

# SOCIALIST PRESS



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# TORY RACISTS PREPARE CLASSES WAR

The calculated decision by Margaret Thatcher and the Tory leadership to whip up a racist frenzy against coloured immigration is far more than just a squalid vote-catching exercise.

It is a determined bid for a reactionary power base from which a re-elected Tory government intends to launch an all out confrontation with the trade unions.

## Cashing in

Racism is only being used as a convenient lever to win an audience for the policies of the extreme right wing Thatcher leadership.

To do this, the Tories are cynically cashing in on the conditions of falling living standards, chronic mass unemployment, slashed social services and housing shortages caused by the reactionary policies of the Lib-Lab coalition government.

Like the National Front they are using the frustration provoked by these conditions among layers of backward workers and within the middle class to step up their racist, anti-socialist, anti-union propaganda.

## Polarisation

The Tories know it is not enough to win the next election. They need to prepare conditions of violent polarisation within society in order to press home their attacks on a powerful working class movement.

Determined strikes, indicating unmistakably that working class militancy on wages and conditions is far from spent despite the defeat



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Healey

of the firemen's strike, have forced a breach in the government's policy of sanctions to uphold the 10% pay limit.

These conditions have clearly decided the Tories end the prolonged period in which they have ruled through the Labour and TUC leaders, and go for power in their own name.

## Vicious attack

This is why Thatcher, in calling last weekend for an October election, was setting the scene for an election campaign unlike any in the postwar period.

Her speech showed the real meaning of the offensive on immigration. It launched a vicious witch-hunting attack on socialist policies—even alleging that Labour's coalition programme is merely a 'front' for left wing policies.

This hysteria, linked with the propaganda on immigration, will connect up completely with the fascist agitation and violent attacks carried out by the National

Front. Thatcher's pretense that she is challenging to win the support of those who currently vote National Front is a patent fraud.

## Added respectability

Thatcher's line will only enhance the standing of the NF and give them an added respectability among the middle class.

Her fanatically racist talk of "swamping" the "British character" with "vast numbers" of immigrants "coming in indefinitely" is aimed at the same audience and flows from the same motives as NF propaganda.

Both movements reflect the desperation of the crisis-ridden capitalist class that sees a militant united labour movement as an obstacle to their exploitation of the working class.

The Tories know that in fanning the flames of nationalism and racism they face no real opposition from the Labour leaders.

Chancellor Healey, staunchly defending the Lib-Lab coalition's reactionary policies—including a vicious battery of existing immigration laws—lambly accused Thatcher of "going for the Alf Garnett vote".

## Rights restricted

Alex Lyon, 'left' chairman of the Labour Party Race Relations Action Group revealed that Labour's policies as they stand will drastically restrict the right of immigration in future measures.

In other words the Labour Party's "human" racism is supposedly better than the



PHOTO: Mark Rusher

Tories' naked racism. Tribune MP Sydney Bidwell announced in Parliament that:

"I do not regard Mrs Thatcher as a racist but as an extremely muddled woman on this question".

## Nationalist call

As a supporter of Tribune's policies Bidwell of course subscribes to the nationalist call for the imposition of *import controls*—discriminatory measures by British capitalists to "protect" British industry by forcing closures and redundancies in other countries.

Such a policy, attempting to line up British workers with their "own" bosses against "foreign" competition goes a long way towards the racist notion that it is 'nation' and *not* class that is the real dividing line.

Meanwhile violent fascist and racist attacks on black workers and youth continue to escalate and the NF continue to stage meetings under massive police protection.

## United struggle

Workers can only defend jobs, wages and living standards in the most determined united struggle against the

common enemy—the employers, whose lust for profit in a decaying and brutal social order drives them now into renewed attacks on the working class.

We stand clearly for the right of every worker to live and work in the country he or she chooses. We oppose *all* immigration laws, "quotas" and discriminatory legislation.

The labour movement must close ranks against the Tory and NF racists and organise workers defence squads to repel fascist attacks.

The Lib-Lab coalition—completely wedded to capitalist policies and racist

lution—must be broken, along with its 10% pay limit.

