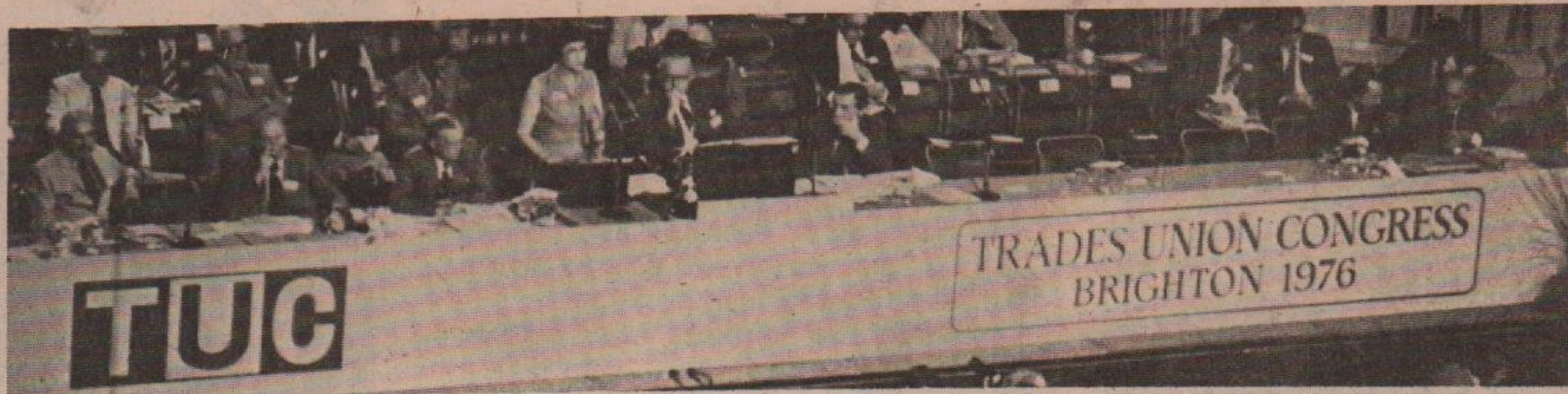


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FORTNIGHTLY PAPER OF THE WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

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TUC - STRIKEBREAKERS!



The power of the working class, though muted in this period by the betrayals of its leadership, has now opened a jagged crack in the wage-cutting social contract drawn up by Jack Jones and the bureaucrats of the TUC with the Labour government.

The majority vote for strike action by 58,000 seamen — one of the smaller sections of the TUC — not only shook the employers and the stability of the pound, but threatened the very existence of the Labour government.

LOGIC

The vote drew out into the open as never before the logic of the reactionary policies of the reformist leaders of the TUC. As the strike deadline approached the confrontation came not with the shipowners as in the past, nor even with the Labour government as in 1966, but with Jones, Scanlon and the General Council of the TUC.

Massive pressure was applied to the NUS negotiators. Jones is quoted in the *Sunday Times* as asking General Secretary Slater if he was prepared to destroy his union, the economy and the Labour government.

SMASH

This can only be an open threat by Jones that if the seamen took action he would set out to smash the NUS as a union.



Central to this was the threat to expel the NUS from the TUC. This step would then have been used as a pretext for arguing that the seamen were "no longer in the labour movement" — a label now attached to any opponents of the TUC bureaucracy. And this would have been followed by issuing instructions to dockers and transport drivers to work scab ships. Slater, who has been a consistent supporter of the capitalist arguments used to back up the social contract was in no position to resist this pressure.

Had he opposed the social contract from the start and adopted a clear position of defending the living standards of his members through demanding a

sliding scale of wages to keep pace with inflation, he would have gone in better equipped.

The betrayal of Slater using his casting vote to call off the strike is that his action prevented the seamen from smashing the social contract there and then.

BATTERED

But battered with arguments about the economy and the pound and the need to 'save the Labour government' at all costs, he was in no position to see that the strike-breaking policies of the TUC would have stood little

chance of success. Already key sections of workers were declaring support for the seamen.

These solidarity moves by workers reflected the strength of the working class, as did the seven NUS Executive members who voted for strike action right to the end.

Indeed the problem for Jones and Murray from the start was that they were not in reality confronting Slater and the NUS Executive — who had accepted the 4½% deal — but the working class behind them, forcing them forward.

NOT ACCEPTED

Their problem is that the working class have not accepted the 4½%. It was only accepted on their behalf by the union bureaucrats.

There is no doubt that the militancy which is now emerging around fringe benefit claims would have emerged, and will still emerge, in the fight for wages once a lead is given.

It demonstrates that the miners would have voted massively in favour of a fight against the 4½% if their executive had recommended rejection and not acceptance.

Such is the hostility to the 4½% and the pressure within the working class that even an extreme right-winger, Terry Duffy, newly elected as Midlands

Executive Councilman for the AUEW was forced to point out at the weekend that:

"You have no idea of the hostility I have already encountered from men reluctant to swallow pay restraint for another year."

DUFFY

And this hostility forced Duffy to declare also that:

"If the seamen are awarded fringe benefits, my members will want each and every one as well."

In excess of 5 million workers are now lined up to pursue fringe benefit claims on the lines of the seamen.

Jones' and Murray's attempt to manipulate the working class into wage cuts has blown up in their faces. The fringe benefit manoeuvre, seen by them as a means of saving the social contract, has in fact given the working class a means through which it can express its resistance.

Murray's statement, hours after the strike was called off, that "the social contract has stood the test" already sounds somewhat hollow.

ENORMOUS

The lessons of this period for the working class on the question of leadership are enormous. That

Continued on back page col 4

GENERAL STRIKE IN SOUTH AFRICA

BLACKS AND COLOURED IN JOINT STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID

The black revolt in South Africa continues to gather strength even in the face of increasingly indiscriminate murder and repression from the racist authorities.

In Johannesburg the second general strike in a month lasted three days and was responded to by about three quarters of all black workers in the city.

The police reacted by a campaign of mass arrests. In Soweto and Alexandra (Johannesburg's main black suburbs) well over 1,000 workers were arrested in house to house searches in which anyone not at work or school was taken into custody.

Some of the most ghastly events in the campaign of police terror occurred when Soweto

school students occupied their schools in protest against Kissinger's visit.

Police fired on them indiscriminately, murdering on their own admission ten students.

Many others received either bullet wounds or head wounds from rifle butts.

ADMIT

The official estimates admit that over fifty coloured demonstrators have been killed in the last two weeks in Cape Town and the 25 other towns and cities in Cape Province to which the revolt has now spread.

Last week also the revolt for the first time reached Natal, the only one of South Africa's four provinces until then still unaffected.

In Durban and Port Elizabeth marches of several hundred school students were arrested en masse by the police.

The revolt, then, is now nationwide and has moved completely out of the control, not only of the racist government, but also of those who have posed as leaders of the black South Africans.

The regime has no answer to the movement apart from murderous repression because it has never permitted the development of any significant layer of reformist leaders who might be able to play their treacherous role of diverting the mass movement into compromise and defeat.

Only in the coloured community in Cape Province did any such

Continued on back page col 1

BRITISH LEYLAND

Mirror

No. 46 September 15th 1976

KEEP WORKING!

A message from Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon

UNION CHIEFS Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon today make a dramatic appeal to every employee in British Leyland to 'remain at work and utilise the appropriate dispute procedure wherever difficulties exist or may arise.'

...in the trade union movement...

Every month's quality month in the Mirror

Car chief urges: Think of the other 120,000 people in the Group

EMPLOYEES in Leyland Cars are urged by their managing director David Whitaker to back the year's own particular drive and complete the Group's 120,000 follow-up programme and complete the Group's 120,000 follow-up programme and complete the Group's 120,000 follow-up programme...

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

SPAIN Contempt For 'Reforms'

The hundreds of thousands of workers who went on strike in the Euskadi (Basque) region last week exemplified the contempt felt throughout the Spanish working class for the Suarez regime's proposals for constitutional reform.

The vast Euskadi strikes were sparked off by the murder of a demonstrator by the police on September 8th.

The pressure against the authorities is so strong that even the members of the local councils (largely appointed by the fascist regime) have been forced to protest.

Many of them have resigned en bloc, demanding the disarmament of all police present at demonstrations or the resignation of the Cabinet.

Elsewhere in Spain major industrial action has developed among

metalworkers, building workers and the air traffic controllers, who last week refused to cooperate in the movement of an especially large number of military aircraft.

Many new disputes are boiling up as the period of renegotiation of wage contracts approaches.

While the workers take action, the leaders of the opposition Democratic Coordination, (in which the Communist and Socialist Party leaders collaborate with the Christian Democrats and other bourgeois parties) held their first authorised meeting in Madrid and repeated their readiness to talk compromise with the fascist government.

But the continued manifest militancy of the Spanish workers on one side and the intransigence of the fascists on the other show just how impossible such a compromise is.



Members of the fascist 'bunker' at Franco's funeral

The constitutional "reforms" which the Suarez cabinet tremblingly unveiled last week prove to be almost identical to those put forward by Arias Navarro four

months ago.

They suggest a general election before June 1977, (based on universal suffrage) to a two-house parliament with powers to change the



constitution.

But its powers will still be restricted by the appointed Council of the Realm; most workers' parties will be banned from participation in the elections; the powers of the parliament over the government are not specified; and some of the upper house (which would have considerable power) are to be appointed.

It still remains to be seen whether even such measures will be passed by the necessary two-thirds majority of the Cortes (the present largely appointed "parliament") or accepted by the army leaders, who were reported to be "discontented" after Suarez discussed the proposals with them.

The regime's "reformist" stance is a fraud and the militant workers are showing through their actions that they understand that.

TURKEY General Strike

300,000 workers in the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Unions (CRWU) are now on strike in Turkey demanding the resignation of the National Front government and the abolition of the State Security Courts set up to repress the working class.

This is the latest stage of a developing struggle in which the bourgeoisie has pressed forward with renewed attacks on the working class.

ARMED

On September 5th this took the form of an armed confrontation in Elazig between fascists and left wingers in which four people were killed and forty wounded. Fascists went on to destroy the headquarters of trade unions, left-wing parties and the bourgeois democratic Republican Popular Party.

The fascists have moved into action in response to a growing resistance within the working class to the erosion of real wages by inflation.

Within the unions this has brought increasing affiliations to the CRWU from unions which have split from the right-wing reformist Confederation of Turkish Workers Unions, and which are pressured by their members into fighting to improve living standards.

The CRWU as a result has been forced into a campaign against the state security courts, which during the 1973-75 period successfully exploited the pretext of the Cyprus war to stamp out a number of major wages strikes.

Though the courts' influence declined in late 1975 and the beginning of this year, the ruling class

is now attempting to reestablish their power and in particular enforce a series of measures which will put an end to free wage bargaining - including:

*Legislation of wages, prices and incomes.

*Ending local wage bargaining, and imposition of centralised negotiation.

*Set up an employers union to conduct all negotiations on behalf of capitalism.

*The setting up of a joint lock-out fund between the employers.

*Stopping all payment to striking workers.

Despite the sweeping nature of these attacks and the wave of fascist violence, the reformist union confederation has refused to join the CRWU in fighting the courts and demanding the resignation of the National Front government.

Indeed in July at the CRWU-controlled Tofar car factory in Bursa, members of the reformist confederation actually joined with fascists in attacking a group of workers who refused to take their leaflets. This attack brought 30,000 workers onto the streets demanding the government resign.

And in Zonguldak where fascists killed a militant worker, 1,000 workers stormed out of work, seized three fascists and killed them.

Clearly the situation demands the setting up of organised workers defence squads, and the broadest possible united action between workers and peasants in support of the general strike.

The need is now for the building of a Trotskyist leadership with a programme to take this struggle forward.

Fuller Coverage Next Edition



IRELAND strikes against IRA laws

Report from Crossmaglen

Our last issue referred to the anti-Republican, anti-working class legislation now being passed in the South of Ireland.

Already there has been widespread opposition to this legislation - mainly from workers in the construction industry, where unemployment is rampant.

On September 2nd, 800 workers from Tara Mines near Navan struck and marched through the town.

Shortly afterwards workers at the Syntex site near Ennis, and at the Asahi site near Killala downed tools and demonstrated against this pernicious legislation.

The executives of several unions here - notably ASTMS, the National Engineering and Electrical Trade Union (NEETU) and the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers Union (AGTWU) - have passed motions of opposition to the Bills.

Indeed, the Waterford branches of the ATGWU have called on former official Tom Kyne - now a deputy in the Free State parliament

- to vote against the Bills.

Whether the unions involved use their industrial strength against this legislation remains to be seen.

So far, no political organisation in Ireland has offered any effective opposition to the Bills.

Without exception - from the Provos to the Stalinist Communist Party of Ireland - all groups have bemoaned this "erosion of civil liberties."

No group has yet offered any programme which concretely links the anti-imperialist struggle in the North with Southern resistance to this legislation.

And, significantly, no group has offered any programme for workers in the fight to maintain jobs and living standards.

The opportunities exist for building a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Ireland - but so do the difficulties.

But only by facing up to, and overcoming those difficulties will the so-called Irish problem be solved. Failure to do that can only mean further repression and the crippling of Irish workers - North and South.

S.AFRICA Leyland Attacks Black Union

The management of British Leyland has refused to give union recognition to the Metal and Allied Workers' Union, a union of black workers in South Africa - where Leyland employs 800 black workers in its subsidiary company.

Leyland says recognition would damage its business until "other progressive employers" in South Africa also begin to recognise black workers' unions.

The refusal was given in a letter to the TGWU and AUEW which had both urged recognition.

The decision did not, of course, stop Jones and Scanlon from deepening their collaboration with the Leyland management by issuing their joint appeal against strikes in the company newspaper.

While we of course oppose the presence of a Leyland-owned

workers by other such British and foreign banks and monopolies, we must support every struggle against these employers by the Africans themselves.

Leyland's scandalous attack on black workers fighting for their basic rights must therefore be given maximum publicity in TGWU and AUEW Branches in Leyland, and the union leaders forced to launch an active fight on the question.

