



FOLLOW COWLEY THROW OUT RIGHT WING!

The right wing have taken a heavy blow in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant. Witch-hunting convenor Reg Parsons—who was installed after a three-week national press campaign helped management and TGWU bureaucrats oust the previous leadership in May 1974—has been voted out of office in a shop floor ballot.

And, 3½ years after they were removed from office by the TGWU Midlands Regional Committee, left winger Bob Fryer has been re-elected as convenor and Alan Thornett as deputy convenor.

The same popular vote procedure, introduced to remove them in the heat of a hysterical witch-hunt in 1974 has returned them to their previous positions.

The results confirm that for all their appearance of strength, the right wing and the bureaucracy can be beaten.

In the vote for convenor Fryer received 1,195 votes to Parsons' 995. In the deputies' elections Thornett came fourth out of the 28 contenders, winning 796 votes. [Full results p.11]

Frank Corti, Secretary of the TGWU 5/293 Branch of which Thornett is chairman was elected as a deputy convenor—as was another left winger, Tom White.

Arrogant

And this morning Parsons, the man who was so arrogant he did not even stand in the elections for stewards' positions, was back on his job.

These results are a blow not only against the right wing in Cowley but against those in the topmost echelons of the union bureaucracy who have supported them.

Since Alan Thornett was elected Chairman of the 5/293 Branch two years ago, these forces have made repeated moves to destroy the Branch and the principled line it upheld.

This summer, the right wing District Committee, with full co-operation from Leyland management, set out to "reorganise" the union in the plant and set up a new branch, hoping to destroy the 5/293.

Kangaroo court

The plan badly misfired and the majority of members remained in the 5/293 Branch.

In October the right wing claimed a meeting of the Oxford District Committee had been "disrupted", and used this as a pretext for setting up a kangaroo court. They produced a dossier of charges against all their opponents.

Almost every leading left winger was charged, including Fryer, Thornett, Corti and

White. The hearings, held last week, were confirmed as classic kangaroo courts when it was openly stated that the same six-man committee had selected those to be charged, named the charges; would sit in judgement; and would recommend the sentences!

This mockery of justice was presided over by TGWU District Chairman, magistrate Bill Roche.

These plans were carefully laid, and recommendations have now gone for endorsement to the Midlands Regional Committee.

There is no doubt however that the election results have hampered these moves. While no-one can predict what the next move by the TGWU



Alan Thornett

bureaucracy will be, it will be much more difficult to victimise successful candidates than defeated ones.

The support for the left wing is rooted in the campaigns of the 5/293 Branch against 'participation', against the corporate bargaining package, and in support of principled policy on wages. Branch policy is to call for £100 per week wage with cost of living clause to protect against inflation.

The defeat of the right wing carries a message for every section of workers a loggerheads with bureaucratic and reactionary leaders.

Principles

Widespread support can be gained in the working class for principled policies, while those who accommodate to the right wing or compromise of principles offer no way forward.

The Cowley results give the lie to all those who say that leading militants, by the sharpness of their struggle were isolating themselves from the working class.

While we will have political differences with Fryer, his re-election as convenor marks, as one militant remarked "the return of traditional unionism to the plant".

Fryer has declared his intention is to fight to reunite the shop stewards movement and to hold regular meetings of TGWU stewards.

This will open the way for the fight to regain and defend living standards and working conditions in the factory.



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Scargill's lawyers no answer to pay sell-out

"One of the most disastrous decisions ever taken in the history of the union"—that was how Arthur Scargill reacted to the NUM executive's vote to sabotage the drive for higher wages by going for local productivity deals.

By upholding the 12 month rule the executive intend not simply to delay the wage claim but to kill it off altogether.

The vicious right wing clique behind Daly and Gormley have reached a new level of bureaucratic rule.

Wait for outcome

Despite his strong words Scargill's first action on returning to Yorkshire was to start legal action against the executive and to call on militants to wait for the outcome of this action.

Scargill saw—as he could hardly fail to see—what the 15-9 vote in favour of local productivity deals represented. 'In my view it is an attempt to refrain from pressing ahead with the wages demand of £135 a week and an attempt to overturn the annual conference decision'.

Ludicrous

This attempt is certain to succeed if Scargill does not drop his ludicrous attempt to ask High Court judges to do what he himself ought now to be acting on. He said:

'I shall be demanding that our miners in Yorkshire are not paid any less than any others around the country'.

To back that Scargill will need to fight for strike action now.

If the executive wishes to give areas autonomy to negotiate local conditions Scargill must press for immediate strike action in Yorkshire on the £135 claim and spread

that action throughout the country.

Kent, Wales and Scottish miners would all follow Yorkshire in strike action, bringing many other areas in their wake.

Mick McGahey Vice President, and Scottish miners' leader, must be forced to back talk of strike action with the action itself.

The simple fact is that the nine delegates who voted against productivity deals represent a majority of the membership.

Gormley is determined the Lib-Lab coalition must be preserved, and its pay limits upheld, no matter what the cost to NUM members.

Hence the two-pronged thrust to overturn conference votes and to tear up the results of the recent ballot.

At the same time Gormley intends to press for a 'league

position' for miners in the form of a guarantee on future pay intentions, similar to that offered to the firemen.

This would take the steam out of future wage claims and could lead to 'master contract' deals of pay claims once every three years with inadequate inflation clauses designed to ensure that pay rises more slowly than prices.

If the 'lefts' on the national executive do not act now the miners union will be reduced to a powerless body which far from leading a drive for higher pay, will be used as a dead weight against all other sections.

A turn to the courts is a complete diversion from this question and a betrayal of the struggle.

Scargill's place is on a picket line—alongside his miners.



INTERNATIONAL

US MINERS FACING KEY

**Whitlam
goes
as Tories
win**

170,000 US miners are now on indefinite national strike action in a battle that is decisive for the future of their union, the UMWA.

The miners' 3-year contract expired on December 6 with deadlock in negotiations over a new contract.

US coal bosses are determined to inflict a body-blow to the strength of the union in this bid for increased profits.

The mine owners who represent companies such as US Steel, Ford and the giant utility and oil conglomerates have stockpiled coal for over 3 months in anticipation of the strike.

They have spent millions in contracts for foreign coal and coal from the many non union mines in the west.

The UMW is in critical condition. The mineowners have withheld millions of

dollars in payments to the health and welfare funds.

The UMW has had to borrow money from the banks to finance any medical benefits at all under these circumstances.

Bankruptcy

The pension fund is near bankruptcy with the real threat that all pensions will be cut off as soon as the miners walk out.

The central demand of the last UMW convention for the complete right to strike over health, safety and work conditions is critical to the lives of the miners. Yet to win this demand will require the virtual complete defeat of the corporations that own and run the coal mines, who are set on preventing such gains.

Arnold Miller, the president of the UMW, has used a his power not to fight the corporations but to attack

militant miners.

In a recent string of unofficial strikes Miller has worked with the FBI to hunt down and expel striking miners.

He has sent union thugs from all over the country to open up the struck mines by shooting it out with the pickets.

Miller can certainly not be depended on to defend miners in the present strike.

In order to win the miners strike the entire trade union movement must be rallied to their cause.

All foreign coal shipments must be blocked by dockers and transport workers to prevent this scab coal from reaching the US.

A campaign must be begun in the trade union movement for the nationalization of the coal mines.

This struggle is not simply an economic battle of the unions against the companies

TEST

but revolves around the question of who will own and run the mines.

The entire history of the miners and their union has been one of a continuous battle to defend their union which is the only thing they have.

To defend the union today requires a political solution for the entire industry.

In this respect it is interesting to note that a defeated UMWA Presidential candidate Harry Patrick, recently spoke out calling for a break from the bourgeois Democratic Party.

Acting as guest speaker at a convention of the 'rank and file' body Teamsters for a

Democratic Union, Patrick replied to a *Labor News* speaker:

'The labor movement's got to get together, and if we can start a Labor Party in this country, I'm all for it.'

Patrick as an individual has an appalling record as a top-level UMWA bureaucrat.

But such a speech must reflect the feelings of wide layers of workers and now particularly the miners, locked in struggle with the US capitalist system and its political representatives.

Only the development of a leadership within the UMWA prepared to carry through a break with the bourgeois parties and take the lead in fighting for a labour party based on the trade union movement can press forward the fight for expropriation of the mines without compensation.

The Australian Labour Party is in crisis following its failure to make any dent in the Liberal-National Country Party's Coalition's majority.

The General election has left millionaire Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, with a virtually unchanged majority of over 50 in the 124 strong House of Representatives.

At 11.00 pm on Saturday night Gough Whitlam conceded defeat and announced that he would be resigning as leader of the Australian Labour Party. He will probably be replaced by his former Finance Minister Bill Hayden, who made a bid for the leadership earlier this year.

Negative reaction

Fraser's victory can be attributed to a number of factors. He had the assistance of the entire media in covering up potentially explosive scandals—eg. the Lynch affair—as well as in conducting virulent polemics against the ALP.

Whereas Fraser promised tax cuts, Whitlam called on voters to renounce hopes of such cuts in the interests of 'economic stability'. In addition, Fraser managed to keep the ALP's previous disastrous record in Government sufficiently to the fore to deter potential Labour votes.

The decision by Australian voters is thus in some ways a negative reaction to the lukewarm reformism of the Labour Party, rather than an endorsement of Fraser's anti-union strategy. Australian voters clearly felt no desire to give support to a party which, while in Government, instituted wage control and presided over growing unemployment and inflation.

Critical support

Despite that, Socialist Press last week called for critical support for Labour as a way of drawing the class line, between it and the direct representatives of Australian capitalism.

Fraser's consolidation of his position will not alter fundamentally the balance of class forces in Australia. The election had been called on the union bashing theme of 'Who Rules?' after a ten week strike by La Trobe Valley Power workers for wage increases. (see SP 78 for details).

That strike was sold out but the working class in the area remain strong and there is now talk of a resumption of the strike should the arbitration board throw out their wage demand. The continuing inflation (13 per cent) and unemployment (6 per cent) are objective material forces confronting the working class and are going to pose serious problems for Fraser as much as they have done in the past.

Temporary respite.

His reaffirmed majority does give him a certain temporary respite but it cannot be long before things start hotting up again.

In preparation for renewed class battle steps must now be taken towards the formation of an authentic Trotskyist Party in Australia. The current crisis in Labour, although in one sense a set back for the working class would

Which way now for Portugal's bosses?

At dawn last Thursday Portuguese politics entered a new critical phase.

The first parliamentary government for 50 years was decisively defeated after only 16 months in office.

After a continuous two-day debate on a motion of confidence, Mario Soares' minority socialist government received only the votes of the 100 socialist MPs.

Not only did the two bourgeois opposition parties vote against Soares, as they were expected to do, but so did the Stalinists of the Portuguese CP, which did not make its decision until the very last moment.

In the debate Soares wooed the CP, saying that it was a 'democratic party' and that he would be willing to continue to govern with CP support.

That itself was a striking change from Soares attitude to the CP at the beginning of the present crisis. His main concern then seemed to be to get the parliamentary votes of the two bourgeois parties—the Social Democrats and the Democratic and Social Centre.

'Concessions'

The CP leaders dared not back up Soares anti-working class government without at least the appearance of some 'concessions'.

Soares did not wish to make these concessions for fear of losing the confidence of the international capitalists.

That no last minute compromise saved Soares is proof of the extreme econ-

debts amount to \$3500 million—equal to half of what remains of the country's gold reserves.

The deficit in the balance of payments remains enormous and there is no sign of export growth to reduce it.

Hyperinflation

This means that without outside help Portugal would very soon face either international bankruptcy or massive devaluation and hyperinflation.

Since the Soares government took power, despite its tireless efforts to make Portugal safe for capitalism, the economic situation has continued to deteriorate. Unemployment is officially 16 per cent of the labour force and still rising as more firms go bankrupt.

National production has risen a little in the last year but there has been no renewal of capitalists' investment.

Soares' socialist government has for 18 months tried to keep a precarious political balance between the bourgeois opposition and the CP.

But political balance has not been enough to re-establish the confidence of capitalism in Portugal.

That requires the reversal of more of the gains which the working class has made since 1974.

Already Soares has tried to seize back from the peasantry land distributed to them in the 1975 Land Reform.

