

# workers' ACTION

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10p

9100 WORKERS are still out on strike in the bus and truck division of the British Leyland combine, in Chorley and Leyland, Lancashire. In a repeat of the strike in March this year which challenged Phase 2, the unofficial toolmakers' committee in Leyland Cars is planning to call a stoppage from 28th October on the demand for separate negotiating rights.

Elsewhere in the Leyland empire — at Longbridge, at Rover Solihull, at Cowley — militancy is building up round the plant wage claims. And wages confrontations are also looming in other parts of the car industry, especially in Fords, where the unions have recently rejected management's offer.

Car workers are taking up position in the front line of the fight to claw back the losses in living standards over two years of wage controls.

The Leyland bosses' counter-strategy is becoming clear. They are standing firm on their "corporate bargaining" proposals. According to these proposals, the present plant-by-plant bargaining system is to be replaced by one set of negotiations, at national level — with the workers' side represented by union bureaucrats remote from shop floor control.

The bosses call the wages offer that goes with corporate bargaining, "generous". On close examination it is more miserly than generous. A straight wage increase is offered only within the 10% limit — and with the proviso that there will be no further pay review before November 1979.

Parity throughout Leyland, the offer says, should

## Car workers in the front line

be achieved by November 1979: but only on the basis of the better-paid factories standing still for two years! The other main element of the offer is an incentive scheme — under which the unions are asked to accept work study investigations and results, while the management reserves the right to withdraw the incentives at any time.

The offer was made through a joint union-management "working party", where the union side — officials, convenors, and senior stewards — was appointed via the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions. The union side rejected "corporate bargaining", but discussions in the working party are still going on.

The bosses are using the continuation of the working party to stall all plant wage claims. But car workers have had enough of wage-freeze clampdowns and bureaucratic sell-outs! They are determined to fight for higher wages — in a united way if possible, section by section if need be. Every worker should give them full support — and follow their example.

## Hyde: The victory cries are cut short

THE CRIES of victory still ringing in the air after the official ban on the National Front's October 8th march in Hyde already sound tinny.

Not only the Communist Party, but also 'Socialist Challenge' and 'Socialist Worker' declared that with the ban a battle had been won in the fight to keep the fascists off the streets. Blandly they played down as a secondary detail the fact that all meetings and processions had been banned in the Tameside area for five weeks.

Usually reliable sources now report that the National Front has told all its members to be in Hyde on October 8th, to throng the

streets while NF leader Martin Webster "marches" on his own. In any clashes between anti-fascist militants and NF thugs who are going about their God-fearing business of spreading racial hatred, terrorising people, and building up strong-arm gangs against the labour movement, we can be sure that the police will display their usual bias: of course it will be the anti-fascists who are violating the ban!

**So much for the ban! So much for the victory!**

How much of a show of strength the NF will be able to mount is still not clear at the time of writing. Clearly militants who want to counter the NF's plans eff-

ectively rather than just having a set-piece confrontation with the police will — in view of the difficulties imposed by the ban — have to consider their tactics very carefully.

### Picket

The anti-fascist sub-committee of Tameside Trades Council has called a mass picket outside the Town Hall for 8th October. Whether that will be the form the anti-fascist mobilisation takes, or whether better tactics are devised, socialists should start organising now to get people to Tame-

side on the 8th. Whatever happens between now and then — and it's likely there will be one or two new turns of events yet — mobilisation will almost certainly be needed.

Those in the labour movement who thought that the fascist problem could be got out of the way by inducing the State to ban them may be due to have their illusions shattered. Mass mobilisation against the fascists will always be necessary (and only made more difficult by bans as in Tameside) until we cut the roots of fascism by overthrowing the capitalist state and the system that breeds racism, despair, violence, and hatred

## NINE QUESTIONS FOR THE LABOUR CONFERENCE

1 The Labour Government was elected with a promise to carry through "an irreversible shift in the balance of wealth and power in favour of working people and their families." Would not working people and their families be better served by a law requiring wages to go up each month to keep pace with the cost of living than by Phase 1, Phase 2 or the 10%/12 month rules?

2 Rather than helping to increase unemployment by pushing through public sector cuts, would it not be better for the government to fix a legal maximum working week of 35 hours, together with a national minimum wage of £50 a week so that overtime no longer has to be worked?

3 The Government "saves money" with cuts in schools, housing and hospitals. Would it not be a better policy to end the interest burden which absorbs a huge proportion of local authority spending, by nationalising the banks and financial institutions?

4 If the Labour Party had officially supported mass picketing and full blacking of services and supplies to Grunwicks, the strikers' fight for union rights would be won by now. Why is it Ward who now has the upper hand?

5 What interests does the British Army serve in Ireland, propping up the sectarian Northern Ireland state? Why doesn't Britain get out of Ireland at last, after 800 years, and let the Irish people decide their own future?

6 With massive investments in South Africa, Britain profits from apartheid as much as the wealthy whites of South Africa. The Labour Government, though, with the USA, is trying to ensure a future for imperialism and the white settlers in Zimbabwe [Rhodesia]. Would not a government which really supported majority rule in Southern Africa break off talks with Smith, support the guerilla fighters, and impose a blockade on South Africa to force the collapse of the apartheid regime?

7 Last year's Labour Conference voted to campaign against racism. But both the Labour Government and the Labour Party continue to support and implement immigration controls and the racist brutality that goes with them. How can you campaign against racism while you are still supporting racist immigration laws?

8 Isn't it a fact that on every major issue the present Labour Government has come down firmly on the side of the capitalist class — the millionaires and the profiteers — against the working class?

9 And doesn't it follow that that is the reason for the stagnation in the Party's membership? And that what every socialist in the Labour Party must do is try to transform his local Party into an active campaigning organisation — FOR the interests of working people and thus AGAINST the Government?

### Inside

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**PETER GRIMES**, London Organiser of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, has been charged under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and barred from contact with the IRSP, in a case that bears all the marks of a frame-up.

Grimes was arrested at work on the morning of Friday 26th August by two members of the Special Branch, and taken to Bethnal Green police station. There he was subjected to six days of almost constant interrogation, sometimes going on into the early morning only to restart a few hours later.

Finally he was charged under the Prevention of Terrorism Act with possessing, between July 13th and August 26th, "information which he knew might be of material assistance in preventing acts of terrorism", and not telling the police about it.

Grimes' girl friend and her father were also arrested. They were held for four days and interrogated in the same fashion. A number of times Peter Grimes heard his girl friend returning to her cell crying hysterically, and her 66-year old father weeping.

## Frame-up of London IRSP leader

They were finally released without being charged.

The information that Peter Grimes is alleged to have withheld is that one Con Mallon possessed Armalite rifles and explosives. Grimes denies any knowledge of them.

Mallon is a Kent miner also known under the name of Harry Driver. In May of this year he wrote to the IRSP asking to join. The IRSP said he could become a supporter, but not a member. Mallon sent money and took copies of the IRSP paper "Starry Plough" to sell and leaflets to distribute.

Within a few weeks the London IRSP support group received about £40 from Mallon. He claimed he now had a number of supporters around him, although when

Grimes visited Mallon these 'supporters' were "away on holiday".

The IRSP decided not to set up a support group round Mallon until they had made enquiries into his background. But then Mallon was arrested in early August, and Grimes a few weeks later. Mallon is still in jail, charged with possessing armalite rifles and explosives.

After being charged, Grimes was released on £5,000 bail plus £100 personal surety. The case is to be heard at Old Street Magistrates Court on October 14th.

Another condition of Grimes' bail is that he should have no contact with the IRSP. Obviously the Special Branch, following their colleagues in Ireland both North

and South, are trying to crush Irish republican activity. Grimes has been arrested before, in September 1976 after his flat was raided for firearms. (None were found.) At the police station, he says Special Branch officers tried to bribe him to spy on the IRSP. When he refused, they said he could "get into a lot of trouble."

A lot of questions remain unanswered about Mallon/Driver. He claims to be a second cousin of Kevin Mallon, a well known member of the Provisional IRA. Until 1971 he was in the Parachute Regiment, and served in Malaya, Aden and Armagh. While serving in Northern Ireland, he says he was court-martialled for speaking out against the policies of the Army. He also

claims to have spent time in Long Kesh.