A small but welcome step in the fight for active solidarity with South Africa's workers was taken last week when the General and Municipal Workers' Union called on its members in Pilkington's to black any orders normally supplied by Pilkington's South African subsidiary, Armour Plate Glass, where workers are now in dispute.

This black must be rigorously enforced and with decisive leadership could be the beginning of a wider campaign of militant solidar-

New Zealand

THE PROTESTS BY New Zealand's working class against the visit of a United States nuclear warship approached general strike proportions last week. Members of all the major unions participated in stoppages against the visit.

Behind this immediate protest lies mounting anger throughout the New Zealand labour movement against the Tory government's savage wage controls.

The government's response to the anti-US protests was to strengthen the already draconian measures it plans to introduce to attack trade union rights.

It now intends to make all strikes illegal except those on health or safety grounds or in support of an annual official wage claim.

Unions and individual workers participating in political, solidarity or unofficial strikes would be fined. Leaders of such strikes would be barred from union office and the government would have power to order workers to end strikes.

This amounts to nothing less than an attempt to destroy the trade union movement.

Militant workers now face one overwhelmingly important task - to force their reluctant union leaders into calling an indefinite general strike to force the Tory government out of office.

Argentina

IN SPITE OF THE widespread arrest, murder, torture and kidnapping of its leaders, Argentina's working class has begun to show that its fighting strength has still not been sapped by the appalling repression.

On September 5th, reportedly under the leadership of the underground General Federation of Labour in the Resistance (CGTR), the Argentinian car industry was brought to a halt for a week in the first major strike since the military coup on March 24th.

When some General Motors workers remained on strike beyond the planned week of action their plant was immediately occupied by the marines - a sample of the methods Videla's government is prepared to use against the exercise of workers' rights.

The main demand of the strikers was for a rise in wages which in real terms had fallen in August to only 50% of their level at the end of 1975.

The car worker's average monthly wage is about £30. The 12% increase granted to all Argentinian workers last month will

MAO

THE PASSING OF A REVOLUTIONARY GENERATION



Mao Tse-tung (third from left) with other leaders of the Autumn Harvest Uprising, 1927.

The death of Mao Tse-tung on 9th September marks the end of a major phase in the Chinese Revolution. Mao led the most important upsurge of the oppressed masses of the world since the Russian Revolution. He will be remembered down the generations for his role in bringing forward the Chinese peasantry and working class from centuries of feudal barbarism, from capitalist militarism and imperialist exploitation.

But how far did Mao take this process? His revolution was constrained by the narrowness of its social base, and the rigidity of its nationalism.

Mao led the Chinese masses along a revolutionary road, but his method and his practice placed a limit upon the distance he, or they, could travel.

The death of Mao, following closely on that of Chou En-lai, political organiser of the Chinese CP,

and Chu Teh, its greatest military politician, marks the passing of a revolutionary generation.

But it is necessary to go beyond the nauseating hagiography of their admirers and the counter-revolutionary cynicism of their detractors to study their development and their heritage.

We must say first that the practice of 'socialism in one country' has stultified the political development of the Chinese

Revolution. Reliance on a peasant focus has limited its social base and economic development.

The Stalinised party has created a rigid bureaucratic structure with few anti-capitalist credentials, and no reliance on the self-activity of the masses.

Mao and his companions have left behind a closeted bureaucratic elite who look to the mobilisation of the masses solely within limits set by themselves. They have left behind a limited and lop-sided economic development masked under phrases about 'self-reliance' while satellites sing out 'The East Is Red' in the upper atmosphere. They instigated the political line of the Indonesian CP, hundreds of thousands of whose members were murdered, and actively supported the suppression of the revolutionary youth of Ceylon.

They maintain relations of warm friendship with every reactionary blackguard, even stooping as low as Edward Heath and Richard Nixon.

Yet Mao was not, like the Stalin he professed to admire, a conscious gravedigger of revolution. He led a great revolutionary struggle, sometimes despite his own political line, and at times in direct opposition to it.

Born in 1893, Mao was just old enough to welcome the bourgeois revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen against the old imperial oligarchy.

He was then inspired by the proletarian internationalism of the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia.

REVOLUTION

Mao was one of countless millions around the world inspired by the revolution of Lenin and Trotsky to turn to the traditions of Marxism for methods of struggle against local and particular forms of exploitation.

The slow progress of Chinese Marxism can be gathered from the fact that the *Communist Manifesto* was not even translated into Chinese until 1920, and from the largely student orientation of the May Fourth 1919 movement, expressed by Mao in a poem of the period:

During those crowded months and years of endeavour,
All of us students together and all of us young,
Our bearing was proud, our bodies strong,
Our ideals true to a scholar spirit
Just and upright, fearless and frank,
We pointed the finger at our land,
We praised and condemned through our writings,
And those in high positions we counted no more than dust.

This somewhat aimless attitude of youthful revolt came into contact with a form of Marxism that owed more to the mechanical conceptions of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer than to the dialectical materialism developed against Hegel through Marx and Lenin.

It was a Marxism that saw rigid 'stages' of social development, and not the dialectical relationship of class development and revolutionary struggle.

VOLUNTARISM

The 'voluntarism' that many capitalist commentators have seen in Mao was less an attempt to look at the objective and material basis for class consciousness, than to inspire by moral exhortation and appeals to an almost religious doctrine of self-denial.

It was a tragedy for the Chinese Communists that they only began to look seriously at questions of revolutionary theory and practice at a time when the Stalinised leadership of Lenin's Comintern was beginning to look away from the principles of revolutionary struggle and trying to win friends and influence people in such places as the British trade union bureaucracy and the Chinese national bourgeoisie.

Yet in China the national bourgeoisie under the leadership of the Kuo Min Tang had only the most effete and temporary role in history. It flickered into existence with its revolution in 1911, but it

was never able to unify the country or to independently develop its economic resources.

The DMT, especially after it came under the control of Chiang Kai-shek in the mid-20s, was never able to put an end to the influence of the feudal warlords, or to push back the incursions of international imperialism.

Yet it was to this class, and to the historically backward KMT that the leaders of the Chinese CP were first directed. To take a case in point, Mao himself was in the national leadership of both movements, and even retained his position in the KMT after he had lost it in the Communist Party.

NATIONAL MOVEMENT

The CP obviously had to take part in the national movement, but from the start it denied itself the right to independent policy or initiative, and thus only provided the backbone for a movement which had none of its own.

This policy proved a disaster. In the 1927 Revolution against the warlords and the remnants of the old feudal order, the Communists were by far the best fighters, and took over power in many of the big cities, notably Shanghai.

Then they were turned upon and murdered in their thousands by the KMT, Chou En-lai only escaped by minutes, and Mao by being in a remote part of the countryside.

If the KMT had for a time, thanks to the policies of Stalin, defeated the first upsurge of the Chinese proletariat, they were never then able to confront the economic and social problems that inevitably faced any Chinese government.

In particular, they were impotent against the Japanese invasion of three Northern provinces, which began in 1931.

There can be nothing but admiration for the great achievement of the Long March of 1934-5, when 100,000 soldiers marched 6000 miles to a safe haven. Only 20,000 survived.

This great feat of revolutionary warfare had a number of important political consequences.

Mao and his supporters were confirmed in the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, and the main political basis for this was in an exclusive turn to the peasantry.

From the point of view of revolutionary Marxism, it was inevitable that the peasantry would play a decisive role in the Chinese Revolution, and Chen Tu-hsiu, supporter of Trotsky and former CP leader came round to this view also.

However, Mao went beyond a turn to the peasantry, to the exclusion of the working class. He consistently held back the working class from action, both before and after the CP came to power.

RESTRICTED

This narrowed the social base of the revolution, and restricted its ability to go beyond the capitalist stage. The conditions under which capitalism was finally overthrown will be dealt with in more detail in the second article in this series.

A further restriction could be seen in the method of party building during the time when the CCP was largely confined to its base area in the Yenan part of Shensi province.

It was a successful military machine, rather than a Party in the tradition of Lenin that emerged from this, a bureaucratic military command structure, whose mobilisation could of necessity only be within the limits set by its leaders.



Young communist army volunteers in North China, 1937
Bottom: Chichin Mountain on the route of the Long March, 1934-35.

In any case, they were more concerned to finish the job and wipe out the Communists and their supporters.

This was the most desperate and heroic period in the history of the Chinese CP.

Fearing by the warlords, hated by the Japanese, and continually harassed and attacked by the Kuo Min Tang, the Communists nevertheless built up enough support to survive as a serious political force.

Even the most stalwart revolutionary fighter in the West today has not had to put up with a thousandth part of the terrible deprivations of the Communist heroes of those days.

The Party-builder Liu Shao-chi represented traditions that came into ultimate conflict with the revolutionary process.

Neither could the military radicals represented by Lin Piao keep within the limits Mao sought to impose.

There was much talk in later years of the 'spirit of Yenan', which had a positive side in terms of heroism and self-sacrifice.

But it also brought with it the creation of a military-bureaucratic elite who needed its commands to be obeyed and ruthlessly suppressed all opposition.

Continued Next Edition.

The Workers Socialist League

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SPOTLIGHT

ON
REFORMISM

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



Weighell



Jones



Scanlon and Bassnett



Murray

TUC FLIES THE FLAG

By DI PARKIN

When the "Nation" (ie the ruling class) is threatened, the TUC and Labour leaders join hands with the employers to attack the "enemy".

This is why "unity" and "the nation" are as much today's TUC banners as they were in war time. Britain is now seen by the union leaders as besieged by 'foreigners'.

But they claim, all is not yet lost:

"There is already much going for Britain, so long as we are prepared to make the effort", cried Len Murray at the TUC Conference at Brighton.

Against the villains of the piece — the dreaded Japanese and of course the "Trotskyist bootboys" — only the most fervent and dedicated class collaboration, implied Murray and his colleagues, can offer any protection.

"NATIONAL SOLUTIONS"

Accordingly the "national" solutions offered by the TUC merely echo the arguments of the employers:

"The only way to restore full employment and rising living standards is by expansion of manufacturing industry", Murray informed us. And for this "we" need investment and exports to keep the 'foreigners' at bay.

This nationalist fervour was the keynote of the TUC's central debate on economic policy. And it was the erstwhile 'left' voice of AUEW President Scanlon which put the anti-internationalist message most concretely. Speaking after Murray had launched the attack on the Japanese, Scanlon stressed:

"We are not asking for a reversal of the present policy that Britain can only get out of its current ills on a basis of efficient manufacturing industries. We are asking for a more sustained and vigorous implementation of that strategy. No more shilly-shallying, no more delays: the government should introduce selective import controls!"

SCANDALOUS

Through arguments like these, linked to his scandalous call in the *Leyland Mirror* for workers to allow management to get away with anything rather than impede production, Scanlon peddles the illusion that the British working class can be somehow magically saved by preserving their main enemy — British capitalists!

As to the workers of the rest of the world, Scanlon spared them one thought:

"Some of these countries have labour standards we'd never descend to."

Scanlon's nationalist and class collaborationist policies, however, are the reverse of what is required to improve the "labour standards"

anywhere else in the world.

There is as Lenin said only *one* way to combat national hatred and rivalry:

"organising the class of the oppressed for a struggle against the class of the oppressors in every single country, and by the amalgamation of such national working class organisations into a single international working class army for combating international capital".

COLLABORATION

The policy the TUC leaders put forward at Brighton however advocated *collaboration* with the oppressors in the interests of *increasing* national rivalries.

In this atmosphere the platitudes uttered by the bureaucrats on other days had a hollow ring.

The union leaders made it clear that their complicity in the Labour government's Tory policies was in practice unconditional:

"What if the government does not heed what we are saying? We will still fulfil our bargain" announced Scanlon, while Jones stressed that: "we have no intention of weakening the government's position."

There were *no* 'buts', and no reservations about government policy. Many noises were made about "unacceptable" levels of unemployment — which somehow all TUC leaders have managed to accept. But action against government policy was labelled "unnecessary" by Murray:

"There are stoppages of work which should not need to take place and that profit no one including the people involved in them" he preached.



The 'socialist' approach to import controls.

No doubt he meant such "unnecessary" objectives as the defence of jobs (Export Packing Services, Banbury, and in the social services), for equal pay (Trico), in defence of shop floor trade unionism against victimisation (BL Cowley) and, most unnecessary of all, if we believe Murray, for higher wages (the Seamen).

On wages, Congress voted down the amended resolution calling for a return to free collective bargaining

from August 1st 1977. Yet Murray, carefully avoiding the use of the word "free", felt obliged to make gestures towards a return to wage bargaining:

"Voluntary collective bargaining provides a continuous system of adjustment...."

In other words some flexibility helps defuse tension and make the collaborationist role of the bureaucrat easier. But Murray was firm on wanting to give the *major* say on wages to the state.

Other delegates similarly saw collective bargaining only as a tool for tinkering with the system — raising differentials and the like. None mentioned the crucial importance of free collective bargaining as a weapon of the working class in fighting the employers.

The capitulation by the TUC was equally great on the public spending cuts. Geoffrey Drain of NALGO dolefully spoke of the situation; yet it was a position he was at heart ready to accept.

"Public expenditure", announced Drain, "has come to play a key part in the controlling of the economy. We acknowledge this last role; it's going to stay with us."

LINE

But of course much public spending is *not* going to "stay with us", but is to be slashed. Drain, however, simply accepts the line that cuts in welfare spending are necessary in order to boost the manufacturing sector. (How out of work teachers could possibly aid the manufacture of books, unemployed nurses the production of aerospace engines, or 1½ million unemployed workers the produc-

STUDENTS FACE FRESH ATTACKS



This week, the start of the academic year, thousands of students will come face to face with the effects of the continuing attacks on education and other social services.

Course books will not appear in libraries due to lack of money, new equipment will not be bought and many options stopped through lack of staff.

All of this caused directly by the Labour government's cuts in public spending.

At the same time soaring rents and continued price rises will again cut deep into grants. With high graduate unemployment and 30,000 qualified teachers on the dole, students all over the country are facing a grim year ahead.

CUTS

The cuts in public spending are the results of the Labour government's attempts to divert resources away from the social services to bolster up private industry.

However these cuts have only been pushed through by the betrayals of the present trade union leaders who do everything in their power to stop the growing opposition to the cuts within the working class breaking through the social contract.

