political rights for life and also takes the same action against several hundred members of the two major right-wing bourgeois parties (the White and the Coloured Parties) for fifteen years.

One of these, ironically, is the deposed President Juan Marcia Bordaberry who jointly seized power with the military in 1973, having previously been elected to power in a rigged election against a popular front candidate. The

military dropped him three months ago when he demanded the presidency for life.

In practice the new decree is no more than a formality since *no one* in Uruguay has had any political rights since the 1973 coup.

But the measure is a sign of the political plans of the military dictatorship.

The present President is due to hold office until 1981 when there is due to be a presidential "election" with only one candidate, who must be a joint nominee of the White and Coloured Parties.

Then in 1986 they plan to permit a presidential election with two candidates. The military call all this a return to democratic civilian rule.

Since the military took power, they have exercised a ruthless

foreign locations (often exploiting workers on low wages in countries where rights to organise are denied) is recognised as a cause of economic instability and redundancy. During 1973 more than £1000 million was invested abroad in this way, instead of creating jobs and growth in Britain."

Despite the reactionary and chauvinist way in which the TUC poses the questions, the fact is that international employers can nowadays move about work to where conditions are worse and workers' rights are not recognised.

Why should the employers be able to direct investment in this way? Why cannot workers, through their international union federations, prevent employers going to places where unions are not recognised and wages held down below minimum union rates?

The TUC of course, looks to the United Nations for 'the prevention of investment in countries where workers' rights are not respected.' Surely, however, this is the task of the workers themselves.

By fighting for the opening of the books of the multinationals and for control of investment by the employers they can initiate the steps necessary for the overthrow of such barbaric regimes as that in Iran and bring the struggle for workers' control onto an international plane.

SUPPORT BUILDS UP FOR DEMOCRACY CONFERENCE

Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, the Ad-Hoc Committee which is organising the October 24th Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy, met in Birmingham on Saturday September 4th and discussed the latest developments in the struggle for democracy within the Trade Union movement.

The main discussion was around the developments in Cowley with the BLMC management's withdrawal of facilities from four shop stewards in the Assembly Plant.

A report showed how the reaction of the first mass meeting to the position put by the T&GWU District Official and senior steward (who attacked the stewards involved, only to be heavily voted down by the meeting) showed workers real hatred for the role of bureaucracy.

NO DIRECTION

But the bureaucracy, after that mass meeting, consciously left the Cowley workforce with no direction. As a result some workers went on strike, while other tried to work, sowing greater and greater confusion. This went on for over a week alongside a vicious witch-hunt in the capitalist press and with the senior steward issuing a leaflet attacking the decision of the mass meeting.

In this confusion the district official called a further mass meeting of the day shift (which has none of the victimised stewards), and took a vote for a return to work pending negotiations.

This attack on the right of workers to elect the stewards of their choice was considered a major attack on trade union rights. For this reason the organising committee

decided to issue a special statement as part of the preparation for the conference.

Reports were also given on the struggle against the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in which the bureaucracy in the Health Service unions was reported to be trying to take action out of the hands of the local shop stewards movement and put it into the hands of the Regional Committees of the union.

TRICO

It was felt also that leaflets should be produced that would direct towards the importance of the Trico dispute and the dispute of technicians at Smiths Industries in Cricklewood.

The committee also decided to produce a special leaflet for the Labour Party conference, which would be used to seek the support of GMC's for the Campaign Conference. A leaflet will also be produced for the TUC lobby on September 8th.

MEETINGS

In discussing the campaign so far it was reported that a highly successful public meeting on the theme of the Conference had been held in Oxford, and two such meetings were planned for London, one in Hackney and one in Central London at which Tony Kelly, witch-hunted Secretary of Newham N.E. Labour Party would be speaking.

Political movements that so far have declared support for the Conference include the WSL, the Socialist Charter and Socialist Fight.

The position of the IMG, however, is far from clear since they published a four page section

of *Red Weekly* on the fight for labour movement democracy which contained a statement with passages almost word for word from the Conference resolution - but without mentioning the Conference!

The ICL had two observers at the meeting and will be deciding whether to support on hearing their report. The IS and the WRP have sent no reply.

A report on union branches so far supporting the Conference was also given. These include NUPE University College Hospital, London (6 delegates), GMWU London Hotels branch, Coventry No. 6 AUEW/TASS and Oxford NUJ. A number of other branches have meetings in the next two weeks.

A motion of support is also to be considered at the next meeting of Newham NE CLP.

The Organising Committee will report again in one month's time to plan the conference which, as the campaign is now getting under way, it is clear will be well attended.

We call again on all our readers and supporters to fight in their union branches, students unions, shop stewards committees, Trades Councils and Labour Parties for support for this Conference, and to attend the Conference which is open to all bona fide trade unionists and delegates from students unions.

Copies of the Conference Resolution submitted by the committee, together with a letter for trade union branches can be obtained from the Campaign Secretary, Kevin Lee, 44, Devonshire Road, Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20.

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Conference on
WAGE CONTROL AND
UNION DEMOCRACY
Sunday 24th October
Digbeth Hall, Birmingham.

Sessions
10am - 12.30pm.
1.30pm - 4.00pm.

Credentials, 50p, from
Kevin Lee, Campaign
Secretary, 44, Devonshire
Road, Handsworth Wood,
Birmingham 20



Demonstration at the Hendon hearing

43 FACE TRIAL

Seven of the 43 Right to Work Marchers arrested last March and remanded on bail on a series of charges are due to appear at Hendon Magistrates Court on September 17th.

Having marched 800 miles from Glasgow without any trouble, the march was broken up as it entered London when baton-wielding police waded into the marchers arresting 35 as well as nine trade unionists who had joined the last lap of the march to give support.

INQUIRY

Barnet Trades Council, which covers the area where the arrests took place immediately set up a trade union inquiry into the incident which was supported by a number of leading trade unionists.

The Director of Public Prosecutions attempted to prevent the

arguing that they would possibly be in contempt of court.

The inquiry committee did meet and take evidence, finally publishing its report in mid-June.

The committee accepted evidence by marchers and independent observers of "excessive and indiscriminate violence" by the police and further stated that:

"If the Committee had clear evidence that on 19 March the violence had been caused or provoked by something the marchers had done, it would be difficult to say that there had been any interference with the right to protest. But the evidence before the Committee is to the contrary."

Fears that the police attack on the march was planned in advance are supported by the fact that the National Secretary of the Right to Work Campaign, John Deason had far more serious charges laid against him and was committed for trial at the Old Bailey.

Working class opposition to the

trade unionists demonstrated on a weekday morning outside Hendon Magistrates Court when the Right to Work marchers made their first court appearance, and numerous trade union branches have voted support and donations to the defence fund.

PICKET

Now the National Right to Work Campaign is calling for a further mass picket of the court when seven of the marchers appear there on Friday 17th September.

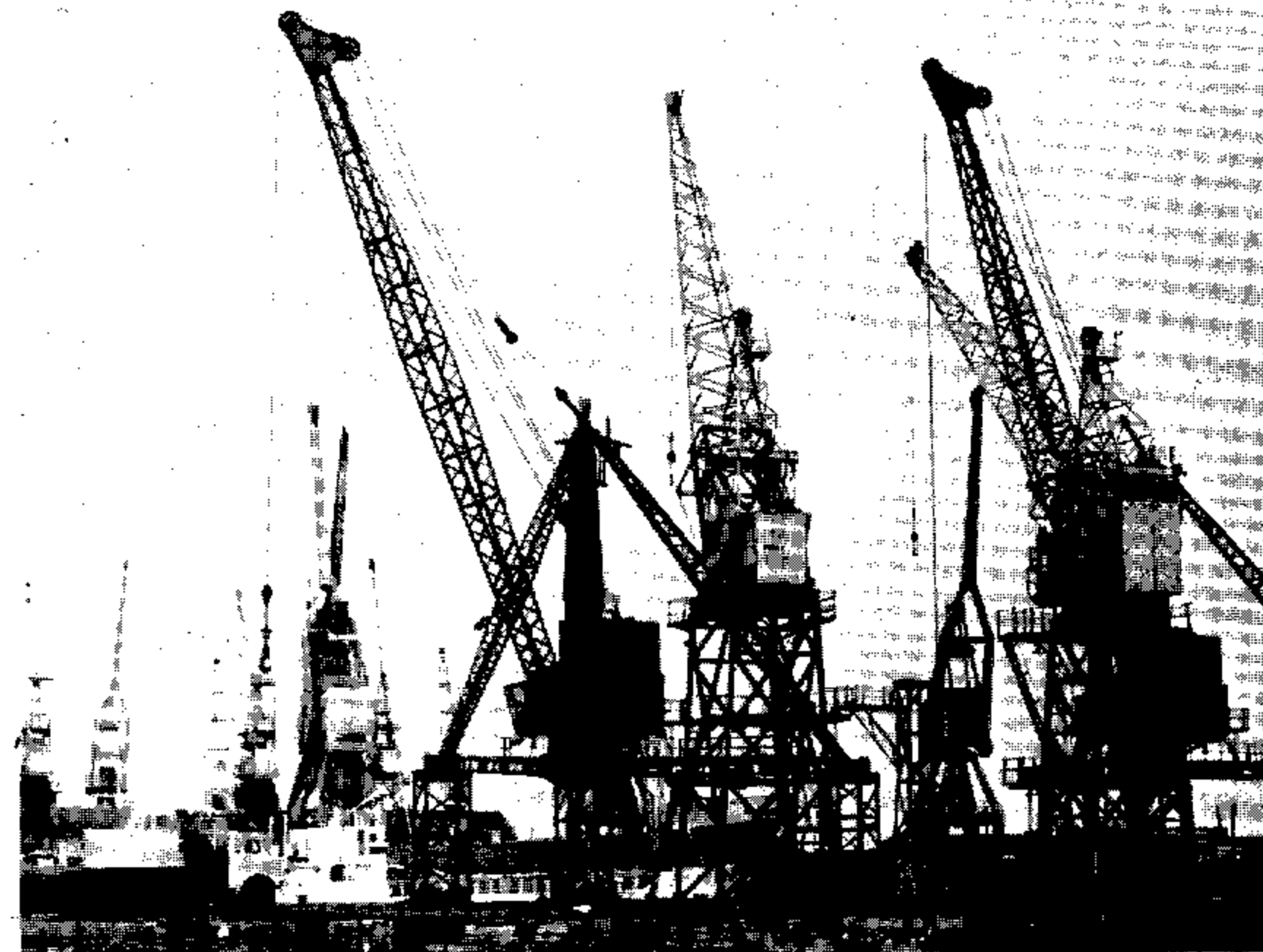
It is important that this picket receives the maximum possible support. The Labour government has made quite clear that it is prepared to allow trade unionists like the Shrewsbury Two to remain in jail and will just as surely be prepared to see the 43 receive the most vicious sentences the Magistrates feel able to impose.

We call on our readers and supporters to attend the mass picket and support the demand for



Photo: Camden Chronicle.