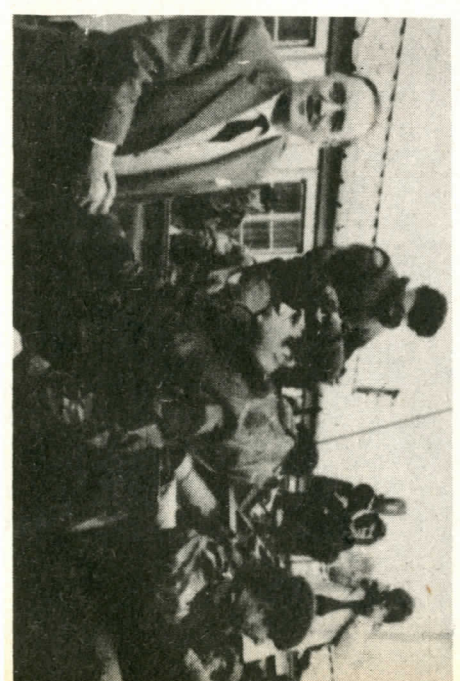
In the active struggle for this development workers can be shown the need to fight for a socialist answer to the problems on which racism festers:

\*No sackings! Work sharing on full pay.

\*Create new jobs! For a programme of useful public works under trade union control.

\*Restore the social services! For a cash injection, with automatic compensation for inflation, under workers management.

\*Nationalise the major industries! For a planned socialist economy.







# 300 pages of betrayal

The programme of Mario Soares' new right-wing Socialist-Christian Democratic coalition government runs to 300 pages.

On every page is some new burden which is to be imposed on the workers and peasants.

Every page speaks clearly of the sordid history of betrayals which has brought supposed workers leader Soares to the head of a bourgeois coalition government, openly devoted only to one strategy—the rehabilitation of Portuguese capitalism and the protection of imperialists' interests.

Soares' own words make this as plain as it could be:

"It is important to talk [1] about socialism and socialist options but we must all agree that the building of Socialism is now less important than the economic recovery of the country if we are to save Portuguese democracy..."

All the responsible politicians of this country more or less emphasised the necessity to reduce the balance of payments deficit, which is only viable through policies of austerity resulting in very high social costs that cannot be ignored..."

Sections of Soares' own party have reacted sharply to the formation of the

coalition.

Former 'left' Agricultural Minister, Lopez Cardoso has seized the opportunity to unite his tiny breakaway section of the Socialist Party with other small organisations of 'left' opportunists to form the Union of the Democratic Socialist Left.

### Christening

Present to give their blessing at the christening of this new opportunist block were both former darlings of the 'left' Major Otelo de Carvalho who played such a pernicious demagogic role in 1974 and 1975, and Major Melo Antunes, leader of the



Carvalho

"Group of 9" army officers who in mid-1975 intervened at a crucial moment to try to head off the revolutionary movement of Portuguese workers.

Refugees from Ethiopia report that 3,500 people have been killed in the purges of leftists carried out by the ruling military junta since Cuban and Russian advisors arrived four months ago. As the Derg continues its reign of terror, a counter-offensive is being launched with Cuban support to regain Ogaden from the Somali armies, and wrest territory from the liberation forces in Eritrea.

### SCANDINAVIA

The continuing ravages of the capitalist crisis have been revealed in recent figures from northern Europe. Unemployment in both Denmark and Finland has reached

9%, while inflation in Finland soared to 13% last year. The Popular Front government has imposed a wages freeze, and the Norwegian government is expected to follow suit shortly after the introduction of its new battery of austerity measures.

### IRELAND

The reflationary strategy of the Fanna Fall's last budget has been seriously threatened by the breakdown of talks with union leaders. The government's demand of a 5% limit on wage rises has been countered with claims for 12%, which would still lag far behind inflation. Lynch's government has replied with the fantastic argument that its budget measures would cut unemployment by half of its current 12%.

# TUNISIA DECLARES STATE OF EMERGENCY

In the wake of the general strike and uprising, the Bourguiba government is now imposing a fierce regime of repression in Tunisia.

At least 1,000 arrests have now been made of workers and unemployed youth, including 11 of 13 executive committee members of the General Workers' Union (UGTT).

The state of emergency is still in force, with army units exercising a dusk-to-dawn curfew. For venturing criticism, the paper *El Raf* has been suspended.