Yet this active class collaboration is not confined to the trade union leaders. Student teachers will remember with bitterness the role of the Broad Left dominated National Union of Students last year.

OCCUPATIONS

The NUS leadership refused to take up the question of the cuts in public spending especially those in education.

Yet by the end of the year the harsh reality of 20,000 qualified teachers on the dole brought student teachers in Scotland into college occupations.

This action spread throughout the country centering on the demand of reducing class sizes to 30 to provide employment to those unemployed teachers.

In the face of this militancy the NUS executive refused to call on other colleges and universities to support the teachers.

They then reversed the decision of the June 5th delegate conference of those colleges in occupation which called for full support for the lobby of Parliament against unemployment on June 16th, called by the Assembly on Unemployment.

The students were split as a result and thousands were diverted onto their own lobby the day

RIGHT TO WORK MARCH

While the TUC leadership were meeting in Brighton this month to put the seal of acceptance on an extension of the Social Contract, 500 highly publicised unemployed workers and youth marched from London to Brighton to demand the Right to Work.

In a period in which the fight against unemployment, lacking leadership, has remained sporadic and localised, such a national mobilisation might have played an important role in taking the fight forward.

"RANK AND FILE"

But in the event the 500 marchers were led by the International Socialists (who, under the guise of their 'Rank and File' front, organised the march) into the blind alley of protest, publicity stunts and adventurism.

The IS leadership has travelled this road so many times before it knows no other direction. And each time they set off afresh they lead a different group of workers into eventual disillusionment and cynicism.

There is no doubt of course that the size of the march reflected the willingness to fight which exists within the working class. Throughout the country young workers — many of whom have been without

jobs for up to two years, are looking for direction in the struggle against unemployment.

The IS provided them with no political direction, since it has none to offer.

So while TUC delegates were urged to "fight for the right to work", they were given no indication of how this was to be done.

Indeed the main policy that did emerge from IS — the call for the 35-hour week — was so much a reformist demand that it was easily passed by the TUC, where right-wingers such as Jack Jones voted for it!

The other main demand is an overtime ban, under conditions where many workers, because of the refusal of the trade union leadership to defend living standards are working overtime to make up a living wage. This demand ends up blaming the working class.

On their arrival in Brighton to lobby the TUC Congress the marchers varied their chant with the demand for "the right to speak".

Unfortunately, however, the IS has not shown itself too eager to allow the same right to other tendencies within the working class.

In stage-managing the march, the IS demanded that no political banners — not even Labour Party banners — should be carried, and no political literature sold (except that of the Right to Work Campaign).

before, in order to separate them from the labour movement.

This betrayal by the NUS must not be repeated. All colleges and universities must start a campaign now around the demand for a massive injection of funds into the social services and that public spending should be protected against inflation.

WEEK OF ACTION

Grants must be linked to a workers price index. Support for the week of action called by the South East Region TUC (8-12 November) must be built around strike action. This strike action must not be confined to students alone but fought for in all unions, especially those in education.

This will force leaders like NALGO's Geoffrey Drain to turn their verbal opposition into action or stand exposed.

This is vital because it is precisely these union leaders who have continually refused to call for any action against the cuts.

The question of teacher unemployment must be taken into the NUT. We call for full union rights for all unemployed teachers, and the permanent implementation of a national policy of no cover for absent teachers with the reduction of class sizes till all teachers are employed.

This fight must be linked to forcing the opening of the books of the LEA's to elected committees of students and trade unionists.

WORKERS PLAN

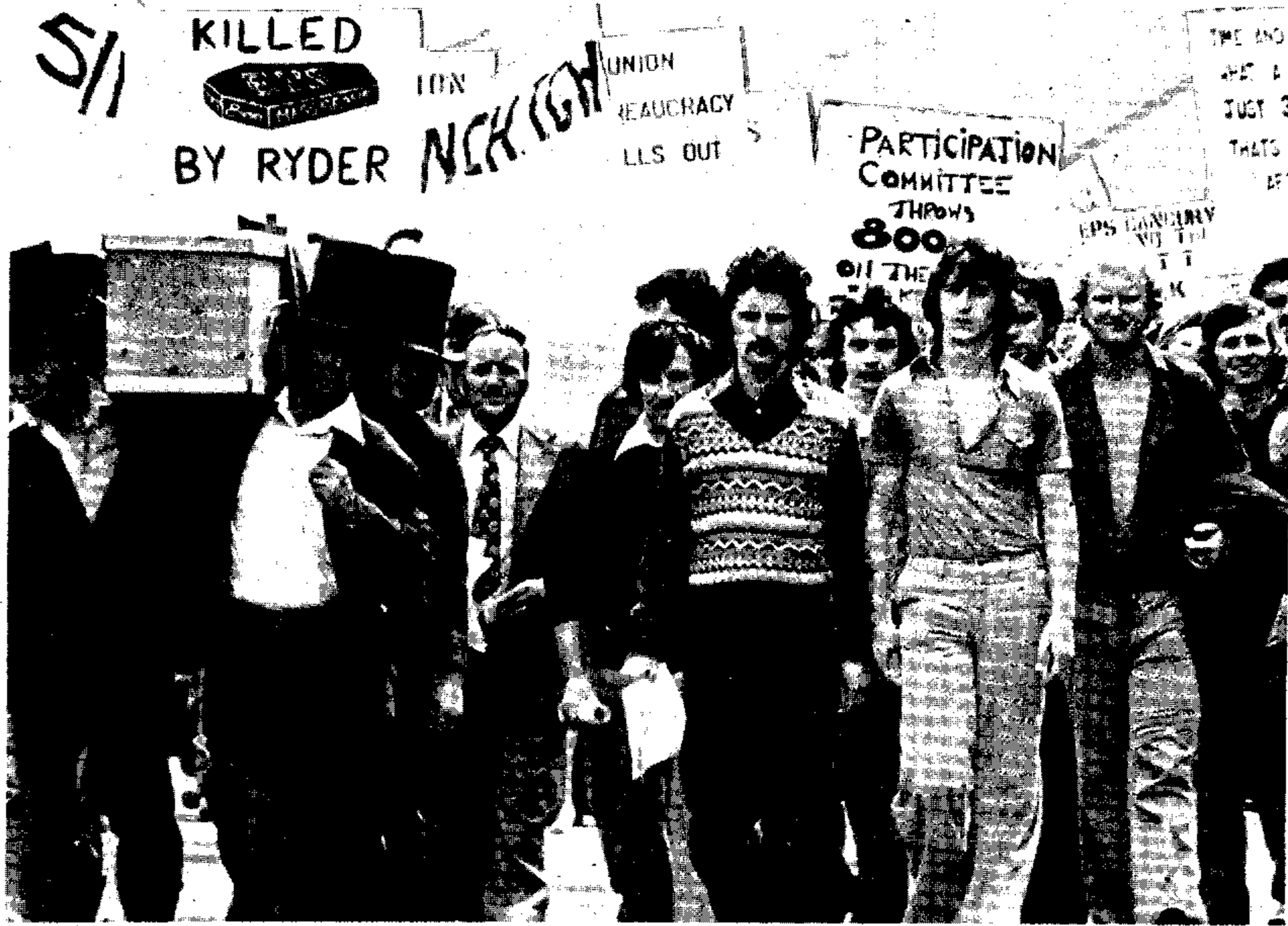
Further enquiries would reveal the massive sums of money paid to education suppliers, school building firms and examination boards.

A workers plan for education, linked to the educational requirements of youth and workers in each area would then be produced, based on the nationalisation of these companies.

But the fight for a new leadership in the trade unions which will defend the living standards of the working class must be taken into the NUS if this year's graduates are not to follow last year's onto the dole queues.

This fight can only be taken forward around the programme outlined above. It will at every stage meet the hostility of the Communist Party-led Broad Left who as last year showed are willing partners to the trade union leaders who accept wage cuts and attacks on the social services from the Labour government.

By Peter Dawson



Export Packing workers in struggle against Ryder plan lobby TGWU officials.

CONFERENCE CAMPAIGN UNDER WAY

While the TUC launched its attack on the seamen and Jones and Scanlon attempted to tighten their noose around the shop stewards movement in the motor industry, more trade union support has been won for the fight back – the October 24th Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

In Cowley, where TGWU officials have been working hand in glove with Leyland management in allowing recognition to be

withdrawn from four shop stewards, the 5/293 TGWU Branch has supported the Conference and elected a delegation of twelve.

STRIKE

Also in Oxford the 5/833 ACTSS (Blackwells) Branch, which earlier this year carried through a long successful strike against victimisation in the teeth of obstruction from local TGWU officials, has agreed to sponsor the Conference, and provisionally elected six delegates with the possibility of additional delegates from the next branch meeting.

In Leamington, the Trades Council has agreed to support the

Conference and call on affiliated branches to support while itself sending a delegate.

Another TGWU branch in recent conflict with full-time officials and the impact of the Ryder participation scheme – the 5/104 Branch at Export Packing Services, Banbury, has voted support for the Conference and elected a delegation of seven, while inside the factory a number of additional workers have signed up to attend.

In London the following resolution has been passed.

"This Barnsbury branch of the NUR opposes the 4 1/2% wage

control and public spending cuts. To fight against them, we:

1) call on all NUR sponsored MPs to vote against all government cuts, wage freezes and attacks on workers. If they refuse to do this the union must withdraw its backing and call on the Labour Party constituencies to remove them.

2) say that if Sidney Weighell and Bowman do not lead a campaign to defend their members' jobs they must be removed from office.

3) agree to support the National Conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement to be held in Birmingham on October 24th."

NEW SITUATION

In the new situation opened up by the blatant betrayals of the trade union leaders, and the damage inflicted on the social contract by the seamen's settlement, the time is ripe for a full discussion on the political questions involved in the struggle against wage control and for new leadership in the working class.

The WSL repeats its call to all members and supporters to fight within the trade union movement for the fullest support to this Conference, which is open to all trade unionists in addition to trade union delegates.

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Conference on WAGE CONTROL AND UNION DEMOCRACY

Sunday 24th October
Digbeth Hall, Birmingham.

Sessions

10am – 12.30pm.
1.30pm – 4.00pm.

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



IS banner on the 'non-political' Right to Work March.

The organisers also managed to make an exception of IS banners in the final stage of the march.

Enforcing this rule the march leaders physically pulled down the banners of the Gay Workers and the "Women's Right to Work". Both these banners were supported by the International Marxist Group who were present on the march and accepted all the disciplines including no banners.

The harsh reality was that the IMG disappeared without trace into the march, and were left without any independent political voice when the TUC lobby began.

On the Sunday before the TUC started IS members incorrectly disrupted a Tribune meeting and on the Tuesday of the TUC there were 'scenes' at the TUC lobby by marchers provoked by the arrogant behaviour of delegates, which the capitalist press was able to twist and use against the campaign.

The bureaucracy used the tactical error of the IS to attack all those opposed to their sell-out and describe them as being 'fascists' or close to fascists, and therefore outside the labour movement.

So there was Len Murray, arming to do battle with the seamen, talking about Trotskyist 'boot boys', and Denis Healey talking about 'Hitler Jugend' a chant taken up by the Tribune.

This unholy chorus was taken up by the WRP, showing the right-wing politics which is the other side of their sectarianism. In a scandalous attack on the Right to Work marchers, the WRP's News Line branded them as "hooligans".

We completely defend the Right to Work march against the slanders of the WRP and the proven scab leaders of the TUC. We recognise the frustration and anger felt by the marchers when confronted by trade union and Labour leaders who arrogantly refuse to take the slightest action in defence of their members.

But at the same time we must point out sharply that the adventurism and protest politics of the IS, creating the illusion that they are breaking workers from reformism simply by howling down reformist leaders, cannot provide a way forward to the building of new leadership.

CHILE MARCH

On Sunday 12th September 4000 people marched through London in a demonstration called by the "Chile Solidarity Campaign".

A contingent from the Workers Socialist League joined the march.

This event, called to commemorate the 3rd anniversary of the Chilean military take-over had the character of a funeral march.

Dominated by the Communist Party and assorted Labour 'lefts', both the slogans of the demonstration and the speeches at the end reflected a conscious attempt to avoid any discussion of the lessons of the Chilean coup.

In this the Stalinists of the Communist Party found support in revisionist groups like the IMG and IS who also made no attempt to raise these questions.

The Workers Socialist League was the only organisation there which openly denounced the role of the Chilean Stalinists who did nothing to prepare the working class against the coup.

The WSL also fought to expose the current attempts of the CP in Chile to form an alliance with the Christian Democrats, thus creating a new barrier to the struggle to overthrow Pinochet and lead the working class to power.

Despite criticism from those who claimed that the WSL was breaking the "unity" of the demonstration, the WSL carried on this fight on the understanding that only by drawing the main lesson of the Chilean defeat – the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist Communist Parties – can the working class prepare the ground for future victories.



Cowley workers leaving TGWU Oxford office.

FOLROSE

BOOKS

THE BATTLE FOR TROTSKYISM
Workers press
SOCIALIST PRESS

THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME
The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International: 30p
BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN
An analysis of the sectarian politics of the WRP 40p
(p&p: 10p)
TROTSKYISM TODAY
BACK ISSUES
"Fourth International – Problems and Tasks" 15p
"In Defence of a Great Revolutionary: James P. Cannon" by Tim Wohlforth 10p
"The Post-war Reconstruction of Capitalism" plus a reply to Wohlforth's article on Cannon 5p
"The General Strike" 5p
"The Significance of the Transitional Programme" 5p
p&p: 6 1/2p

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

CHILE THE REAL LESSONS OF THE 1973 COUP



Presidential Palace bombed in the coup

PART TWO: POPULAR UNITY AND THE ARMY.

The most glaring flaw in the politics of Allende's Popular Unity coalition lay in its attitude to the army.

Allende said in 1971: "This process of change is possible because the armed forces and the carabineros (armed police) have a respect for the constitution, which is not the case in the majority of Latin American countries".