Marchers from the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital



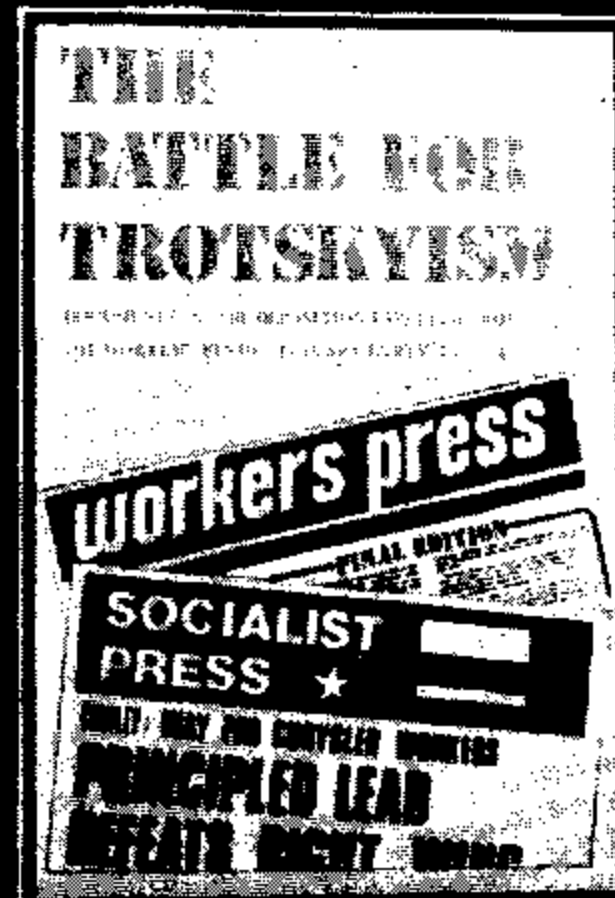
Hull Docks - T&GWU withdrew credentials of 19 stewards

SUPPORT & GENERAL WORK



T&GWU Oxford Office - picketed by Export Packing Services workers

£ BOOKS



Documents of the Opposition expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party in 1974, with an account of the expulsions. Price £1 plus 20p p&p

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The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International.30p

BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN
An analysis of the sectarian politics of the WRP40p
(p&p: 10p)

TROTSKYISM TODAY

BACK ISSUES
"Fourth International - Problems and Tasks"15p
"In Defence of a Great Revolutionary: James P. Cannon" by Tim Wohlforth 10p
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p&p: 6½p

NOTTING HILL - WORKERS MUST DEFEND BLACK COMMUNITY

By Rob Elliot



Photo: Sue Boaf

Who can protect workers on the streets of Notting Hill? The police or black workers themselves?

This is the most important question being asked by workers in the aftermath of the Notting Hill Carnival, and this was the very question raised by London police commissioner Sir Robert Mark when he raised the issue of "no-go areas" in London.

After the Notting Hill Carnival had been entirely free of trouble for two days, Mark says he found it necessary to draft almost 1600 policemen into the area on the final day.

What possible justification was there for having police gathering threateningly on every street corner in groups of five or six, like an occupying army?

CYNICAL

The reasons given by Mark for this move are a cynical fraud. Does he really expect anyone to believe that it was to 'catch pick-pockets'?

His refusal to shift from this line reflects the golden rule of all police chiefs when dealing with the public: choose a story, and then stick to it, regardless of how far from the truth it may be.

To find the real reason behind Mark's strategy one has to ask the same questions in comparable situations.

Why do large numbers of police-cars patrol working class housing estates in British cities? Why are there vast numbers of police in black townships in South Africa?

Why are the Catholic council estates in Londonderry and Belfast thronged with British soldiers and police?

Why are there massed police at picket lines, big political meetings and demonstrations?

The answer is the same in each case; the police are the private army of the forces of capital, used to control and intimidate the working

class in every aspect of their lives.

When Notting Hill's Tory 'Residents Associations' and business men objected to the carnival taking place on 'their streets', and when their mouthpiece on the Tory-controlled Kensington and Chelsea council, Alderman Peter Methuen, failed to get the Carnival stopped, then it was the police who obligingly swamped the streets of Notting Hill to teach the black man his place; to prevent thousands of people from enjoying themselves on a traditional occasion.

Most of the time, working people put up with the constant, nagging presence of the police in their midst, but occasionally, after blatant bouts of intimidation, a working class community loses its patience.

Immediately they see the true repressive role of the police and at the same time begin to see what is necessary to protect themselves from this repression; their own combined strength.

This is what happened at the Notting Hill Carnival, and this is why Mark was forced into posing the question 'who rules the streets?' The same question was posed in Southall after the racist murders and violence against Asian youth in June and it is constantly being posed in Soweto, Capetown and Londonderry.

The policeman is the enemy of the black worker above all - this was underlined by the recent national campaign to recruit coloured people into the police force, which ended in almost total failure. But even more important, he is the class enemy of the working class as a whole.

The chief task facing the working class is to form workers' defence squads, to protect the black community from constant and increasing police harassment.

All workers organisations must express solidarity with black workers and join in the building of these squads, ensuring they

are firmly based in the labour and trade union movement.

This is crucial at the present time, when the trouble at Notting Hill is being used by fascists to whip up racial hatred, and right-wing MPs such as Michael Brotherton, are baying for increased police power, more repressive anti-working class legislation, and stricter immigration controls.

COWERING

In the Portobello Road on Monday night, immediately after the fighting, bands of police were cowering in shop doorways, still clinging to their improvised shields - dustbin lids, milk crates - even a tailor's dummy!

From their tattered uniforms, and by the look of fear and defeat on these young policemen's faces, you could see why Mark was forced into asking who rules the streets.

This time they were driven back by the explosive might and anger of one section of the working class, but next time, they will come prepared, with riot shields, batons, horses and dogs.

Sporadic struggles are not sufficient to defeat the deeply entrenched power of capital. Many of the police who assaulted black youth in the Portobello Road are the same ones who, in the last few weeks, were drafted onto the streets of Southall and, a few miles away, broke picket lines to let through scab lorries at the Trico factory.

The only answer is: end police harassment; build workers' defence squads now.

BLACKBURN MARCH SEPT 11th

A Workers Socialist League contingent will join the anti-racist demonstration in Blackburn on 11th September.

- *End Immigration Laws!
- *Defend All Jobs - Work Sharing on Full Pay.
- *Racism Out! Workers Defence Squads In!

LOBBY TO STOP NHS CUTS

THE WORDS...

"This Conference views with concern the inadequacies of the National Health Service and calls upon the leadership of the Labour and trade union movement to pledge itself to a socialist policy for the Health Service. Conference therefore:

(a) rejects any cuts in the National Health Service and demands a very substantial immediate increase in health expenditure to recruit new staff, pay adequate wages, provide attractive career structures at all levels, replace outmoded buildings and ensure the provision of an equally high standard of health service facilities throughout the United Kingdom and believe that in future health expenditure should be linked to price and wage indices to protect the National Health Service from further cuts;

(b) calls for a free National Health Service at the point-of-use with complete abolition of prescription, dental and other charges;

(c) welcomes the proposed removal of private practice from the National Health Service but is concerned that it be completed rapidly and that existing part-time contracts must end. It further demands that the long term aim of the Labour Party be the total abolition of private practice with all private medical care outside the National Health Service under Government control as a first step and the prohibition of all private patient insurance plans;

(d) demands the public ownership of the pharmaceutical and other industries which are major suppliers of the National Health Service with compensation on the basis of need, with state monopoly over the import and export of drugs and medical supplies;

(e) demands the abolition of all nursing agencies and the rapid move by the National Health Service towards the non-use of agency staff or outside contractors for any purpose;

(f) calls for all management bodies to be democratically elected and to include elected representatives of all grades of employees within the service;

(g) calls for an extension of occupational preventative and rehabilitation health care schemes with a major expansion in the number of health centres;

(h) calls for extended facilities for pregnancy testing, contraception and abortion so that they are available to all women on request, free of charge and opposes moves to restrict the availability of abortion on social grounds.

Conference, desperately alarmed at the stagnation in morale and innovation in the National Health Service and concerned at the continued erosion and constant amendment of plans for the future, calls upon the Government to publish within one year a major White Paper embodying a Ten Year Plan for the development of the service.

Labour Party Conference, 1975

THE REALITY...

The effects of the cuts in the National Health Service are starting to bite nationally. In London, for some time a whole number of Hospitals have been faced with total closure.

In answer to this, at the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital the Joint Shop Stewards Committee have successfully organised a 400-strong lobby of Parliament with 2,000 workers at other London Hospitals coming out on a one day strike in support.

To counteract this the EGA consultants organised an 'anti-closure' meeting to try and take the power away from the unions.

Although there was a response to the meeting the consultants deliberately excluded some union members.

WITHDRAWN

As a result, all the unions have withdrawn from the consultants' bogus campaign and the strength of the movement is again with the Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

THE FIGHT BACK:

All these disputes show the need for a national body to lead and coordinate action against the cuts.

For this reason the WSL has given support to the campaign of the National Coordinating Committee (NCC) Against the Cuts in the NHS, which although so far inadequate in the fight against the union bureaucracy, provides a possible basis for a fight back.

The NCC has called a lobby of the Labour Party Conference for September 28th in Blackpool.

It will coincide with the official lobby called by NUPE against the NHS cuts.

In Brent, 200 nurses, ancillary and maintenance workers occupied the administrative offices of the Central Middlesex Hospital over management's refusal to employ six nurses when they finished their training.

REFUSED

Management refused to discuss the situation so the office staff were sent home and the building was locked.

The key has been kept by the Shop Stewards Committee who have organised the occupation.

In Edinburgh, research workers and technicians working on research into breast cancer are not having their contracts renewed and they are not being replaced.

This savage cutback is not only jeopardising 100 jobs but the lives of the one woman in seventeen who is suffering from breast cancer.

Also in Edinburgh, 2000 NUPE members from 14 hospitals have won a dispute over the sacking of an auxiliary nurse after a three day strike.

Management did not follow the agreed appeals procedure.

The Labour Party Conference about its blatant refusal to carry out Labour Party policy which is opposed to all cuts in the NHS.

All trade union branches must support the lobby and the petition which is calling on the Parliamentary Labour Party to carry out Labour Party policy.