Confidence vote

He has cut back government spending, promoted unemployment and imposed wage control to slash real



CP leader Cunhal

ties would support the latest round of measures demanded by the IMF as a condition for a \$750 million loan.

This loan is now of the utmost urgency for the Portuguese economy. The bourgeois parties threw out Soares because they preferred their own measures which would involve less restrictions of the market but an even more full-blooded attack on the organised workers' movement and a more complete reversal of the gains made since 1974.

The opportunistic nature of the calculations of the Stalinists was shown by their behaviour during the debate.

For the first day not a single Communist said a word—not even in response to savage attacks on the CP from the bourgeois parties.

Conciliatory

The leader of the CP parliamentary group, Carlos Brito, wasn't even in the chamber.

He was waiting elsewhere to see if the government would agree to a last minute bargaining session. Only after this was refused did Brito make the first CP contribution.

Despite some criticisms of Soares this was a conciliatory speech.

But hours of demagogic hypocrisy from both sides did not result in a CP vote for Soares.

When, in this final speech he offered not the slightest concrete concession to the Stalinists they cast their decisive votes against the government, as did the five 'left' socialists who left the party earlier in the year and the single MP of the 'left-wing' PDP.

The Portuguese bourgeoisie is now without not only the inadequate Mario Soares



Soares—can the capitalists find a substitute?

either a coalition of the bourgeois parties (impossible as long as Socialists and CP MPs vote against it as they almost certainly would), or a tripartite coalition of 'democratic' parties excluding the CP (inacceptable to Soares who would thereby rapidly lose his already declining working class base).

Failing these parliamentary alternatives the right might go for new elections in the (probably vain) hope of getting a majority for the bourgeois parties or for some move toward military dictatorship, either under President Eanes or some new potential Spinola.

Partially demobilised

It must be realised that the Portuguese working class has been partially demobilised in relation to these dangers as a result of the criminal policies of the Socialist and CP leaders over the last two years.

But Portuguese workers have not suffered any major political defeat.

ITALY BOSSES NEED CP BACKING

The leaders of the Italian Communist Party are haunted by the fear of losing their support in the working class.

Once they lose that then their principle political role as the maintainers of capitalist rule in Italy will disappear.

Once they are exposed as being of no use to the working class then, by that very fact, they will be of no use to their patrons, the capitalist class.

The CP is now used by the capitalists to give essential support to its minority Christian Democratic government inside parliament and simultaneously hold back the working class outside parliament.

Disenchantment

That is why with every new sign of disenchantment of the Italian working class with its Stalinist leaders the Christian Democratic government is thrown into crisis.

And each time this happens the CP tries to use the crisis to get "concessions" from the Christian Democrats

in exchange for its continued support.

It must have something to show its working class base that the bourgeoisie is being forced to pay for the privilege of being kept in power by a so-called Communist Party.

But this technique is fast losing its effectiveness.

New crisis

More and more the workers can see that the "price" the bourgeoisie pays is not merely worthless; it actually involves a worsening of their existing conditions.

The new crisis of the Andreotti government is the most serious it has yet faced.

That is why there is increasing speculation that the only measure which will prevent a massive social explosion is the participation of the CP in government itself.

The small parties between the CP and the Christian Democrats (all of them part of a six party programmatic agreement signed last July) appear to have reached this conclusion.

The CP itself has advoca-

ted this "historic compromise" all along.

It is calling for "a government of democratic unity and solidarity with the participation of the left parties".

Now the Christian Democrats, the main party of the capitalist class which has dominated all Italian governments since the war, is faced with the momentous decision as to whether to convert the unofficial popular front government into a fully declared popular front.

This would bring back the CP into the government from which it was expelled on American orders in 1948 at the beginning of the Cold War.

Condition for loan

What has suddenly brought this possibility to the fore are the proposals for the 1978 budget.

Originally the role of the proposed budget deficit was agreed at £10 billions with the International Monetary Fund as a condition for a loan. But the Andreotti government realised weeks ago that to cut government

spending and raise taxes enough to keep in line with the IMF limits would provoke an uncontrollable reaction from the working class.

So the Andreotti government is already proposing unilaterally to break the limits with a budget deficit of £26 billions, hoping that the IMF will agree to that as the cost of avoiding a major political crisis.

Even that, however, would mean £3.4 billions of new cuts (roughly what Healey did in Britain in 1976).

The CP leaders are not opposed to these cuts as such. But they have no confidence at all of being able to force economies on that scale down the throats of the working class—unless perhaps they were able to get Communist ministers in the government.



Berlinguer

This would be presented by the CP leaders as the replacement of bourgeois ministers by workers' ministers.

In that way they would hope to persuade workers to accept the austerity measures demanded for "economic stability".

Already it looks as if it may be too late for such a move to work.

Last week the CP organiser of a massive 200,000 demonstration of metal workers in Rome were unable to prevent the participants in the demonstration from raising slogans and demands hostile to the CP's collaboration with the capitalist class.

Mounting pressure

This demonstration combines with the mounting pressure on the union leadership to call strike action to protest against the unemployment-creating policies of the CP supported government.

It shows how difficult it has become for the CP to reverse the workers' growing rejection of its policies.

Both CP and Christian Democrat leaders know that entry of the Stalinists might not work.

They also know that such a move would be almost their last resort for imposing capitalist solutions to the crisis while still maintaining the forms of parliamentary democracy.

This is why it is almost certain the present crisis will not be resolved quickly; and it is still not certain that it will lead to a declared popular front coalition.

Deeper crisis

Whatever the immediate developments, bourgeois rule in Italy has entered a stage of even deeper crisis.

Italy shows perhaps more starkly than anywhere else in Europe the appalling consequences which face humanity if the crisis of working class leadership is not resolved through the construction of a Trotskyist party based on an independent working class programme.

The opportunities for the building of such a party are obvious and develop every day out of the parallel crisis of the CP and the Christian Democrats.



Reactionary dissident Solzhenitsyn

USSR worker 'dissidents' sign letter

The capitalist press gives ample coverage to reactionary 'dissidents' such as Solzhenitsyn and Bukovsky who make no secret of their relations with Tories and Fascists.

But little is heard of the Russian working class which bears the brunt of the oppression by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

However news has come of a protest to the Soviet authorities by seventy two workers.

Mismanagement

They have apparently been victimised for protesting against the mismanagement and corruption endemic amongst the bureaucracy.

In an open letter addressed to the Soviet press they state: 'We undertook to offer publicly critical remarks against the plundering of socialist property, bad conditions of work, low pay, high injury rates, the raising of production norms leading to waste and low quality production'.

Financial Times 8.12.77.

The group have also given case histories of workers sacked for complaining about bad planning of production (which has led to a worsening of conditions in the coal-mines), poor wages and pensions, and the many fiddles that management work to supplement their ample salaries.

One worker was beaten up by the militia in front of his family for defending someone who had exposed corruption and was jailed for fifteen days when he tried to file complaint.

However despite this the protestors have disassociated themselves from the 'dissidents', and insist that they are not opposed to the Soviet system but merely desire their rights as 'guaranteed' by the Soviet constitution.

'Socialist construction'

The exact significance of this protest is unclear but certainly reveals some of the rotteness that lies behind the facade of 'socialist construction'.

It demonstrates strikingly that the inefficiency and parasitism of the Soviet regime exposed by Trotsky over 40 years ago, had not disappeared with the death of Stalin, but remains feeding off the socialised economy and stunting its development.

As more and more militant workers do protest they will realise that individual action is not enough, that what is necessary is the sort of mass movement that arose in Poland in 1975.

This will present great opportunities for a revolutionary party to interfere armed with the Trotskyist programme of a political revolution in Eastern Europe to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy and restore worker democracy and economic planning in the interests of the masses.



A demonstration by Iranian students recently took place in London in protest at the recent killings of students in Iran.

Gandhi fights back

The temporary truce within India's Congress Party is now being threatened by increasing violation.

Moves are afoot in the southern states of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh to split from the main party and form a new 'Socialist Congress'.

The architects of this plan identify "socialism" with the policies of the Gandhi dictatorship.

It is not yet clear whether Gandhi has decided to commit herself to this faction.

She may instead utter calls for party unity with the expectation of being able in the near future to ride roughshod over Brahmananda Reddy (Congress President) and the forces which ousted her from leadership.

There has certainly been a significant resurgence of popular support for the fallen dictator.

The Janata coalition government has, predictably, proved miserably unable to meet either the requirements of capitalism in India or the demands of the workers and the peasants.

The utter failure of the parties of the working class to prove alternative leadership has greatly strengthened Gandhi's supporters.

The pro-Moscow CP, which alone supported the dictatorship, has not recovered from its electoral rout, while the Maoists of the CP (Marxist-Leninist) have remained in disarray since the Emergency; the Socialists form part of the current bourgeois coalition government, and the CP (Marxist) has just announced its readi-

ness to join with the Janata in a popular front against the Congress at the next assembly elections.

In the same statement the CP (Marxist) reiterated its 'abhorrence' of the Janata policies—a reaction expressed in more concrete form by the workers who have taken strike action in increasing numbers.

The covert or blatant betrayals of the Stalinists and reformists allow Gandhi and her faction every opportunity to exploit this hostility to their own ends.

Those forces in the Indian labour movement which claim to represent the interests of the working class must draw the clear lesson from situation, and fight for a socialist programme which can unite the Indian worker and peasant masses in the struggle to overthrow capitalism.

IN BRIEF

BOLIVIA

It is impossible to accept at face value dictator Hugo Banzer's declaration that he will not stand in the Presidential election he has announced for June 1978. Since still no machinery for elections has been decreed and no opposition leader allowed out of jail or exile to stand it doesn't look very likely that they will happen. The exiled leadership of the illegal mineworkers union have called a one-day strike on December 21 to protest against the mockery of the election plans and to demand trade union freedom and the return and release of exiled and imprisoned leaders.

ROMANIA

According to the new economic plan for 1981-85 issued at the Party Conference, Romania will have caught up with the developed countries. A massive investment programme was announced though President Ceausescu also gave vague

promises of a shorter working week and more consumption. Inconsistent over-optimism and economic adventurism, it seems, are still the main features of Romanian planning. And repression and the cult of personality are the main features of its political system. Number 2 in the Party hierarchy is now clearly Ceausescu's wife. And he replaced the usual images of Marx, Engels and Lenin with a massive medallion of himself.

ZAMBIA

President Kaunda has refused to have anything to do with Owen's settlement because of Owen's callous comments on the Rhodesian massacre of Zimbabwians in Mozambique. Kaunda publicly wept (as he often does) when he made the announcement. Quite some hypocrisy from a man who in the past has seen Zimbabwian freedom fighters back across the border to face Smith's "justice".

JONES JOINS THE SPIVS

It was natural for the Crown Agents to turn towards Jack Jones. Anyone who can make the size of his members' wage packets shrink so quickly must be in the right line of business.

But why did Jones—the 'Mr. Clean' of the TUC—show such readiness to step into the scandal-racked offices of the Crown Agents?

'New opportunities'

The £1,000 a year salary will do little to compensate loss of his £7,500 TGWU salary.

A clue can perhaps be found in his Richard Dimbleby Lecture on BBC2 last week.

'Retirement should not be the end of living. It should be the beginning of new opportunities, new experiences, a joyous existence in fellowship.'

It was one sidelight of a speech in which Jones made

it clear that his legacy to the trade union movement has been to knock fresh nails into the coffin of its independence.

More understanding

On the one hand he appealed to the CBI and the Tories for more understanding. On the other he attacked militants in the trade unions.

His theme—conciliation, arbitration, collaboration—

'Frankly, there are too many strikes—all of them have a reason, but many of them could be avoided by more discussion or conciliation. If we are to expect reasonable treatment from employers, there is surely a strong case for us to show tolerance and concern for the public . . .

'I am not suggesting that we should abandon the right to strike . . . but I do believe that there is a need to reduce the number of strikes by finding alternative ways to resolve our differences.'

This goes beyond Jones'

natural wish to boost the collaboration industry from which he earns a further £2,870 a year (ACAS and the National Ports Council).

He has a genuine hatred of clear class lines.

'I strongly deplore physical attacks on the police, or anyone else—the sort of incidents that took place outside the Grunwick factory should be avoided at all costs—so I welcome the setting up of the Scarman inquiry'.

Parcelled up

The class struggle for Jones is to be parcelled up into committees, dissipated on Joint Councils and prostrated before 'independent' arbiters.