This position never changed from the beginning to the end of the period of Popular Unity. Two weeks before the coup the Communist Party daily newspaper *El Siglo Veintiuno* carried a full-page advertisement praising the army for its respect for democracy and the constitution. With bitter irony the September 1973 British Communist Party journal *Marxism Today* carried an article by the General Secretary of the Chilean CP, Luis Privalan, in which he said:

"We continue to support the absolutely professional character of the armed institutions. Their enemies are not among the ranks of the people but in the reactionary camp".

Examples of statements of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely. Did the Communist Party leaders really believe this? Their apologists in Europe claim they did and admit it was a "tragic error".

The Chilean CP itself has made a public confession on this question:

"One of our most serious errors as a Party was to have overestimated in various ways the democratic capacity of the state system in Chile and not to have acted in time to transform it. This happened in relation to the armed forces as well as other questions". (Official Documents of the Chilean Communist Party issued in Santiago since the coup, p.125)

This seemingly humble confession of "error" is nothing more or less than an attempt to cover up the criminal political position of the CP for which 20,000 Chilean

ways.

Sadly, the Stalinists have again been helped in this attempted cover up by the USFI. In the IMG's pamphlet on Chile we read:

"The basic mistake which the Popular Unity made was its estimation of the army.... Given this wrong assessment, the Popular Unity tackled the question of the army in the wrong way."

(IMG, *Chile, The Lessons of the Coup*, pp20-21, emphasis added.)

FALSE

This view is totally false. There is no possible doubt whatever that the Popular Unity leaders were *always* aware of the possibility of a military coup. But it was the very nature of their politics which compelled them to treat the army in the way they did.

Trotsky again made the same point very clearly in relation to Spain:

"Many French socialists are asking themselves.... 'Why is it that the Spanish Popular Front, who have held power since February, did not take the necessary steps to deal with the army? What a blunder! etc.' What these people do not understand is that it is not a question of 'a blunder' but entirely one of class interests. When the bourgeoisie is constrained to conclude an alliance between its left-wing and the workers' organisations, it needs the officer corps more than ever as a counterweight — for the most important question i.e., the question of the protection of property is then posed.

This was no blunder at all!" (Trotsky, *The Spanish Revolution*, pp230-231).

The Popular Unity leaders did not consider they were making a blunder when they flattered and bribed the army into not making a coup on behalf of the capitalist class. They rapidly improved the material conditions of the military, especially the officers. They

generals entered the cabinet, the army was able to dictate to the government what reforms it would accept and what it would not.

On the other side, the Popular Unity tried to avert the necessity of a military coup by combatting the "provocative" independent mobilisation of the working class. The leaders knew that, if they failed in their role as policemen of the working class, then the bourgeoisie would overthrow them in order to defeat the mass movement. In their effort to prevent this, the Popular Unity parties agreed in 1971 to abandon all their political activities in the army to which the generals objected.

In 1972 the Popular Unity deputies either abstained or voted in favour of the arms control law introduced by the bourgeois parties with the collaboration of the army, giving the military unrestricted powers to search for arms in factories and workers' homes. Under this law the army began its campaign of atrocities against the militant workers long before it overturned the Popular Unity government.

In these ways, the Popular Unity's attitude to the army was merely another part of its treacherous class collaborationist politics which were to bring such disaster for the working class. The policy on the military shows perhaps more clearly than anything how, through their acceptance of the inviolability of the bourgeois state, the Popular Unity leaders both politically and militarily disarmed the working class.

It is this which underlines the irony of Allende's last broadcast calling for armed workers' resistance to the coup — the arms with which this resistance could have been made had been taken by force from the workers with the knowledge and help of Allende's own government.

THE FALSE LESSONS OF THE POPULAR UNITY

No political party of the working class can avoid at least *appearing* to draw the lessons of the Chilean catastrophe. But the Stalinist parties in particular have since September 1973 been conducting a worldwide campaign to suppress what they know to be the real lessons because they know that they would be a deathblow to their unchanged class collaborationist politics. There are many components in this campaign of political lies.

The first is to say that the situation in Chile was different from what it is now in, say, France or Italy. In those countries, they say, "pluralistic democracy" has deeper roots and the army would not exceed its allotted role. In other words, they use the same words as the Popular Unity leaders used in their effort to try to blind their working class supporters to the truth. The bourgeoisie is under no such illusion.

In its first comment on the coup in Chile that bastion of bourgeois democracy the *London Times* said that 'any reasonable military man' would have taken the same steps as did the Chilean military on September 11th 1973!

When the Popular Unity was first elected and when it survived its first year having launched a number of reforms, the similarities with Western Europe were emphasised by the Communist Parties. It was only after the defeat they have made an effort to present Chile as another world.

But nothing can hide the similarities between the politics of the Chilean CP in the Popular Unity and the same class collaborationist politics which every day lead the European working class into greater danger.

Secondly, the Stalinists and reformists say that the Popular Unity was not a "fair test" of popular front politics because the election of Allende was almost an accident, caused by the splitting of the right-wing vote in 1970 between two candidates. The Popular Unity, therefore, came to power before they were ready for it; before they had more than 50% backing from the population.

This argument is as fraudulent as the first. For one thing, the popular backing for reform grew at enormous speed and this was reflected in a more than 50% vote for the CP in the municipal elections of 1971. Yet, instead of building and mobilising the political support for reform, the Popular Unity leaders systematically tried to hold it back to avoid giving too great an offence to the bourgeoisie.

"ERRORS"

Thirdly, the Stalinists and reformists, because they are forced to try to explain why the Popular Unity had such disastrous consequences for the working class, admit as we

manage to discern these errors during the three years that the Popular Front government held office.

This itself suggests the truth of the matter which is that the admission of "errors" is part of a cover-up operation to justify the Western European and other CPs preceeding with exactly the same political line as that which led the Chilean working class into such appalling straits.

The Italian CP, for example, says that the "error" of the Chilean CP and the Popular Unity was in not making a closer alliance with the Christian Democrats — which, by an amazing coincidence, is just what the Stalinists are falling over themselves to do in Italy!

We have already seen the example of the Portuguese Communist Party's creation of illusions in the Armed Forces Movement. The Spanish Communist Party supports US bases in Spain and has proposed a "democratic alliance" between the people and the army. The French CP has opposed trade unions in the army and supported military discipline.

APPEASEMENT

In Italy the CP attempts to appease the army by saying that it supports Italian participation in the anti-communist military alliance NATO. None of these policies are "errors"; they flow directly and inevitably from a line which politically ties the working class to the bourgeoisie.

It was not those things which in its own terms the Popular Unity did *wrong* which brought the Chilean working class to defeat in 1973, but precisely those things which in its own terms it did *right*.

A fourth way in which the Stalinists and reformists try to cover up the lessons is by attributing the defeat almost exclusively to the overwhelming power of United States imperialism. Of course, there is not the slightest doubt at all that the international companies like ITT, the CIA and the US State Department plotted continuously against the Popular Unity government and to prevent any real social change taking place in Chile.

But the Stalinists and reformists use these facts to try to give further support to their class collaborationist politics. They say that the struggle was basically one between imperialism and the Chilean 'people', in which they include the majority of the Chilean bourgeoisie.

They play down the fact that within Chile itself there was a powerful class which was utterly hostile to any increase in the power of the working class. But it was the *capitalist class of Chile itself*, along with its allies in the army and the Church, which (of course, with American imperialist support) overthrew the Popular Unity government as a step towards trying to crush the Chilean working class.

VIETNAM

The argument that the principal villains were the "all-powerful" Americans is in any case exposed by the vicious struggles against US intervention in Vietnam and Angola.

The final item in the cover up operation which has been conducted by Stalinism and its witting and unwitting allies since the Chilean coup is the claim that the Popular Unity government only failed because of the "dangerous and provocative" actions of the "ultra-left", and in particular the MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left).

This was the way in which the British Communist Party led to "explain" the catastrophe which its policy had led to in Chile:

"Whatever their intentions, the ultra-left groups outside the UP, such as the MIR, and those sections supporting them in the Socialist Party and MAPU, acted in such a way which played into the hands of reaction."

(Jack Woddis, *Morning Star*, September 22nd., 1973).

This slanderous and cowardly position has been the principal "lesson" that the Chilean Communist Party itself has drawn from the coup. One of its major recent political statements analysing the experience of the Popular Unity and attacking the MIR is in fact entitled *Ultra-Leftism, Trojan Horse of Imperialism*.

Stalinism has uttered slanderous filth of this kind on every occasion when its class collaborationist, anti-working class policies have directly led to defeat. The words are almost identical to those in which the Stalinists have "explained" the defeat which took place in the Civil War in Spain in 1939. They are the same words which are used by Stalinists throughout the world every day to

THE 'REVOLUTIONARY' LEFT

The organisations which claimed in Chile to be revolutionary, in particular the largest of them, the MIR, cannot, however, be exonerated from responsibility for what took place in Chile in 1973. But the nature of their responsibility is the opposite of what the Communist Party claims it to be.

Their fault was not in failing to support the Popular Unity leadership but in failing to provide an alternative revolutionary leadership. Despite the revolutionary rhetoric through which they often criticised the Popular Unity, they in fact contributed, in particular among the politically advanced sections of workers and peasants and students to strengthening illusions in the Popular Unity.

The MIR's attitude to the Popular Unity was always unclear and ambiguous. Until 1973 it refused to vote for the Popular Unity in elections; yet at the same time gave its symbolic support to the government by providing (until the army objected) Allende's personal armed bodyguard.

In the last months of the Popular Unity, when the strength of the mass mobilisations gave an unprecedented opportunity to separate the workers from their class collaborationist leadership, the MIR moved closer and closer to the Popular Unity. It presented the tasks of the working class in the period before the coup not so much as building separate leadership and separate organisations to defend all the gains of the working class but rather as defending the Popular Unity government.

The MIR's concept of political programme did not go far beyond the demand that the Popular Unity implement its own programme more rapidly. It was unable to present an

compelled to hold back from helping the Chilean dictatorship as much as they would like to.

This is because the defeat in Chile took place in a period of major advance for the working class on a world scale. The complete victory of the forces of reaction in Chile has been prevented by the weakening position of imperialism and capitalism on a world scale.

The world-wide strength of the working class can be mobilised against the dictatorship in Chile. And one of the lessons of Chile for the working class movement is that the organisation of solidarity and resistance must be based on this strength of the working class.

The Chilean working class parties, however, are at the present time condemning the resistance to a position of impotence by maintaining and even extending the class-collaboration politics of the Popular Unity. The leaders not only of the Popular Unity parties but also of the MIR reject a resistance movement organised around a united front of working class parties.

They wish to build an alliance with sections of the major capitalist party, the Christian Democrats, the majority of whose leaders actually supported the coup, along with the leaders of the Roman Catholic church in Chile to which they are so closely allied. Just like the Communist Party of Spain they argue that the bourgeoisie wishes to reintroduce bourgeois democratic rights in Chile and that the needs of the working class must take second place to those of these "progressive" capitalists.

The CP goes further and says that the Christian Democrats are a "multi-class" party.

The Christian Democrats with whom the Stalinists, reformists and centrists so desperately wish to collaborate are at the same time busy all the time in Chile negotiating with the military dictators to get a share of power.



This means therefore, that it has to be built against the class collaborationist leaders of the working class in Britain and Europe.

THE TRUE LESSONS OF CHILE

The election of the Popular Unity government in 1970 was one reflection of the offensive of the working class against capitalism. Workers and peasants in Chile, however, soon came to realise that the leaders of the Popular Unity were not their allies in this offensive, but, on the contrary, wished to hold it back and restrict its aims. The demands and militant actions of the working class and peasantry came increasingly into conflict with the Popular Unity government.

The military coup took place in 1973 because of the huge steps forward which the workers' movement had taken in spite of the earlier attempts to hold it back by the Popular Unity government. All over Chile, against the will of the Popular Unity leaders, capitalism and private property was under severe attack.

In the space of three years the trade unions and other workers' organisations had grown enormously. And in the last months of the Allende government more and more workers joined the movement to establish factory and neighbourhood committees which were the embryos of dual power.

The objective of the coup was to destroy not the Popular Unity government as such but the strengthening independent workers' movement which the government was no longer able to control.

The Stalinist and reformist leaders of the workers' parties in the Popular Unity had not set out to create the catastrophe which the workers' movement suffered in 1973; they themselves were swept away in the same storm. Nor had they set out to lead the working class to power nor to create socialism; instead they sought only to increase the power of their own parasitic caste by exercising it through the bourgeois state as well as the organisations of the workers' movement.

"HISTORIC COMPROMISE"

This necessitated that they make a "historic compromise" with the capitalist class. The capitalist class for its part was only prepared to accept this "compromise" as long as the Popular Unity leaders could deliver the mass of the working class behind the compromise.

In order to maintain their leadership of the working class the Popular Unity leaders were obliged to arouse its expectations. In order to maintain their compromise with the bourgeoisie, on which their power also rested, they were obliged to become policemen of the working class and prevent the expectations they had created from being realised.

As the situation in Chile became more and more polarised between the capitalist class and the working class, the role of the Popular Unity leadership was to strengthen the capitalist class and the military and to weaken the working class. They did not will what happened in September 1973 but they were responsible for it.

It was their conscious aim to prevent the working class from playing an independent role in support of its demands; they had hoped that the teeth of the workers could be extracted painlessly and without blood. But they wanted the teeth extracted.

desperate attempt to save their own skins by offering to hand over power to the bourgeoisie. Thus, just before the coup, the Communist Party wished to abdicate in favour of Frei and the Christian Democrats. But by that time the capitalist class saw that the unconditional surrender of the leaders would not be followed by the majority of the working class. Only through a bloodbath could the capitalists begin to reconstitute their power.

This result followed not from the "errors" and "mistakes" of the Stalinist and reformist leaders. It was necessary to their compromise with the capitalist class that they should destroy the independent strength of the workers' movement. The very strength of the workers' movement in Chile prevented them from doing this along the peaceful road which they desired. They therefore ineluctably paved the way for the success of the military coup.

The apologists of class collaboration throughout the world labour movement try to say that the coup succeeded because the Chilean working class was "too weak". This is no more than a cowardly excuse for the treachery of the class collaborationist leaders.

The coup succeeded because the political aims of the Popular Unity leadership led them to oppose every manifestation of the inherent strength of the working class.