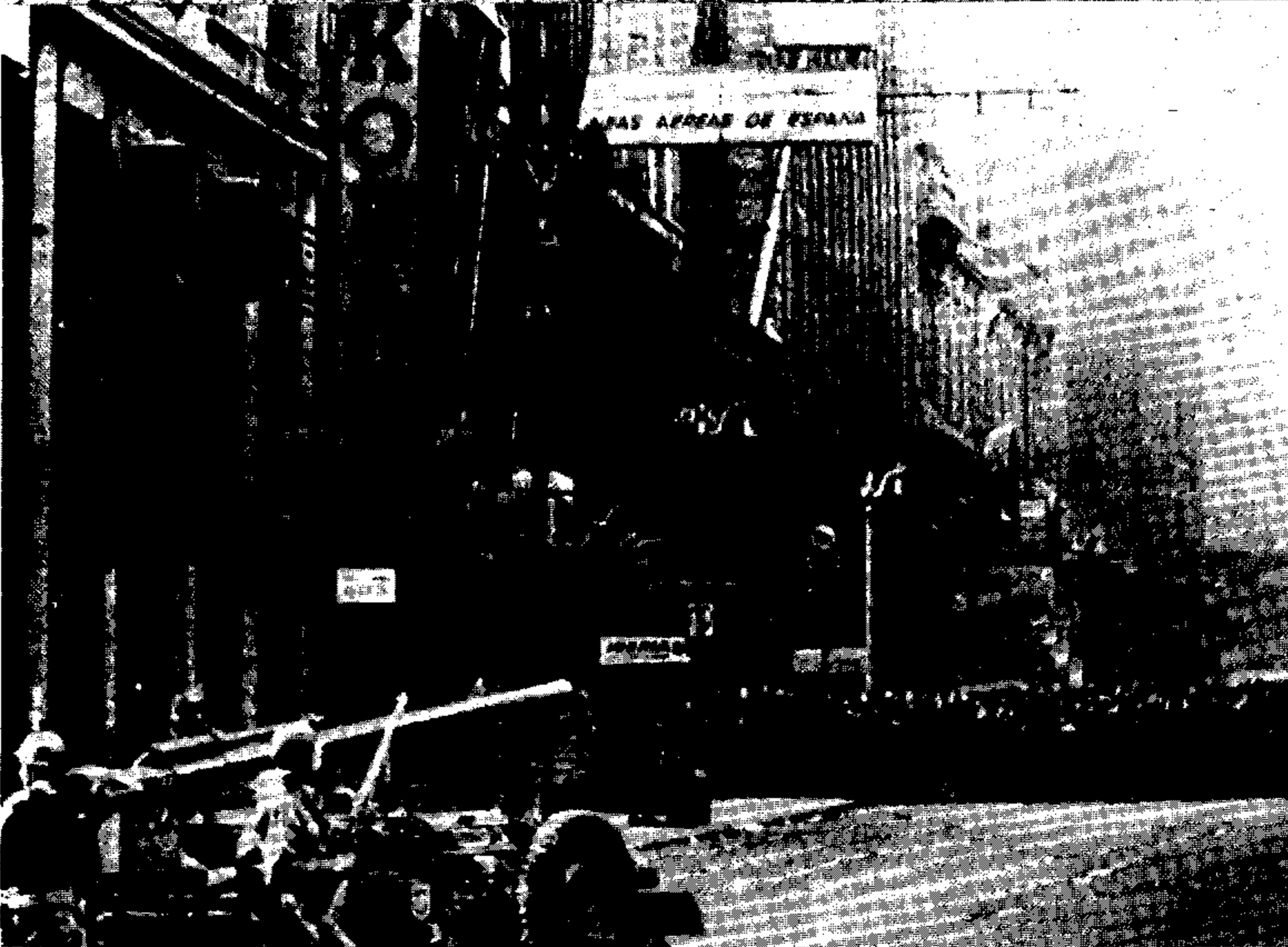
The WSL will in addition be calling on the NUPE leaders, who have talked about 'guerrilla strikes', to call serious all-out strike action to force a halt to the cuts.

Lobby details and petitions from:

P. Stern, Sec. NCC, 55 Bridge



Photo: Sue Boaf



Top left: Chilean peasants get ready to defend occupied land. Top right: A mass meeting discusses the running of a firm
Bottom left: Confrontation in Santiago a few days before the coup. Bottom right: Allende's supporters herded by troops.

CHILE THE REAL LESSONS OF THE 1973 COUP

PART ONE. BY BOB SUTCLIFFE.

Six years ago this week Salvador Allende, the candidate of the Popular Unity, was elected President of Chile with just over 36 per cent of the votes cast. Three years ago this week Allende was shot dead in his Presidential Palace.

An hour or two before his death he made his final broadcast. In it he called on Chilean workers to fight with arms against the military coup which was taking place. Tens of thousands of workers had already begun to do so. They barricaded themselves in their factories or their homes and used what little armament they had to resist with formidable courage the ruthless attacks of the armed forces.

They were defeated. In the struggle of that day and the months which followed, 20,000 workers and their allies were murdered by the military dictatorship. Tens of thousands more were put in jail where most of them remain today. Workers' organisations - political parties and trade unions, factory, neighbourhood and women's committees - were systematically exterminated by the dictatorship.

REPRESSION

In the three years since 1973 the repression has continued undiminished. All the material gains made by the working class in decades of struggle have been wiped out and reversed. The standard of living of workers has been cut to less than half of its 1973 level. Virtually all the industries nationalised during the Popular Unity government have been returned to the capitalists. The total production of the

country has fallen by 20 per cent. Unemployment has risen, even on the latest estimate of the dictatorship, to more than 20 per cent of the labour force.

In this way the Chilean working class has suffered a military, political and economic defeat of historic proportions. The consequences of the defeat are to be seen not only in Chile but also in other Latin American countries where the success of the Chilean military junta has (temporarily at least) strengthened the forces of reaction.

On a world scale, however, Chile is still an exception; the working class remains undefeated. The defeat of Chile, therefore, can be reversed as part of the present worldwide advance of the working class. But unless the lessons of that defeat are thoroughly learned it will be a horrific demonstration of what lays in store for the workers of the whole world.

The analysis of those lessons is a task which can only be successfully undertaken by the Trotskyist movement. This is because, under the guise of bringing out the 'lessons of Chile', the leaders of the reformist and Stalinist parties - those parties which led the Popular Unity in Chile - have been doing the opposite. Ever since 1970, and even more so since the coup of 1973, they have conducted a single-minded campaign to prevent the real lessons from being learned.

This campaign has been taken by those parties into the various campaigns of 'solidarity' with the Chilean working class such as the Chilean Solidarity Campaign in Britain. And it is being conducted by the parties of the Chilean resistance. All too often, organisations which claim to be Trotskyist, far from unmasking this treacherous campaign, have actually helped to give it credence. This is why the Workers'

Socialist League considers it to be a matter of the utmost importance to fight for an understanding of the lessons of Chile and for the building of a real and active solidarity with the Chilean working class.

WHAT WAS POPULAR UNITY?

The Chilean Popular Unity was an explicitly class-collaborationist electoral and then government alliance of workers' and bourgeois parties. As such, it was founded in 1969 to fight the 1970 presidential elections but it grew out of similar looser alliances which had put up Salvador Allende, a member of the right wing of the Socialist Party, in the presidential elections of 1952, 1958 and 1964.

After Allende's defeat by the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei in 1964, the Communist Party, in particular, began to propose a tightening of the alliance with what it claimed were the 'progressive' sections of the bourgeoisie. In particular, this meant the Radical Party. It was this party with which the Socialist and Communist Parties had been in a Popular Front government from 1938 to 1947, when the Radicals expelled the CP from the government and declared the party illegal.

In spite of this the Chilean CP has consistently tried to return to the Popular Front of the thirties and forties in which it had held some power. In 1968 the Radical Party itself split, the majority declaring itself a 'left-wing' party. This was the final encouragement to the CP to link up with these Radicals in the Popular Unity.

The Socialist Party was more hesitant. The

Chilean Socialist Party is not a social democratic party on the lines of the French or Italian Socialist Parties or the British Labour Party. In fact, it was the Radical Party in Chile which was recognised by the so-called "Socialist International" of Callaghan, Schmidt, Soares and Mitterand.

The Socialist Party was formed after the 12-day "socialist republic" of 1933 by five parties which had supported that abortive government. These parties ranged from those which regarded themselves as social democratic to one which at the time actually claimed some sympathy with Trotskyism.

The varied origins of the Socialist Party were still to some extent reflected in its composition in the late 1960s. The right wing of the party was led by Allende (a founder member) and unhesitatingly supported the setting up of the Popular Unity. The left wing, largely in the rank and file of the party, was from the beginning critical of the Popular Unity and the CP.

CANDIDATE

When the decision had to be taken as to who would be the Popular Unity presidential candidate, the Communist Party readily dropped its own original proposal of Pablo Neruda (the Stalinist poet who had supported Stalin's Moscow trials and purges and his campaign of lies and slanders against Trotsky in the 1930s) in favour of Allende.

It was in his own Socialist Party that Allende's candidacy was hotly debated and resisted by a large section of the left wing. The Socialist Party was, therefore, an amalgam of right wing social democrats, left



Allende with Cuban leader, Castro.



reformists and centrists who, in words at least, adhered to revolutionary Marxism.

A fourth participant in the Popular Unity was the MAPU (Movement of Unitary Popular Action), a petty-bourgeois group which had split from the Christian Democratic Party in disillusion with Frei's 'reforms'. During the period of Popular Unity government a split in the MAPU was engineered by the Communist Party: the majority were closely allied with sections of the Socialist Party on the left of the Popular Unity, while the minority were virtually indistinguishable from the Allende Socialists, the Radical Party and the Communist Party on its right.

DENIALS

The Popular Unity therefore was, despite the denials of most of its leaders, a Popular Front alliance. It differed from the Popular Fronts of the 1930s and 1940s in two respects. The bourgeois parties played a smaller direct role in the Popular Unity than they had done in the Chilean Popular Front of 1938-47 or in the post-war Popular Fronts in France and Italy. In addition, those earlier popular fronts had been justified by the Stalinist parties as a defensive alliance against fascism. The Popular Unity was instead justified as a way of reaching 'socialism' by peaceful and parliamentary means.

In that respect the Chilean Communist Party's policy in launching the Popular Unity coincides completely with the present policy of other Stalinist parties in Europe: the Italian CP's proposal for a "historic compromise" with the Christian Democrats; the Spanish Communist Party's willingness to enter a coalition "government of national unity" with Christian Democrats and even fascists; the French "Unity of the Left" with Mitterand's Socialist Party. Although each of these parties envisage a slightly different kind of governmental alliance, they all have in common a readiness to compromise as far as is necessary for a chance to participate in the government.

There is no question that if the Communist Party in Chile could have set up a broader alliance, including the Christian Democrats, it would have done so. In fact, as the Popular Unity government of Allende encountered increasing hostility from the right wing, the CP urged more and more that it should invite the Christian Democrats to join it.

GYRATIONS

However, the 'Trotskyists' of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" have, after a number of gyrations, reached the erroneous conclusion that the Popular Unity was *not* really a popular front at all but a United Front of workers' parties. Thus, Tariq Ali in an IMG pamphlet says that:

"The Popular Unity in Chile was thus, if anything (sic) a reformist united front dominated by two large working class parties". (*Chile, Lessons of the Coup*, p3).

A correct assessment of the class character of a government is basic to establishing a correct political line towards it. And an assessment cannot be made by these empiricist methods, as Trotsky showed vividly

in the case of the Popular Front in Spain:

"the bourgeoisie's place was occupied by its shadow. Through the medium of the Stalinists, Socialists and Anarchists, the Spanish bourgeoisie subordinated the proletariat to itself without even bothering to participate in the Popular Front". (Trotsky *The Spanish Revolution*, Pathfinder Press, p 309)

The Italian USFI leader, Livio Maitan, compounds the error when he says:

"The Chilean Popular Unity was not a re-edition of the old Popular Fronts... after a certain point, as the dynamic of the class struggle sharpened, the Popular Unity based itself ever more exclusively on the working class parties and came up against the opposition of the entire bourgeoisie". (*International*, Summer 1974, p7).