The outcome of a dispute is irrelevant—the sole aim is to divert the feeling behind it.

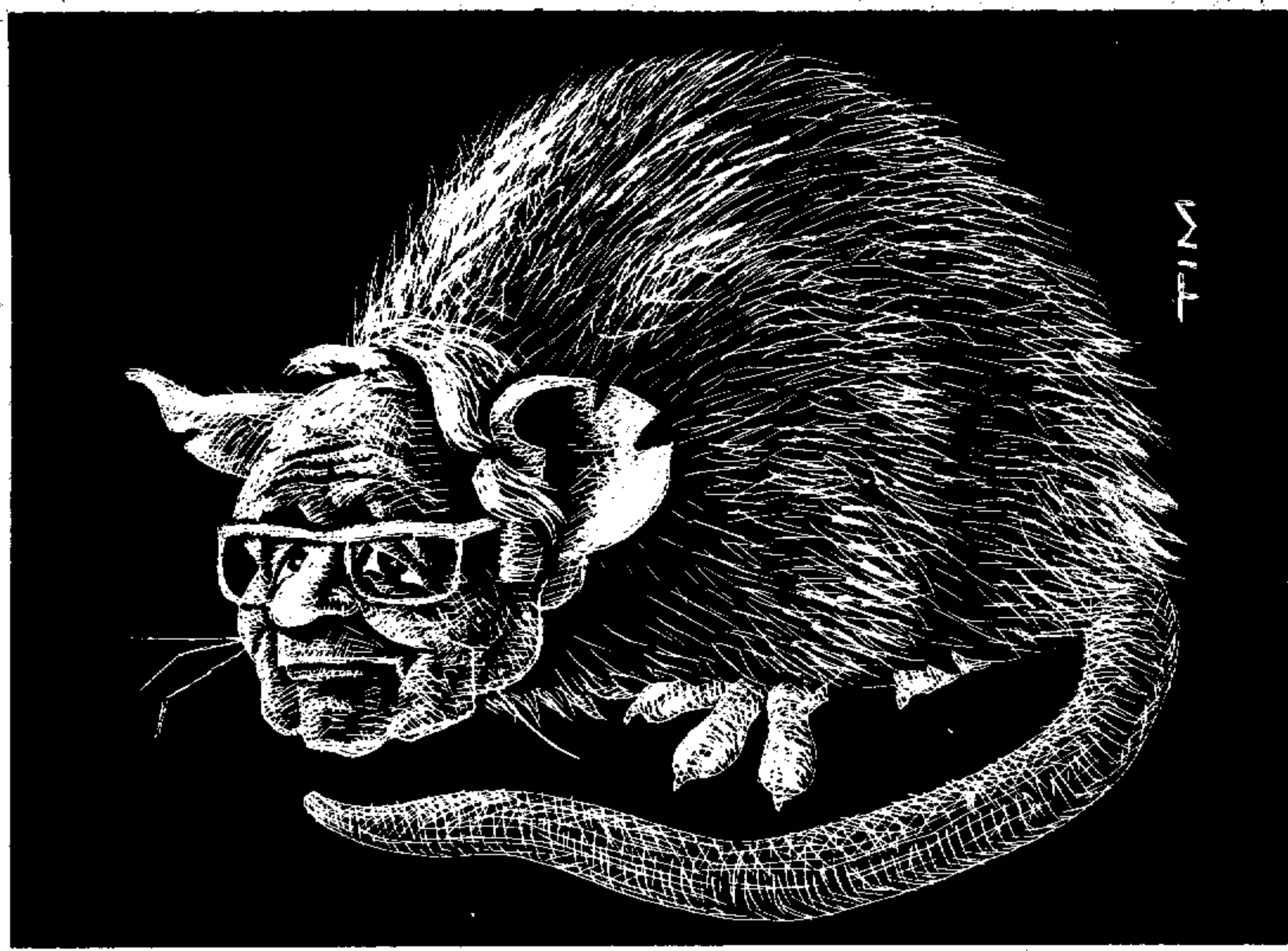
'It is no use condemning a strike unless you put something in its place—something which allows the grievance to be ventilated and the case to be properly presented, with

the prospect of impartial examination and possible solution round the corner.

'I ask the questions: Is the strike the only way to fight? Can't we fight by discussions, by intelligent argument?'

Complete answer

Jones' speech is a complete answer to those that say Scarman had anything for Grunwick strikers, for those who say 'participation' is anything other than a chain round the neck of the working class.



Jones has long since renounced the working class and his attempts to straddle class lines have proved futile. His arrival in the world of international speculations, his

'joyous existence in fellowship' with the capitalists represents a leaking vessel arriving at its natural harbour.

COURT IN THE ACT!

For the diminishing number of workers who retain illusions in British 'justice', recent events have provided a series of jolts.

While thousands of workers have witnessed or fallen victim to legalised police brutality on picket lines or on anti-fascist demonstrations, rubber-stamp magistrates courts have ignored evidence to mete out savage sentences to those workers unfortunate enough to be arrested.

A succession of high court rulings have attacked the independence and internal democracy of the trade unions and the Labour Party.

Racial bias

And costly, unsuccessful show-trials of numbers of black youth—including the Carib Club trial, the Mangrove Nine and more recently the Islington 18, have proven nothing but the racial bias of police and their determination to further the racist myth that black youth are no more than violent

criminals. Recent weeks have brought new events that highlight the workings of police and courts.

In Glasgow Sheriff's Court last week it was revealed that a black schoolboy had been charged with rape after an identity parade in which he had been the only black person in the line-up.

"fairer"

Woman Detective Constable Karin Howie was forced to agree with the defence solicitor that it would have been "fairer" if all the others—or even one or two—had been of African descent like the boy accused.

However, she said, one of the five white boys on parade did have an Afro-style haircut!

When pressed as to why there were so many whites and no black youth on the identity parade, the detective claimed that an arrangement made through a restaurant had fallen through and "we had to do the best we could".

We are left to wonder whether earlier black patrons of the restaurant had been picked off one by one after getting conned into similar "identity parades".

Six months jail

Meanwhile in Lambeth, anti-fascist demonstrator John Lockwood has been jailed for six months by magistrates on the incredible charge of "assault on an unknown police officer" following the Lewisham anti-fascist march on August 13.

Contrast this vicious treatment to the puny £4,000 fine and 10-year driving ban handed out to wealthy 22 year old Bartholomew Smith after his £16,000 Maserati slaughtered four people in March this year.

Smith's car, travelling at an estimated 80-100 mph, turned broadside across the road and crashed into an

oncoming car.

Yet despite this lethal behaviour, Smith, an ex-public schoolboy and son of a former Tory MP and Lord Lieutenant of Berkshire was allowed to walk out of court having suffered no more than a fine that must amount to mere petty cash for a Maserati owner.

And on Friday another ex-public schoolboy, the Hon. Thomas Tyrell-Kenyon was given probation for setting fire to the YMCA hostel in Birmingham.

"A little fire"

He is reported to have told the police:

"I wanted a little fire. I didn't intend to do all that damage. I wanted to get myself put away because I am a let-down to the family".

Tyrell-Kenyon tried the wrong kind of offence. He should have stood peacefully on a Grunwick picket line. That way he would have been in with a real chance of a jail sentence.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

As the new Criminal Law Act—giving sweeping new powers to police and to magistrates—came into force, the first potential victims were these squatters in Battersea.

The new Act gives police wider powers to enter, search and arrest without warrant. It makes passive resistance to eviction a criminal offence, and allows JPs to inflict six month jail sentences and fines of £1,000 on those found "guilty".

While squatters may be the first to suffer, workers and students staging occupations will also soon feel the brunt of this latest legal creation of the Lib-Lab coalition government.



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Police last week guarding fascist slogans daubed on a wall in Brick Lane, East London. Anti-fascists who organised to paint out the slogans were threatened with arrest and a possible charge of criminal damage. Only later were the slogans covered over.

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to construct a principled revolutionary leadership in the working class in Britain and internationally, and for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International on the basis of the Transitional Programme.

The WSL fights at every step against the existing leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party — now firmly harnessed to the bourgeois politicians of the Liberal Party in an unspoken coalition arrangement.

Against their policies of class collaboration we put forward instead a programme which points to the independent class interests of the working class, its need to organise independently to overthrow capitalism, destroy its repressive state machinery and establish a socialist planned economy.

Only in this way can workers resolve today's problems of tumbling living standards, mass unemployment, slashed social services, racial, national and sexual oppression.

For more details on the WSL and its work, fill in the form below.

Name.....
Address.....
Trade Union/Occupation.....

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

WISE DENOUNCES PAY CONTROLS

Between 100 and 150 firemen attended a lobby and rally outside Birmingham Council House.

In pouring rain they heard speeches from amongst others NUPE official Roger Poole, Brian Mathers (TGWU) and Audrey Wise MP.

With his unions' 30% claim rejected by the employers all Poole could call for was unspecified 'solidarity' action.

"Vociferous minority"

Audrey Wise, fresh from a meeting of the PLP bemoaned the fact that only a 'vociferous minority' of Labour MP's supported the firemen.

'Your struggle is a class struggle' she told the rally.

She then went on to say that the vote of the TUC not to support the firemen was 'the biggest betrayal since the General Strike'.

'Just as I don't think



Healey and Callaghan represent the interests of the Labour movement, I don't think the TUC leaders represent the interests of the trade union movements', she added.

While stating that she opposes wage control and that she didn't think the firemen were a special case, Wise also went on however, to say

CONTROLS

Now she must fight Lib-Lab coalition!

that 'no group of workers should ride on the backs of the firemen.

It is not clear what was meant by this.

Alternative?

Does Wise mean that other groups of workers with claims of their own should be out on strike alongside the firemen

now—or that if the firemen win other groups shouldn't use that victory to launch their own struggle?

It is time Wise made her position clear. If she is opposed to wage control will she support struggles against it?

If she is opposed to wage control where does she stand on the Lib-Lab coalition whose task is to uphold it?

If she doesn't think Healey/Callaghan represent the interests of the Labour movement why won't Wise campaign for their removal and put herself forward as an alternative leadership?

It is by Wise's actions along these lines, rather than by her speeches at demonstrations, that she must be judged by the workers' movement.

ALEX KITSON - the TGWU bureaucrat accused of mentioning the absence of poverty and unemployment in Russia - has been let off the hook by Labour's ludicrously-titled "international" committee.

The committee disregarded vicious attacks on Kitson by so-called 'lefts' Eric Heffer and Joan Lester, and decided he had been "misreported".

In this way Labour's anti-communism is preserved and Kitson's grovelling before both Stalinism and reformism acknowledged.



Healey

PHASE 4 SILENCE

'Left' Labour MPs are exceeding even their own record of spinelessness in the face of now public Government plans to introduce a Phase 4 of wage controls.

Any dreams these characters may have had that wage controls would fade away without a fight were dispelled by Chancellor Healey's statements over the last ten days and a speech to the Parliamentary Labour Party last Wednesday.

But while Merlyn Rees unfurled the latest Lib-Lab attempt to con the firemen back to work, and himself unintentionally blurted out that a Phase 4 is on the horizon, scarcely a murmur was heard from the 'lefts'.

Norman Atkinson announced 'misgivings' about the situation that might arise if the firemen were given exemption from Phase 4.

But fellow Tribunes Heffer and Kinnock never dared mention the new pay limits in their meaningless contributions.