As Trotsky wrote in *Whither France?*: "Whoever declares that the proletariat does not want to wage or is incapable of waging a revolutionary struggle, himself spreads calumny by ascribing his own feebleness and his own cowardice to the toiling masses."

(Trotsky, *Whither France?*, New Park, p68) Everything the Stalinists and reformists offer as an excuse for the defeat can be traced back to their own actions and policies.

But the coup was not inevitable. It succeeded also because no alternative revolutionary leadership was built in the Chilean working class. Every political organisation in the world claiming to be revolutionary, of course, asserts that defeat occurred because there was no revolutionary party in Chile. But this conclusion becomes nothing more than a tautology unless the conditions of building a revolutionary party are clearly understood.

This task of building leadership is inseparable from the application of the Transitional Programme to each concrete situation. And it is an international task.

CRISES

There can be no doubt that the internal crises of the organisations claiming to be the Fourth International and their errors of analysis played a crucial part in preventing Chile's small Trotskyist groups from playing a major role in Chile between 1970 and 1973. A further lesson of Chile, then, is that the Fourth International must be urgently rebuilt.

The defeat in Chile was latent in the politics of class collaboration. An equivalent defeat is today latent in the politics of the leaders of the Stalinist and reformist workers' parties in Western Europe. The lessons of Chile are also the lessons of Britain, Spain, Italy, France, and Portugal. The fight to learn them is the fight to build a new revolutionary leadership based on the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

By Bob Sutcliffe



Top: Armed workers detachment before the coup Below right: Allende with Army officers.

Below left: Pinochet with his Generals.

alternative revolutionary programme of its own which met the real needs of the working class and peasantry.

The MIR in the end, therefore, played the role of a left cover for the Popular Unity itself. Its large size and influence in Chile meant that, in spite of its real efforts to arm workers and peasants, it must bear a very heavy responsibility for their political disarmament.

The MIR has not, any more than the parties of the Popular Unity, been able to draw out the lessons of the Chilean defeat. It has now joined up with the Popular Unity parties in the class-collaborationist resistance movement.

RESISTANCE AND SOLIDARITY

Since the coup every working class organisation and party in Chile has suffered the most appalling repression. Leaders and militants of all working class parties have been murdered, tortured, jailed and exiled. Not only have all the embryonic dual power organisations which the workers set up between 1970 and 1973 been disbanded, but so have the trade unions themselves.

Unemployment and astronomical inflation have slashed the living conditions of the majority of workers to virtual starvation levels. The Generals have made Chile unsafe for the working class.

But they have still been unable to make it safe for capitalism as they intended. It is true that they have received support from the

A resistance movement based on collaboration with the capitalist class is totally unprincipled. It has its parallel in the various committees of solidarity with Chile which have been set up in Britain and other capitalist countries. It is not surprising that vocal support for these committees has come from the same sections of the leadership of the labour movement which are the strongest advocates of class collaboration in their own countries.

In Britain this means the trade union leaders who have helped to introduce the pay laws of the last two years, the Labour Party 'lefts' who have failed to lead any fight against such collaboration and, of course, their left cover the Communist Party.

The Chile Solidarity Campaign has helped to prevent the learning of the lessons of Chile which must be a precondition for the development of real active solidarity with the Chilean working class. Dominated by the Stalinists and left reformists this campaign has virtually outlawed real political discussion of the politics of the Popular Unity in the interests of an unprincipled, and therefore impotent "unity" against the military junta.

Although workers in many trade unions in Britain have made attempts to implement a policy of economic boycott of the Chilean regime, this has in practice been opposed by the same trade union leaders who claim to support solidarity with the Chilean working class.

A real campaign of working class solidarity with the workers of Chile must be built in the trade unions and labour movement on the basis of working class independence and the

WRP MAINTAINS HANSEN FRAME-UP



Above left: Hansen
Above: Schachtman

At the beginning of August Joseph Hansen, veteran member of the American Socialist Workers Party, published a lengthy reply to the slanders levelled against him in the publications of the Workers Revolutionary Party.

In his reply Hansen demolished the main pillars of the mountainous fabrication of 'evidence' erected by the leading clique of Gerry Healy in the WRP who allege that he has been for almost 40 years an agent of the Stalinist GPU.

The reaction of the WRP leadership since Hansen's reply has confirmed to the hilt the assessment we made earlier of Healy's investigation — that it is a deliberate and cynical frame-up, which marshals its 'evidence' by distortions, lies and concealment, and which serves only to divert from the sharp political struggles which are necessary in the rebuilding of an international Trotskyist leadership of the working class. (See 'WRP Frames Hansen' in *Socialist Press* of December 31st, 1975).

DIFFERENCES

Then as now, we spoke up in defence of Hansen against these slanders, despite the fundamental differences which divide us from the revisionist politics of the 'United Secretariat of the Fourth International' (with which the Socialist Workers Party is in political sympathy, though prevented by reactionary legislation from affiliating).

We did so not only because we believe that slanders of such a vicious and serious character must be combatted on principle wherever they appear within the workers' movement, but because the political crisis of the world Trotskyist movement poses tasks of such urgency and importance for the international struggles of the working class that — more than at any other time in the post-war period — it is impermissible to allow methods such as those of Gerry Healy and Cliff Slaughter to foul and obstruct the political struggles that are on the agenda.

DETAILS

Nothing short of a book could examine in detail the whole of the WRP's accusations. But it will be highly illuminating of their methods to focus on the key items. Examining in detail the reactions of the WRP leadership to Hansen's reply will make clear the character of the frame-up.

Among all the volume of 'evidence' unearthed by Healy's 'investigators' only one single item is related to Hansen individually. This was a report prepared by an official of the US Consulate in Mexico City of his conversation with Hansen on Saturday August 31st, 1940.

This was eleven days after Trotsky was murdered at his house in Mexico City by Stalin's agent, Mercader.

The report was forwarded to the State Department in Washington

recently unearthed in the State Department archives by the WRP's 'investigating' team (who give no precise location for the document).

In his report, the consular official, Robert G. McGregor, wrote that Hansen had suggested various lines of enquiry in the United States which might uncover the responsibility of the GPU apparatus for Trotsky's murder.

CONTACT

Hansen reportedly told McGregor that he himself had been in contact with a GPU agent in the US for several months. The passage reads:

"For, while Hansen is convinced that the murder is a GPU job, that very fact makes it hard to unravel. Hansen stated that when in New York in 1938 he was himself approached by an agent of the GPU and asked to desert the Fourth International and join the Third.

He referred the matter to Trotsky who asked him to go as far with the matter as possible. For three months Hansen had relations with a man who merely identified himself as 'John', and did not otherwise reveal his real identity."

(Quoted in *How the GPU Murdered Trotsky*, Chapter 17, no page number.)

McGregor's memorandum immediately became the star exhibit in Healy's 'case'. It had the advantage for them that — unlike virtually all the rest of the material — it related to Hansen as a named individual, rather than just the SWP or its leadership as a whole and it showed a conscious contact with the GPU.

EXCLUSIVE

The WRP used it to try to establish two distinct and in fact mutually exclusive, charges against Hansen. (Perhaps there were at one stage too many cooks stirring the broth).

Firstly: that Hansen had some kind of illegitimate relationship with the US authorities and/or the FBI, concealed from the Trotskyist movement, and (they insinuated) that he might even be an FBI agent.

The 'evidence' for this was the fact that Hansen met McGregor on a Saturday (ie outside normal office hours) and appeared to have 'a familiar relationship' with him.

But this allegation simply collapsed under the fact that (as is clear even from the WRP's own material) Hansen was only one of several members of the Fourth International (including Trotsky himself) who had had quite open conversations with McGregor.

DROPPED

Characteristically the WRP discretely dropped this line of insinuation.

Secondly, they accused Hansen of lying when he said that his meetings with the GPU agent were reported to, and under the direction of the leadership of the Trotskyist movement.

The clear implication was that Hansen was acting for the GPU against the Trotskyist movement



Cannon

The document was thus used as the number one prop in the allegation that Hansen was and is an "accomplice of the GPU".

"Is it seriously suggested", the WRP asked, "that Trotsky, the leader of the Red Army, would ask a relatively inexperienced newcomer from Salt Lake City [ie. Hansen] to infiltrate the most skilled terror machine of the GPU? What could have been the purpose of this infiltration? There are no published records to show that Trotsky evinced an interest in infiltrating the GPU."

(*How the GPU Murdered Trotsky*, Chapter 17).

The WRP's rhetorical questions are answered in what is perhaps the most important item in Hansen's reply.

Trotsky *did* (Hansen relates) attempt to use him to infiltrate the GPU apparatus in the US and thereby to gain vital knowledge of the Stalinists' plots against the movement and Trotsky himself.

This took place in 1939 — McGregor is mistaken in placing it in 1938. Secret communications between Hansen in New York and Trotsky in Mexico on the matter went through one V.T. O'Brien, an American guard of Trotsky, who is still alive and has testified in writing to his role in the operation.



Trotsky

And moreover, on Trotsky's advice, the SWP leadership in New York drew up a confidential record of the matter which was signed by

Hansen himself (though Hansen was not then a member of the leadership).

Hansen has now published this report (*Intercontinental Press*, 9th August, 1976, p.1210).

It is worth reprinting, both for the light it sheds on the serious manner in which Trotsky and the American Trotskyist leadership approached the overwhelming task of protecting the movement against Stalin's murder-squads, and in order to appreciate the utter cynicism of the WRP's reaction to it.

April 7, 1939

To the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. Comrades:

Upon his return to the United States from Mexico, Comrade Joe Hansen chanced to meet an agent of the GPU. This agent introduced Hansen to a superior in the GPU, a man apparently the head or one of the heads of the American division of the GPU. This man whose real name Hansen does not know but who may be called "Y" sounded out the possibilities of converting Hansen into an agent of the GPU. Hansen immediately informed Comrades Trotsky, Cannon, and Shachtman. Under their direction and with their full approval he conducted for purposes of reconnaissance in the American GPU

organisation a series of conversations with "Y" upon the Stalin book which Comrade Trotsky is now writing. The internal status of

at Mexico, in all cases giving equivocal, misleading answers to "Y's" questions or telling him things that are semi-public knowledge, reporting in detail after each meeting to Comrades Trotsky, Cannon, and Shachtman. Throughout these conversations valuable information has been gained for the Fourth International. Hansen is disinclined — for fear that the story might leak out and because the reconnaissance is not yet completed — that the entire PC should be made aware of this affair at present without full guarantees that his personal safety and the further political gains which might accrue be safe-guarded by complete silence on the part of PC members with their friends, political associates, and correspondents regarding this affair. Even the most guarded allusions or hints might cause the failure of further work in this respect.

J.P. Cannon
Max Shachtman
Joe Hansen

How have the WRP responded to this document? At no point have they challenged its authenticity. On the contrary they have — in an astonishing logical somersault — taken it as *additional* evidence for their "indictment"!

LEAFLET

A hurriedly-prepared leaflet issued to the WRP's London meeting on August 15th — ostensibly organised to 'commemorate' Trotsky, in reality to 'indict' Hansen and pollute Trotsky's memory — carried the astonishing headline "Hansen Admits the Charges!"

This leaflet — like the other statements on the matter produced by the WRP since then — manages to avoid *any* explicit mention of the very existence of the document quoted above, although the leaflet is quite obviously an attempt to obfuscate the fact that it destroys the only item in the WRP's 'case' that had any direct bearing on Hansen's individual role.

As Cliff Slaughter, Secretary of Healy's 'International Committee' (and now coming forward as one of the main architects in the attempt to shore up the fabrications) has rightly commented it is "circumstantial evidence" that "abounds in situations of this sort." (*News Line*, August 21st).

METICULOUS

Evidently, a report dealing in detail with the matter, clearing Hansen and signed by James Cannon, is so "circumstantial" that its very existence must not be mentioned by Healy's allegedly 'meticulous' investigators!

The political direction of the WRP's 'investigation' emerged with dazzling clarity over the weekend of Sunday August 15th.

Far from pausing for even the briefest re-evaluation of their case, the WRP leadership turned immediately to the capitalist press (as they have accurately described them 'the sewers of Fleet Street').

Healy's apprentices in the matter of frame-ups turned without hesi-

The *Sunday Times* of August 15th carried an article by Anthony Holden summarising uncritically the WRP's case, and including a plug for their meeting that day.

It is impossible to avoid the supposition that Mr. Holden — at best — naively swallowed 'information' offered by courtesy of his former colleague as a *Sunday Times* journalist Alex Mitchell, now editor of the *News Line*.

Next day the campaign hotted up. Revealing the leverage they seem to have over the 'jackals' who inhabit 'the sewers of Fleet Street' (their epithets, though we agree with the spirit!) the WRP called a "press conference" to which the capitalist press and only the capitalist press were invited!

Pieces duly appeared in the *Guardian* and *The Times* the next day. They did not, of course, mention Hansen's reply nor has any of the capitalist press yet done so.

And to top it off, an interview was conveniently arranged on the BBC's Radio 4 'PM' programme on Monday evening for Harold Robbins, a former SWP member and one of Trotsky's guards in Mexico, who has lent his name to the WRP's campaign.

NOT COHERENT

In it, Robbins — though not completely coherent — attempted to revive the theory that Hansen was (and is?) an agent both of the GPU and the FBI:

"The Socialist Workers Party... was successfully penetrated by GPU agents, and they weren't just GPU agents, I'm convinced that some of them were double agents, agents for the American Government who wanted to kill Trotsky precisely because they didn't want to have what they had after World War 1."

(PM, August 16th)

From their proposals for a 'parity commission' of the Trotskyist movement to investigate their spurious allegations, the WRP leadership overnight switched horses, apparently without batting an eye-lid, to attempt to get a witch-hunt rolling through the capitalist press and media.

There could be no clearer indictment of the factional, slanderous and anti-political character of their campaign.



† Trotsky Death Weapon

Report of Trotsky's murder in the *Daily News*.

Any honest assessment of the evidence highlights, in fact, the serious and revolutionary manner in which Trotsky and the small cadres of the Fourth International in the 1930s faced up to the task of defence against the avalanche of slander and violence launched by Stalin.