This is an astounding judgement when placed beside the fact that, for a large proportion of the last 18 months of the Popular Unity government, senior army officers occupied key posts in the cabinet - the 'shadow' of the bourgeoisie was replaced by its most solid substance.

THE POLICIES OF THE POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT

The programme of the Popular Unity followed from its popular frontist class collaborationist nature. Although, in an effort to head off opposition from the left, the leaders often talked about the Chilean road to "socialism", the programme was explicitly not anti-capitalist but 'anti-imperialist, anti-oligarchy and anti-monopoly'. All these aims were in principle saleable to the national capitalist class and to most sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The government explicitly promised in effect *not* to attack capitalist property relations.

The economy was to be divided into three sectors - the state sector, the mixed sector and the private sector. The plan was to nationalise the major monopoly sectors of the economy, especially the natural resource industries as copper, saltpetre and coal; to purchase state participation in others and to leave the vast majority of small capitalists untouched. The government gave solemn guarantees to this last group that they would not be taken over.

The absence of a parliamentary majority and its firm adherence to constitutionalism meant that the government had to rely on existing legislation. A number of acts passed under the 1933 "socialist republic" and under the Popular Front governments, which had never been revoked, permitted nationalisations in certain circumstances.

Other nationalisations, such as that of the major banks, were effected by government purchase of shares on the stock market. The Popular Unity's land reform also was carried out entirely under the land reform legislation of the previous Christian Democratic government.

Many claims have been made by its sympathisers for the scale and importance of the reforms carried out in difficult circumstances by the Popular Unity. How great were they in reality?

In the sphere of expanding the state sector of the economy a major change certainly took place. When the Popular Unity took office the state-owned sector of industry comprised 31 enterprises producing about 12 percent of total industrial output. By 1973 the state sector included about 300 enterprises which accounted for about 30 percent of national output but well under 20 percent of employment.

But was this *socialist* nationalisation? The answer is self-evident. Except in practice in the case of the copper mines, full compensation was paid; thus in no sense was capital expropriated. Though various forms of "participation" of workers were introduced in the state sector they were the very opposite of workers' control.

There were, however, an increasing number of nationalisations which were not initiated by the government at all. They were initiated by the workers themselves, who ran far ahead of the government in their demands for real socialist nationalisations under workers' control.

When workers took over the factories of capitalists, the government stepped in and legalised the takeovers in an effort to *prevent* their assuming a socialist character.

In the firms of the state sector the conditions of workers were normally improved: hours were reduced, sports, health and childcare facilities were often provided. And usually these too went far beyond what the Popular Unity leaders would have willingly introduced.

The ability of the workers in the state-owned sector to make such gains was an encouragement to workers all over the country to initiate other nationalisations. This was, however, completely in conflict with the Popular Unity's policy of guaranteeing the integrity of the vast majority of capitalist firms.

As a result, more energy was spent by the Popular Unity leaders in *preventing* nationalisations than in encouraging them. The 80 percent of workers who in 1973 still worked for private capitalists received a practical demonstration of the conflict between the Popular Unity programme and the improvement of their own working conditions.

AGRICULTURE

The same situation arose in the agricultural sector. Once again proponents of the Popular Unity point proudly to the fact that in its three years the government brought more land into the "reformed", largely cooperative, sector than the previous 'reforming' Christian Democratic government had done in six years. What this claim conveniently evades is the fact that 82 percent of Chilean peasants and rural workers remained wholly untouched by the land reform.

Many of the takeovers which did take place were at the initiative of peasants themselves, who confiscated vast areas in the famous 'tomas' or unauthorised takeovers of land. These, like the factory takeovers, were bitterly opposed by the Popular Unity leadership, especially by the Communist Party, as being the work of "ultra-left

provocateurs".

As in the industrial sector the gradualist and anti-socialist conception of 'reforms' held by the Popular Unity increased the division among the working class, leaving the vast majority untouched.

Most workers, however, gained some benefit from some of the other social reforms of the Popular Unity, such as the expansion of the health service and the distribution of milk to poor urban families. In addition, the expansionist, Keynesian economic policies of the government in its first years very rapidly produced an economic boom, sharply reducing unemployment and leading to an average increase in real wages of almost 30% in its first year of office. These temporary improvements were real and quite rapid.

There was nothing socialist about them since they relied on encouraging a rapid expansion of the capitalist economy. And, the absence of any socialist measures, they inevitably contained the seeds of their own collapse. After the first years of office such reforms were increasingly eroded as the pressure on economic resources led to difficulties in guaranteeing the distribution of food, and inflation began to threaten real wages.

Of course, it must be recognised that many of the reforms which the Popular Unity tried to, or was forced to, introduce during its first year in office were later threatened not only by their own economic contradictions but also by acts of sabotage by the Chilean bourgeoisie and the imperialists.

So, for instance, Chilean copper sales were interrupted by the attempts by the expropriated copper companies to prevent copper shipments being paid for by the purchasers.

International credit was virtually cut off from all capitalist sources, though the Popular Unity never repudiated the debts incurred by the Frei government, even though it forced rescheduling of payments on a number of occasions. Internally the sabotage particularly took the form of two long lockouts by road haulage firms in 1972 and then just before the coup in 1973.

Such attempts at sabotage have been presented by the apologists of the Popular Unity as a major cause of its defeat which was beyond its control. The uncomfortable fact, however, is that the government's reaction to sabotage and bourgeois opposition of the Popular Unity was not resistance but compromise. Almost invariably it retreated before right wing opposition and tried to demobilise the workers and peasants who were pressing through their actions for a more uncompromising and socialist response.

Once again, the Popular Unity's attitude sprang from its overall conception that the pace of events should be controlled by what the potentially 'progressive' sector of the bourgeoisie would accept and not by what the working class required and demanded. Compromise and retreat was not a tactical 'mistake'; it was built into the class collaborationist politics of the Popular Unity.

CONCLUDED NEXT EDITION.



W.B. Yeats, Blunt and Ezra Pound in 1914.

MARXISM AND LITERATURE

A Review of 'Marxism and Literary Criticism' by Terry Eagleton. Published by Methuen (87pp) £1.

How often have revolutionaries interested in literature bemoaned the fact that Marx never did write that monograph on Balzac? How many times have we read that Marx and Engels had more important things to do than provide us with a fully worked-out aesthetic theory?

All too often, unfortunately; and all too often such lamentation has been merely an excuse for inactivity, for unwillingness to grapple with the complex relationship of Marxism and literature.

Here at least is a book which goes beyond the commonplaces of Marxist literary criticism and suggests certain theses on the subject.

BASIC ISSUES

It provides no final answers, mind, but is instead "content to broach a few basic issues and raise some fundamental questions." (Preface p.vi).

And in the space available — just 76 pages of text, excluding notes — the book succeeds exceedingly well, providing both an outline and a critique of the positions of such critics as Lukacs, Goldmann, Benjamin, Brecht and Macherey.

The central question for Marxists dealing with this topic is the precise relationship which exists between society and literature. Terry Eagleton rightly takes issue with that rigid schema which presents literature as nothing but the passive reflection of the economic base.

Art is, to be sure, part of society's superstructure; but its position within that superstructure, and its consequent relationship to the base, is a highly mediated one: a dialectical relationship which prevents us from reducing the art work to some sociological equivalent.

Art is not then the mere expression of a reality which exists outside it, but is instead an imaginative reconstruction of that reality in accordance with its own specific laws.

Artistic production is, of course, interwoven with all other material production, but within that context it is relatively autonomous.

NOT PASSIVE

The artist is neither a mystical creator who conjures his art out of a void, nor is he the passive register of every change in the economic base.

He is a socially determined individual, belonging to a particular class at a determinate moment in history and producing his art with certain materials and techniques at his disposal.

To paraphrase Marx, the artist makes his own art-work, but he does not make it just as he pleases. T.S. Eliot wrote *The Waste Land*,

a whole set of factors prevailing at that time: the cultural and material poverty of bourgeois society at the end of World War I; the revolutionary upsurge in Europe, sparked off by the momentous events in Russia; Eliot's own isolated and ambiguous position within English society and his nostalgic and reactionary conservatism; his debt to Fraser and Bradley; his membership of a conceited literary coterie whose major mode of publication was the little magazine; the kind of audience he knew would read his poetry; the self-conscious experimenting with avant-garde literary devices etc. (Cf Eagleton pp.14-17).

The task of the Marxist critic is to synthesize all these elements and thereby fully to explain the poem.

Our task is not to abstract one element from many (eg. the political position of the author) and to use this as the touchstone of the work's value.

All the major writers of the 20th century — Eliot, Pound, Lawrence and Yeats — were politically reactionary; indeed, each connived at fascism for certain periods of their lives.

But this does not invalidate their art. On the contrary, the fact that they produced great art is entirely explicable. For:

"In the absence of a genuinely revolutionary art, only a radical conservatism, hostile like Marxism to the withered values of liberal bourgeois society, could produce the most significant literature." (Eagleton, p.8).

STALINISM

Summary political judgements of the sort that raised such mediocrities as Serafimovich and Gladkov (who were they?) to the level of classics because of their devotion to Stalin have thus nothing in common with Marxist literary criticism.

The task of Marxists is not then to rifle literary works in a vain search for references to the proletariat and the class struggle.

Such was the method foisted upon the world by the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia during the late twenties and thirties. Terrified by what it didn't understand it could only vilify and degrade; whatever failed to serve its interests was denounced as "counter-revolutionary" and injurious to socialism.

In this spirit, Radek described James Joyce's work as a heap of dung teeming with worms, and accused *Ulysses* (set in 1904) of historical untruthfulness since it failed to mention the Easter Rebellion (which took place in 1916!)

Such philistinism was, of course, nothing but the literary counterpart to the bureaucratic barbarism of Stalinist Russia; just as the Thermidorean reaction coiled itself round Bolshevism and attempted to squeeze all life out of it, so too it coiled itself around literature and choked it.

A fight against the Stalinist

against the Stalinist theories of "proletkult" and "socialist realism".

It is for this reason that Trotsky included a section on culture in his work *The Revolution Betrayed*. And in this he was merely continuing the work he had begun in 1924 in his masterly *Literature and Revolution*.

In like fashion, Lenin was obliged to polemicize even in the very last article he wrote — *Better Fewer, But Better* — against those who "dilate at too great length and too flippantly on 'proletarian culture'."

EDUCATE

For Lenin, as for Trotsky, the duty of Marxists is to educate the working class, to assist them in the assimilation of bourgeois culture as the necessary precondition for the creation, not of their own 'proletarian' culture, but of a truly classless ie. socialist culture.

And such assimilation, they add, has nothing in common with that servile kow-towing to the "giants of literature" which permeates all petty bourgeois criticism: in literature as in politics the attitude of the proletariat is wholly critical.

In this present transitional epoch only two alternatives now exist — socialism or barbarism. The former will mean the inauguration of a truly human culture, free from the shackles of bureaucratism and the iron grip of commodity production.