All this has yet to be checked out, but in a letter to his landlady Mallon has hinted that he may be willing to "co-operate" with the police to get his sentence reduced from a possible 11-15 years down to three.

The IRSP is determined to continue its activity despite the harassment. London secretary James O'Brien declared that "The IRSP in England are by no means destroyed as the Special Branch would like to think, and the IRSP intend in the coming weeks to launch a campaign for Peter Grimes. The Trade Union movement and revolutionary organisations in London have pledged their support to clear the names of the IRSP and in particular Peter Grimes and his family."

There will be a silent picket outside the Court on 14th October. Donations and messages of support for the defence campaign should be sent to: PO Box 6, Peter Grimes Defence Fund, Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1

MARY CORBISHLEY



**BRIAN HODGE**, President of Lambeth Trades Council, went to Belfast with 7 other people to investigate conditions there for the Campaign Against British Brutality in Ireland. This is what he saw there.

The people of Turf Lodge protest at the Queen's visit to Northern Ireland

## Total terror after Elizabeth leaves

**THE DAY** after Her Imperial Majesty ended her visit to the rebellious colony of Northern Ireland, the Royal Marine Commandos who had dutifully protected the Royals turned and saturated Turf Lodge.

Turf Lodge is a working class, predominantly republican, housing estate in Belfast. Four in ten adults there are unemployed; the attitude to "Elizabeth" and her Jubilee was "stuff it".

With the announcement "you've insulted our Queen; you've got no rights and we're here to prove it" the Marines went on a two-day rampage. With rifle butts, fists, boots, batons and bullets they unleashed what one resident who thought he had 'seen it all' called "total terror".

A woman of 73 known locally as 'Wee Mary' had her home pulled apart. Her front door, fitted recently to replace the one the army destroyed

three years ago, was kicked in by the soldiers. Mary offered the key, but evidently they preferred their own way of getting in.

A foul-mouthed thug roughly shoved his gun barrel up to her lips, and proceeded to tear her home to pieces. A woman who tried to intervene was dragged by her hair and punched in the face.

I heard this from 'Wee Mary' when I visited Belfast as part of a delegation investigating British brutality in Ireland. She was still in a state of shock and was so upset that she broke down and wept as she talked to us about it.

Later, sixteen year old Paul Ried told us how he had been treated in those two days. He was dragged to a jeep and made to lie "like a log of

wood" so that when the jeep moved he was bumped and banged. If he tried to steady himself he was kicked on the hands. He was trailed from the jeep by the hair and questioned, all the time being kicked in the genitals and beaten. When he was released he was threatened "take a good look at your Dad, it's the last time you'll see him."

We took statements on tape and in writing from dozens of people who all had the same sort of stories to tell. The two days after the Jubilee visit was "total terror". Children were bated black and blue; women threatened with shooting and physical abuse; youths beaten mercilessly — one suffered a ruptured spleen; homes wrecked, property destroyed.

Even the stalwart middle class defenders of the "law and order" forces, the Peace People, publicly condemned what the Army did in Turf Lodge.

The Marine Commandos began their rampage at 11.30 in the morning. Within an hour the area was in a state of chaos and hysteria. The Community Association, fearing that the continuing violence would result in deaths, contacted the Northern Ireland Office who, fully realising the situation, refused to call off the Army.

At 1.30 that afternoon a Provisional IRA sniper shot a soldier dead and a blast bomb seriously injured others. The Army then went berserk.

The violence and harassment we have to report from

Belfast isn't confined to what we heard about. Even in the two days of our visit, we ourselves encountered it.

On three separate occasions the eight of us were detained, some of us arrested. Twice at the port of Stranraer delegation members were held under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. Under the Emergency Provisions Act the eight of us and an eleven year old boy who was our guide were detained after being rounded up by a posse of six RUC men, one carrying a sub-machine gun and the others with pistols drawn. All this just for photographing a police station.

Some soldiers were also present: one had prominently displayed on his jacket the slogan "National Front". We were told this was quite common, while some soldiers prefer to display the initials UVF ("Ulster Volunteer Force: a Loyalist murder outfit").

If anyone still thinks that fighting fascism can be left to the bosses' state, they can go to Turf Lodge with a camera and a note-book and meet a Marine Commando with a clipped moustache and see what's advertised on his flak jacket!

# Thatcher plays to the gallery and the gods

PUBLIC CLASHES between Tory leaders reached new heights with Keith Joseph's and James Prior's comments on Grunwicks and the closed shop. The Tories have brushed it off as a "difference of emphasis": Sir Keith Joseph emphasises the general principles while apparently Mr. Prior emphasises tactical realities.

This account may reinforce the old definition of the Tories as the "stupid party", but it does not paper over the divisions in the Tory Party since the economic crises of the 1970s and the fall of the Heath government.

Though neither group can be said to be homogenous, a broad division now exists between "Heathites" and "Thatcherites". The Heathites' conclusion from the fiasco of the 1970-74 government is that confrontation with the unions must be minimised, and that an aggressive policy of letting

"lame ducks" sink is not to be thought of. The Thatcherites pull towards the opposite end of the Tory spectrum, with policies for union-bashing and cutting state intervention in the economy.

Margaret Thatcher's election as party leader put the Right in a stronger position. Despite Prior's claims that Thatcher stood behind him, Sir Keith Joseph felt confident to speak out about Grunwicks, the Scarman report, and Tory policy on the closed shop, in direct conflict with the Heathites and [more importantly] with most of big business — which greatly appreciates the Labour Government's work of subduing working class militancy and does not want to see it disrupted by some mad-cap Tory doctrinaire.

Mrs. Thatcher is confident she can overcome these divisions by combining right wing demagoguery produced by her NAFF speech-

writer Robert Moss — "the Labour Party is on the road to communism" and suchlike — with more Heathite practical policies, expressed through people like Prior and Howe.

When she talks of such things as public opinion on her side, the national pride, and so on, she is addressing herself to the petty bourgeoisie, the most reactionary hard-core Tories at grass roots level, who have seen "moral standards" and position in society become more and more irrelevant. It is these moribund elements that she wants to consolidate behind her and make the motive force to "sweep away Socialism". It is these people who will — she promises — turn the clock back to the values of the British Empire.

It is an altogether more flamboyant style of political leadership than Macmillan, Butler, Home or Heath — but it is not entirely for show.

The probability is that a new Tory government would follow the course outlined by Prior. However if the ruling class thinks the working class has been weakened sufficiently by Labour's pay controls and unemployment at 1½ million, and if they feel that the economic crisis is sharp enough to call for extreme measures, then they might be ready to throw caution to the winds and back Thatcher in a general attack on trade union rights.

MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN

# IS APEX PREPARING TO DROP GRUNWICKS

LAST FRIDAY [23rd] the 'Times' printed a front page story that APEX, the union that most of the Grunwick strikers belong to, was preparing to disown them.

Roy Grantham, general secretary of APEX, has since denied this. APEX and the TUC General Council, he said, are working out plans "up to the end of the year".

Does this mean they will drop the strikers at the end of the year? More to the

point, where is this plan of action? Grantham says he isn't selling out the strikers, but how could anyone tell the difference?

It is now one month since the Scarman Enquiry recommended that as many as possible of the 91 Grunwick strikers should be reinstated, and a union should be recognised inside the factory. A week later Grunwick rejected this, saying they would recognise union representation only for individuals. The 1977 TUC then reaffirmed the 1976 decision to support the strikers, and Len Murray and Roy Grantham said steps would be taken to win the dispute.

Still nothing has been done.

The strike committee and unions involved have met to organise a blockade of supplies, and Grantham claims that a number of committees are being set up for this purpose.

The problem is that Grantham has said he accepts the criticisms of the Scarman enquiry, and he will not push for any blacking which is or might be illegal (post, electricity, gas, water, etc.) This subservience before the law leaves only blacking of photographic supplies, and since the supplying firms are generally poorly organised, there is little hope of effective action there.