And, if the SWP report which Hansen publishes is authentic (which the WRP have at no point challenged) it shows that his own role, though secondary, was a courageous one.

Not only was he in the firing line as one of Trotsky's guards in Mexico, but he exposed himself to the serious risk of 'liquidation' at the hands of the GPU if they discovered he was hoodwinking them: a GPU machine which had already taken the lives of thousands of Stalin's political opponents.

It is necessary to comment also on the way in which the slander campaign against Hansen highlights the enormous acceleration in the political degeneration of the WRP and its leadership, a degeneration in the fight against which the founding members of the Workers Socialist League were illegally and bureaucratically expelled by Healy at the end of 1974.

Cutting themselves off from their base in the organised workers' movement, turning their backs on the day-to-day struggle for leadership in the unions, mouthing a few sectarian slogans to cover

over their opportunist adaptation in practice to the labour bureaucrats (including entry into scab 'participation' committees) — all these tendencies show Healy's "Trotskyism" being driven swiftly, under pressure of the class struggle, into its opposite: phrase-mongering and intrigue.

Healy and his associates move increasingly in a narrow circle of petit-bourgeois dilettantes, actresses and bourgeois journalists.

CIRCLES

In such circles the fraudulent and frenzied search for 'conspiracies' to explain the problems of the organisation easily push out any serious attention to questions of security against agents-provocateurs and spies.

Similarly, light-minded speculation and metaphysics takes the place of the political, scientific study of real developments in the workers' movement.

In this atmosphere the most ethereal 'explanations' can flourish. It has been suggested (though this is not a version the WRP leadership has yet put into print) that there is a version of Hansen's 'complicity' with the GPU which could survive the evidence he presents in his defence.

It is this — that Hansen was a trained agent of the GPU, in place in the SWP since well before the events of 1938-40. As a skilled operator in intrigue he (or his masters) conceived a plan which would allow him to meet more openly with his GPU controllers in New York, and at the same time protect himself against accusations from the Trotskyist ranks that he should pretend to infiltrate the GPU on behalf of the SWP, meanwhile pretending to the SWP leadership that he was pretending to do the opposite on behalf of the GPU, and getting a report signed by Cannon on file to cover himself.

CUNNING

He thus became an agent (or 'accomplice') of the GPU within the SWP, cunningly disguising himself as an agent of the SWP inside the GPU ostensibly pretending to be an agent of the GPU in the SWP — or so on ad nauseam!



† Trotsky Death Weapon

No doubt, if the WRP leadership chooses to come forward with this version, they will find excellent 'philosophical' and 'dialectical' reasons to buttress it with.

And these are the best reasons they can find, since in the nature of the case, the 'facts' of the matter as they have emerged so far can — 'logically' — neither prove nor disprove it.

It is, like all the WRP's recent 'philosophy', inherently metaphysical.

It is the sort of 'theory' which would allow the WRP's 'investigators' to leave aside all the 'circumstantial evidence' — including the detailed history of Joseph Hansen's more than forty years in the Trotskyist movement — except where it was convenient for them to select from it.

MANIPULATED

It allows Healy's International Committee to represent all the important post-war splits of the Trotskyist movement not as real political battles but as crises fomented and manipulated by Stalinist agents.

And, like their campaign against Hansen to date, it represents not an attempt to protect and strengthen the Trotskyist movement, but a slanderous and incompetent invention.

PROBLEMS OF MARXISM IN PAKISTAN

In the two parts of her discussion article (SP41 and 42), Comrade Fauzia Rafiq outlined many aspects of the history of the Marxist movement in Pakistan.

One fact emerges glaringly from this account. There is a complete absence of any reference to Trotskyism.

Indeed the whole tradition of Indian and later Pakistani Marxism with virtually no exceptions has from 1924 onwards been confined within the suffocatingly narrow horizons of Stalinism.

In part one of her article, Comrade Fauzia points out correctly that:

"In Stalin's view the national bourgeois movement in India showed better prospects as an ally than the young Communist Party of India."

KEY

This is indeed the key to the sordid story of class compromise and collaboration which has been the progress of world Stalinism as a whole and Stalinism in the Indian sub-continent in particular.

We only need to look to India today, where the CP remains as the only party apart from her own Congress Party, prepared to support Indira Gandhi's dictatorial rule, to see that these traditions live on unchanged in the Stalinist movement.

Just as in China in 1926-27 Stalin supported the entry of the Communist Party into the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang — a policy which led directly to the wholesale slaughter of Communists by the forces of Chiang Kai Shek in 1927 — so elsewhere, and particularly after the turn towards "Popular Front" politics in 1935, the independence of the working class was subordinated by international Stalinism to diplomatic deals and collaboration with bourgeois parties.

ALIENATED

And these reactionary manoeuvres took place in such a way that the petty bourgeois and peasant layers supposedly to be won were in fact alienated from the national Communist Parties.

The isolation of the CPI was therefore very much the product of Stalinism, and resulted in its forces being drawn almost exclusively from the intellectuals and middle class layers divorced from the masses.

And when partition took place in 1947 and the new Communist Party of Pakistan set up, it was for the same reason inhabited only by a handful of second-rate Stalinist academics and petty-bourgeois.

Of course the success of the Chinese revolution, and the emergence of a new anti-imperialist power in Asia had an enormous impact on Pakistan. Combined with the war between Pakistan and India in which world imperialism and the Soviet Union were seen as backing India while China sided with Pakistan, this served to create a substantial pro-Chinese current. This took shape within the workers' movement — where Maoism emerged among the younger forces — and also found reflection in the bourgeoisie, sections of whom were seeking ways of combatting Ayub Khan's policy of subordinating Pakistan to American finance capital.

MAOISM

Yet Comrade Fauzia is not able to point out that Maoism, as the Chinese national version of Stalinism, simply took over its reactionary political orientation, seeing international relations as a matter of manoeuvres between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the Kremlin.

The Maoist groups that emerged therefore aped the Moscow-line Communist Parties — but, since

they were serving the requirements of Peking and not Moscow, they courted different bourgeois parties.

This created huge tensions within the Maoist ranks at the time of the Bangladesh war of independence (which unfortunately is not mentioned in Comrade Fauzia's article).

While Maoists in East Bengal, confronted by the threat of immediate slaughter at the hands of the butchering army of Yahya Khan, took up arms and joined the battle for national self-determination, the Maoists in West Pakistan, following the line of Peking gave support to the army — blaming the war on "Indian intervention"!



Bhutto

No clearer indication could be found of the entirely chauvinist confines within which Maoism, like Stalinism, imprisons its followers.

Following similar logic, the Maoists fell in with the populist rhetoric of Bhutto's bourgeois Pakistan People's Party, giving no independent lead to the working class.

Mairaj Mohammed, a leading Maoist spokesman, even served for months in the Bhutto government, presiding over the murder of militants by Bhutto's police, before himself being unceremoniously removed from office and eventually arrested.

When the purge of the left-wing elements from the PPP government and party really got under way — as detailed by Comrade Fauzia in part two of her discussion article, it marked Bhutto's confidence that — thanks to Stalinism — no firm based alternative existed to his power, and no political leadership with any base in the masses.

The starting point for militants in Pakistan to approach Marxism must be these historical experiences of the complete bankruptcy and betrayals of Stalinism and the need for independent revolutionary leadership.

Quite clearly the conditions of semi-legality and police repression which exist in Pakistan present the appearance of particular difficulty.

NOT ISOLATED

Yet it would be wrong to simply see the problems in Pakistan in isolation from the international strengthening of the oppressed masses and their emergence in struggle against even the most barbaric and repressive regimes — South Africa and Spain just being the clearest cases.

The decisive question is the preparation of principled leadership for the time when struggles against the Bhutto regime break out in Pakistan.

In our view it is clear that the building of a Trotskyist cadre in Pakistan is an indispensable beginning to the preparation of a principled leadership. A movement must be built on a scientific understanding and analysis of the methods and betrayals of Stalinism, of the reactionary policies behind the ultra-left rhetoric of Maoism.

Such a movement must make a concrete analysis of the social conditions prevailing in Pakistan — in particular the problems and forms of organisation of the working class and peasantry.

In the last two editions of 'Socialist Press' we have printed a discussion article by Fauzia Rafiq on the history and problems of the Marxist movement in Pakistan. Here John Lister gives our reply to the points made.

On the basis of such an analysis it must work out a programme which will necessarily combine a range of basic democratic demands — free trade unions, freedom of the press, emancipation of women, for example — with further demands which though they begin from today's problems faced by Pakistani workers and peasants, lead towards a common struggle for socialism.

A crucial guide to such a method and programme is Trotsky's *Transitional Programme*. The section entitled 'The Alliance of the Workers and Farmers' shows the vital link between the demands for the working class and those for the rural peasantry (the farmers):

"While the farmer remains an independent petty producer, he is in need of cheap credit, of agricultural machines and fertiliser at prices he can afford to pay, favourable conditions of transport, and conscientious organisation of the market for his agricultural products. But the banks, the trusts, the merchants, rob the farmer from every side. Only the farmers themselves, with the help of the workers, can curb the robbery. Committees elected by small farmers should make their appearance on the national scene and jointly with workers' committees and committees of bank employees take into their hands control of transport, credit and mercantile operations affecting agriculture."

(Folrose edition p19)

The Transitional Programme shows a position absolutely opposite to the class collaborationist "fronts" with the bourgeoisie and prosperous middle class into which the Stalinists liquidate their forces and which offer no independent road to the exploited masses:

"The alliance proposed by the proletariat — not to the 'middle classes' in general but to the exploited layers of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie, against all exploiters, including those of the 'middle classes' — can be based not on compulsion, but only on free consent, which should be consolidated in a special 'contract'. This 'contract' is the programme of transitional demands voluntarily accepted by both sides." (p21.)

Equipped with such a programme and the method of Trotskyist analysis it is possible though certainly a big task to begin patient work assembling a cadre in the Pakistani working class and peasantry.

NOT EASY

But if the road we suggest is not easy, the worst possible conclusion would be the version suggested in Comrade Fauzia's closing paragraphs where she talks of a "wider united front" and "closer contact with the Communist Parties and communists of other countries, especially India and Bangla Desh."

Nothing could be a more sure-fire recipe for disaster for Pakistani militants than to move into an embrace with any of the Indian "Communist Parties" — worst of all the pro-Gandhi dictatorship CPI — or any national Stalinist or Maoist grouping. This would only signify a move away from any prospect of an independent programme and policy for the oppressed masses in Pakistan.

And if Comrade Fauzia's final paragraph dwelling on the need for Marxists to "be on the defensive" and "retreat from their open fronts" means pulling back from any kind of intervention in the mass workers' movement in Pakistan, then such a retreat too must be dangerous.

What is needed is neither adventurism nor academicism, but a serious turn to the method and analysis of Trotskyism combined with seeking out avenues for practical work.

And the turn should be not inwards to political tendencies long proved bankrupt, but towards the initiatives now being taken to fight for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.



INDUSTRIAL NEWS



Fred Jarvis, NUT General Secretary, speaking at the TUC.

TEACHERS LEAD CUTS STRIKES

As the Labour government's spending cuts begin really to bite in every area, resistance is intensifying.

In Oxfordshire, the severity of the latest proposed cuts in education spending by the County Council has at last forced even the right-wing local NUT leadership to take a stand.

As outlined in the last issue of *Socialist Press* the Tory Council is proposing cutting £5 million off the budget, £3¼ million of which will come off the education budget, causing 500 of the county's 5,000 teachers to be sacked.

Alongside this is planned massive cuts in part-time teaching and ancillary staff, and a 20% reduction in the capitation allowance for books and equipment.

CUTS BODY

These proposals have been passed by the Council's newly formed cuts body - the Policy and Resources Committee - two weeks ago and are due to be ratified by the full Council on Tuesday September 21st.

After their betrayals of the last year, in which they allowed £1½ million of cuts in equipment, building, the 'rising 5's' decision (by which young children have lost at least one term's schooling), together with sackings and redeployment of part time teachers and ancillary staff, the NUT leadership were at last forced by these new attacks to call for action.

They immediately contacted the Union's National Executive for permission to call a half day strike to lobby the Council meeting.

This call has met with a massive response from union members and has been supported by other teaching unions - even including head teachers - and other local government employee unions.

90% SHUT

Over 90% of the schools in the county will be shut, with letters sent out to parents calling for support.

The next step must be to follow the NAS in imposing sanctions in all the schools, refusing to cover for absent and sick teachers and especially for unfilled posts.

Teachers in the NUT must not allow the bureaucratic manoeuvres of the leadership to deter them from this action. Demands for indefinite strike action must be made on the leadership if the Council is still determined to slash the service.

The arguments of the local lead-

ing NUT bureaucrat, Stedman, are dangerous ones. Like right-wingers in some other areas, he maintains that the Tory Council is going "far beyond" the requirements of the Labour government's reactionary March White Paper on public spending cuts.

As a result his demand is for Shirley Williams to force the Tory Council to pull back.