With the aid of bribery and brute force, hysterical demonstrations of workers 'loyal' to the ruling Destour Socialist Party have been arranged by Mohamed Sayah and other party leaders.

Despite the determined efforts of Prime Minister Nouira's government to create a smokescreen of false information, it is now becoming possible to judge the scale of events on 26 January.

The general strike itself was the culmination of months of pressure and agitation.

### Discontent

As long ago as August there were signs in the publications of the UGTT that discontent among its rank-and-file members was reaching a level that could not be ignored or contained.

Founded in 1944 by Ferhat Hached and Habib Achour, the UGTT was the trade union wing of the nationalist DSP.

After independence these links were continued and formalised, though in practice the union always maintained a degree of autonomy from the one-party state and their relationship has been problematic.

In 1965 these tensions came out in the open, and Achour was arrested for his criticism of government policy. But in 1970 he was re-installed by the DSP as the union's secretary-general (Achour was a founding member of what was then the Neo-Destour Party under French colonial rule in 1934).

As the international crisis of capitalism bore down on underdeveloped economies with the greatest severity, Tunisian workers experienced constant inflation of prices and soaring unemployment.

### 'Social pact'

The government responded with 'austerity' programmes, and the UGTT leadership collaborated in preparing a 'social pact' of wage control.

of 1965 and lacking any independent political organisation, Tunisian workers were unable to resist these attacks and betrayals immediately.

Opposition to Bourguiba's

government came from the student movement in the late 1960s, when riots were put down with energetic brutality and from liberal intellectuals more recently.

### Limited rights

The latter clamoured for an end to the one-party system, and finally the government conceded some limited organisational rights to the Democratic Socialist Opposition Movement.

Led by Ahmed Meitri and Hassib ben Amar, this group of liberal social-democrats publishes *El Raf*, which is about as oppositional as *The Guardian* in Britain.

But as the economic crisis deepened, the militancy of workers grew rapidly.

This movement was largely led by youth. Some 50% of the Tunisian population is under 20, and unemployment is here at its highest.

Sections of youth have been in the vanguard of all the recent mobilisations, challenging the government, union bureaucracy and now the army.

### Impreclicable

Last November, in strategic sections of industry (mines, railways, etc), a series of strikes began against government wage control. Elements of the administration sought to control this development with the collaboration of the UGTT leadership.

But this soon became impracticable as Achour was driven by the pressure of his own members to make more uncompromising statements and the bourgeoisie recognised the need for direct confrontation.

Tahar Belkhadoua, associated with the policy of conciliation was dismissed as Minister of the Interior, and the scene set for the recent battles.

### Thugs hired

The wave of strikes pressed on. Gangs of thugs were hired by the DSP to ransack offices of the union and threaten leading militants.

Demonstrations in defence of the union throughout the major industrial centres became larger and more frequent, while weapons were being gathered in local headquarters—clubs, iron-bars, Molotov cocktails and tear-gas canisters.

All these preparations, Achour

attempted to carry on with his balancing act, buffeted by strong cross-winds: he defended the demands of the strikers, but claimed that there was no quarrel with the DSP.

This position could satisfy neither side—nor could it be sustained for very long.

The secretary-general's main concern was to secure the principal base from which he could reach out to grasp the succession to the dying President Bourguiba. He has now been shipwrecked and smashed by the tidal wave he hoped to ride to power.

### 'Deviationism'

The government fulminated with accusations of 'deviationism', and infiltration by communist and Marxist elements conspiring to subvert the loyal and innocent Tunisian workers. This produced sycophantic protestations of 'true patriotism' from some quarters, but did nothing to check the surge of solid opposition.

The UGTT leadership was left with no option but to call a general strike. On the day itself, as the strikers gathered for demonstrations in Tunis, Kairouan, Sfax and Sousse, the police moved in to blockade union offices and occupy positions in the central and industrial areas.

Fanned by provocation from agents and police, small incidents rapidly developed into major confrontations with the wrecking of buses to form barricades, and attempts to occupy or burn down government buildings.

### 200 killed

To attack the first general strike since independence, the army was ordered in for its first major intervention into the class struggle. As this massive operation proceeded along its bloody course, some 200 workers were killed and hundreds more severely wounded.