The latter course means the extinction of culture as we know it. No other class but the working class can resolve this dilemma. Just as Engels could say at the end of his pamphlet on Feuerbach that "the German working class movement is the inheritor of German classical philosophy", so we now say: the international working class is the inheritor of mankind's culture.

Only a socialist revolution in the coming historical period can avert the catastrophe which stares mankind in the face. "The turn is now to the proletariat ie. chiefly its revolutionary vanguard."

REVOLUTIONARY

Terry Eagleton's book will not resolve the present crisis of revolutionary leadership. But it will surely help the revolutionary movement attain a clearer subtler, more scientific approach to the problems of literature and literary criticism.

If it succeeds in that then it will have helped free us from those 'theories' which serve to repress and smother the true potential of the international working class.

For that reason alone Terry Eagleton's book deserves to be studied by all socialists. Marxist literary criticism is not just another academic tool; it can be a useful weapon in the struggle for our own emancipation.

Discussion Article

PROBLEMS OF MARXISM IN PAKISTAN

We publish here the concluding part of a discussion article on the history and problems of the Marxist movement in Pakistan.

We do so *not* because we are in complete agreement with the views expressed — indeed there are several points with which we have considerable *disagreement* — but because we feel that discussion on such questions is of importance to those within the Trotskyist movement who take seriously the need to build the Fourth International with sections active in every country.

The problem of programme and perspective for revolution in the colonial and ex-colonial countries must be considered and tackled by Trotskyists if we are not to descend to mere abstractions.

We will therefore publish this discussion article and follow it with our points of reply — while inviting also our readers to contribute to the discussion. Letters or articles submitted to *Socialist Press* should be kept as brief as possible to avoid any necessity for cuts.

By Fauzia Rafiq

Field Marshal Mohammed Ayub Khan came to power in 1958, and managed to hold it for ten years. In his view, the country's (as well as his own) salvation lay in America, and the USA was obliged to replace Great Britain in her colonies.

The USA invested a colossal amount of money in Pakistan, gave heavy loans, and in return prostituted the country using such methods, so new and subtle that even Queen Victoria couldn't have imagined them.

Thanks to our white Gods, Ayub championed the cause of industrialising agriculture and creating vast industry in the cities. But it was precisely Ayub's nakedly open assistance to America which ultimately led to his down fall.

He banned the Communist Party and its only open front the NSF (National Students' Federation), opposition leaders were banned under the EBDO legislation, the mass media was seized under the control of the NPT (National Press Trust), and the Defence of Pakistan Rules (DPR) were amended.

Finally a strange concept of "democracy" was introduced which proved unable to cope with a developing country, rapidly changing relations of production and a growing inequality between various classes and different regions of Pakistan.

REPRESSION

Some external events added to the repression by the suffocating bureaucratic regime. After the Sino-Indian conflict (1962), Western countries rushed a gigantic amount of arms to India, which decisively tilted the balance of power in the sub-continent and created insecurity amongst the people of Pakistan.

Progressive elements amongst the students, intellectuals and trade union leaders now openly criticised America and Ayub. In 1965, during the war with India, SEATO and CENTO proved to be totally ineffective and enhanced anti-Western feelings.

China's active support made her the most popular country with the people, and it was after that that the broad masses of people began to gain awareness of a miracle which can resolve their problems also, the miracle named socialism!

They respected the Chinese people for their achievements and almost idealised them and Chairman Mao. No doubt, political relations with China contributed a great deal towards the Marxist movement in Pakistan.

CHINESE

Ayub was compelled to make certain changes in his policies, Bhutto sided with the Chinese

and Communist elements who were previously shattered by the CP's pro-Russian intellectuals, now ideologically accepted the Chinese people and Mao as a model for their struggle.

As Russia was considered to be on India's side the Tashkent Declaration came as a blow to Ayub's regime. There was a growing unrest amongst the people. Bhutto was intelligent enough to sense the situation.

He resigned from the cabinet in the summer of 1966. On 1st January 1967 the period of the ban on a number of political leaders under EBDO came to an end.

OPPOSITION

Most of them joined the opposition and the Pakistan Democratic Movement was formed as a united front to struggle against Ayub.

Bhutto however did not join this but instead launched the Pakistan Peoples Party on 1st December 1967. At its founding meeting, the PPP's Document No 3 pointed out:

"A growing and a powerful body of the people, spearheaded by the younger generation, firmly believes that the old ways and the traditional methods are not sufficient to surmount the colossal problems of Pakistan.....This epoch, which is both so exciting and full of challenge, requires a new party with a new face and vitality to build the new society sought with passionate zeal by the entire population of Pakistan."

Outlining his party programme Bhutto said that it stood for "the transformation of Pakistan into a socialist society because only a socialist programme could guarantee equal opportunities for all citizens."

In the summer of 1968 Bhutto launched an anti-Ayub movement. The PPP was the *first* political party which organised its cells among the poor masses, mobilised them and relied on their power for a decisive political change.

In November 1968 student riots started throughout the country, and in 1969 the PPP gave a general call to the Trade Unions for a strike and the seizure of the factories.

The first seizure was in the Multan Fertilizer factory, and the second was in Dawood Textile Mills, Karachi — others soon joined in.



After that, the government was literally paralysed and Ayub was forced to resign.

The country was handed over to General Yahya Khan to prepare for the first General Election in Pakistan (1971).

From 1968 to 1971 Trade Union activity flourished. In 1970 industrial workers were federated on a provincial level, while students and peasants were gaining in consciousness.

The left wing, however, virtually accepted Bhutto's leadership, worked for him and in 1971 Bhutto came into power in two major industrialised provinces; Punjab and Sind.

The National Awami League took over East Pakistan.

There was a clear-cut division - East Pakistan became Bangla Desh and Bhutto formed a coalition government in West Pakistan.

Bhutto promised 'Roti, Kapra aur Makan' (Food, Clothes and Shelter) to every citizen of Pakistan, and as an antidote to right-wing propaganda, invented a new formula called 'Islamic Socialism'. This cross-breed made it convenient for him to preserve all decadent and bureaucratic institutions of the system.

As a result, in a few months there was a clear-cut division between the opportunist element of the PPP, and the genuine left. Instead of joining the Government, Marxists sided with the people, stayed with them and slowly took over almost all the Trade Unions and other progressive forums. Within a short period of time, people began to realise that there was no essential change in the system.

victimise progressive elements in the province.

12. Abdur-Rehman, leader of the Joint Labourers Action Committee, (MMMA) was murdered in Lahore in April 1974.

13. Different Marxist leaders, particularly from the MMMA, PLF and the PMM (Punjab Labourers Front) were falsely charged and arrested for putting bombs in Wapda House.

15. NAP was banned and the PPP took over Baluchistan in 1975.

16. In the same year, 32 Sindhi publications were banned in one day.

17. Leftist trade union activity is sabotaged by compromising with the puppet unions.

18. Workers who were suspected of being leftists, were forced out of their jobs. In Lahore alone 1150 workers lost their jobs in this way in three months earlier this year.

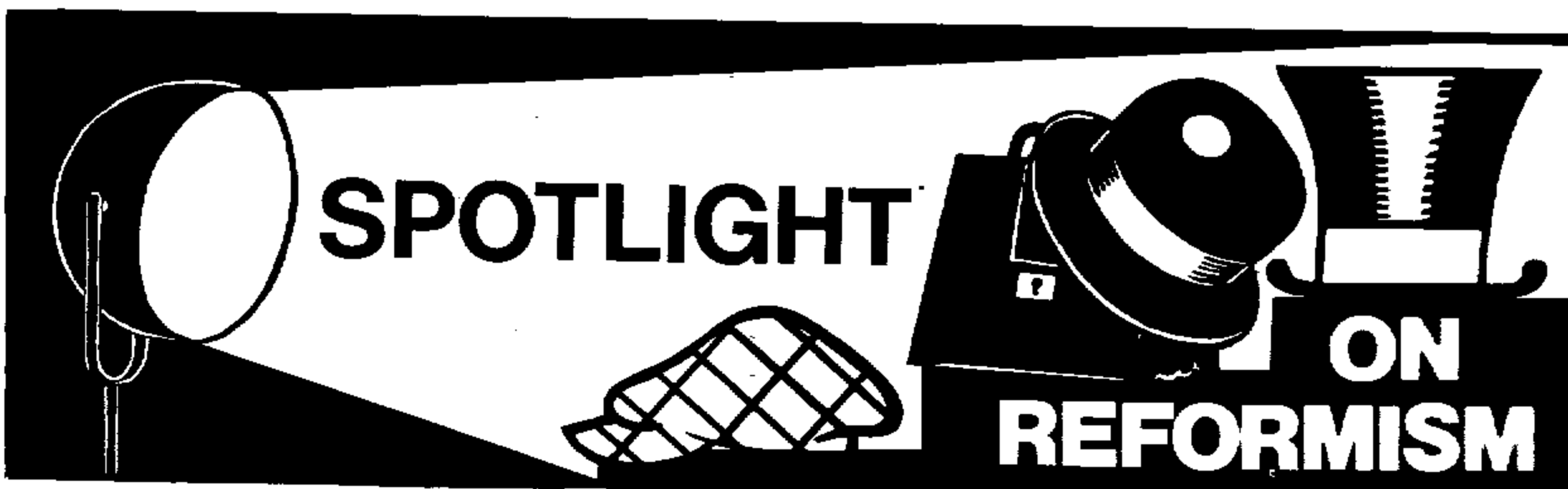
19. More than 500 people in the Sind just disappeared. Nobody saw them again.

20. All mass media (TV, radio, press) is under the very firm control of the Information Ministry. Only one opposition paper is allowed to survive, and is used by the Government as the strongest weapon to take action against the progressive intellectuals, educationalists and trade union leaders.

21. An ex-PPP man, Miraj Mohd. Khan was arrested, kept in Shahi Killa and tortured to the extent that now he is said to be blind and mentally retarded.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

Over the past four years the Government has been successful in limiting Trade Unions to mere



A NEW REGULAR FEATURE EXAMINING THE POLITICS OF THE LABOUR AND TRADE UNION LEADERS - AND CONTRASTING THEIR POLICIES WITH A SOCIALIST APPROACH.

'MILITANT' SHIELD FOR CALLAGHAN

The function of the 'Militant' group as a more radical variant of the 'Tribune' group has for years been to rationalise the desire of some 'left-wingers' within the Labour Party to build positions on verbally opposing the betrayals of the right-wing while in practice doing nothing to remove them.

In carrying out this task the Militant group seeks to enlist some younger workers who genuinely do want to fight the Labour Party bureaucracy, and tame them by equipping them with the Militant "perspective" of an impending "split" in the Labour Party and the supposed prospect of an imminent mass influx of militant workers into the Party's ranks which it is hoped will resolve the question of programme and leadership.

With this perspective, the importance of any real struggle today for principle and for the removal of Callaghan is minimised. Why take a chance of "isolating yourself" today - even being expelled from the Party - when the "great day" when workers will flood in and take up all the questions themselves is just round the corner?