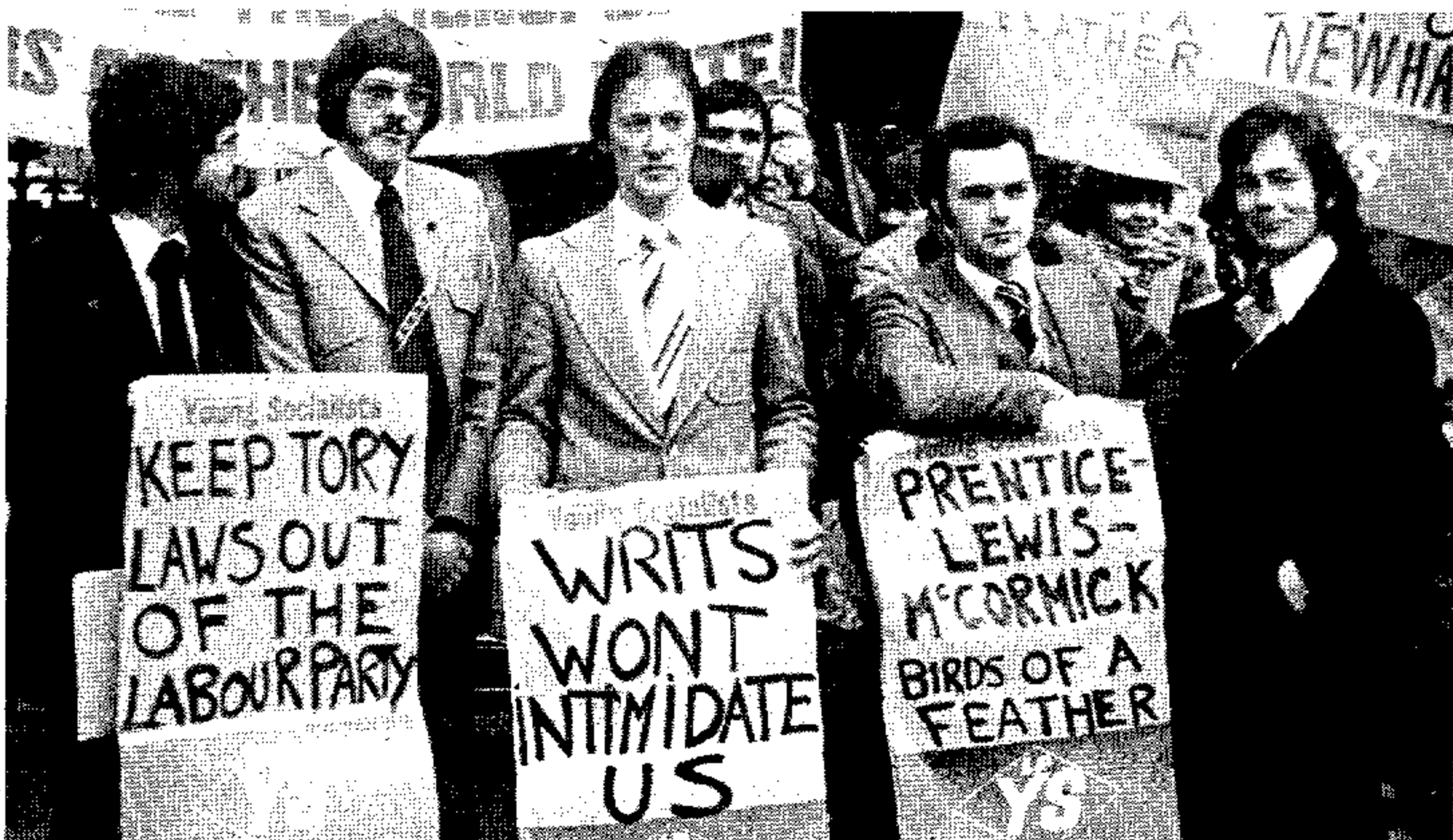


Atkinson

The only way to stop a Phase 4 is to destroy the existing Phase 3 10% limit. And to do this means to break the Lib-Lab coalition that spawned it.

By claiming to support the firemen but refusing to confront this issue, the 'Left' MPs' actions only head off the working class from confrontation with the government.

Those that will not fight wage controls must be removed.



Andy Bevan and co-defendants at the Strand Law Courts after an earlier flurry of writs.

NEWHAM TORIES' NEW WRITS THREAT

The NEC of the Labour Party has been 'seeking legal advice' over the situation in Newham North East CLP.

Eight members of the NEC including 'left' MPs Eric Heffer and Frank Allaun find themselves threatened with court action, if they in any way tread on the toes of extreme right wing wreckers

in Newham.

Oxford University McCormick and his child protege Mr. Julian Lewis have talked of an 'avalanche of high court writs' if moves are made to end their infiltration in the Labour Party.

"Enquiry"

After holding yet another 'enquiry' into the Newham party's affairs the NEC still

shrinks from applying the elementary principle of excluding these Tories, backed as they are by unlimited financial resources, from the ranks of the Labour movement.

The NEC enquiry was organised, not to expose the activities of people who rely exclusively on the backing of the courts and Tory Press, but to deal with the 'embarrassment' of Newham as quickly and quietly as possible.

For this reason party members with a principled record of struggle who announced their intention to make submissions to the enquiry, were not called upon to do so, or to answer any allegations by their right-wing against them during the proceedings.

Hear submissions

One branch of the Party has already raised the demand that the NEC hear the submissions of three members.

This must now be combined with the fight to force the NEC to back the call already raised in several branches, and consistently forwarded by Socialist Press alone—the immediate expulsion of Lewis, McCormick and the rest of their gang.

Every day that the NEC pussyfoots and 'seeks legal advice' allows these sinister elements to paralyse the work of the Labour movement.

That issue must be decided by an all-out conflict with the courts, not by reliance upon them.

'Left' Tories?

At a public meeting in Oxford last week, a campaign was launched to save one of the city's middle schools from closure.

The Tory County Council with its axe-waving military leader Brigadier Streatfield is in the midst of an attempt to close down nurseries, first schools and middle schools.

The County Council bases its plans on the most appalling concoction of inadequate figures and predictions of numbers of children.

One of the first tasks of the campaign will be to challenge these figures and to carry out an enquiry into the real need in the area.

The strong feeling for this was strangely given more support by populist Tory

councillors in the meeting than by Labour councillor and Leyland steward, the Rev. Williamson JP.

He was more concerned to argue on the need for three form entry to get a viable middle school than to argue against the school closure.

Other Labourites attempted to divert the question into talking about getting buses to take children halfway across the city in the event of the school's closure.

This attitude coupled with the NUT's failure to take a position of opposition to school closures weakens the campaign within the labour movement.

An independent campaign must be built with the aim of putting pressure on the NUT and opening up the plans of the county council to trade union and parents' scrutiny.

PRESS GANG

Forces' favourite

The Press campaign in support of higher pay for the armed forces looked like bearing fruit this week when a Tory private members bill was accepted by the Government.

Substantial increases in army pay can be expected next year with exemption clauses from wage controls.

In the forefront of the campaign has been the Sun—focusing on the role of the soldiers scabbing on the firemen's strike in tones of heroic sentimentality.

But there is nothing sentimental in the drive behind the demand for higher wages.

The Press has been fighting hard to draw a distinction between pay for the working class and pay for the forces of the state, since they are convinced soldiers and police must not be allowed to share similar material conditions to those they are hired to oppress.

Hence the tears for the soldiers killed in last week's 'green goddess' crash.

Hence the campaign on living quarters for soldiers in Belfast. The Press barons are assuring the most backward elements of the working class who are drawn into the state forces—'You're on our side!'

The Tory motion was proposed by Graham Page who condemned Fred Mulley for not acting to stamp out suggestions of a trade union for soldiers.

The Daily Mail ('Heroes on the Cheap') quoted Churchill's attack on the Government at length, representing Grunwick strikers as overpaid compared to soldiers.

'If you can find any employer so hard-faced, so mean (as the Government) I will willingly be the first to stand on that picket line'.

The Daily Telegraph reported that Service Chiefs demanded the freedom to campaign for exemption from wage controls.

'They have made it clear that they do not regard limitations in Queen's Regulations on their involvement in political issues as applying in these cases....'

'Troop involvement in the firemen's strike, and the Government's Common's defeat last week on defence and service pay have, according to Ministers, put the issues firmly in the category of political controversy....'

'Reports that a Minister was booed and heckled by Senior Army officers during the conference were said to be 'exaggerated' by some civil servants.'

The Press has now turned against the firemen after some indecision in the early days of the strike. The reason is simple.

In sharp contrast to the thugs of the police and the army, the firemen have shown that a uniform does not make them capitalist property.

They have declared for the working class.



The rebellion that failed. United Irishmen take Wexford Bridge in 1798.

Loyal Ulster was once the most rebellious of the Irish provinces, holding out the longest against the English invaders and only finally succumbing in 1607 with the defeat and flight of the Gaelic chiefs, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.

The land that the Catholic Irish had been driven from was planted with English and Scottish farmers. Unlike the English who let much of the land they had acquired to the native Irish, the Scottish landowners let their land to Scottish tenants, thus creating in Antrim and Down where they principally settled a kind of extension of the Scottish lowlands.

In their struggle to hold on to what had been secured for them by force, the Scottish and English farmer forged a consciousness that saw every advance that the Catholic made or attempted to make as a threat to himself.

Closed door

The failure of the revolt of the United Irishmen of 1798, in which the Presbyterian and Catholic middle class attempted to lead the peasantry against English and landlord domination, closed the door upon a unified capitalist development of Ireland. Instead the Presbyterians were pulled away from their temporary alliance with the Catholics, the Irish Parliament was abolished and their representatives sent to Westminster.

Under the 'union' that the English government imposed, Ireland developed as two provinces of Britain. The South and the West developed chiefly as an agricultural province that provided Britain with cheap food and cheap labour while the North-East developed as an industrial province engaged in linen, engineering and shipbuilding, looking not to Ireland but to Britain and her Empire for her raw materials and her markets.

The rural depopulation and emigration that followed the Famine of the 1840's allowed a reorganisation of agriculture into larger units. Various land acts led to a lessening of the grip of the landlords and stimulated the emergence of a rural Catholic

middle class whose growing control of the land was paralleled by the Church of Rome's growing control over education and social life in general.

This was the background against which the Liberal prime minister Gladstone advanced the neo-colonial strategy of Home Rule. Ireland would remain economically tied to Britain but it was hoped that by devolving government onto an Irish Parliament the social steam would be taken out of the nationalist movement.

In 1860 the Irish middle class had £20 million on deposit in Irish banks while having double that, £40 million, invested in British stock—a clear indicator of their subordination to (hence suitability for representing) British imperial interests in Ireland.

The strength of Ulster resistance to Gladstone's strategy was slow in emerging and consequently allowed the Catholic nationalists and their Liberal imperialist sponsors the illusion of believing it was of no consequence and could be discounted. Gladstone's first move in elaboration of his neo-colonial strategy was the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1869.

Threat

Correctly interpreting this as a threat to the Protestant ascendancy, the authoritative voice of that ascendancy, the *Irish Times*, declared for nationalism! "Dissolve the article of union between Church and State," declared a protestant clergyman to the *Daily Express* in March of that year, "and you will see how few protestants will be loyal to the connection between England and Ireland."

Responding to the threat of a new 'union' being forged between the English government and the Catholic middle class, the Protestant ascendancy attempted to lead a nationalist movement against England. The next year Isaac Butt, an Ulsterman, a Protestant and a Conservative, set up the Home Government Association, in which a Protestant leadership predominated.

But representing as they did only 10% of the country's population, and with their

bourgeois and proletarian domination restricted to the North-East, the control of the Association passed to the Catholic middle class and clergy. So that in the 1874 elections, of 59 Home Rule candidates, only two apart from Butt himself were ex-Tories.

Divided landlords

Having failed to capture the nationalist movement the Protestant ascendancy set its face against Home Rule. Yet it required substantial nationalist successes in Ulster to propel the divided and disorganised landlords and capitalists to combine their forces into what became Ulster unionism.

In 1883 Tim Healy unexpectedly won a by-election in Monaghan for the nationalists who rather prematurely declared "All Ulster is ours". Two years later in the general election of 1885, the Liberals lost all their seats while the nationalists increased theirs from three to seventeen, thus becoming the largest party in the Province. Seeing this seemingly irresistible nationalist tide, Gladstone openly at the end of the year came out for Home Rule and in 1886 introduced the first of the Home Rule bills, that was defeated only because a section of the Liberal Party defected to the Tories.

While the second Home Rule bill of 1892 was defeated by the Lords after passing the Commons, the Ulster unionists knew that with the restriction that had been placed on the Lords in 1911, the defeat of the third Home Rule bill would ultimately depend upon their own efforts.

Orange order

To resist Home Rule an ex-Liberal, Colonel Saunderson, revived the Orange Order as "the only body capable of dealing with the condition of anarchy and rebellion which prevails in Ireland". He urged Orangemen to arm, drill and don uniforms to "drive popery and radicalism before us as we have done many a time before."