Also, Grunwicks busy summer season is almost over and it is now less vulnerable to blacking.

Meanwhile the law grinds on slowly in the background. The House of Lords will sit in November to decide whether or not to uphold the Appeal Court ruling which found the original ACAS survey (which came out in the strikers' favour) was invalid. If the Lords uphold it, then ACAS, under section 11 of the Employment Protection Act, will have to conduct yet another survey.

The strike committee, in a statement on 23rd September, said they will not give up even if their own union accepts defeat. On Wednesday 28th September they are lobbying the TUC General Council, and they have declared that if official action is still not forthcoming, they will once again organise mass picketing and urge union members to take unofficial action and black post and electricity services.

Linda Collins

# Not a man, not a penny for the system

Editorial

THE LABOUR PARTY National Executive Committee study group wants British defence spending to be cut to the average level of the NATO countries. The Government disapproves, saying the present level of expenditure is the minimum necessary; the Tory party is purple with horror at the idea of weakening the armed forces. And NATO has told the British government that if it gets any leeway through an improvement in the economy, it should devote such resources to restoring the defence cuts made over recent years.

All of them, however, want Britain to continue supporting NATO: that same NATO which helped Portugal's last-ditch efforts to maintain its colonies in Africa, and which then, as revolutionary upheavals erupted in Portugal, held forces in readiness to intervene.

All of them want Britain's "defence effort" to continue: that same "defence effort" which has mainly been directed against national liberation and revolutionary movements in Malaya, Cyprus, Kenya, Aden, and Ireland; and which, now, Brigadier Kitson and his friends want to turn more in the direction of repression of radical movements and struggles inside Britain itself.

Their argument is simple. Maybe (so at least the Left-wingers from the Labour Party NEC will say) there are reactionary elements in the armed forces. But nonetheless Britain has to be defended against the danger of foreign invasion, and particularly against the USSR.

Scarcely even the most true-blue Tories, however, believe in any real danger of invasion by the USSR. All the evidence shows that the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union follows a most cautious and defensive policy in international affairs.

In fact, through the whole period that Britain has had a standing army, it has never once been used against a foreign invasion. On the contrary, it has mostly been used to carry out foreign invasions into other countries: from China, through India, Palestine, Egypt, South Africa, and many others, to Ireland. The breaking-up of the British armed forces would be a definite protection for many countries against the threat of foreign invasion.

But isn't there still a risk of foreign invasion of Britain? Yes, there is. In May 1968 there was definitely a risk of foreign invasion of France. If the revolutionary movement had gone further, and overpowered the French army and police force, there is no doubt that NATO would have tried

to step in. But the existence of the French army was not the sort of protection the working people of France needed! On the contrary, the French army was one of the enemies they had to fight.

The French people had the same experience in world war 2. They had an army "to protect them against foreign invasion"; and then the commanders of the Army decided to side with the Nazis. It was the irregular, working-class based armed forces of the Resistance that mounted some battle against the Nazi armies.

The British ruling class reckoned they could beat the German ruling class rather than submit to it. It was a cold commercial calculation rather than any opposition on principle to fascism: in the 1920s Churchill had publicly expressed admiration for Mussolini. Nevertheless that same Churchill who sent troops against South Wales miners managed to convince many that the British armed forces were fighting not for British profits but for the British people. Episodes like the British army's crushing of the revolution in Greece in 1944-45 and its propping up of French colonialism in Vietnam in 1945-46 were played down.

Under no circumstances are the Kitsons, the Carvers, and the other commanders of Britain's armed forces, the defenders of British working people. We do need to defend ourselves, both against our own and against other ruling classes: and the socialist movement has long had a policy to meet that need. We advocate universal military training, at the place of work or in the home town, under the control of working-class organisations, and with working-class officers elected from the ranks.

Such a workers' militia system would not only be the only real means of defence for British working people: it would also be very much cheaper than the present monstrous heap of weaponry with which British imperialism, in alliance with the other major imperialist powers, arms itself in order to maintain the rule of private profit over as much as possible of the earth's surface. It would put an end to the situation where millions can be spent to perfect means of killing people, while others die or languish in pain, in Britain for lack of a few pounds, elsewhere in the world for lack of a few pence.

Until then, our slogan must be another old watchword of the socialist movement: Not a man, not a penny for this system!

# TERRORISM IT REAL

WHEN Hans Martin Schleyer, president of the West German equivalent of the CBI, was abducted after a bloody shoot-out in which his chauffeur and body-guards were killed, the question of political terrorism hit the headlines.

In Germany itself it had never left the headlines. Only a few weeks before, Jürgen Ponto, chairman of the powerful Dresdner Bank and a close confidant of Chancellor Schmidt, had been murdered in his home by a family friend who was a member of a terrorist gang.

And that killing came not long after Attorney General Siegfried Buback was gunned down on a West German motorway by terrorists on motorcycles. Buback had been the chief prosecutor in the trials of the principal figures in the Red Army Fraction (RAF), better known as the Baader-Meinhof group.

Buback, Schleyer and Ponto and others before them — like Peter Lorenz who was exchanged for five jailed terrorists two years ago — are top representatives of the West German regime, which the RAF sees as fascist and as the chief puppet of US imperialism.

A former RAF lawyer now living in France, Klaus Croissant, recently described present day Germany as "a

regime which has already entered into disguised fascism ... Foreigners do not understand" he said, "that it is only the German facade that has changed. The socio-economic structures have never changed since Nazi times. A resistance movement has not just come from out of the blue. The whole left in Germany is faced with repression."

The description is a political absurdity. It is true that there are many laws still on the statute books in Germany (and Austria) that date from Nazi times. It is true that many prominent figures in public life are ex-Nazis (like Schleyer who was an SS officer with responsibility for student work). It is also true that there are laws like the Berufsverbot, which prevents leftists from holding many public administration, civil service and teaching jobs.

But none of this adds up to fascism, disguised or otherwise.

## Logic

In any case, the logic is faulty: terrorism cannot be justified by an alleged lack of legal means of struggle. To say that is to imply two errors: firstly that terrorist means of struggle and illegal means of struggle are the same thing (thus that if strikes are illegal

one resorts to assassinations rather than organising strikes in defiance of repressive law); and secondly that anti-state violence would not be politically justifiable in a bourgeois democracy (hence the definition of Germany as fascist to justify violence).

In his article **Against Political Terrorism** — which we print on this page — Karl Radek made clear that Marxists do not choose legality rather than terrorism, but mass mobilisation rather than terrorism. And he pointed out that in the early years of this century "it was the opportunists who in western Europe advocated legality at any price who were sympathetic to the bombings ... in Russia."

If present-day Germany was indeed as lacking in bourgeois democratic freedoms as was Tsarist Russia, this still would not make the terrorist methods of the RAF any more justifiable either tactically or

in principle.

Ironically, just as it was the reformists and not the revolutionary Marxists in Radek's day who supported terrorism in Russia, the RAF and those who like them see no hope for revolutionary working class action are, at the core of their politics, reformists.

Indeed, some of the terrorists of the RAF are people who are still reeling under the blows which shattered their own reformist illusions — the biggest blow of all being the "betrayal" of the SPD when it formed the 'grand coalition' with the Christian Democrats and — apparently — drifted to the right.

Like terrorist acts generally, the RAF's were the fruit of disillusion, of frustration and despair.

## Tragic

The latest exploits of the RAF, kidnapping of high-ups

in order to force the release of other terrorists, are a tragic demonstration of the downward spiral of criminality that always threatens terrorism: first the acts are "for the people" (and may even — though not in the RAF's case — be greeted enthusiastically by the masses); but soon they become almost exclusively 'for the comrades', thus losing whatever relation to the masses they had at the outset.

For Marxists, "terrorism" is not a "scare" word, nor a term to be applied loosely to any violence, but a particular political strategy which we oppose. It is distinguished not by its violence but above all by its isolation from mass action.

The bourgeois media, however, continues to present the terrorism of the RAF and similar organisations as being the same kind of activity as that of the IRA or the Palestin-



# Karl Radek: AGAINST I

First English translation

IN EVERY period in which the popular masses felt oppressed there arose from within their ranks, or from those layers allied to them, men who resorted to violence to combat the violence from above.