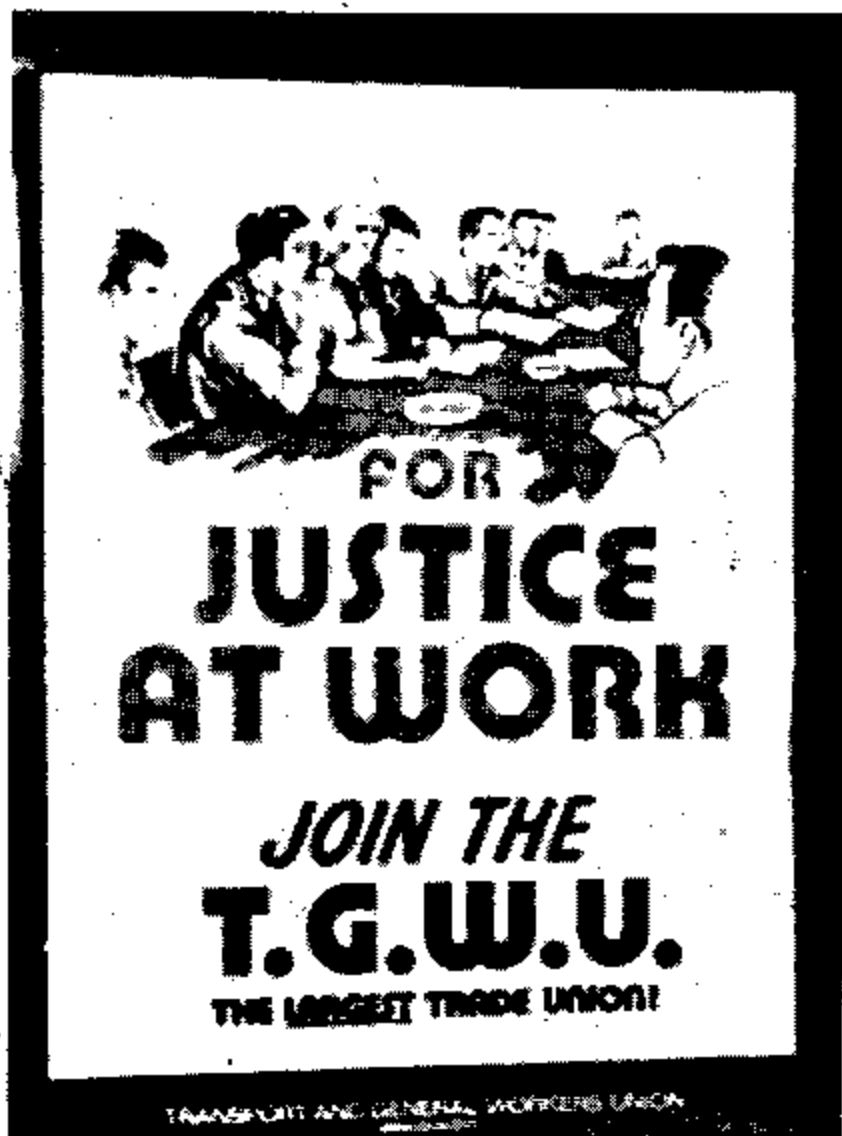
REQUIREMENTS

But of course, the cuts are entirely in line with Callaghan and Healey's requirements in backing capitalism and pandering to the international investors - the fact they seem larger merely means that the Labour government did not at that time dare openly to impose the axe so severely.

The line that the cuts are "going too far" is merely paving the way for stabbing the fight should the Council partially concede and reduce the level of the cuts.

For the defence of education and the social services it is not a question of the *scale* of the cuts, but an absolute rejection of the right of the government to impose any sackings or cuts in service.

The demand must therefore be for the social service and education budget to be restored to its value before the cuts, and protected against inflation by a *sliding scale of spending*, rising in pace with increased costs, as assessed by trade union committees with full access to the accounts of the local authorities.



Even trying humour in an attempt to boost membership - this poster seen in the window of the Oxford TGWU office.

Trico Strikers Stand Firm

A mass meeting attended by 350 of the 400 women strikers at the Trico Folberth factory in North London last week rejected a new management offer which is still way below their demand for equal pay.

This now takes the strike into its eighteenth week, making it a crucial test of trade union strength as well as a major instance of the fight for equal pay.

NO CONCESSIONS

The Company has now been completely shut down for a fortnight, but has refused to make any real concessions.

But this fight is being *sabotaged* by the full time officials even within the AUEW which is in formal terms giving official support.

The joint policy statement by Scanlon and Jones, published in the *Leyland Mirror* announces that even *justified* disputes within Leyland are to be outlawed in the interests of continuous production.

Yet since this is the case, the long standing call by AUEW officials in Southall for the blacking of Trico windscreen wipers, followed up a fortnight ago by a call for the blacking of all windscreen wipers, must be a cynical deception of Trico workers.



Scanlon

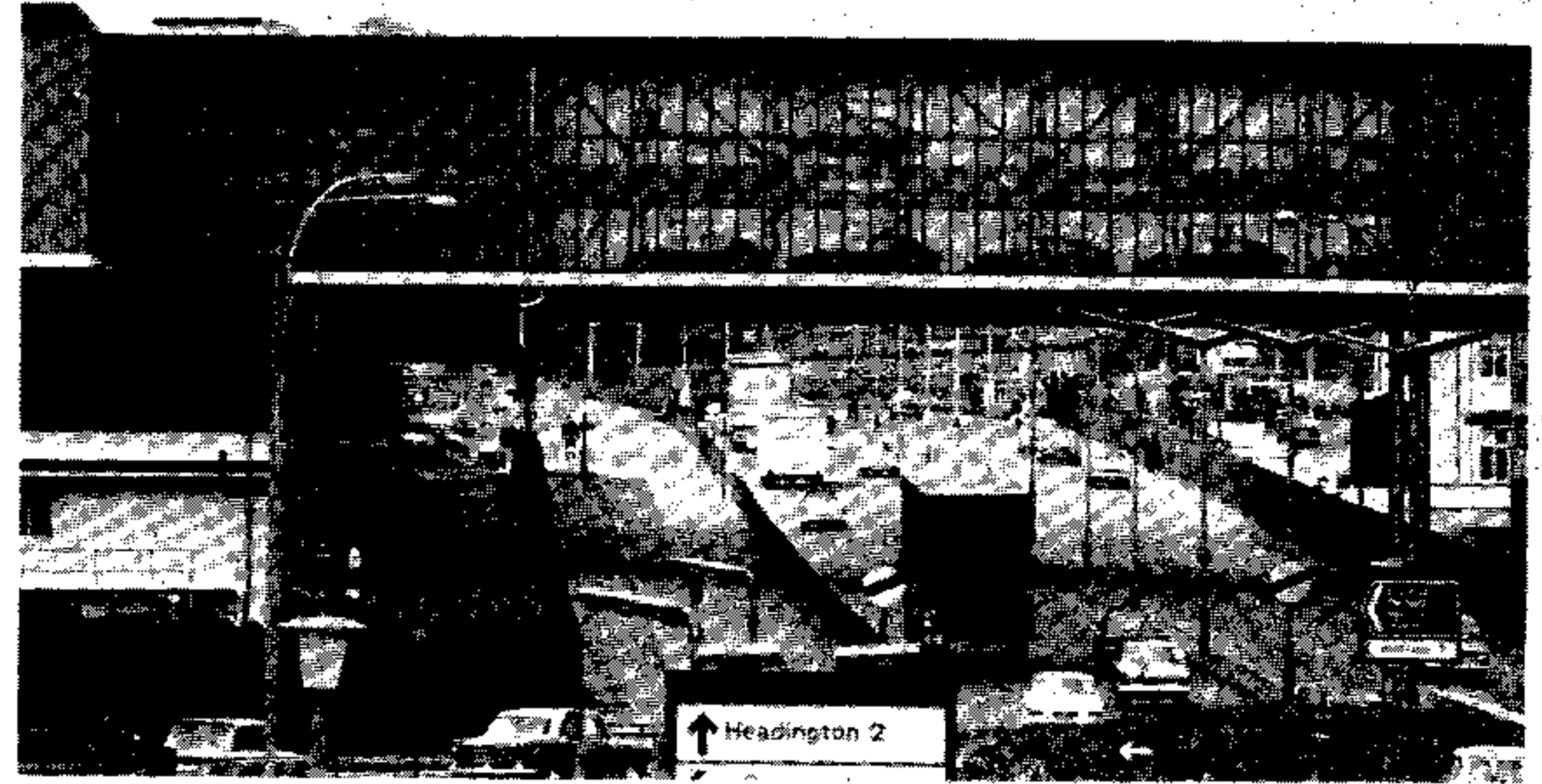
Trico manufactures 90% of British wipers, supplying Leyland and Chrysler. The imposition of a black on these products would therefore bring the Leyland lines to a standstill, and severely disrupt production in Chrysler.

Nothing of the sort has happened, of course, because in those factories, the AUEW officials see it as their job to maintain and maximise production in the interests of "viability" (i.e. profits).

So all that has emerged has been occasional financial donations to the Trico strike fund while "blacked" windscreen wipers are fitted daily to Leyland and Chrysler cars.

In this way the officials maintain some kind of 'left' face while exposing the Trico workers to immense dangers of defeat.

Militants in the car industry must take up this betrayal and demand their local officials and their stewards committees act to impose a black on Trico products - ensuring that a setback is inflicted on these component industry employers which can pave the way for the struggle in defence of trade unionism and against the 4½% pay limit throughout the motor industry as a whole.



The link between Leyland's Body and Assembly plants at Cowley

BLOW TO RYDER PARTICIPATION

A major blow at the Ryder 'participation' system in British Leyland, and in particular at the right wing TGWU leadership in the BLMC Body Plant at Cowley was struck on 6th September, when the monthly AUEW Shop Stewards meeting in the plant voted to pull out of 'participation'.

This takes some 1,000 AUEW members in the plant out of the participation machinery, and is a severe setback for TGWU convenor Bill Roche, who is on the highest body of participation - Leyland's 'Cars Council'.

RESIGNED

After the vote the AUEW convenor resigned and a new one was elected - but the decision still stands.

When the union bureaucracy accepted participation for the membership, they argued it was on 'a year's trial'. That year is now up, and a campaign must be launched

in every Leyland plant for the right of the members to vote on this scheme and throw it out.

The lead in pulling out has been given both by the Jaguar workers and now by the body plant AUEW stewards, who join those sections of Leyland that never accepted the introduction of participation in the first place.

Jaguar workers have seen clearly the real meaning of participation, as the company announces the removal of the paintshop from Coventry.

In the Cowley Assembly Plant, workers have witnessed the removal of recognition from four shop stewards by the Company.

And now all Leyland workers have seen Jones and Scanlon sum up the class collaborationist essence of participation in their disgraceful 'Keep Working' article in the employers' house journal, *Leyland Mirror*.

The best way to answer these attacks is now to withdraw from the reactionary participation scheme and fight to reassert the independence of the trade union movement.

NO ANSWER ON JAG PAINTSHOP

Despite an overtime ban, guerilla strikes and a policy of non-cooperation, British Leyland continue to reject the demand by paintshop workers at Jaguar, Coventry for a public enquiry into the siting of the new paintshop.

In response to the paintshop workers stand, Leyland management last week threatened thousands of lay-offs if the actions were not called off.

This move was followed a few days later by the intervention of ACAS (the Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Scheme) in management/union talks.

With participation, the centre-piece of the Ryder deal, in danger of collapsing round its ears British Leyland must do all in its power to draw workers into "cooperation"

with management.

At the same time it is vital that militant sections like the paintshop workers are not seen to have won concessions by action.

Workers at Jaguar should reject the initiatives of the so-called "independent" ACAS and move now to set up their own enquiry into the siting of the paintshop.

This is not just a question for paintshop workers. The proposed siting of the paintshop at Castle Bromwich rather than Brown's Lane Coventry goes hand in hand with other examples of rationalisation such as the ending of car production at Leyland's Triumph plant at Canley, Coventry.

The enquiry can only be carried out if full access to all British Leyland's books is fought for, making possible a full assessment of future employment plans.



Triumph Canley factory

FEATHERING THEIR NESTS

It was announced this week that Victor Feather, the late, unlamented General Secretary of the TUC, left an estate of £61,309. Workers will wonder where on earth he made so much money.

Some idea of how certain trade union leaders are more than just managing to make ends meet were revealed in a recent edition of the *News of the World*.

KEMP

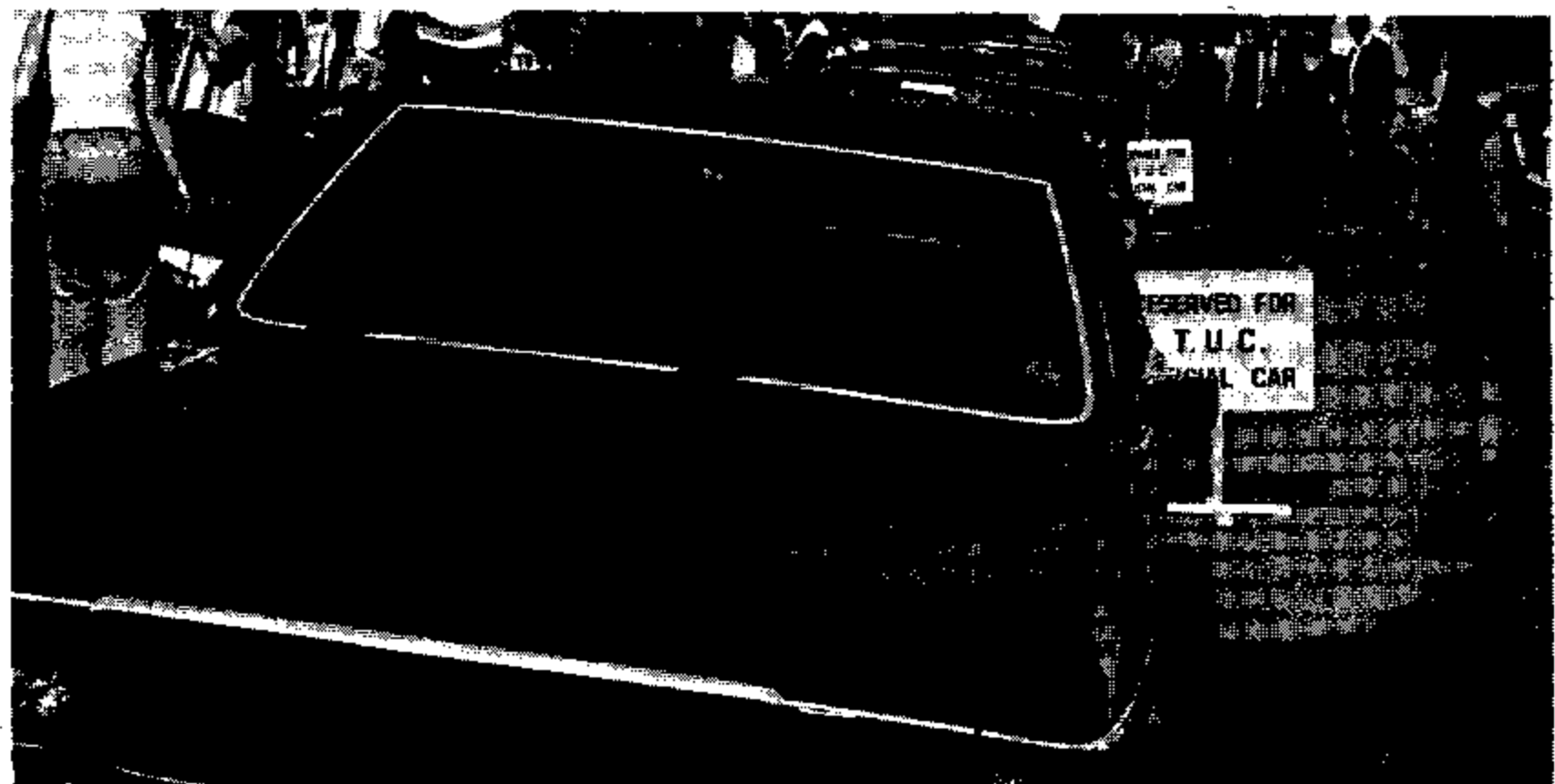
Socialist Press has already detailed the case of Leslie Kemp, full time building trades officer of the TGWU who is retiring because of "ill health", but who will be

General Council of the TUC have such jobs.