But the Orange Order proved incapable of rallying the anti-nationalist forces of the province. Its working class character and its sectarian exuberance were feared

Ireland

ROOTS OF TODAY'S CRISIS

Part Seven: THE ORANGE C



Edward Carson

to be the very means of driving the entire Catholic population of Ulster into the arms of nationalist agitators. More important, the Belfast bourgeoisie wanted an instrument that they and not the landlords controlled. This they worked for and finally got with the formation of the Ulster Unionist Council in 1904.

Only the bankruptcy of the nationalist leadership enabled the Belfast capitalists and the Protestant landlords to hold onto their mass base which time and again was in revolt against its masters. In 1881 at the very moment that Protestant tenants were leaving the Orange Order to join the Land League, Parnell called off the agitation, signed the Kilmainham pact with the British government, renamed the League the "National League" and invited Catholic priests onto its committees.

An even bigger threat to Ulster unionism was posed by

"This squalid confederacy of Catholic place-hunters," as William O'Brien the nationalist MP for Cork described it "rose up... to alienate the powerful minority of our countrymen by the establishment of a pseudo-Catholic ascendancy leading to no alternative but the partition of Ireland."

O'Brien and his "All for Ireland League" worked both to win the Protestants to Home Rule and to curb the power of the Catholic Church in the Home Rule movement, a policy which subjected them to abuse and physical assault by gangs of Hibernians.

The nationalists led by Redmond denied on the one hand that the unionists had any support in Ulster and on the other banked upon the British government to coerce them into a united Ireland they did resist.

From the comfort of the masters (parliament at Westminster), Redmond and his nationalists could afford to chuckle at Ulster Unionist leader, Edward Carson, and his "stage army". Yet that man like Carson, a vicious enemy of labour and democracy, was able to pose as champion of political and religious freedom, serves only to illustrate the bankruptcy of the nationalist leadership.

Carson's army did not remain a stage army for long. On the night of April 24, 1914, Fred Crawford guided the *Clydevalley* into Larne harbour with its cargo of 35,000 rifles and five million rounds of ammunition allowing Carson to replace the wooden guns in the hands of the Ulster Volunteer Force with mausers.

The Tories had encouraged the unionists to defy Home Rule and the Liberal government, not because they served different class interests but because they were not ready for a neo-colonial solution as Gladstone proposed. They feared that a concession to nationalist sentiment in Ireland would be infectious. They feared consequences in the rest of the empire.

This preoccupation came through very clearly when they listened to the Tory leader Bonar Law addressing 100,000 unionists in Belfast

a Belfast shipyard worker Tom Sloan who broke with the Orange Order in 1903, formed his own Independent Orange Order which by 1905 had formed 71 lodges, and stood in alliance with the Belfast Trades Council and Joe Devlin's nationalists against official unionism in the elections of 1906.

Yet the enormous potential of this working class unity was squandered by Devlin within a year when he withdrew his support for the big Belfast strike of 1907 and denounced its leader, Jim Larkin. Larkin too was attacked by the more radical nationalist party Sinn Fein, whose journal in 1908 sneeringly referred to him as "that English strike organiser" who fermented strikes for the purpose of diverting trade away from Ireland and towards England!

It was Devlin who had formed the Catholic counterpart to the Orange Order, the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

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Twentieth century conditions; 17th century flags—a Loyalist procession

on terms no less humiliating than had been offered to Redmond's party, while also abandoning the nationalist population of Ulster, leaving it trapped inside Carson's sectarian Protestant state.

Racialist state

By the racialist criteria upon which the Orange state was founded the counties of Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan had too large a nationalist population to be easily contained. Thomas Moles, the Unionist MP for Belfast Ormean, put the position to the protesting protestants of the border counties with brutal frankness when he said:

"In a sinking ship with life boats sufficient for only two thirds of the ships' company were all to condemn themselves to death because not all could be saved?"

Within the six county coalition of sectarian surgery the unionist leaders addressed themselves enthusiastically to the task of creating what Prime Minister Sir James Craig called "a protestant state for a protestant people".

Redrawn boundaries

This required the drastic redrawing of local government boundaries to convert areas with nationalist majorities into loyalist strongholds and a protestant-only militia, the 'B-specials' whose reputation for sectarian violence acquired in the first year of their existence, they lost only when they were abolished in 1969.

The entire purpose of a parliament at Stormont for what was supposed to be an integral part of the United Kingdom was well illustrated by the disclosure of the Minister for Agriculture in 1927 that:

"I have 109 officials and as far as I know there are four Catholics, three of whom were civil servants handed over to me before I began."

With the state secure and the consequent threat to the union receding, the class antagonism within unionism more easily came to the surface. In 1921 P.J. Woods stood as an independent unionist against the "clique" that ran Ulster and took a safe seat from the Unionists.

In the general election of 1925 the unionist seats in Stormont were reduced from 40 to 32, Labour gaining three and independent

unionists winning four.

Determined to stop the rot, Prime Minister Craig revealed an unsuspected capacity for irony by choosing July 12 1927, the day protestants celebrate the securing of their political freedom, to announce that he had abolished their proportional method of representation.

"We in Ulster are and ought to be a happy community. Adversity has taught us the value of unity. Unity has brought us to our present state of peace and contentment. Mr. Devlin and his party (the Nationalist Party) are the natural opposition. Why then should any loyalist constituency add strength to it and weaken the influence of my colleagues and myself."

The industries of linen and shipbuilding upon which Belfast prosperity actually rested (although it should not be overlooked that up to 1926 agriculture was the largest single employer of labour) were in decline from the time that the Northern Ireland state was created. While 226.4 million square yards of linen were woven in 1912 by 1961 this had fallen to 59.8 million square yards. Shipbuilding too declined with the recession in world trade.

So while the economy in the South of Ireland slowly stagnated behind tariff walls

Ulster capital was carried through the inter war years on the crutches of British subsidies. At more or less the same time, the bourgeoisie of Dublin in 1958 and Belfast in 1957 were obliged to acknowledge that their attempts to develop their own capitals had failed.

No less was it recognised in the North East that foreign capital had to be wooed to the Province. A Government sponsored report suppressed for two years because of its pessimism stated in 1957 that:

- 1) the basic cause of export of capital from Northern Ireland was low expectation of profit from domestic investment.
- 2) greater scarcity than in Great Britain for profitable openings for new and enlarged undertakings.
- 3) narrow economic base placed a question mark against the long term viability of the Province.
- 4) constitutional status of the Province was uncertain.

But if the bourgeoisie in Dublin and Belfast saw their future prosperity in exactly the same way, as dependant upon their capacity to create the conditions that would attract foreign investment then the original 'rationality' for a partitioned Ireland no longer existed. And Britain's changing relationship to the South and the North made her consider a marriage between these two satellites.

Not only was the South providing a significant percentage of England's food, but England's declining capital was finding limited but profitable markets in the Republic. As the profitability of British capital declined, the urge to off-load the burden of subsidising welfare, social security, industry and defence in the North became attractive.

Bring changes

A reforming group in the Northern Ireland cabinet emerged under O'Neill's leadership to bring about the necessary changes. The composition of this group is significant. It comprised politicians who were in the future to violently oppose one another. It numbered Brian Faulkner, William Craig, Roy Bradford, Robin Baillie and Terence O'Neill. This structure of patronage which tied the protestant working class to Ulster Unionism by allocating jobs as a reward for 'loyalty', was so powerful in Ulster because of the nature of Ulster capital, small, local family labour intensive units. But the new capital that was entering the Province (while Ulster capital declined) was export orientated and capital intensive.

As unemployment rose in this period so too did its companion sectarianism. At

the fifty year commemoration of the signing of the 1912 Covenant in October protestant workers marked the occasion with the first serious sectarian rioting in twenty years.

Against this background Paisley raised the cry that O'Neill was "betraying unionism". And Paisley on this question was essentially right for what the Unionist bourgeoisie was trying to do was to structure a new relationship with imperialism while abandoning its petty-bourgeois and proletarian allies to the cold winds of the world economy.

While Paisley was marshalling his followers under seventeenth century flags it was twentieth century conditions that were driving them to his banners.

No future

Seeing their mass base deserting them the unionist leaders one by one abandoned their leader O'Neill. But the repudiation of O'Neill was in no way an abandonment of his politics. With Ulster capital visibly disappearing in front of their eyes the Unionist bourgeoisie could have no future unless they could turn themselves into a junior partner of imperialist interests operating in the Province.

Same fate

Having brought down one leader they had no alternative but to back another with the same policies who had nothing more to do than await the same fate. Thus O'Neill was toppled by Faulkner who was toppled by Craig, who was brought down by the very same forces he mobilised against Faulkner.

The split in Loyalist ranks between Paisley and Craig was explained by bourgeois philistines as one between a clerical bigot and a contrite extremist won to "moderation".

For materialists the difference was one between a bourgeoisie who could accommodate to imperialism and a petty bourgeoisie who could not.

Thus in Ireland the crisis of political leadership is one which engulfs the political struggles of both the working class and capitalist class alike.

How this accelerates tensions in both the Loyalist and nationalist camps is the subject of a later article.



UDA men barricade the Shankill Road in 1972

TEAMSTER BUREAUCRACY IN REVIEW

KEITH WHITE reviews 'Teamster Bureaucracy', the fourth in a series of books by Farrell Dobbs on the history of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. 'Teamster Bureaucracy' is published by Monad Press, New York and is available in Britain from Pathfinder Press, 47, The Cut, Waterloo, London SE1, price £2.50.

With this book Dobbs concludes his four-volume series on the work of the American Trotskyists in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) between 1934 and 1941.

This period is one of the most important in the history of the Trotskyist movement internationally. Starting with the advantage of winning the most capable of the Minneapolis Communist Party trade unionists to Trotskyism in 1928, the Socialist Workers Party was able to demonstrate in that city the power of its political leadership on a scale completely unparalleled elsewhere in the USA.

Powerful work

For the work of Dobbs, the Dunne brothers and the rest was powerful work.

Based initially around the unionisation of truck drivers and coal yard workers the Trotskyists' campaign had a massive effect on Minneapolis labour conditions.

Between 1933 and 1939 the number of trade unionists in the city doubled to 60,000. In the same period the average pay of truck drivers rose from eleven dollars to thirty three dollars a week and average weekly hours fell from sixty to forty-four.

Extended

The drive to unionize workers moving forward in the name of class struggles which erupted in 1934 was extended beyond Minneapolis in the eleven-state 'over-the-road' campaign which organised tens of thousands and was the decisive turning point in the growth of the IBT to the size it is today.

The scale of these operations can be seen from the fact that IBT President

who fought the Trotskyists at almost every turn shows the balance of forces which existed in the union at that time.

Major attack

In *Teamster Bureaucracy* Dobbs presents us with a detailed step by step account of how that power was lost, and how the threat from the Trotskyists as the war loomed nearer—a war they opposed every inch of the way—necessitated a major attack from the IBT bureaucracy backed to the hilt by the Roosevelt government.

The support enjoyed by the Trotskyists was such that only the complete destruction of IBT Local 544 and the jailing of its leaders was sufficient to make the labour movement safe for the warmongers.

Throughout its growth Local 544 had to contend with a whole series of attacks.

In 1938, for example, a section of the Minneapolis employers encouraged the use of the Silver Shields of America—a fascist organisation—which planned physical attacks on the union headquarters.

Defence guard

The formation of a defence guard which put a sharp stop to the fascist atrocities (see SP77) was later used in the charges which led to the jailing of the Minneapolis 18.

Other attacks included the cold blooded murder of a union leader in 1937.

Legal repression—often instigated by FBI agents—was another problem Local 544 had to deal with.

For example, seven leaders of IBT locals in Des Moines, Omaha and Sioux City were jailed in 1939 on trumped up charges of truck-burning following a strike some months earlier in Sioux City.

Later in the same year



Trotskyist-led demonstration against conditions on the Work Project Assignment set up by Roosevelt in the 1930's.

encouragement of opposition forces within Local 544 to take up anti red campaigns.

At the same time IBT President Tobin was sent political files on SWP members in the leadership of Local 544.

Despite consistent attempts, no opposition was ever able to shift the Trotskyists from their leadership position.

Time and again rank and file would return Dobbs, the Dunne brothers, Carl Scoglund and others to their leadership posts with thumping majorities.

Difficult problem

As the war approached Local 544 presented a particularly difficult problem for Tobin. The union newspaper, *North West Organiser* had been pushing a consistent anti-war line and their sentiments enjoyed widespread support in the Minneapolis Labour Movement.