Their targets were the private or official representatives of the oppressor system, and their purpose was either to give vent to the frustration mounting in their hearts or to avenge some infamous act. The history of peasant struggles, like that of the bourgeoisie, is rich in examples of political terrorism.

The West and Central European social democratic [Marxist] parties fought this theory at the time of the First and Second Internationals, using arguments of a principled and a tactical nature.

The principled objection, they explained, was that the liberation of the working class had to be won by the workers themselves: the working class could only gradually and in the course of independent class struggles gain the understanding and strength necessary to conquer political power and overturn capitalist society.

It is impossible to conquer political power by acts of violence carried out by individuals. Even when sparked off by the most outrageous events, these acts of violence alienate backward layers of workers and thus delay — and this was the tactical ground for rejecting political terrorism — the unification of the working class and its becoming a class ready to act.

But while Marx and Engels rejected political terrorism, acts of violence by individuals, in the case of advanced capitalist countries, they recognised its validity for Russia at the time that the Narodnaya Volya group ("The People's Will", a terrorist

party) started to practise it there. They recognised the validity of political terrorism for Russia then not because of Russia's lack of freedom of assembly, of the press and of parliament, but because of Russia's lack of a developed capitalism and a working class.

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The attempts to mobilise the peasants against Tsarism failed: the dispersed, culturally extremely backward Russian peasantry proved itself incapable of waging that fight. The only force that rebelled against Tsarism was the intelligentsia. Too few in number to storm the bastille of Tsarism by mass attack, they tried to disrupt and overthrow it by assass-

inating its highest representatives.

The self-sacrificing struggle seemed to promise success and our old masters therefore did not hesitate to endorse and support it. The terrorist struggle of the Russian intelligentsia did in fact shake Tsarism temporarily, but in the end Tsarism managed to capture the most courageous fighters, send them to the gallows, to the dungeons or to Siberia.

After a period of mute passivity capitalist development proceeded in Russia and the working class began to stir.

This movement was echoed in the intelligentsia. But they were impatient with the gradual, slow process of working class awakening: they wanted to strengthen and speed up the workers' struggle by means of assassinations. They wanted to wear down Tsarism by throwing

early Communist International, 1929, in the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

In this article he draws most alongside the Marxist (or, as it "social-democratic") movement organisations which, in one way or another, were figures of the Tsarist regime that

bombs and firing revolvers at it; they hoped that the noise of their bombs exploding would wake ever wider layers of the masses from their sleep.

The struggle of the terrorist socialist intelligentsia in Russia evoked a warmly sympathetic response from European social-democrats who declared the tactic "admissible" because of the lack of any legal means of struggle.

The Russian social-democrats however took a hard line against propaganda by political terrorism. They saw it as a political tactic that was more likely to paralyse and disorganise the revolutionary working class than the Tsarist regime.

The masses as such, declared the Russian social-democracy, cannot carry out any assassinations. Even if the terrorist only intends his deed to be a signal to the masses, he awakens in

# M — WHAT Y MEANS

ian guerilla groupings.

The similarity — and for the bourgeoisie this serves as a definition of terrorism — is that all these organisations break the monopoly of violence with which the ruling classes enforce their laws. That violence, the violence of the state meted out by armies and police forces, by judges and jailers, is not considered to be an example of terror!

But it is the difference between the RAF on the one hand and the IRA and Palestine organisation on the other than is more important for socialists.

The RAF, for all the pretensions of its name, is not an army or fraction of an army. It is a small group of people, remote from the feelings of the mass of the workers and, inevitably, misunderstood by them.

The Irish Republican Army, on the other hand, is an army, albeit an irregular one. It

mirrors, although in a distorted form, the strong nationalist feelings of the Catholic community in the North of Ireland; it is that community's militia when it comes under attack from the Orange pogromists and the British Army. Its base, although fluctuating, is a truly popular one.

## Militia

The same goes for the organisations grouped under the umbrella of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

Collectively these groups form a popular militia of the Palestinian people. One aspect of the war in the Lebanon — something little commented on — is the way that struggle has demonstrated the inseparability of the Palestine population of the refugee camps and their militias.

There are other differences

between the RAF and these guerilla and popular militias. The IRA and PLO militias are armies opposing foreign forces. In both cases, their struggle is against an occupation force; it is a struggle for national liberation.

In the case of the IRA and the PLO groups and armies, one people is at war with another. The use of terror — of guns, of bombs and shells — is the logic of that war as of any war. So is the taking of captives, and their exchange.

Smugly the bourgeois commentators admit that there is a war, but decline to call the irregular militias an army, instead condemning them to a sort of historical outlawry. Speeches, cartoons and editorials are full of ignorant abuse about "psychopaths" and motiveless "men of violence".

British imperialism and Zionism, having denied nationhood to the peoples they

respectively conquered and evicted, continue to deny them the legitimacy that goes with nationhood by denying the legitimacy of their armed struggle. The label "terrorism" is used to present that struggle falsely as a blind lashing-out by a few deranged outlaws.

So long as those who fight against imperialism are referred to as terrorists, such terminology supports the military fait accompli which imperialism has imposed by means of far greater terror.

## Strategy

Not every act carried out by the forces of national liberation of the popular militias and small fractions attached to them is to be applauded. Still less is their political strategy necessarily right. Because they are not, in the scientific sense, "terrorists", it does not mean they are therefore right. There are acts of the IRA and of the Palestine forces, or their hangers on, which we have said are criminal. (Such as the pub bombings in Birmingham, or the slaughter at Lod Airport.)

But the first essential for understanding their struggle is to reject the notion — common even on the left — that irregular warfare against a stronger military force is the

same thing as "terrorism".

Who could be so foolish and so ignorant as to deny that the Palestinians, for instance, organise the population of the camps. Zionism, a terror machine that is embarked on a policy of genocide against the Palestinians, well understands this. Zionism does not attack the Lebanese, the Syrian and the Jordanian camps of the Palestinians because the armed elements are isolated there but on the contrary because the whole camp is a fortified area.

In the "Prevention of Terrorism Act", British imperialism perpetuates the ideas that the IRA is a terrorist force. It thereby avoids the recognition of the IRA as a popular militia of an oppressed people. Such a recognition would be an admission of its own bloody role in Ireland. This is the same mentality that insistently refuses to accord Republican captives the status of prisoners of war.

Those with the most sophisticated gadgetry for murder, whose remote controlled bombs can kill and maim thousands at a go, and those smug in their own nationhood, pour abuse on those struggling with rifles and knives for national liberation. But this cannot absolve or cover up their own monstrous acts of terror.



Baader, Raspe, Ensslin, three members of the "Red Army Fraction". Their despair at the monolithic integration of the official German labour movement with capitalism led them to heroic but isolated and ultimately futile acts of terrorism.

# POLITICAL TERRORISM

by Andrew Hornung

until his capitulation to Stalin in 1921. The experience of Russia, where the masses had existed revolutionary organisations, made the assassination of top leaders a part of their strategy.

them the hope for a miraculous salvation from on high. And should there be some already conscious elements among the masses, people not content with the role of those to be freed but prepared to fight themselves, then the terrorist example lures them to the path of terrorism.

They gaze down from above on the "benighted masses" that take so long to get moving; the path of building a mass organisation is too long for them; they want their sacrifice to light up and shorten the path. Terrorism ceases to be just a matter of individuals acting spontaneously, it becomes the strategy of particular organisations, thereby removing the best and most self-sacrificing elements from the class struggle and weakening the proletariat.

Many European social democrats did not accept the

Towards the end of the article he refers to 'Zimmerwald' and 'Kienthal'. These were international conferences held in 1915 and 1916 of those socialists who opposed the first World War, rejecting the "defence of the fatherland" policy which led most major socialist parties to support "their own" ruling classes in the war.

The article was written for *Arbeiterpolitik*, a paper of the revolutionary anti-war socialists in Germany.

standpoint of the Russian radical social-democrats who counterposed to individual violence not legality but mass revolutionary struggle. Most of all it was the opportunists who in western Europe advocated legality at any price who were sympathetic to the bombings in Russia, criticising the Russian social-democracy for being "doctrinaire". In Germany it was people like Stampfer, in Austria Austerlitz and Leuthner, who thought it absurd not to be in favour of terrorism in Russia.