These actions have no parallel in Tunisian history, and amount to an insurrection. It is still not clear what forces have been responsible for giving this movement such political direction as it showed, but it is almost certain that the strikes and demonstrations were the result of spontaneous militancy rather than any conscious intervention. This was reflected in the confusion which characterised the demands raised by the workers, and the evident lack of organisation on the day of the general strike itself.

### Barely justified

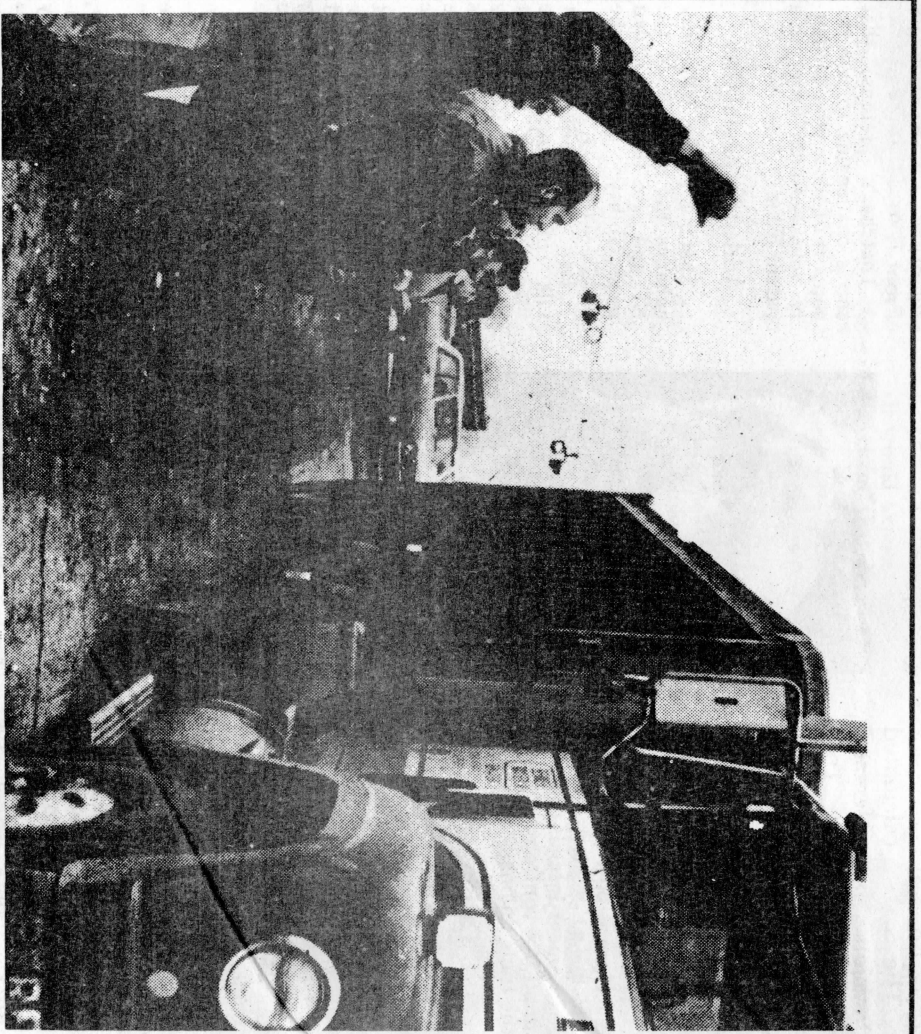
The government's claims of a 'communist conspiracy'

are barely justified by the

role of the Tunisian Communist Party which is now illegal and long ago dissolved

itself into the left wing of the nationalists. Nor is there any evidence of any socialist organisation operating within the country. But the hints of Libyan complicity are more substantial.

Achour himself recently visited the 40,000 Tunisian migrant workers in neighbouring Libya, and used the opportunity to issue a statement of support for the PLO which reached far beyond the cautious and compromised position of the Bourguiba government.



# Miners smell success

Massive stocks piled up by US coal bosses and power stations before the nine week strike by United Mine Workers members are beginning to run out.

President Carter sent his Labour Secretary, Roy Marshall, to set up talks between the employers and the UMW. Leaders to show the employers that the Government took their fears seriously.

union's history called to establish the right to local strikes and to defend the miners' health and welfare payments is clearly beginning to bite.