Tobin was committed to Roosevelt's pro-war line. This meant he had to move against Local 544.

The bureaucracy had been beaten back in the past largely by continued expansion of Local 544's influence among new layers of workers.

National retreat

The slide towards war had taken its toll on the labour movement, however, and

there was a retreat on the part of the workers' movement nationally.

It would be possible in situation for a combination of legal and physical attacks to destroy the year of hard work.

At that time two national groupings of trade unions

existed in the US. The American Federation of Labour (AFL) to which the IBT was affiliated had originated in the craft unions.

The initial battle of Local 544 (then 574) had been to turn the Teamsters out to unorganised, unskilled section sections of workers.

As pointed out above, the success of this move was reflected in a dramatic growth of the IBT.

Unorganised workers

By the middle thirties a mass strike wave very often involving unorganised workers was sweeping the USA.

Out of this was born the Congress of Industrial Organisation which was opposed to the craft conscious conservatism of the AFL.

The leaders of IBT Local 544 decided that the best tactic open to them was to seek affiliation to the CIO.

This was done and a charter was issued in the name of the United Construction Workers Organising Committee.

Labour tells it like it isn't

The BBC's lawyers evidently thought that the Labour Party's now famous party political broadcast on the National Front was so hot it might melt the screen.

So they censored out offending passages.

The programme was allowed to say that the NF was "in the tradition of Adolph Hitler" but not that "every speech they make implies they would crush all opposition".

Telling points

BBC and ITV hierarchies also removed passages which listed John Tyndall's criminal record—convictions for carrying a loaded pistol, insulting words, assaulting police and breach of the peace.

A law designed to protect individuals from constantly having past crimes dragged up in public was used by the TV stations to protect Tyndall, from what the senior executives would consider the most telling points against him—that is not his fascism, but the fact he had been in front of bourgeois courts.

Nevertheless it was the most—perhaps the only dramatic party political broadcast in memory.

Sound and fury

The sound and fury against the NF was not the usual tame and tedious house style of the Labour Party.

The Front, it said, was out to "completely smash democracy". Pictures of Webster and Tyndall melted into those of Mussolini and Hitler.

The growth of the Front was even linked to the housing and economic problems



Tyndall

of the inner cities.

But the predominant theme was that racialism was a wicked idea which came from the past and which was not British.

Though the programme represented an unexpected change of tactic from the Labour leadership, it inevitably left behind an accusing and unanswered question: who is to blame for the National Front gaining ground in the last two years?

Material conditions

The answer is clear—the same Labour ministers who have spoken so proudly of the broadcast.

Through their policies of wage cutting and spending cuts they have systematically provided the material conditions in which fascism can grow.

This is both because of the failure of the labour leadership to offer policies in the

interests of the workers; and because they fail to counter with socialist policies the search by the capitalists for a mass base should they require a fascist solution to the crisis.

Same source

Despite its daring use of films of Hitler and Mussolini the Labour Party broadcast did not, therefore, dare to draw the deeper historical parallel—that it was the criminal betrayals by workers' reformist and Stalinist leaders which allowed fascism and Nazism to rise to power in the 1920s and 1930s.

It is impossible to welcome these stirring noises against the NF without pointing out that they came from the same source as the policies which allow fascism and racialism to grow and which is itself promoting army strikebreaking and the new anti-picket police 'Special Patrol Group'.

Unwitting help

A consistent fight against racialism and fascism includes a fight against all the anti-working class policies of the Lib-Lab coalition government and of the union leaders and implies the building of a new leadership of the working class.

At least this broadcast may have unwittingly helped to open up more discussion within the Labour Party about what such a real fight against racialism would entail.

By Henry Philips



Defendants in the 1939 Sioux City frame-up of Teamster organisers. From the left: Edward Fouts, Ralph Johnson, Jack Maloney, Francis Quinn, Louis Miller, and Walter K. A seventh victim, Earl Carpenter, had not yet been released on bail when the picture was taken.

Trotskyists. was forced to say an important victory won after the 'over-the-road' contract was signed.

I have never known a more conducted strike or more union men than those who were engaged in this fight.

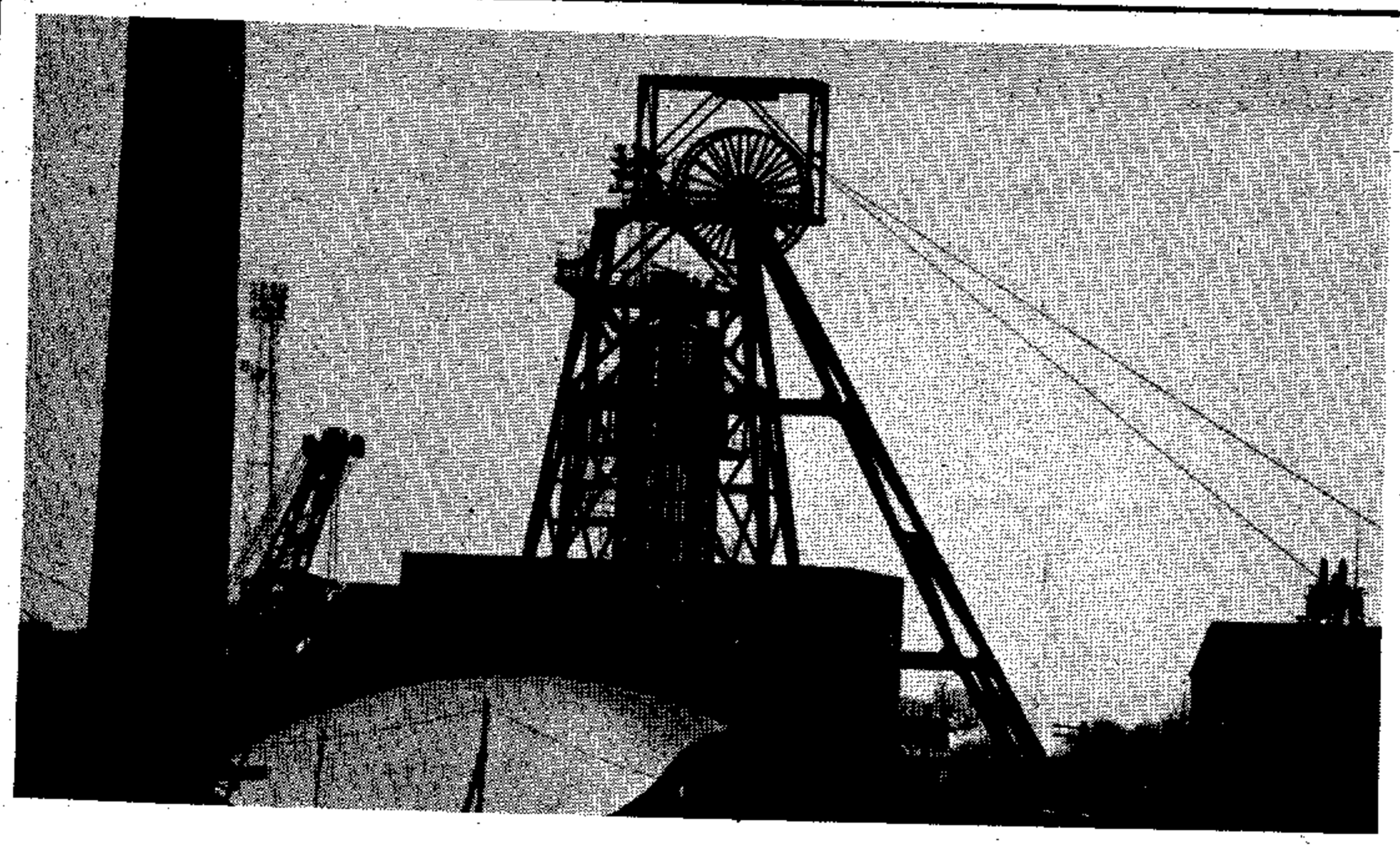
This statement from a man

sixteen members of Local 544 Federal Workers Section were jailed for 'conspiring to deprive the government of workers services' after disputes on the Work Project Assignment set up by Roosevelt supposedly in order to reduce unemployment.

Other FBI tactics included

Once Tobin decided to events moved with extreme rapidity. In May 1941 the IBT President invoked a rule preventing communists from holding union membership.

Despite its record of struggle and widespread support Local 544 was in a difficult position.



OUR POLICIES

Workers' control v. participation

The National Union of Miners, at the same time as rattling on the wages struggle, is engaging in a national debate on workers' participation.

This is not surprising, since the two positions opposing independent wages struggles and attempting to incorporate the unions into management—are very much part and parcel of the same thing.

They represent two aspects of the drive by right wing union leaders to weaken the working class by tying it hand and foot to the employer.

Debated

In the November/December issue of *The Miner* the question of 'Industrial Democracy and the Miners' is debated.

The NUM Executive this year accepted a position which would involve miners being on a 'colliery management' team, making decisions over output (ie. over the rate

of exploitation of themselves) financial targets, marketing, appointment of managers, and budgeting.

Their aim in the current discussions is to persuade miners to accept this.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Scargill

They quote favourably the line argued by Eric Varley in 1963:

'The Labour Movement has always stood for an extension of democracy and a new social order. To deny

the relevance of workers' control today would be to deny the very basis of socialism'.

Varley of course, as a Minister, has made a name for himself by prodding Chrysler and British Leyland managements into confrontation with workers in a drive for all-out speed-up.

In this fraudulent statement is contained the essence of the difference between our notion of workers' democracy and the notions of these left wing fakery and defenders of capital.

Workers' democracy is indeed the very basis of socialism.

Parasites

But that basis can only fully exist within a state controlled by the working class, where the capitalist parasites and blood suckers have been forever wrenched from their prey.

Workers' participation within the context of a capitalist state, where the aim of production is for private

profit not for need, is firstly in no sense workers' control and secondly, can serve only as a method of incorporating workers in their own oppression.

In the debate carried out in the pages of *The Miner* Arthur Scargill shows himself to be aware of some of these points:

'Participation will only perpetuate capitalism. The NUM should not be misled into supporting the theory of workers' control within our existing society'.

He discusses the functioning of the Consultative Committees in collieries.

He points out: 'its main function has in fact, been as a vehicle for "pushing" the decisions and views of senior management in the coal mining industry'.

Collaborated

Scargill gives examples of how such a Consultative Committee collaborated in the sacking of a miner for absenteeism.

'This has the effect of weakening the union and discrediting the leadership in the eyes of the miners. It also weakens the union's ability to negotiate effectively with the management because miners begin to distrust a leadership who are prepared to participate in dismissing a member of the union when this is clearly a management function and a management decision which can and should, be challenged by the union as representatives of the membership'.

Scargill goes on: 'I submit that we do not need workers' participation to play our part as a trade union inside the National Coal Board or any other industry in Britain'.

Provided the trade union is prepared to exercise its strength, we can convince management to change its views, or, at the very least modify them in many fields'.

Direct challenge

So far, so good. But interestingly, Scargill through out his article uses the term, 'participation' and 'workers' control' interchangeably.

Yet they are in no way the same thing.

The fight for workers' control poses a direct opposite, a direct challenge to management's 'right' to exploit the worker as he so wishes. It means not 'joint' control alongside the capitalist or his agents, but control by workers over the every action of the capitalist—in the interests of the workforce, not of profits.

Scargill refuses to see this distinction:

'It is impossible to have workers' control within a capitalist society. Capitalism, by its very nature, produces contradictions which cannot be resolved until and unless we change the system of society. We have to change

the system, otherwise workers' control cannot be obtained'.

Scargill's view of the transformation from capitalism to socialism is one in which capitalism continues to exist until all of a sudden one fine day, the working class seize power with a bang.

Unaware

He is absolutely unaware of the process of struggle by which this must come about.

The working class can and must begin to extend and strengthen its power within the capitalist state in order to furnish itself with the organisational strength and independence necessary for the struggle for power.

By blurring over the real distinction between workers' control and participation in management, Scargill also manages falsely to identify workers' control and workers' management—which is possible only after nationalisation, and which for its development does presuppose the establishment of a planned economy under socialism.

for direct management nationalized industry w the hour for that eventual strikes'.

The Transitional Program

L. Trotsky We do not of course expect Arthur Scargill, with his confused and eclectic view of 'Marxism' to be aware or to uphold Trotsky's Transitional Programme.