But the Russian social-democrats did not let themselves be led astray. Of course it would never have occurred to them to join the chorus of counter-revolutionary jackals in their attacks on the terrorists who, while they erred, nevertheless laid down their lives with the best of intentions.

But they mercilessly opposed political terrorism as a wrong method of struggle. And the great test case, the Russian revolution, showed how right the social democrats were.

The period of assassinations was important as a political symptom, but at the same time it was the result of a lack of faith in the proletarian mass movement. They were unable to further the movement, even though the assassination of, for instance, Plehve in 1904 attracted a great deal of attention.



The shock of the Russo-Japanese war, the misery that it brought, the tireless though not immediately obviously successful clandestine revolutionary agitation carried on by the

social democracy and the support that they gave to every aspect of the class struggle — all this created in Russia the atmosphere that allowed the hour of the mass uprising to strike in the wake of the great massacre of 22nd January 1905.

Although this was not immediately victorious, although it was defeated thanks to the support Tsarism received from Russian and international capitalism and from the bayonets of the peasantry, the Russian workers can thank the mass movement of the revolutionary years for all the colossal advances they have made in the last ten years.

As the energy of the revolution began to drain away, terrorism tried to restore its vigour by injections of assassinations. But being itself a product of the defeat of the revolution it was unable to give it new life: the terrorists only brought confusion into the movement as their organisation fell victim to political provocations.

As even bourgeois politicians like Lord Courtney or opportunist ones like Sydney Webb have understood, the international workers' movement is heading for a period of convulsion. The level of social development

achieved in western and central Europe will enable the mass movement to set itself higher tasks than ever before: starting out from the struggle for peace, against rising prices, against new taxes, against the attacks on civil rights, the masses will rise up to the level of the struggle for socialism.



At present we are only in the first stages of this struggle. We remind the proletariat of the words from Zimmerwald and Kienthal that called on them to summon up their entire collective strength as a mass, as a class. Although comrade Friedrich Adler supported this aim, he was not able by his deed to advance the modern class struggle of the workers.

The social patriots oppose political terrorism; but only revolutionary internationalists are able to eliminate its causes, for they alone struggle against imperialism and thus restore to the masses their confidence in their own struggle and in the future of socialism. They will fight political terrorism — counterposing the historical tasks of the proletariat.

FASCISM protected the position of the big monopolies. In a series of decrees Italian fascism progressively restricted the setting up of new enterprises with a capital exceeding five million lire (the decree of March 11th 1926); and made the opening of large industrial establishments in the cities subject to prior government authorisation (decree-law of November 3rd 1927). This ruling became applicable to the arms industry irrespective of the location of the new works (November 1929) and was extended to shipyards and transport the following year.

That was one way of restricting competition. Another was to force firms to join associations which fixed pricing and production levels.

Such associations — "cartels" — had existed in voluntary form before fascism in both Italy and Germany. Under fascism they were made all-embracing and compulsory.

By the decree-law of December 31st 1931 the Italian state reserved the right to regulate the "means of forming compulsory associations for the various branches of the iron industry, in order to control the manufacture and sale of products". A decree law six months later legislated "the formation of compulsory associations of industrialists exploiting the same field of economic activity, with a view to regulating production and competition."

## CARTELS

In Germany a similar measure was passed on July 15th 1933.

Bottel, the Italian minister, claimed that such compulsory associations "must be considered as a wholly exceptional form". Meanwhile in Germany Minister of the Economy Schmitt declared: "In principle, I consider cartels and mandatory prices undesirable. If, in spite of everything, in difficult times, we have permitted and even forced the formation of a number of cartels — alas, a considerable number — it was in order to avoid considerable economic disturbances."

Schmitt probably believed this. He considered that cartels were, to quote his successor Schacht, "nothing but mutual associations for the assurance of profit" in periods of restricted demand. Soon, however, they became increasingly mechanisms for eliminating "unreliable" and

When ignorant or lying ruling class commentators tell us that fascism represents an attack on capitalism or on "private enterprise", it is just the opposite of the truth. But it is true that the fascist states intervene massively in economic life, interfering with the free operation of market forces.

Large scale state intervention is a feature of all modern capitalist economies — from 'free enterprise' America, through Italy, ruled by the Christian Democrats for 30 years, to social democratic Sweden or Norway. But fascist economic controls had a particularly brutal form. Having crushed working class organisations, the fascist state set out to boost profits overall and also to redistribute those profits among the different groups of capitalists.

Fascist economic controls did not do what fascist demagogues had promised: save the "small man" from the crushing pressure of big capital. On the contrary, as PAUL ADAMS shows in the third and last article in his series on the economic policies of fascism, they strengthened big business at the expense not only of the working class but also of the peasantry and small business.

### "Inefficient" enterprises.

Thus the number of companies having capital of between 500,000 and 1 million marks was halved in the years 1931 to 1937. In 1936/37 one sixth of all one-man enterprises were liquidated; the number of coal retailers was halved by state order. In the same years, thousands of other wholesale and retail traders were forced to close.

The big monopolists dominated the cartels, as well as the other trade and employers' associations, and the government agencies. Alfred Krupp, for instance, was head of the Reich Iron Association, the Reich Coal Association and

# How Fascism teams up with Big Business

the National Armaments Council, as well as chairman of the Rhein Westphalian Coal Syndicate and deputy chairman of the Northwest Iron-Producing Industry Group.

With the decline in the relative power of the banks over industry (brought about in large part by the government's emphasis on industrial self-financing and direct funding) and the virtual elimination of the rights of shareholders, the state was able to use this closely-knit set of organisations as a means of controlling the economy in the interest of the big profiteers.

Price control also strengthened the monopolies. As Franz Neumann puts it in his book "Behemoth", price control "compels unrationally working plants to modernise or perish, and if modernisation is impossible (for instance because of lack of capital) the sub-marginal plant is driven into the fold of the monopolistic competitors."

For price controls to be effective, the national economy had to be walled-up from the world market. War preparations strengthened this trend to attempted national self-sufficiency.

## UNEASE

When the state imposed control over foreign trade and financial transactions, it caused considerable unease among the capitalists. Those dependent on foreign trade (in consumer goods rather than heavy industry) were bound to suffer from such a policy. And the policy of national self-sufficiency meant the establishment of so-called ersatz (replacement or substitution) industries, which was only possible through forced levies on big business and was bound to lead to a rise in prices both for industry and for the consumer.

This opposition was neutralised by giving guaranteed returns on investment to big business and generous agricultural credits to the big landed proprietors.

In addition to control of prices and foreign trade, fascism introduced control over the allocation of raw

materials, credit and labour supplies. This, too, operated against the smaller undertakings. The larger ones, being mainly self-financing, often owning their own sources of supply (Krupp owned oil wells, ore mines and chemical plants) and being supplied with slave labour at government expense, gained.

Fascism instituted a highly complex system of totalitarian control and private ownership. Its problems and possibilities were outlined by the German General George Thomas, who headed the Division of Defence Economy in the High Army Command: "Still bigger tasks than the ones he has to perform in peace-time devolve upon the head of the enterprise in the war economy. It is understood that the war demands thorough planning in the use of man-power, raw material and productive capacity and thus imposes certain planning restrictions upon business. However, this kind of planned economy must never lead to a situation in which the initiative and the working impulse of industrialists are hampered by executive agencies of the authorities. Extensive restriction of free market production does not mean obstructing the entrepreneurial initiative; on the contrary, the more active, resourceful and daring the head of the enterprise, the more he will be able to fulfill his war task."

As the war commitment increased so the control regulations stiffened. In time the demands of war in both Italy and Germany meant that the heads of business had to bend to the will of the state officials responsible for the conduct of the war. The levies and increased taxes on industry were tolerable only on the assumption that the war would be won.