NO FIGHT

The Militant group therefore refuse to lead any real fight either in the Labour Party or in the unions against the spending cuts and the battery of anti-working class policies brought in by the Labour government. And, in addition, they support the 'left' MPs of the Tribune group who have repeatedly voted for these policies.

As Socialist Press reported, Militant expressly approved the recent vote by Tribune Group MPs in favour of Healey's last package of cuts - which by Tribune's estimates will create 200,000 redundancies!

"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."

(Socialist Press, 11th August, 1976).

LEFT FACE

Yet the Militant group, to retain any credibility in the labour movement has to put forward some kind of 'left' face. It does so in two main ways - toothless attacks on the Labour leadership and its policies on the one hand; combined on the other hand with demands which sound like transitional demands

should carry them out?

A classical example of both these techniques is to be found in the 27th August edition of Militant in which the headline on unemployment proclaims "1,500,000 - LABOUR MUST ACT".

The fact that the Labour leaders have been acting for the last two and a half years, and have decided to put 1½ million on the dole is skipped over in this way, putting a headline even Jack Jones and Len Murray trooping in to meet Callaghan last week, could hardly disagree with.



TUC Special Congress.

After the ritual set of statistics and crocodile tears at the unemployment levels, the Militant leadership gets down to the serious issue - diverting from the main enemy and turning the demands necessary to fight unemployment into meaningless abstractions. They write:

"With the TUC Conference and the Labour Party Conference both taking place in the next month, the labour movement has the opportunity precisely to pressurise the government into action. Unfortunately, it seems that the Labour leaders take more heed of advice from the board-rooms.....

.....as far as we know the bankers and industrialists, the people whose system has caused the unemployment, are not Labour voters nor do they pay the political levy. Yet they are calling the tune. It is time the labour movement was listened to."

This avoids absolutely every sharp issue. Firstly the illusion is fostered that the "labour movement" has a voice at the TUC and Labour Party Conferences - both of which are intricately stage-managed assemblies completely dominated by the bureaucracy.

Only at the Labour Party conference do rank and file members genuinely stand even an outside chance of attending or speaking, and, as past practice shows, wherever an opposition resolution is passed there, it is simply ignored by the leadership.

Only a conscious fraud could refer to these conferences and not bring out these factors. But the fraud goes even further, when we realise that the 'left' rhetoric about the Labour leaders taking instructions from the board rooms is not linked to any call for conference action to remove these right-wing

a fight to throw out the Callaghan right-wing clique from start to finish of the article - nor, indeed from start to finish of the Militant. So how does the Militant manage to sound left-wing? To do so they include a series of far-reaching demands around the issue of jobs:

"But to make our voice heard and to really have an effect on government policy [!!!], a crystal clear alternative policy must be put forward. No one would dispute that the capitalist economy is on the rocks, but why should the workers be expected to go down with the ship?"

This is followed by a number of demands summed up at the end:

"The working class must force the government's hand. We demand:

- * Work-sharing without loss of wages.
- * A massive programme of useful Public Works.
- * Work or full pay.
- * Nationalisation of the banks and 200 monopolies under worker control and management."

NOT SERIOUS

We will leave aside for this article the confusion rampant in the last two demands - because the demands are obviously not serious anyway.

These demands are being put by Militant not as a call to action but as an "alternative" - to be implemented by the Callaghan government! What other conclusion can be drawn from their cringing desire to "have an effect on government policy."

And the trade union demands are presumably to be fought for by Len Murray and Jack Jones, the architects of the present record unemployment and the wage-cutting 4½% policy - there is no call for new leadership in the trade unions!

STOLEN

To use these demands, stolen from the Trotskyist Transitional Programme, as such abstractions is the crudest deception of the working class and less experienced Militant group members by a leadership which long ago abandoned any fight against reformism.

The struggle for work sharing on full pay, the struggle for defence of all jobs through factory occupations, the fight for opening the books of the employers to elected trade union committees, and the demand for nationalisation based on the figures exposed in this fight is one that can only be taken forward if it centres on exposing the bureaucrats and building new leadership in the trade unions.

And the fight for such perspectives in the Labour Party demands an all-out fight to throw out the Callaghan leadership and expose the treachery of the 'left' MPs who refuse to fight its policies.

Neither fight can be waged along the lines of the Militant group.



PPP members supporting Yahya Khan against Bangla Desh.

This realisation led them to frustration and, under the guidance of Marxists, they started agitations and strikes which were not just trade unionism but had an obvious political significance - they wanted a complete change in the entire superstructure. Now Bhutto was faced with his real enemy - the people - conscious people!

Bhutto started his operation very cautiously. He had to crush the crux of the problem - the Marxists.

Some of the happenings are stated here in order to give some idea of the situation in which Marxists of Pakistan find themselves today.

1. Bhutto slowly purged the PPP of its left-wing.
2. He amended the trade union laws.
3. He made the MPO (Maintenance of Peace Ordinance) and the DPR (Defence of Pakistan Rules) more effective and convenient to operate with.
4. Leftist trade unionists are extensively victimised under both the DPR and the MPO.
5. Workers were wounded, arrested and tortured when they demonstrated in Karachi in July 1972.
6. In Karachi, in October 1972, workers went on strike, and two were killed. Next day there was a bigger strike and more than 100 were killed.
7. Workers in the Punjab agitated against this blood-shed and 500 were fired from their factories.
8. Peasants were brutally murdered in the interest of the landlords in Hasht-Nagar, also in 1972.
9. Baba Riffat, a leader of the People's Labour Front was abducted, kept and tortured in Shahi-Killa Lahore.
10. The Fourth Army Division was sent to Baluchistan to fight with guerrillas.
11. During 1973-74, the language issue was initiated in Sind to distract the people from anti-state

economism. It has been effective in curbing every situation where trade union activity could be politicised. Marxists are in a constant rush to meet workers demands, combat puppet unions, handle legal procedures, and try to resolve their family contradictions without compromise with the Government and fight infiltration into their organisations.

This state of affairs does not leave them with enough time to concentrate on the ideological front and concrete long-term planning. This vicious circle will lead them to exhaustion, frustration and impotence, and that is exactly where the PPP wants them to be.

Until now, the Marxist movement has been limited within provincial or regional boundaries. This has inevitably resulted in a comparatively narrow outlook which is unable to view the situation in Pakistan in toto and which bars the possibility of a wider united front so badly needed today.

There is a desperate need for joint planning and joint action on a national level. There has to be country-wide discussion and debates amongst the Marxists of Pakistan, to evolve new tactics, new forums and a wider united front, with women, small industrialists, small landowners, intellectuals, civil servants - even with the revisionists, along with a closer contact with the Communist Parties and communists of other countries, especially India and Bangla Desh.

Marxists should retreat from their open fronts, and arm themselves with more effective weapons, for this is the time to be on the defensive in order to enhance the proletarian cause in Pakistan, simply because we cannot afford to be on the offensive.

Our reply next edition.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

PRINT ACTION CALLED OFF

Fifty provincial newspapers which ceased publication as a result of industrial action by members of the National Graphical Association (NGA) on 23rd August resumed publication last Friday.

The dispute arose when the National Council of the NGA agreed to implement the decision of the Bournemouth Biennial Delegate Conference to black all typesetting and lay-out originated by non-union sources.

EMPLOYERS

While most employers were prepared to cooperate in insuring that non-union work was excluded, two provincial newspaper groups, United Newspapers and East Midlands Press, refused to cooperate, and instead issued 48-hour dismissal notices to all NGA

members enforcing the decision of their National Council.

RETALIATED

The NGA retaliated by instructing all members working for these two newspaper groups to report for work but to refuse to carry out their duties until the employers withdrew the dismissal notices and agreed to ban non-union typesetting and lay-out.

As a result over 12,000 NGA members stopped work and 50 provincial newspapers ceased publication. Now, after two weeks, the employers have agreed to withdraw dismissal notices and the NGA has called off its action while further negotiations take place.

The fact that NGA General Secretary Joe Wade was able to report that "the loyalty of members concerned is not only 100% but extremely enthusiastic" is an indication of the support that

can be won in a principled struggle to defend the jobs of union members.

Throughout the dispute the NGA leadership have made it clear that they are not seeking to take work away from other print unions.

But with the recent developments in printing technology, many NGA members are either unable to find work or face redundancy. It was in this context of threatened jobs and a general rise in the militancy of the working class nationally, that the NGA National Council decided on industrial action.

If the negotiations with the United Newspaper Group and the East Midlands Allied Press prove fruitless, their newspapers must immediately be brought again to a halt, backed with the preparation of national strike action if necessary to bring the maximum possible pressure onto the employers and outlaw non-union originations.



Scargill

YORKS NUM SAYS 'NO' TO COURT COSTS

The Yorkshire Area Council of the NUM has thrown out a branch motion calling on them to pay the legal costs of two right-wingers who successfully fought for injunctions against the union.

The injunctions had the effect of lifting two year suspensions from office imposed on the two men - William O'Brien, branch secretary of Glasshoughton Main Colliery and Tom Roebuck, former secretary at Manvers Main.

They had been disciplined in this way after they gave union documents and information to lawyers defending the *Sheffield Star* against a libel action brought on behalf of the union by Yorkshire President Arthur Scargill.

The resolution to the Yorkshire Council called for the right-wingers' costs in seeking the injunction to be met out of the funds which have amassed out of members' subscriptions.

The right-wing even went so far as to call for a ballot of members

on the question - certain of course that they would receive full support from the local and national press in any attack they led against Scargill and the militant Yorkshire leadership.

The effect of these reactionary steps taken by the right-wing has been to severely attack union finances. The three-day hearing at which they obtained the injunction against the Area Council is estimated to have cost the union at least £6,000.

Now the right-wingers make it clear they intend to proceed to a full trial which will drain union funds by anything from £50,000-£100,000.

The use of the law by the right wing in their attempts to secure a stranglehold over the NUM in Yorkshire must be firmly opposed.

Scargill and other Yorkshire leaders must take all necessary steps to isolate and defeat these right-wingers who value the court decisions, the press and the policies of the capitalist class above the organisations built in struggle by miners to defend their rights.

RIGHT WING DEFEAT AT CAR TRANSPORT

The efforts (previously reported in *Socialist Press*) of right-wing Oxford District Secretary of the T&GWU David Buckle, to protect Henry Shepherd, (a general foreman) in his position as leading trade union negotiator in the local car transport industry, have received a heavy jolt.

Buckle was just able yet again at the car transport branch meeting to use a technicality to prevent Shepherd from being removed.

But Brian Preston, a steward for one of the main sections of transport drivers, and one who had pressed on principle for Shepherd's

removal, was elected chairman of the branch by a very large majority in the 70-strong meeting.

This development led to Buckle,

who had staked much of his reputation on the protection of Shepherd in the local area, to walk out of the meeting.



Cars awaiting shipment

JAGUAR WORKERS STRIKE

Paint shop workers at Jaguar's Brown Lane plant in Coventry are continuing their campaign for a public inquiry into Leyland's plan to site a new paint shop at Castle Bromwich, Birmingham.

Last Monday they held the first in a series of one day lightning strikes and will meet this weekend to decide on further action.

The feeling at the plant is mounting steadily and over the weekend the whole plant joined the paint shop workers in their overtime ban.