But it is significant that failing to draw a clear line the issue of participation workers' control, Scargill ends up in effect, simply advocating a maximum programme of complete nationalisation, giving no hint how it is to be achieved.

Ammunition

He is unable as a result provide any link between the day-to-day fight for reform within capitalism carried out by the unions, and the struggle for a socialist society.

By leaving this gap he gives ammunition to NUM right wingers like Derbyshire area secretary Peter Heathfield who lyingly argues:



Trotsky

'It is not our intention to prop up capitalism; but rather to formulate and fashion new systems of management that will enable the socialist cause to advance'.

Of course Heathfield's method has nothing to do with advancing socialism.

But if workers set out to establish areas in which they not management, exercise control, and set up their own committees to monitor safety; examine the finances—the profiteering of the bankers raking in interest on loan capital; coal merchants pit equipment suppliers; and industries using coal, then this would advance both workers' control and the cause of socialism.

It is the fight within the trade union movement for this drive to extend workers' strength that Scargill backs away from.

WAGES FALL TO PRE-1970 RATE

Savage cuts in living standards of the working class have bitten to such an extent that a married man on average wage, now takes home less in real terms than in 1970.

The source for this evidence on the effects of pay controls is nothing more sinister than Treasury official figures, in reply to a Parliamentary question, and can therefore be expected to put the best possible gloss on the pay figures.

The graph published by the Treasury shows that wages at September 1977 prices reached a real peak in 1974 when the self confidence of the working class in fighting for wages was also at its peak.

Throughout the following period of Labour and TUC backed wage controls in the 'national interest' there has been no benefit whatsoever

to the working class.

The dizzy heights of 1974 have long since been abandoned and wage levels are now lower than when Wilson lost to Heath in the 1970 election. Significantly they are still falling.

At constant prices, in terms of today's pay packets, a male married worker on average pay took home £69.22, and by September this year had fallen to £60.35.

Average wages

If the present trend continues it can be expected to slip below the £60 mark.

Average wages which include some 'high' wages are not an adequate reflection of the general level of wages in run of the mill jobs, where take home wages are well under £50 a week.

At the same time the figures for retail sales—which reflect what the working class is able to spend—has fallen

well below the level of January 1976, and after an improvement in the middle of this year has fallen steadily since August.

The IMF book-keepers who have now left Britain, have gone away with rosy official figures on balance of payment and inflation trends.

But they have also learned that the forecasts are for inflation to start rising again in the middle of next year and for the balance of payments surplus to disappear in 1979, despite the bonus of North Sea Oil.

There is absolutely no sign of the real economy (jobs, the amount of goods produced, real wages) rising.

The whole thrust of Labour and coalition strategy has been to produce a few good figures on selected charts to show off to the world.

It is as if the Government, faced with a freezing room,

had decided to breathe on the thermometer to make things look better.

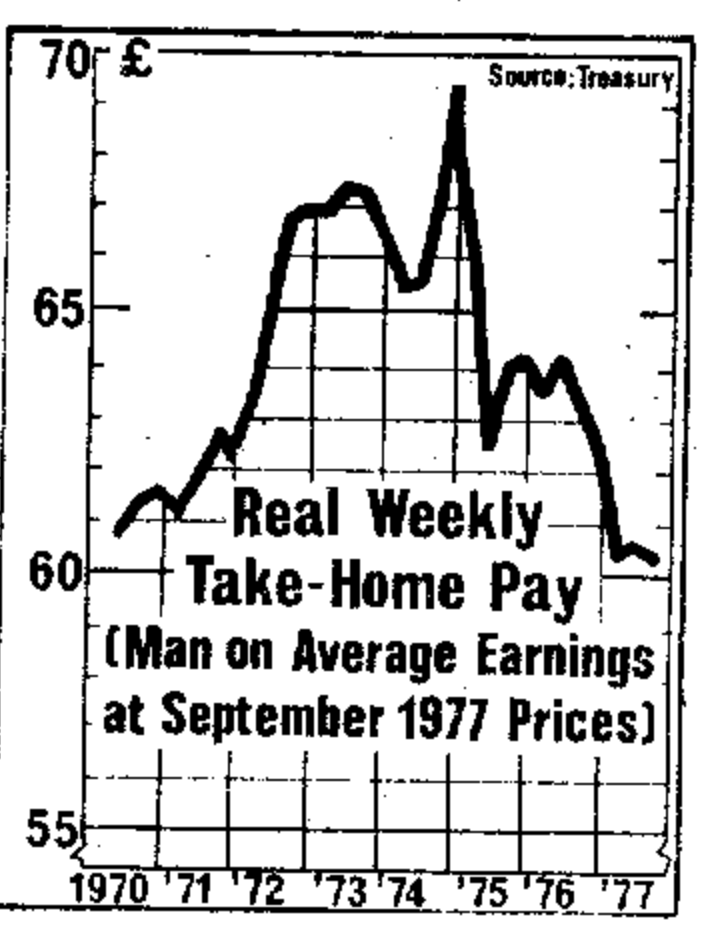
The disaster of the economic policy is for the working class complete and utter, while firms are now able to make rising profits because of the low level of wages.

Immediate demand

It is only by rejecting all collaboration with Government on wage controls, guidelines or norms and fighting to restore and defend living standards that the working class can win back what it has lost.

This requires an immediate demand that wage claims be pursued, through vigorous strikes, to destroy the policy that has brought this about.

The working class only has an independent solution to the crisis.



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

WADE'S BID TO SMASH NUJ STRIKE

LIFT PAY DEAL PLUNGES TO 10%

The EEPTU lift engineers' vote to return to work for a paltry 10-15% instead of their 130% claim is a blow to the whole wages offensive.

The 1300-strong meeting in London, the centre of the biggest firms, was of course stage-managed and then given maximum publicity to influence the vote elsewhere.

Not mentioned

The fact that the Glasgow section had voted against a return was not mentioned, the unanimous vote of London shop stewards to refuse the offer was played down. The summing up centred on an impassioned letter from a small Kent branch threatening withdrawal from the union if the strike continued.

The letter from General Secretary Frank Chapple himself was the key poison.

He warned that to continue would involve a fight not just against the employers but against the Government itself.

This line was backed up by other right wing speakers. They said the fight against the Government was one they couldn't win and to carry on would result in winning nothing.

Fraudulent arguments

Now the employers recognised their muscle, they would get a big increase 'next time'.

The fraudulence of these arguments was clearly seen by other speakers. Several shop stewards spoke strongly.

They said the strike was really hitting the employers now and they should carry it through.

With the firemen on strike and fights by NUPE and powerworkers as well as miners coming up, they were bound to win.

Confed's bogus wage claim

In a move clearly designed to take the heat out of local pay battles and bring about a national level sell-out, engineering union leaders last week decided to revive the moribund national pay agreement.

The national agreement has been suspended since Phase 1 of the Social Contract, and currently specifies a laughable £42 as the basic rate for craftsmen.

The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions will on Monday submit a claim for a new basic rate of £70, and the phased introduction of a 35-hour week.

They do so knowing that the rates now reflect the earnings of almost no workers in the industry, and that with the obstacles created by plant agreements and the TUC-imposed 12-month rule the chances of launching any

Chapple's letter was received with a storm of shouts, 'Well then let us bring them (the Government) down'.

These speeches showed that growing sections of workers do see the need to bring down Callaghan and Healey and are willing to take action to bring that about.

The bureaucrats see this move, are desperate to forestall it and place themselves solidly before the Government.

Meeting stalled

It was on this key question that the meeting stalled.

The offer accepted a derisory 12-15% to bring a mate's pay up from £43.40 to £47.48 and senior fitter from £56.10 to £63.24.

Further negotiations on

the 130% were not mentioned, except on terms of self-financing productivity deals.

Lays bare

Promises of 'negotiations' on lodgings allowances, the provincial daily allowance, visits home while in lodgings, sick pay schemes and holiday credit schemes were all the leadership could offer.

The outcome of this dispute exposes just how seriously Chapple's militant turnabout at the EEPTU Conference pledging strike action for the power workers—can be taken.

It lays bare his position of defending the Government at all costs and placing himself as the main obstacle to any gains.

COMMITTEE HOUND RIGHT WING MP

Actor Andrew Faulds, Labour MP for Warley East was confronted by a picket of firemen when he arrived to speak to a Young Socialists Meeting in Smethwick last weekend.

The picket was organised

by the emergency committee of labour organisation set up by Warley Trades Council.

The only workers' organisation not supporting the firemen in Warley is the local Labour party.

'Extremists'

After an impassioned attack by Andrew Faulds on 'extremists' and 'wreckers' who wanted to destroy the 'Labour' Government, the Warley East GMC narrowly voted down a motion to support the firemen.

The YS meeting was invaded by the firemen's picket and members of the emergency committee.

Faulds, who gave a talk on the future of the Labour Party, began his talk by attacking the Clay Cross councillors and the Shrewsbury picket, typical examples of how extremists claiming to be heroes of the Labour movement brought the party into disrepute.

Astonished

'Democratic centralism' must, he said, mean acceptance of the law and of unpleasant decisions of the Government. This was the case with the firemen. Struggles could achieve nothing but the fall of the Government.

Astonished local trade unionists heard Faulds go on to say that lower living standards, unemployment and the industrialism had come to stay in Britain.

He and eminent academics were agreed that many people were fed up with industrial society and would progressively move out to the coun-

try where they could grow their own vegetables. Godfrey Webster, Assistant Secretary of the Trades Council said it was no accident that Faulds attacked every struggle of the working class from Clay Cross to the firemen.

He had long ago abandoned any pretence of representing the working class and now seemed to favour abolishing it altogether.

He demanded that Faulds along with the present leadership of the Labour Party should be expelled.

George Johnson, Trades Council Secretary, said that the biggest problem facing the working class was the treachery of its leadership.

At Leyland's Longbridge plant the TUC have actually vetoed a wages deal accepted by management and their

role on Grunwick was sickening all trade unionists. Andrew Faulds had said he was horrified at the growth of support for the National Front in his constituency, but he and the Labour Government had themselves laid the basis for this by their constant attacks on the working class.

Finally a local fireman said that he did not consider his union were a special case.

They had been taken on by the Government as representatives of the whole working class and this explained the magnificent support they were receiving from the local labour movement.

Faulds would do well to return to acting full-time. But it is doubtful if anyone in Warley would be taken in by his performances again.



PHOTO: Mark Fisher, IFL

Picketing firemen warm themselves at Euston fire station

Renegade printers

Thus the striking journalists face the relaunching of the North of England news-

papers, closed since August, using scab journalists and the renegade printers.

Wade told the NGA members that the journalists—who had voted 79-1 against accepting an offer from management (which gave them nothing whatsoever)—were intransigent.

He also claimed that since NUJ General Secretary Ken Ashton, had not argued strongly against the proposals at a meeting with management, they amounted to joint management/union proposals.

Ashton has denied this but admitted that he stayed in the meeting and helped word the management offer that was put to the strikers 'without comment'.

Significantly, at this crucial meeting representatives from Darlington and London, where journalists were locked out for supporting the strikers, were excluded—for the first time in the dispute.

The NUJ Executive, who have a letter from Wade saying that he would consider unlimited escalation, now claim that they have been stabbed in the back by the NGA. But in fact it was the NUJ Executive which refused to escalate the dispute, despite calls to do so from other papers owned by Westminster Press.

Escalation call

The Group NUJ Chapel first called for escalation in August. Since it was accepted in principle by the NUJ Executive in September, stronger action had constantly been postponed 'in case we offend the NGA'.

The right wing leadership of the union had willingly played into Wade's hands to leave the Darlington journalists more bitter than at any time during the strike.

Meanwhile they have decided to continue their action.

Second offer

While the Darlington strikers do their best to pick up the pieces, the union leadership has called for rejection of the latest pay offer to provincial journalists of 10%.

The second offer, coming days after the TUC's open backing for the 10% limit, was actually worse than the first.

A depleted meeting of chapel delegates in Birmingham on Saturday (December 10) voted to endorse rejection and to campaign for strike action early in the new year.

The meeting rejected out of hand attempts to devise clever schemes around the 10% limit.

A call was made to lobby the TUC on December 21 and to campaign for a joint effort by all sections of workers against the 10% limit.

Farm pittance

Capitalist farmers are none too pleased that the Agricultural Wages Board has resisted government pressure and insisted on a 12.5% pay award for farmworkers.