From beginning to end, however, fascism's challenge to big business was purely demagogic; instead of being, as it claimed to be, a weapon in the hand of the petty bourgeoisie to bring the big monopolies to heel, it was a whip in the hands of the monopolies to enslave the workers and to drive the petty bourgeoisie to even greater destitution.

THE NOISE and clangour produced by the jousting of the parties of the French Union of the Left has reached new heights over recent weeks. It has even got to the point that there are real fears that the alliance might suffer serious injury.

The most probable outcome is still a new compromise. In the meantime however the polemic between the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Left Radicals is the centre of political attention for everyone in France, including the revolutionary left.

The problem posed for revolutionaries in a situation like this is to explain clearly that neither the CP nor the SP is defending the interests of the working class, at the same time as using those proposals the CP and SP make which promise benefits to the workers (and they must make some such proposals to keep up their credibility) as a starting point for revolutionary agitation.

Simply to say "it's all hot air" would be a sectarian folly, leaving revolutionaries with nothing but passive general propaganda for workers who — not unreasonably — don't see why they should ignore even small improvements which can be won through the CP or SP. But it is necessary at the same time to keep clearly in view the fact that it is 90% hot air, and that the other 10% of real reforms will only be used to help pass off the worst betrayals.

Sadly, however, all three major revolutionary left groups in France have fallen either into sectarianism or into opportunism.

INFORMATIONS OUVRIERES, paper of the OCI (which was formerly associated with the WRP in Britain), headlines its 7th September issue "What's so mysterious?"

For the OCI, everything is clear. "Clearly the stepping-up of the splitting campaign, promoted by the CP general secretary himself on his return from holiday, was in no way improvised. It has to be understood as the French expression — in today's circumstances, marked by the imminent collapse of the 5th Republic — of one and the same world policy of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin bureaucracy, in spite of all its internal contradictions..." This policy, the OCI explains, is "Defence of all existing bourgeois regimes" ... "the monarchy in Spain, the Christian democracy in Italy, the 5th Republic in France, the Videla regime in Argentina..."

This is truly a contorted argument. The French CP has been at great pains to distance themselves from Moscow over recent years, so why should they suddenly go into reverse because of some presumed wish of the Kremlin to keep the French Right in power? And is it suggesting that a Union of the Left victory will make France no longer a bourgeois regime?

But the contorted argument has its advantages for the OCI: they can avoid any criticism of the Socialist Party, and simply keep on hailing the "Workers' United Front" which the CP is so criminally "splitting".

Some of what LUTTE OUVRIERE says about the CP-SP war of words is almost equally baffling.

The CP and SP, they insist in their editorial of 3rd September, have addressed themselves to the bosses and not the workers. "Of all the questions raised — except perhaps the minimum wage level of 2,000, 2,200 or 2,400 Francs — there is not one which, speaking frankly, directly concerns workers." The following week, LO complains that "L'Humanité (the CP paper) would like to convince workers that the CP-SP polemic concerns them."

The polemic has raised questions of nationalisations and nuclear weapons — scarcely questions of no interest to workers! But LO seems to be convinced that the only way to avoid reformism is to be blind and deaf or, at least, indifferent to everything governments and reformist parties do.

Having previously made its main watchword "no blank cheque for Mitterrand" and now finding that Marchais of the CP is saying exactly the same thing, LO refines its policy to read "the workers can't trust Marchais any more to face up to Mitterrand".

LO's line may indeed avoid spreading illusions in parliamentary reformism — but only at the expense of boosting the illusions of syndicalism and political indifference.

Indifference is the last complaint that could be levelled against ROUGE, paper of the LCR (French

# workers' ACTION

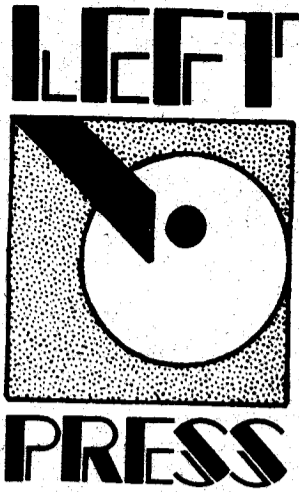
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# What the French far left says about the CP-SP clashes



sister-group of the IMG). Their enthusiasm to find a class-struggle dynamic in the CP-SP polemic has led to some scatterbrained ideas, like their proposal (14th September) for the formation of "unitary committees open to all workers who want to discuss what the programme of a CP-SP government should be..." If such workers' committees could be formed, the last thing they should be doing is discussing what advice to give to Mitterand and Marchais!

But Rouge's general line is that workers "above all, should fight for the CP and SP to ... constitute a government which takes anti-capitalist measures and commits itself to the road of workers' power." In terms that will be familiar to readers who remember the IMG's agitation in 1973-4 for a "General strike to kick the Tories out", it sometimes adds the call for a general strike to kick out the Right and bring the CP and SP to power earlier than the elections of March 1978.

For the LCR, presumably, these slogans are supposed to be a way to "expose" Mitterand and Marchais for their unwillingness to fight for socialism. In reality it is merely a way of suggesting to workers that the Union of the Left will bring socialism if only it is "pressurised" enough.

## NOT-SO-NEW C.P.

SID FRENCH's old-style Stalinist "New Communist Party" has launched its paper, the *New Worker* and held its first major public meeting in London.

From both it was clear that the NCP sees its trump card as uncritical praise of the "socialist countries".

For the British working class it has little to say other than that the CP plays down the betrayal of Jones and Scanlon and that one and a half million unemployed were caused by the EEC referendum.

The NCP time and again compares the crisis of the capitalist countries with the "crisis-free" economies of Eastern Europe and the USSR (according to Sid French, the "freest and most democratic country the world has ever seen") — as if this is anyway a strategy for the labour movement.

The NCP's meeting in the Conway Hall was like Hamlet without the

Prince: nobody even attempted to explain how and why the CPGB had degenerated from a party with "great meetings and great leaders" to a party they now call reformist. French did not explain why, if (in his own words) it is "impossible to build socialism in Britain with the strategy of the *British Road to Socialism*, the NCP had only now come into existence and had not fought against the earlier (and essentially the same) versions of it from 1951 onwards.

The nearest he got to an explanation was saying that "right wing students" had taken over the CP, and that "the more CP General Secretary McLennan makes promises to the capitalists and the Tories, the less he can mobilise his army."

But it was in 1944, Mr. French, that the CP proposed a coalition government with "progressive Tories" for after the war. The rot has very much deeper causes than a few "right wing students".

# Revolutionaries' split lets Broad Left through to win

THIS YEAR's Annual Conference of Nalgo [local government workers' union] ended with the bizarre situation that whereas only anti-pay-policy motions got onto the agenda, all of them were thrown out — leaving the NEC free to decide to support the 12-month rule and the 10% norm.

Nalgo Action News, the rank and file paper, reports this week that by the time of the next pay-round in July 1978, a married person with 2 children on Clerical One Grade (take home pay of £57.36 a week including the £6 and 5% rises) will need £19.17 a week extra to get back to pre-Social Contract living standards.

A similar person on AP3 (take-home pay £70.66) will need £27.05 more by then.

More than two thirds of Nalgo's members are on AP3 and below.

It was in this context that about 120 militants from Greater London District Nalgo met to discuss tactics in the fight against the pay policy.

However, sadly, nothing new of any value came out of the Conference: while all felt that the way forward in the pay battle is in calling a Special Conference on pay, the

Conference failed to come to any agreement on a common pay claim platform.

The Broad Left faction, led by Ivan Beavis, argued for a wage claim of 15% with a minimum of £8. In opposition to this, the Nalgo Action Group (NAG), led by the SWP, put forward its £15 flat-rate claim.

The third motion, proposed by Jeff Lever and other Socialist Challenge supporters and backed by Workers Action, called for:

- Restoration of all real wages to those of July 1975.

- Effective protection of this increase from erosion by future inflation by means of a cost of living clause.

- A minimum wage level of £60 per week for all Nalgo members.

In the event, it was the Broad Left formula which won, by a narrow margin, gaining 45 votes against 42 for Jeff Lever's and 32 for NAG's £15 flat-rate.