Examples include Jack Jones, with sideline jobs with a total value of £2870 a year; Hugh Scanlon, £2,000; George Smith of UCATT who collects £2,000 for three days work a month and Boilermakers' leader Dan McGarvey who picks up £1,250 plus a £25 a day attendance allowance for the Manpower Services Commission.

Alan Fisher of NUPE gets £1000 while Frank Chapple, EEPTU leader receives £1250 and Cyril Plant is paid £2300 a year plus £16 a day attendance money for the Community Relations Council.

Lawrence Daly said that he was "quite happy as he was" with his £7,400 salary (plus union car, etc).



Outside the TUC at Brighton: an official's Granada Ghia

receiving on top of his pension over £7,700 per annum from his 'jobs' on various government boards.

The *News of the World* reports this but goes on to point out how much some other trade union officials are receiving.

Of the 5,000 of what the paper calls QUANGO (jobs on Quasi-Autonomous National Government Organisations) 1,000 are divided between the 3,500 union officials in the country. Nearly half of the

These are the people who decided to accept the £6 pay limit and now the 4½% wage-cutting deal with Healey, and who daily lecture workers on the need for 'sacrifice' to restore profitability to private industry.

The fight for new leadership in the working class must also take up the need for all full time officials to be both elected and restricted in income to the average wage of the members they represent.

RIGHT SPLITTING AUEW

The dictatorial role of the extreme right wing majority in the leadership of the Engineering section of the AUEW is threatening to break up the unity between the giant union's four sections.

The AUEW was formed by amalgamating together sections representing engineering, construction, foundry and technical and supervisory workers.

But last week John Baldwin, general secretary of the construction section, brought into the open some of the tensions which have built beneath the surface.

Writing in the section's journal he states his patience is exhausted and he is contemplating the prospect of a merger with other big unions such as UCATT, the EEPTU or even the Boilermakers.

A rigorous test of Baldwin's patience was the behaviour of the engineering section's leadership at the AUEW Conference. In defiance of the agreement with the other sections, Scanlon instructed all 52 engineering delegates — an automatic majority at the Conference — to vote in line with the engineering section's decision to support the 4½% pay deal.

The amalgamation agreement however specifies that delegates to the full conference should not be mandated by sections.

The upshot of this blatant manoeuvre was that the 4½% deal was endorsed by a minority at the conference, while the majority abstained.

So in the name of winning paper acceptance of the wage-cutting pay deal, the right wing have now come to the brink of splitting Britain's second largest union.

DRIVERS FIGHT FOR JOBS

Eighty car delivery drivers at Silcock & Collings Coventry Depot are on strike over a plan to make 17 drivers redundant.

Threats to make the strike national — which would involve some 800 drivers — were suspended last week during further discussions with management. As we go to press, representatives of the 800 drivers are meeting with management in Coventry.

Meanwhile other delivery drivers are on strike in Coventry against the refusal by Toleman James to take on extra workers.

The company has recently won a contract to deliver Fords in the Midlands but have not taken on extra workers.

The strikers, members of the TGWU, claim this is a break with

by workers at Autocars and Car-transport.

Drivers at Silcock and Collings are expected to stay out in support of the Toleman James workers even if their own dispute is settled.

Coventry Engines

NINETY LABOURERS at British Leyland's engine plant at Courthouse Green, Coventry, walked out last Tuesday leaving behind on their benches copies of the current *Leyland Mirror* in which Jack Jones and Hugh Scanlon plead for an end to strikes.

The strike was sparked off by the suspension of one of the men but the background is a long-standing dispute over manning levels. The action is being



Fisher with NUPE lobbyists

ALL OUT ON NOVEMBER 17!

NALGO TO RECALL CONFERENCE

In a significant response to the escalating pressure for action against government spending cuts from their members, NALGO leaders voted this weekend to summon a special recall union conference in December — only six months after their annual conference.

The 600,000 strong union faces devastating blows to its membership as Chancellor Healey's spending cuts percolate through the administrations of local government and the health service, creating widespread sackings and closures.

PARADING

NALGO General Secretary Geoffrey Drain has until now attempted to defuse opposition to these moves by parading the country with a series of 'left' sounding denunciations of government policy — while giving no practical lead for action.

Indeed the 'left' cover went so far as to affiliate NALGO officially to the National Coordinating Committee Against Cuts in the National Health Service — whose programme includes the demand for a sliding scale of social service spending rising in pace with increased costs to defend against inflation.

Yet when action was taken by health service workers in London — a one day strike by 2,000 hospital workers against the closure of the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital — it was NALGO members who crossed the picket line.

DEMAND

But now Drain in facing a recalled Conference must know that the demand from the rank and file will be for the union to act in defence of jobs and social services — and if he avoided the issue at the June Conference, he cannot duck it now.

Also under increasing pressure is NUPE General Secretary Alan Fisher, whom lobbyists at the TUC Congress in Brighton saw posturing in acute embarrassment with a contingent of NUPE workers calling for an end to the cuts.

NUPE policy is for "guerilla strikes" at local level to stop the cuts — but it is clear that such

protest gestures designed to 'pressure' local administrators.

NUPE members however have already shown in many areas they are willing to take the policy of action to stop the cuts at face value and to fight each attack by management.

ESCALATE

This militancy is likely to escalate further as more and more local administrators in the social services announce planned cut-backs.

An example is in the Hackney area, where the Area Health Authority has announced 400 hospital jobs are to be slashed, overtime halved, blood testing and X-ray services cut by 75-80%, an end to automatic replacement of absent doctors, and the closure of one of the area's three accident units.

No half-hearted "guerilla" strikes or verbal posturing will succeed in beating back this barrage of attacks and this is only one area of many affected.

NUPE

NUPE has already called a lobby of the Labour Party Conference on Tuesday 28th September to take up the question of the cuts.

And on November 17th, NALGO has announced it will join NUPE on a national demonstration and lobby of Parliament in protest

against the cuts. On the same day the Civil and Public Services Association — the largest of the Civil Service unions — is calling a one day strike against plans to cut 46,000 Civil Service jobs.

The fight must be taken up in every area for NUPE and NALGO along with other local authority and health service unions also take national strike action on that day, as the opening shots of an out programme of strikes to stop the implementation of the plan cuts.

ACTION

In every sector where cuts threatened before this date must be met by all-out industrial action, calling on the support of local labour movement in defence of jobs and the social services.

The demands must be:
*No cuts, no sackings!
*For a sliding scale of social service spending to protect against inflation.

*For all accounts, plans resources of local administration to be opened to elected committees of trade unionists, and the day to day running of the social services to be controlled by them.

*Nationalise social services, public health and education.



MORE INFORMATION

Please send me more information about the Workers' Socialist League.

Name.....

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LABOUR CONFERENCE

Benn silent as 'lefts' posture



NCC march against health service cuts

The Labour Party's home policy committee, under the silent and passive chairmanship of fading 'left' Minister Wedgewood Benn, last week passed a resolution sharply critical of the government's economic policies, and decided to press for a vote on it at the Party Conference.

The resolution announced that Conference: "is appalled by the increasing evidence of the effects of the government's public expenditure cuts on vital social services such as housing; on the level of employment and the prospects of economic growth."

It of course ignores the fact

that the 'lefts' on the committee whose votes carried the resolution had earlier voted for these spending cuts in Parliament, and that Wedgewood Benn is a member of the Callaghan cabinet actually implementing them.

OPPOSED

The resolution will go to the full Labour NEC and if approved will go to Conference in Blackpool - where it is certain to be opposed by the block votes of the big union leaders who have throughout been the mainstay of the government's anti-working class policies.

Indeed Healey and Callaghan have relied entirely on the passive acquiescence of NUPE, ASTMS and other public sector and

STOP THE CUTS!

N.C.C. LOBBY OF THE
LABOUR PARTY
CONFERENCE

Tuesday 28th September
9.00 am.

Winter Gardens
Blackpool

health service unions in consciously flouting last year's Conference motion rejecting any cuts in the Health Service and calling for an injection of finance to defend it.

The issue at this Conference, then, as at previous Conferences, is not so much the verbal formulations adopted in the various stage-managed performances, but whether those 'left wingers' who claim to oppose the line of the Callaghan leadership will mount any serious fight in the labour and trade union movement to remove them and implement a socialist programme making themselves answerable to the Party and not the bankers.

Benn, the silent partner in the home policy committee, is confidently expected to put his plum Ministerial job before his tenuous 'socialist' principles when the chips are down in Blackpool. The question is whether any 'left' is prepared to do anything different.



Part of the lobby outside Brighton TUC

TUC STRIKEBREAKERS ... continued from front page

the TUC leaders, backed up by their army of full-time officials and Stalinist hangers-on, have now openly emerged as the chief strike-breakers for the employers in front of the working class is a development of fundamental significance.

Their strike-breaking of course is not confined to the seamen. In British Leyland their publicly proclaimed policy is the maintenance of continuous production.

VICTIMISATION

Having facilitated the victimisation of four shop stewards in the Cowley Assembly Plant, (reported in detail in *Socialist Press* 42), Jones and Scanlon now appear on the front page of British Leyland's company newspaper, *Leyland Mirror*, giving their message in banner headlines - KEEP WORKING.

This grotesque spectacle, just as unprecedented as their occupation of the employers' chair in the confrontation with the seamen, follows from their involvement in the Ryder plan, in the same way that their betrayal of the seamen is part and parcel of the social contract. This is called class collaboration.

STRUGGLE

But the collaborators' problem is the open way in which the class struggle is now reasserting itself - through the seamen's vote, the spate of strikes in Leyland and now the fringe benefit claims.

They now have to police the working class under conditions where the 4½% has already received a blow, and their flimsy economic arguments are disintegrating.

Every worker can see that despite all the cringing, wage-cutting policies of the TUC, inflation has escalated. Recent figures explode the myth, peddled by the TUC that wages are responsible for inflation.

But the working class must be warned.

To open up a crack in the social contract is not enough. The standard of living cannot be defended through fringe benefits. The main question of wage rates must be tackled and the social contract destroyed.

The reason for the attacks on Leyland workers in Cowley is because the bureaucracy know there is a force there fighting for programme and principled leader-

ship. The Workers Socialist League has insisted throughout the past period that the working class is not in retreat but is on the move. This is now shown to have been correct.

The urgency now is to establish a broad basis of support for a programme on which the working class can fight. Such a programme must stand in sharp relief to that of the capitalist policemen in the TUC.

*DOWN with the social contract!

*For a sliding scale of wages!

*NO SACKINGS!

*For work sharing on full pay!

*OPEN THE BOOKS of the employers!

*Establish the case for nationalisation under workers' management.

S.AFRICA... continued from front page

leadership emerge in the form of the Labour Party.

The leader of this party Sonny Leon opposes apartheid but rejects even the slogan "one man, one vote". His belief in a franchise based on "cultural criteria" is a concession to the racist government's policy of driving a wedge between the black and coloured peoples.

The coloured revolt in the Cape has completely dislodged that wedge at a single blow.

The coloured workers and students have completely identi-

fied in their struggle with that of the blacks.

The political strength of the whole movement has been shown by the protests against Kissinger's talks with Vorster.

There are no illusions that the arch-imperialist has come, as he claims, to bring peace and justice to Southern Africa.

On the contrary, the black workers and students, who knowingly risk death in demonstrating, realise that Kissinger's objective is to make Southern Africa stable and safe for racist rule on which capitalism in South Africa

depends.

The compromising petty-bourgeois leaders of states like Zambia and Tanzania, for all their occasional radical words, know that their rule also will be threatened if a revolution takes place in Zimbabwe and South Africa.

PRESSURE

It is for this reason that these leaders have put so much pressure on the different Zimbabwean groups to unify.

They see such unity as the necessary basis for a negotiated compromise with the Smith racists rather than an independent revolutionary struggle.

Although the whole anti-racist movement in Southern Africa is still dangerously lacking a principled leadership, the phenomenal courage and militancy of the mass struggle is every day making the shoddy and unprincipled compromise which Kissinger and Kaunda want more difficult to achieve.

At a pessimistic press conference after their discussions last week both Kaunda and Kissinger were said to be crying with emotion. They were real tears of fear.

LETTERS

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

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

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

Wage Control and Union Democracy

Wednesday 13th October
8.00 pm.

Southall Town Hall
The Broadway
Southall

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Correction

In the last issue of the paper we inadvertently stated that Tony Kelly would be speaking at a meeting organised by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement in Hackney on September 28th. He will in fact be speaking at the meeting in Central London on October 8th and will of course be doing so in a personal capacity.

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

PUBLIC MEETING

Wage Control and Union Democracy

Friday 8th October
7.30 pm.

NUFTO Hall
Jockeys Fields
London, WC1

Speakers

Alan Thornett
Tony Kelly
Keith Vaness

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

PUBLIC MEETING

Wage Control and Union Democracy

HACKNEY

Tuesday 28th September
Dalston Library
Dalston Lane, E8
7.30 pm.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

PUBLIC MEETING

LIVERPOOL

Friday 1st October
AUEW Hall

Mount Pleasant
7.30 pm