About 11,000 farmworkers, paid the statutory minimum rate, will now receive this amount by law.

But the remaining 99,000 farmworkers may well find themselves fobbed off by 10% of their already abysmal pay packets.

Pay strikes solid

After 13 weeks of strike action in pursuit of their 17% pay claim, 600 Rolls Royce workers at Willesdon remain determined to achieve their full demands.

Management have refused to offer more than 10%.

Despite attempts to isolate, confuse and even ballot them back to work, the strikers show no sign of weakening in a dispute that has delayed a Rolls Royce

to be added to the Queen's already packed garage.

And at the giant Raleigh cycle factory at Nottingham a mass meeting of 4,000 voted to press ahead with their 3-week strike for demands for increases of up to £27 per week.

5,000 workers, nearly all members of the Metal Mechanics union are on strike. Management have again offered only 10%.

SWAN HUNTER-THE SCABBING GOES ON

The pretext of a "fair wages" claim under a 1946 Act is being used to dodge round the 10% pay limit and enable the government to turn a blind eye to substantial pay increases for fitters at Swan Hunters shipyard on Tyneside.

Clyde, and two to Smith's docks on Teeside.

Last week Govan's Communist Party-led stewards managed to get an almost unanimous endorsement for their reactionary decision to accept the cancelled Swan Hunter order, and its no-strike strings.

Complete bankruptcy

This must be seen as an indication of the complete bankruptcy of leadership in the yard rather than any inherent weakness of the workforce.

Conspicuously, the Stalinist daily *Morning Star* last Tuesday managed to avoid mentioning the Govan steward's decision to scab on the jobs of their brothers on Tyneside.

Exception

Instead of lyingly headlined "Govan's unity appeal", and reprinted Stalinist convenor Jimmy Airlie's statement with the exception of his announcement that the Govan stewards would accept the extra Polish ships.

The *Morning Star* even the nerve to claim that shop stewards unanimously deplored decision taken by British Shipbuilders to reallocate work during a dispute.

Meanwhile the Swan Hunter affair has provided fresh impetus for efforts John Chalmers to impose a corporate system of bargaining to cover all British shipyards and all shipbuilding unions.

Weaken and divide

Stalinist and right wing leaders in these unions have combined to do their best to weaken and divide the workforce in the industry.

Their moves to abolish existing pay structures and enforce acceptance of strike clauses must be thwarted and a principled leadership built to defend jobs, wages and conditions.

Swan Hunter management are hoping that a green light will be given by the Central Arbitration Committee for the payment of up to £8 extra to the 1,700 outfitters.

Though this will be less than the pay claim that has been the basis of the outfitters' three month work to rule, reformist leaders and employers hope it will be enough to procure an end to industrial action, and open the way for the building of the four remaining Polish cargo vessels at the yard.

Reallocated

The other three ships out of the original order have already been reallocated—one to the Govan yard on the



PHOTO: Laurence Sparham JPL

The Metropole picket

DEFEND THESE HOTEL STRIKERS!

Important developments are expected this week, the tenth week of the strike at the Metropole Hotel, Edgware Road in London.

The seven remaining strikers are continuing to mount a 24-hour picket with the support of other trade unionists, including firemen, and with visits from militants working in hotels as far away as Bournemouth and Edinburgh.

Pressure

The management, however are now claiming that the strikers are sacked. As we go to press, pressure is being put on the GMWU to take up the case for the reinstatement of the remaining strikers.

Efforts are being made to arrange a meeting between GMWU official Romp, John Bruce the chief steward and the management.

It is to be hoped that the union leaders will give full

support now that the basic principle of reinstatement is raised.

Meanwhile it was discovered last week that the police have dropped all charges against a member of management who at an earlier stage knocked down in his car one of the strikers on picket duty.

Management itself is not showing the same magnan-

imity. On Wednesday 14 December the case is due to be heard at Marylebone Magistrates Court against Sadie Levis, one of the strikers, who is being evicted from her 'tied accommodation' by the management.

This shows the urgency of continued support for the struggle and for the picketing, in particular the mass pickets held every Friday evening.

Grunwick—step up the fight!

Grunwick strikers have called off their proposed lobby of the TUC on December 21—under threat of suspension from their union APEX if they went ahead.

This latest bureaucratic hatchet-job by the APEX leadership comes amid rumours of a sudden end to the dispute that every union official has long been determined to lose.

Victory is being handed on a plate to Ward, Gorst, and Gouret by a TUC that now refuses to enforce even the right to trade union representation.

Leaders' fault

That such a situation could come into being is entirely the fault of all the present "leaders" of the trade unions—not only of Grantham and Jones, whose own unions are fighting for recognition at the plant.

Also to blame are Tom Jackson, David Basnett and Frank Chapple who have done all in their power to ensure that no action was taken by their members to cut off essential supplies

Picket of TUC called off after officials threaten suspension

(gas, water electricity) or to black postal collections.

Doing nothing

In a cynical display of contempt for the 10-week long efforts of these underpaid, largely immigrant workers, these leaders recently united in a TUC vote to make it clear that they will do nothing to win full recognition for APEX and reinstatement of those on strike.

Now, after the mass picketing of the summer; after hundreds of arrests and injuries sustained; after the vicious SPG attacks of November 7, the question is: are these trade union leaders going to get away with it?

Defeat?

Will they manage to inflict a defeat on workers where Ward, NAFF and the police by themselves have been unable to?

The answer from the Grunwick workers must be a

resounding NO!—a reaffirmation of their determination to win this basic dispute despite the opposition of their own union leaders.

But if victory is to be achieved, a correct political line is necessary.

The essence of such a line is simple—namely, pitting the ranks of the trade union movement, who have shown a hundred times their willingness to support the strikers, against the official leadership.

Direct approach

For us that means directly approaching postal, gas and water, and electricity workers in the area and asking them to take blacking action in defiance of Jackson, Basnett and Chapple.

But if these workers come out on their own they can easily be isolated and browbeaten into calling a halt to their blacking action.

That is why we say that, in addition to approaching

these workers locally, the Grunwick strikers should also approach every union branch and Trades Council in the country, and demand of them that they commit themselves to practical support to any blacking action.

Strike action

For us that means not just passing motions of support, and pledging financial donations, but giving assurances that they will engage in strike action to defend postal workers and others from victimisation or legal attack.

After 70 weeks, the Grunwick workers have the right to demand strike action from other trade unionists who, verbally at least, back their demands.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

APEX leader Grantham

This position, coupled to an immediate resumption of day-time picketing and the scheduling of a mass picket outside TUC headquarters early in the new year, should be the basis of a reactivation of the strike.

It is important that the policies be adopted a fought for in the forthcoming meeting on Grunwick organised by the South East Region of the TUC on the Day of Action on December.

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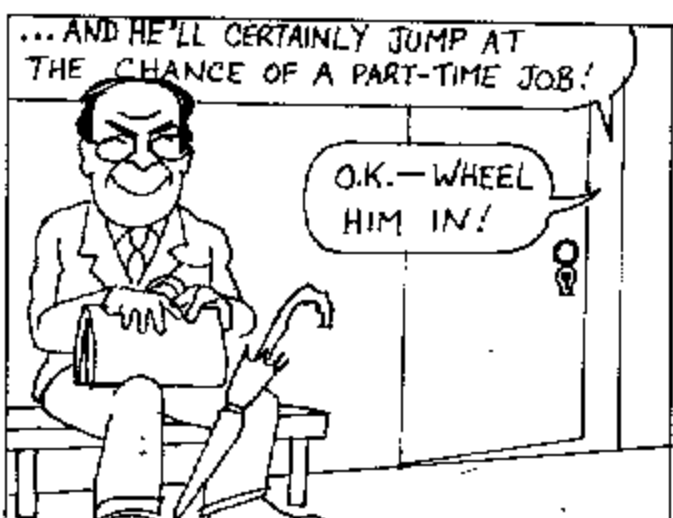
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Firemen from all over the country will be responding to the call of the London Brigades for a lobby of the TUC on December 21.

The meeting of the TUC General Council will hear the disgraceful report by the Economic Committee which calls on the firemen to return to work and recommends no supporting action.

This recommendation is central to the TUC plans to isolate the FBU and support the Government strategy of defeating one section after another.

REJECT PAPER OFFER!

Join Firemen on TUC lobby December 21

Wide support
The lobby against this proposal has already been supported by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils and many other union bodies.

The meeting and lobby come at an important time as employers and Government have presented a plan designed to con firemen into a return to work.

The only tangible element in this plan is for a rise of 10% now—preserving the pay limits intact.

Top quarter
This would, in theory, be followed by rises over the next two years that would bring firemen into the top paid quarter of skilled manual

workers.
The Government is undertaking that this will be paid irrespective of pay controls then in existence.

This scheme is even more dubious than it sounds. If it went ahead it would fix firemen rigidly into a position in the wages 'league'.

No guarantee
This guarantees nothing. If Phase 3 is left intact, then the looming prospect of a Phase 4 and permanent wage controls would ensure that firemen's real wages would fall by the same amount as every other section of workers.

And in terms of cash it means no more than a pathetic £8.71 increase spread over two years, in addition to these 'average'

increases.
It would almost certainly be tied to rigid no-strike stipulations—to prevent the firemen getting out of step in the new pay 'league'.

And the proposals for a cut in the working week would increase workloads through a 'productivity' deal.
To cap it all, the chances are that if a Tory government were re-elected the whole scheme would be aborted, with the firemen left to fight again from scratch.

Sown confusion
Faced by such a phony deal, the FBU leadership should have clearly rejected it. Instead, they have sown confusion by 'not recommending' it, while putting it for general discussion.
Some smaller brigades have been taken in by it, though the major, more militant brigades such as Scotland are solidly against it.

It seems clear as we go to press that, despite the warnings of Parry and the FBU leaders—who from the very outset have opposed the strike—the deal will be rejected and the FBU delegate conference will not be recalled.

Defeat
The right wing FBU officials are all too aware that they cannot afford another damaging defeat at the hands of a delegate conference.
But this enthusiasm to preserve the Lib-Lab coalition is no less strong than that of their cronies on the TUC Economic Committee—and firemen must watch for the

first signs of a sell-out.
Meanwhile workers must demand those 'left' wing MPs that claim to support the firemen while hedging their bets on the 10% pay limit and the Lib-Lab government transform their vague words into positive action.



'Left' Eric Heffer

If they really support this strike, they must declare their outright opposition to all forms of wage control, and their refusal to vote confidence in the Lib-Lab coalition.
They must launch an all-out campaign throughout the Labour and trade union movement to remove the Callaghan/Healey leadership, and the right wing TUC leaders who are its mainstay of support.

Anything short of such a fight at this point must expose the 'Lefts' talk of 'support' to the firemen as so much hot air.
While the 'Lefts' decide which side of the fence to jump down on, firemen must press ahead with their full claim.



Merlyn Rees—offered fake "guarantees"

It is not enough simply to reject the offer. The fight must be stepped up.
Parry has refused to put Fisher of NUPE or other public sector union leaders on the spot—though they are continuing to hold back their own members' claims, leaving the firemen isolated and the 10% limit intact.

The December 21 lobby must redress this balance.
It must be the biggest possible lobby, demanding that the full TUC rejects the Economic Committee's report, and that NUPE and other unions come out on strike alongside the firemen.

In every area FBU branches must fight for the establishment of Councils of Action designed to strengthen and spread their strike.
Such Councils of Action

must invite delegates from trade union bodies, tenants' associations and all working class political organisations.

Leadership
In this way they can become organisations within which a leadership can be developed capable of opposing both government and TUC attacks and betrayals.

Every TUC delegate, every 'left' Labour MP, every local union official involved in pay claims must be asked this question: Do you put the survival of this rotten Lib-Lab coalition above the interests of the working class?

Those that answer 'no' must be forced to bring out their members. Those that answer 'yes' must be forced out of office.

FUND

We are again on target this month with a total of £256.27 received and still not half way through the month. But there can be no room for complacency. December is an even more expensive month than most and it is vital if we are to complete our fund that the full £600 is raised before the Christmas period begins.

Donations received in the last seven days include: Oxford car workers £15.05; Central London £18; NHS workers £50; Islington £15; Sheffield £10; Hackney £13; Hull £2.10; East London £12; Manchester £2; West London £7; Liverpool £0.89.

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