But the hollowness of this victory, and the whole conference, was revealed when we were told that in the previous couple of days Hackney and Tower Hamlets branches had already passed motions calling for a special conference on the

basis of a demand for £15 flat — the result of NAG having already launched its own campaign.

Nalgo's rule-book requires that 50 branches must back a specific motion within 6 weeks of the first call for a special conference.

If, as now seems likely, the Broad Left launches its own campaign for 15%/£8, we may see the militant vote being split between two separate motions, with both failing to reach the requisite 50 branches.

Of these two, NAG's is the better, giving more to the lower paid who make up two thirds of Nalgo's membership.

But even £15 won't compensate most members for the effects of the Social Contract. And it offers no protection against further inflation.

While it seems likely now that those supporting wage indexation to the cost of living will probably have to give tactical backing to the NAG motion, we must still argue for index-linked wages and a £60 minimum — and fight for these through amendments to the special conference.

GL

## CARS CONFERENCE ADOPTS A BATTLE PLAN

50 people attended the Car Workers' Conference organised by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement (CDLM) on Sunday 18th September.

Workers were there from Cowley, Longbridge and Jaguar (Coventry), and there were also delegations from Desoutters and Mulliner-Park-Ward.

The conference accepted the main points of our proposals in WA69 and 71, which included the demands for a sliding scale of wages, for a £75 minimum

wage, against the 12-month rule and for support for workers in struggle; for shop floor democracy and against corporate bargaining.

Accepted also was opposition to campaigns for import controls. However, our call for building international trade union links was turned down with the excuse that it was "pretentious".

It was decided to set up a "Cars Committee". The tasks of this committee will be to produce and circulate a bulletin, get more delegates onto

the committee, to organise another conference and publicise the demands.

The Workers' Socialist League (which dominates the CDLM) attempted to have the committee accorded the status of sub-committee of the CDLM. This move was successfully rejected, leaving the possibility of the "Cars Committee" being a fruitful forum for debate and exchange of information between revolutionary militants of different tendencies, instead of just a "front" for the WSL.

# Islington North is still seething

TROUBLE IS still brewing in Islington North Labour Party.

The chairman of Highview Ward recently died. The ensuing election provided a candidate not to the liking of the right wing supporters of MP O'Halloran. And the matter was raised at the next GMC where they tried to annul the decision by saying that the notices had not been sent out in time.

Mark Van de Weyer objected to an attempted re-vote, saying that the meeting had finished. A heated argument followed at which he was asked to leave. Soon afterwards he got a letter expelling him from the Party, which was later ratified by the Executive Committee.

The expulsion was only stopped when Frank Allaun managed to get the Labour Party NEC to decide that no expulsions should take place until the end of the inquiry presently going on into Islington North. That inquiry deals with the circumstances of the expulsion of Keith Veness, a leading left winger.

Keith Veness had given an interview to the "Islington Gutter Press" which included some nasty truths about MP Michael O'Halloran.

The EC of Islington North refused to abide by the NEC ruling in favour of Veness and said they were going ahead with his expulsion. The NEC threatened that if they continued they would be disaffiliated and they eventually agreed to drop the matter until after the inquiry.

However, the O'Halloranites haven't stopped there. Keith, Valerie Veness and Mark Van de Weyer have also been accused by O'Halloran of hitting him during a Womens Voice demonstration at his "surgery" in favour of abortion rights. O'Halloran is notorious for being an active anti-abortionist. They have responded by taking out a libel suit against him.

However, it has now been ruled that while the libel suit is pending no progress can be made to re-instate Keith Veness. The story continues...

# Not only a dogma but a guide to inaction

LAST Thursday, as every Thursday, two Workers Action supporters made their way to Tottenham Trades Hall for the meeting of our local Labour Party Young Socialists. This, however, was no routine meeting of the YS.

There was to be a guest speaker on the case of Tony Anderson, a local black youth now serving a nine-month sentence after a series of prosecutions which have led to three internal police inquiries on his treatment.

But the cause of resistance to police harassment of young blacks was to have to make its way through the most absorbent filter reformism has devised — the Militant tendency, dominant in our YS branch.

The Militant supporters tried hard to turn this into just another meeting. They turned up late, and no-one had the key to the meeting room.

After we found another room, however, the speaker described the case of Tony Anderson [see WA72] and other similar incidents which had come to light in the campaign round Tony's case. She told the YS that we could affiliate to the campaign and help set up an inquiry, not only to examine Tony's case but to become a standing inquiry into

racist harassment in Tottenham.

The Militant supporters agreed, and the speaker duly left.

Firing the opening salvo, we said that this was just the sort of campaign for the YS to get involved in. There was an immediate response: "The YS can't do anything about it because we haven't got the resources". We pointed out that if you do nothing then you will never get any resources.

But, said the Militant supporters, we have the Youth Campaign Against Unemployment, we must build for the lobby of Parliament in November.

Why should that stop us working with the Tony Anderson campaign? "I'm a Marxist" came the retort "and I only campaign on Socialist campaigns. The Tony Anderson group is reformist. I want to win people to socialism before they can go into reformist campaigns."

Coolly lighting another cigarette to hide our fuming anger, we reflected that this was after all the comrade who had told us she had picked up the YS conference documents and couldn't put them down until she read them from cover to cover.

Our spirits undaunted, we pressed on. Surely the YS should gear its

activity to what's going on outside the Trades Hall? It's not just going to be the YCAU until November. "Yes it is" came the stern reply.

"Well, what is the YS going to talk about until November? It can't be unemployment every week". "No, we are going to talk about things that matter to people, like Spain. The first of the series is going to be on Punk Rock, introduced by Bob Labi".

Just then the cry went us from the back of the room: this is all irrelevant, since the YS decided over six weeks ago what it was going to do for the next three months! And then it was "next business" ... which was to close the meeting.

The evening summed up the reasons for the stagnation of the YS nationally: the stifling effect of the "Marxist tendency", Militant, which has turned Marxism into a masterly guide to inaction. Workers Action supporters in Tottenham will nevertheless be supporting the campaign for a full and independent inquiry into the Tony Anderson affair, and continuing our battle to change Tottenham YS.

MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN

# WORKERS IN ACTION

## Leyland bosses shape up for battle

BRITISH Leyland's answer to the 9100 workers on strike for higher wages in its bus and truck division is an "interim offer" of 7.6% increase. It can, they say, be added to later according to the outcome of the national negotiations for a "corporate bargaining" system — but for the bus and truck plants, in Leyland and Chorley, on their own, they refuse to go an inch further.

At the Longbridge works last month, the bosses tried a different formula: flatly refusing to negotiate at plant level. The essence is the same: the Leyland bosses are prepared to face a rash of strikes as plant agreements expire — and to try to take them on and defeat them.

They know that the convenors and senior stewards in most plants have given no clear explanation at all to the membership about the national negotiations on "corporate bargaining" — and that gives

the bosses an advantage. A strong possibility is that they will try to go over the heads of the convenors and senior stewards and ballot Leyland workers directly on the management offer.

The failed strike at Longbridge last month gave us a taste of the sort of press campaign we could expect to come with that management tactic. It could well succeed, for the trade union leadership in the plants has presented no clear fighting alternative to corporate bargaining. (There is only one exception to this rule: the 5/293 TGWU branch at Cowley, which has produced an excellent analysis of the corporate bargaining proposals, available from F. Corti, 4 Queens Close, Botley, Oxford).

A first shot in the campaign was the statement last week that no more strikes could be tolerated — allegedly from the electricians in

Leyland. When the electricians' union bureaucracy produced that statement, they certainly did not consult the rank and file electricians, many of whom think very differently.

The Leyland bosses' strategy will not go through without a great deal of resistance that is certain. The danger is that the resistance will be so fragmented and disunited that the bosses can beat it down section by section.

The major dispute in the offing is the toolmakers'. In March this year they struck for the right for Leyland toolmakers to negotiate separately instead of being covered by the general negotiations in each plant. Eventually they won a promise that the union-management "working party" would look into their grievances. Getting no progress from the working party, representatives of 3000 toolmakers (covering large sect-

ions of Leyland, but not, for example, Rovers) withdrew from the working party and set up their own unofficial committee.