It is clear that the strength of the Jaguar workers is in danger of being dissipated in long drawn-out partial actions.

The leadership in the plant must begin now with their own inquiry into Leyland's plans.

If the real purpose of these plans is to emerge, the Company's books must be opened to elected committees of trade unionists. Only on this basis can a full plan be drawn up for the defence of the plant and the workers.

UNION SUPPORT FOR RENT STRIKE

An important struggle has developed in the Black Country borough of Sandwell against rent increases imposed by the Labour Council.

From August 9th Sandwell's 60,000 tenants were expected to pay increases of up to 30% of their present rents.

£1.50

Most people in houses were to pay £1.50 more and most people in flats £1.

A wave of protests erupted over these increases, which it was pointed out would swallow in one bite the whole of the 4½% increase allowed under the present pay policy.

Tenant associations were formed or revived right across the borough and an action committee was formed to coordinate all the efforts.

A decision was taken to withhold the increases, and pickets were mounted on rent offices. 10,000 tenants are now withholding rent increases.

On August 9th a meeting of 1,000 tenants took place at West Bromwich Town Hall. The atmosphere was electric.

Tipton tenants leader, Jim Smith, had a letter from the JSSC of the Leyland subsidiary Beams Industries to the council and local MPs.

This threatened strike action if any tenant was evicted and demanded an immediate withdrawal of the increases.

SUPPORT

Similar messages of support were given by the convenors of Rubery Owen and leaders at BSR Records. But the message of the meeting

Mike Peckmore, who is also Secretary of the local Communist Party branch.

"NON-POLITICAL"

He declared that rent is a "non-political" issue, and attempted to silence anyone who tried to give a political perspective to the struggle (including another well known member of the local Communist Party).

This was especially important because the platform contained members of the National Front.

The failure to challenge the fascists handed over to them on a plate a position of respectability and even leadership in the working class of Sandwell.

Fortunately not all workers share Mick Peckmore's complacency. Building workers in Sandwell's District Council are standing in

scheme planned by management would mean a clear reduction in earnings.

"We have no intention of taking a cut in bonus earnings, which the TUC-Government pay policy will prevent us from correcting."

The workers have the backing of the AUEW District Committee and further strike action is planned.

This move by BSC underlines the importance of a fight against all forms of wage control and the union officials who act as their policemen. As well as this, preparations must be made locally and nationally for strike action to defeat BSC's plans to cut manning and to fight for work-sharing on full pay.

DISCIPLINE

On this issue, as on all other cuts in council services they have put Labour group discipline above socialist principles.

The result will no doubt be seen in next week's by-election in Victoria ward, Smethwick where both the National Front and a tenant's candidate are standing in a formerly safe Labour seat.

CP PREPARES SHIPBUILDING 'PARTICIPATION'

In a move spurred on by widespread fears of impending redundancies in the shipbuilding industry, over 400 shop stewards and convenors from the major shipyards in Britain and Northern Ireland met in Glasgow last weekend and set up an unofficial committee.

The Labour Government has consistently made it painfully obvious that their plans for the industry after nationalisation involve large-scale sackings and rationalisation.

COMPENSATION

When this is seen alongside the huge sums to be paid in compensation to the present owners of what are in many cases some of the world's most dilapidated and neglected shipyards, the real role of "nationalisation" as seen by the Callaghan Government is revealed. It is simply another variant of the National Enterprise Board strategy for propping up ailing sectors of capitalism and subsidising the profit of the employers.

The new unofficial combined trade union committee, which elected Stalinist James Airlie, convenor of Govan Shipbuilders, as its chairman, passed a resolution which declared that "industrial action" would be used to combat redundancies and yard closures.

But these fine words will have to be seen in practice. Airlie (one of the Stalinist leaders of the notorious UCS "work-in" which paved the way for the loss of thousands of jobs) only recently showed by his conduct at the AUEW Engineering Section national conference that he is opposed to serious struggle.

Airlie successfully moved an amendment to the resolution which opposed the 4½% pay deal, so that a clause, which called for official backing to be given to any group of members fighting the deal, was deleted. The already castrated resolution was then defeated by a narrow margin.

Airlie confirmed this is still essentially his position when he said that the new shipbuilding unions committee would, despite its threats of "industrial action", adopt "a flexible response" to any threat of redundancies.

NICHE

Even more ominous are the signs that the committee is seeking a niche for itself in some form of "participation" machinery — following the same lines of policy which have turned Derek Robinson the Stalinist convenor at Leyland's Longbridge factory into an open representative of management.

The weekend meeting agreed that given a "guarantee of job security", it would undertake to

cooperate after nationalisation to make the industry as "successful as possible".

All the signs from other industries are that this sort of "cooperation" can mean only cringing collaboration with every move by management to impose speed-up and rationalisation.

Taken together with the reactionary call from the meeting that British shipowners place orders only with home yards — the shipbuilding industry's version of the nationalist policy of import controls — these policies can only spell betrayal and disaster for the 72,000 shipbuilding workers covered by the committee.

A centralised coordinated fight is certainly vital. In this sense this committee is important. But its programme must be thrown out and instead demands put forward for:

*No sackings — work sharing on full pay where order books are short, and a programme of public works to guarantee jobs.

*Open the books of the yards to elected union committees to show the need for nationalisation without compensation, under workers' management.

*Nationalise the ship owners to enable planned production programmes to be drawn up.

*Occupy any yard threatening redundancies.

TRICO PLANTS SHUT DOWN

After sixteen gruelling weeks on strike the courageous women workers at the Trico Folberth factory in Brentford, North London have registered two important successes.

They have forced management to shut down both their Brentford and their Northampton factories, and abandon the elaborately cultivated pretence that production was being maintained in defiance of the strike.

EMPTY BOXES

Indeed so far did management go in their efforts to demoralise the pickets and create the impression that output was continuing, that they on repeated occasions sent lorries carrying empty boxes through the picket lines, and spent an estimated £500,000 on wages and overheads keeping the factories "open".

The second success of the Trico strikers was that at long last they forced the Greater London Association of Trades Councils to meet and discuss the question of support — a mere sixteen weeks after the start of a key struggle on the equal pay issue!

The GLATC has issued a further call both for the blacking of Trico products and for assistance on the picket as well as an appeal for funds.

The reluctance of the Southall AUEW District Committee, which is giving official support to the strike, to broaden out the issue is shown by the fact that car production has continued at British Leyland and Chrysler despite the fact that Trico manufactures 90% of British windscreen wipers.

In other words blacking is only being carried out half-heartedly or verbally if at all by the car industry convenors in general and of course AUEW convenors in particular.

In view of this refusal by the AUEW officials to go onto the offensive it is hard to see their latest call — for the blacking of all windscreen wipers, whether Trico or not — as anything more than a verbal token to cover their inaction.

If an initiative is not taken by the Southall officials, together with the strike committee, to tour the motor industry district committees stewards committees and union branches and fight for the practical imposition of the blacking, then the Trico battle stands in great danger.

CPSA STRIKE

The national executive of the Civil and Public Services Association, the largest of the Civil Service unions, has announced its intention of calling a one-day strike on November 17th.

The strike, which will be accompanied by an overtime ban, is in protest against Government spending cuts and in particular the planned run-down in Civil Service manpower over the next three years.

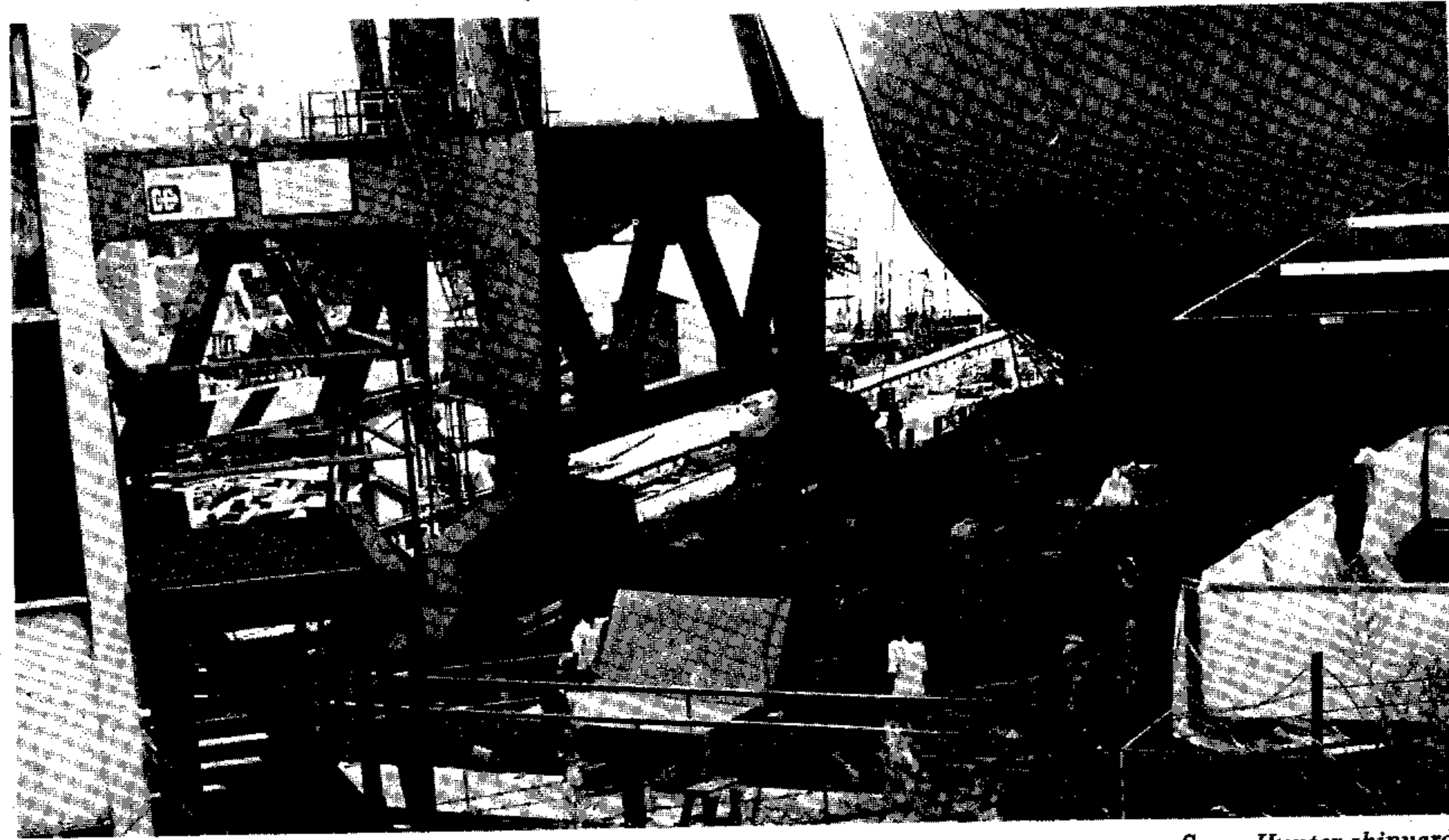
The decision, by 16 votes to 10, clearly reflects the growing concern

amongst Civil Servants at the threat posed to their jobs by the Labour Government's intention to cut back on 46,000 jobs as part of its massive programme of cuts in public spending.

However, a one-day strike will not in itself be sufficient to stop the proposed cuts.

Immediately the Civil Service unions must black all work arising from the failure of Civil Service departments to replace staff who have left.

Preparations must also be made for all out national strike action as the only way in which the cuts can be successfully fought.



Swan Hunter shipyard

500 sackings challenge

In recent months 'Socialist Press' has repeatedly stressed that national strike action by teaching unions is the only way in which education cuts can be defeated.

The refusal of union leaders to call such action has led to a situation in which 30,000 qualified teachers are unemployed, and those who have jobs are faced with declining working conditions and increasing class sizes.

In some areas local councils, encouraged by the reluctance of union leaders to fight, are translating Denis Healey's talk of 'overspending' into the language of direct sackings.

In Oxford, the Tory Council is looking for ways to cut £5 million from an £83 million budget, and wants £3½ million to come from education.

SACK

This involves a threat to sack 500 full time and 233 part-time teachers. The Council only employs 5000 full-time teachers all together!

The Secretary of the Oxford NUT Division, Jack Stedman, has in

congratulating himself on having accepted cuts of £1 million in recent years.

He has led the NUT Division into accepting these cuts, negotiating them and even advising the Council as to which areas to cut, arguing that a) the cuts were necessary to save manufacturing industry and b) the NUT does not have the strength, anyway, to defeat them.

But throughout this period Stedman has felt his members breathing down his neck with increasing heat.

10% CUT

Under these circumstances a proposed cut of 10% of total staffing was sufficient to impel even such a pliable bureaucrat up to London last week to plead with the Union's executive to take action.

Since his return there have been rumours that the NUT intend to make Oxford, with the Council's "excessive" cuts, into a "test case".

But such a fight will be a "test case" not only of a Tory Council's resolve in carrying out the demands of the reactionary Labour Government, but also of the local NUT

their members' most basic rights.

The chances of these leaders passing the test are not good. If, in the past, Stedman has displayed so little confidence in the strength of his Union that he dared not fight cuts of £1 million, where is he going to find the confidence to fight £3½ million worth of cuts?

PRINCIPLED

To defend both jobs and free education the working class needs a leadership with a principled record, prepared to mobilise strike action and call on the local trade union and labour movement to back this struggle.

At the same time the demand must be put forward that the full plans, accounts and current expenditure of the Local Education Authority be opened up to elected committees from the teaching and other unions.

On the basis of the information revealed a fight can then be taken up for the protection of education against inflation through a sliding scale of spending, rising in pace with genuinely increased costs.

FUND

The final total for the August Development Fund dipped below the £500 mark, closing at £497.41. This is a situation which we cannot allow to be repeated. Our costs are rising, if anything, faster than the general rate of inflation and we really do need to raise £600 monthly if we are to be able to develop the Socialist Press in the coming period.

With the first week of September now behind us, we have received the following amounts: Oxford Assembly, £11.50; Oxford General, £1.50; Banbury, £0.65; South London, £22.00; Coventry, £12.00. This makes a total so far of £52.15.

We urge all our readers and supporters to send a donation to the Monthly Development Fund so that we can reach the £600 target for September.

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



MORE DETAILS

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name.....

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

NO PEACE TILL BRITISH OUT OF IRELAND



It is becoming clear that the so-called "peace movement" in Ireland has only one objective and one target — the isolation and defeat of the republican forces.

After the four marches that have been held up to the end of last week, the *Sunday Times* assessed the fruits of the movement for peace.

The paper did not of course, ask what success Betty Williams and Mairead Corrigan had had in removing the root cause of the violence — the British occupation of Ireland. (A pertinent question in the week that the European Commission found the torture charges levelled against the British Army and the RUC proven.)

Instead, the *Sunday Times* gloatingly observed:

"The number of people using the police confidential telephone has increased since the peace marches started."

In the South, the same government that is so enthusiastic about the "peace" movement added its own contribution to the anti-Republican fight when it passed in the Dail and the Senate a declaration of a state of emergency.

DETAINED

Under these measures any Garda officer above the rank of Chief Superintendent can order a person to be detained without charge and held for seven days.

A person so detained need not be held at a police station. A government spokesman explained police stations have been "subject to attacks".

Justice Minister Cooney went on to reject an amendment that would allow people detained access to a doctor, because such an amendment contained an insinuation against the Garda which he could not accept.

When George Colley complained that the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) had failed to explain why the powers were needed or what he hoped to achieve by passing them, Cosgrave replied that he was creating a police state because:

"I am satisfied on the advice I have received from the Garda that this power is necessary. They had asked for the power and had justified the request to me. Senators would have to take it on trust that the reasons given to me were cogent and adequate."

Labour Party organisers in Dublin however, called upon the Parliamentary Party members to break with their coalition and vote against the repressive legislation. They claimed they were expressing the strong opposition of trade unionists and rank and file Labour Party members to the emergency measures.

'Left' Labourite David Thornley even described John Kelly, (Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach) in speaking for the measures as a "fascist hyena". However Thornley, although threatening to vote against the measures, found he could do no more than abstain even in the face of this "fascist" legislation.

At the very time that these measures are introduced in Ireland the English National Council for Civil Liberties has just issued a report on the so-called "Preven-

tion of Terrorism Act" passed by the Labour Government after the Birmingham pub bombings.

The NCCL reveals that of 1,615 Irish people held under the Act from 2-12 days, only one had been convicted under the Act.

In Liverpool, 253 trade unionists have been held under the Act, while police interrogation centred on the trade union and political activity of those concerned. Here is clearly exposed the real purpose of the legislation introduced by both governments.

VIOLENCE

In short it is painfully obvious that in supporting the "peace" marches the governments in the Republic and in Britain do so only because they demand for themselves as representatives of the capitalist state the sole right to the use of violence.

A brutally frank illustration of this was on the Dublin "peace" march, where police intervened to prevent a section of would-be marchers carrying placards against hanging. "Peace" for the capitalist class in other words involves maintaining a favourable balance of terror and repression against the workers' movement.

There will be no peace in Ireland until the hold of British imperialism is broken and the British imperialism occupying army forced to withdraw. And there can be no meaningful unity between the loyalist and catholic populations in the North until a road can be opened up leading to the struggle for socialism in Ireland as a whole.

the Labour Government to end its policy of collaboration and compromise with racist rule in Southern Africa.

The resources of the labour movement must be used instead to give maximum active solidarity with the courageous African fighters against racism and imperialism.

*Report on Namibia: Page 2.

LEYLAND STEWARDS.....Cont'd from Front Page.

Maxi track. Buckle at once moved in to call a mass meeting of the day shift — on which none of the four victimised stewards worked — and managed to obtain a vote to return to work "for talks to continue with management".

Yet only hours later Region 5 of the T&GWU announced an official enquiry into "all circumstances surrounding" the withdrawal of credentials. These terms of reference were deliberately open to leave scope for further attacks on the shop stewards movement in Cowley.

Next day the *Oxford Mail* gloatingly reported Parsons saying "we have put these four to bed", while Buckle's comment — echoing the meeting with Jones — was that we have enough enemies outside, without enemies inside Leyland.

CALLAGHAN

It was the very same day as this that Callaghan entered the scene, weighing in with his statement that "we cannot afford you" and calling for stewards to "stick to procedures".

This was amplified by Terry Duffy, the extreme right-winger newly elected to the Executive Council of the AUEW and to take charge of British Leyland for the union. Aiming the witch-hunt towards Longbridge disputes Duffy said:

"If I find a politically motivated militant, I will deal with him."

And indeed the full impact of the Jones-Scanlon meeting hit Longbridge on Monday of this week. Following a series of strikes right wing marches and a furious press witch-hunt, convenor Derek Robinson, a member of the Communist Party, swung a meeting of 700 stewards from the complex behind a reactionary resolution which pledged:

"That there would be no strike action, no unofficial sanctions or any action to impede continuous production until the full procedure is exhausted."

Robinson went on to ensure that the policy will be put to sectional meetings throughout the complex, at which all votes will be recorded.

The only section of stewards which opposed this were those from the toolroom who walked out of the meeting. The retaliation from management was swift. They announced a complete lock-out of the complex until the toolroom workers change their policy of 'one out, all out'.

Robinson said afterwards that

the toolroom issue was to be referred to the District Secretary. This too is in line with the discussions at the Jones-Scanlon meeting which discussed strengthening the hand of full time officials over the rank and file.

PARTICIPATION

Robinson's open right wing position on these questions is completely linked with his leading role in the worker participation set-up created under the Ryder Plan. This has already brought him to make joint statements with Leyland Cars boss Derek Whittaker in the company's reactionary "Quality 77" campaign, and support company moves to establish national, corporation level bargaining through full time officials in place of plant level bargaining.

'Participation' requires that the bureaucracy move in and attack all those who oppose it and fight on principle for the independence of the trade union movement from the employer.

That a leading Stalinist like Robinson is in the forefront of the attack is a continuation of the role of the Communist Party in introducing and fighting to maintain participation.

The developments are a part of the policing measures necessary within the factories if the trade union bureaucracy is to be able to impose wage control on the working class, together with the resulting fall in living standards.

STRONG

But inspite of the bureaucratic moves, despite the alliance between the Communist Party and the right-wing; despite the absorption of whole layers of stewards into management roles through the 'participation' machinery, the working class remains strong and is fighting back.

The question remaining is the necessity for the building of leadership for this fight.

When a lead is given workers respond. These actions of the bureaucracy are desperate measures on behalf of the employers.

The conditions are now ripe for an initiative to begin the fight back. This is why the Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement in Birmingham on October 24th is of decisive importance for all trade unionists.

*Conference details, page 4.

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

PUBLIC MEETING

HACKNEY
Dalston Library
Dalston Lane, E.8.
Wednesday 28th September
7.30

Speakers include
Tony Kelly
Secretary, Newham NE
Labour Party

SOUTH AFRICA Cont'd from Page 1.

marched into the very centre of the city — the areas considered by the regime as white areas into which others are allowed only as compliant wage slaves.

SHOTGUNS

The demonstrators have been met with shotguns, baton charges and teargas from the police. Every day up to ten demonstrators have been killed and numerous others injured.

Film of the charges showed

white police slipping on the pools of blood in the streets. Yet all this bloodthirsty intimidation has not stopped the demonstrations resuming each day and growing in size.

Racism and apartheid are no longer safe anywhere in Southern Africa. Vorster now knows that his only hope is to get help from his imperialist friends — from Kissinger and Callaghan.

It is, therefore, imperative that the fight is intensified in the British labour movement to force

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AYLESBURY
Plough and Harrow
Stoke Road
Thursday 16th September
7.30

LIVERPOOL
Friday 1st October
AUEW Hall
Mount Pleasant
7.30pm.

SKELMERSDALE
Tuesday 14th September
Quarry Bank Community
Centre
7.30pm.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE PUBLIC MEETINGS

DAGENHAM
Wednesday 15th September
Fred's Cafe
opposite Fords works
4.30pm.

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