They have now said that they intend to strike for the same demand as they had in March — from October 28th, just two days before management's proposed deadline for acceptance of the package they have put to the working party. Despite some potentially divisive aspects, the toolmakers' battle deserves every Leyland worker's support.

Meanwhile at Solihull Rover workers have voted a second time against accepting the imposition of night work. The stewards' committee has come up with the proposal that, instead of night work, each worker should do six 12-hour shifts per fortnight, a proposal that has to be opposed by any socialist because of its implications in terms of fatigue, safety, and effects on organisation. The stewards have coupled this proposal with the statement that if the 12-hour shift system does not produce the output management want, then they will accept a night shift.

However, this dispute has been put off for now by the management dropping their demand for night work.

At Longbridge the inspectors have given notice of strike action from October 10th for their demands for parity with direct production workers; but it does not seem likely that this will develop into a major dispute.

Militants in Longbridge are pressing for all-out strike action by other workers for their own claims at the same time as the toolmakers come out. At Rover Solihull there is another proposal coming forward to create some fighting unity: a motion is to be presented to the stewards' committee calling for a conference of all Leyland shop stewards to plan a campaign against corporate bargaining. These moves could help pave the way for a representative and accountable combine committee, elected from the shop floor throughout Leyland, to lead a coordinated fightback against the bosses' strategy.

JIM DENHAM

## If Mackies can defy the rules, so can others

WITH THE dockers and the Chrysler workers settling under Phase 2, the strike at Jaguar Coventry defeated and the one at Longbridge aborted, the wages struggle has now found a strange focus.

On the one side, there is the Labour Government, striving to impose its Phase 3 which is not a Phase 3: the 10% and 12 month rules. It has withdrawn export credit guarantees from the Belfast engineering firm Mackies because

it has granted 22% increases to its workers.

On the other side, there are, of course, the Mackies workers and their unions; but also the Mackies bosses, sullenly defiant, the Confederation of British Industry, the Tory party — and the Vietnamese government, which has offered to help Mackies with the financial problems which may arise through the Government's action in relation to a textile factory being built in Vietnam.

Mackies is a rock solid Northern Ireland Protestant firm, with an almost entirely Protestant workforce. The management conceded the increase because they found that their low rates were making it difficult for them to get skilled labour. Accustomed as the Protestant bourgeoisie of Northern Ireland are to being propped up by British imperialism (Harland and Wolffs shipyard would have closed years ago if it were anywhere else) they probably find their caste arrogance offended when the Government tells them to get into line for the sake of the general interests of the ruling class.

From this falling-out among thieves, however, all workers, Catholic and Protestant, Irish and British, stand to gain. The government should be forced to drop its sanctions against Mackies. And every employer who hides behind the 12-month or 10% rules should be told: if Mackies can defy these rules, so can you.

## SOCIALIST TEACHERS MUST LOOK TO RANK AND FILE

NEXT WEEKEND (1st/2nd October) the Socialist Teachers' Alliance holds its first Annual General Meeting.

The STA was formed about a year ago out of a split provoked by the extinction of democracy in the teachers' grouping dominated by the SWP — "Rank & File".

Whilst the STA has managed to recruit over 200 members, it still faces serious problems.

The main (though not majority) tendency in the STA is the International Marxist Group, and the STA has reflected the IMG's attempts to build a "class struggle left wing". In practice, this has meant an evasion of clear political decisions, in favour of lowest-common-denominator policies. Whilst, in contradiction to "Rank & File", the STA is very 'democratic', it is the 'democracy' of the talking shop, where everyone has their say and that's where it stops.

For example, the policy of cost-of-living wage increases has never been voted on because it will "put people off". In the short term this may be a good method of holding

together diverse left tendencies; in the longer term it leads to nowhere.

The other main fault of the STA has been its overriding focus on the official channels of the NUT. The STA discusses rank and file action, but its 'campaigning' amounts to debating what resolution to put to annual NUT conference, the possibility of occasional special-issue conferences, etc. The STA has been most concerned with elections to union positions and with how best to get "Rank & File" to cooperate with the STA.

At present, the STA remains a federalist talking shop, proposing left reformist alternatives to the present NUT leadership. If the conference challenges this status quo, it might possibly mean a reduction in the membership of the STA. But it is only on a comprehensive fighting strategy that we can progress towards building the rank and file movement which can provide a serious challenge to the union bureaucracy beyond the time of conferences and elections.

PETE FIRMIN

## EVENTS

Small ads are free for labour movement events. Paid ads (including ads for publications) 8p per word, £5 per column inch — payment in advance. Send copy to *Events*, 49 Carnac St, London SE27, to arrive by Friday for inclusion in the following week's paper.

FRIDAY 30 SEPTEMBER. Planning meeting for the 1978 Bloody Sunday Commemoration demonstration. 7pm at the Northumberland Arms, Kings Cross Rd, London. Further information from J Fitzpatrick, 164 Amhurst Rd, London E8

SATURDAY 1 OCTOBER. Fund-raising party for Lewisham anti-fascist and Brixton anti-Jubilee defence committees. From 8pm at 36 St Alphonsus Rd, London SW4.

SATURDAY-SUNDAY 1-2 OCTOBER. Socialist Teachers' Alliance annual conference. From 10.30am each day at NUFTO Hall, Jockeys Fields, London WC1. Registration 50p.

MONDAY 3 OCTOBER. Campaign against Youth Unemployment lobby of Labour Party conference. Coach leaves Victoria BR station 9am.

MONDAY 3 OCTOBER. United Troops Out Movement meeting at Labour Party conference. Speakers will include Phil Flynn (Dublin trade union leader), Ken Livingston (prospective parliamentary candidate, Hampstead), Mervyn Metcalf (Coventry Trades Council), and a Labour MP. 6.30pm at the Norfolk Continental Hotel, Kings Road, Brighton.

TUESDAY 4 OCTOBER. Cardiff Workers' Action meeting, with a guest speaker from the International Communist League on their newly published Manifesto. 7.30pm at the Rhymney Hotel, Adam St, Cardiff.

WEDNESDAY 5 OCTOBER. Abertion rights lobby of Labour conference. 12 noon at Conference Centre, Kings Rd. Coaches from London leave Hudson Place, Victoria, at 10am (price £1.50).

THURSDAY 6 OCTOBER. Granwicks support meeting at Labour Party conference. Speakers from strike committee and local UPW, plus Arthur Scargill, Dennis Skinner MP, and Paul Franklin (Brent East CLP conference delegate). Organised by Brent East CLP. 7.30pm, Grand Metropolitan Hotel, Brighton

THURSDAY 6 OCTOBER. "Fight Racism! Stop the Nazi Front!" Public meeting sponsored by Edinburgh Anti-racist committee, Edinburgh Central LPYS, and the Anti-Fascist Defence Campaign. Speakers invited. 7.30pm at Nelson Halls, St Leonards Street, Southside, Edinburgh.

SATURDAY 8 OCTOBER. Nottingham Divisional Young Teachers Day School on Equal Opportunities for Women. 11am to 5pm at the Teachers' Centre, Cranmer Street.

TUESDAY 11 OCTOBER. International Tribunal on Britain's Crimes against the Irish people: planning meeting. 7.30pm at the Northumberland Arms, 141 Kings Cross Rd, London N1.

SATURDAY 15 OCTOBER. Midlands Socialist Feminist Conference. 10am to 6pm at Lanchester Poly, Coventry. Registration £1 c/o Carolyn Pickering, 37 Gavelton Rd, Leamington Spa, Warks.

FRIDAY-SUNDAY 21-23 OCTOBER. "Critique" conference on "The 60th anniversary of the Russian Revolution and the World Crisis". Registration £2.50; contact Critique, 9 Poland St, London W1.

TUESDAY 25 OCTOBER. Lambeth Trades Council support meeting for Granwicks. At Lambeth Town Hall.

SATURDAY 26 NOVEMBER. Working Women's Charter day school on women and the trade unions, Friends Meeting House, Church St, Reading. Details from Anita Turnbull, Flat 2, 3 Coleridge Road, London N8.

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