But as the bosses grow desperate so does the determination of UMW. President, Arnold Miller. Miller has been trying to win acceptance in the union for abandoning the strike demand in return for guarantees on the health and welfare fund.

down scab pits must be stepped up and as the latest outbreak of shooting shows, defence squads must be strengthened.

The open collaboration between the Democrats and the employers heightened by Marshall's intervention shows the clear need to break all links between the union and the bourgeois party they supported in the last election, and the need to build a Labour Party based directly on the organs of the working class.



# OWEN HOPES FOR DEAL

British Foreign Secretary David Owen is the key figure in imperialism's efforts to bring Zimbabwe safely into the neo-colonial fold.

Last week in Salisbury the signs were that Bishop Muzorewa, the Rev. Sithole and racist Premier Ian Smith were more or less reconciled to each other in spite of recent squabbles.

In Malta there also seemed to be a move towards reconciliation of Nkomo and Mugabe of the Patriotic Front and the imperialist representatives Owen and Andrew Young.

Nkomo and Mugabe agreed to support a role for imperialist (British and United Nations) troops in the proposed interim period.

## Crucial concession

This is one more long step down the road of collaboration with imperialism which these leaders have been taking.

After the meeting, Mugabe (usually branded more left-wing than Nkomo) said that they had made progress towards an agreement "in which the British and ourselves will lead our country to independence".

The nationalists, he said, would play "a substantial role" and the British "a supervisory role".

In exchange for this crucial concession Owen and Young reportedly agreed to replacing their proposed interim military dictator (Field Marshall Lord Carver)



by a broader dictatorial "governing council" on which the Patriotic Front would be represented.

Owen's problem is now to bring the Salisbury and Malta compromises together and he is using all the tricks of secret diplomacy to bring that about.

The *Sunday Times* reports that he used his friends in the racist South African government to transmit the documents discussed in Malta to the "internal settlement" negotiators.

No doubt if all this treachery, cunning and unprincipled attempt to scuttle the interests of the black masses of Zimbabwe get anywhere they will win Owen a reputation as a "bold and wise statesman".

But their chances of getting anywhere still constantly clash with the fact that the interests of the black masses and those of imperialism in Southern Africa are irreconcilable.

To build a stable neo-colonial settlement in those conditions is like building a sandcastle when the tide is coming in.

# General strike stands firm

Nicaragua's extraordinary "general strike" against the Somoza dictatorship has continued for a second full week.

In the capital Managua and most of the provincial towns virtually all production and commercial activities have come to a halt as shops, factories and petrol stations have closed down.

The National Guard has so far remained loyal to the Somoza family, which is not surprising since that is where its money comes from.

But during the week the stoppage has spread rather than shrunk. It seems fairly certain, however, that its character is changing.

To begin with the protest was sponsored by the bourgeois opposition to Somoza including the Higher Council of Private Enterprise (the bosses' organisation) and the class collaborationist alliance Democratic Liberation Union (UDEL).

## Assassination

The origin of the protest was the assassination of the UDEL leader and newspaper editor Joaquin Chomorro.

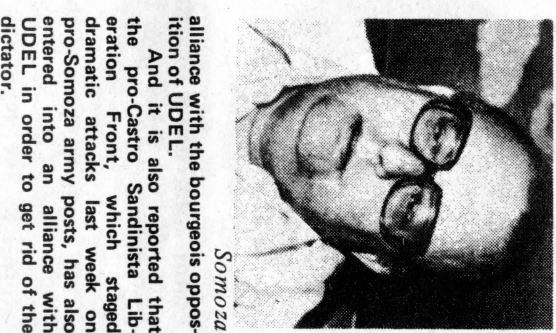
The original demand was for no more than the bringing to justice of his assassins, assumed to be agents of Somoza.

as a catalyst to the present strike it was only when the mass of the working class joined in that the most commonly raised slogan was for the resignation of Somoza.

But the leaders of UDEL and others who claim to lead this movement are simply rival capitalists to the vastly wealthy Somoza family.

For them, therefore, the continuation of the strike carries the danger that the workers will take it much further than these capitalist "strike leaders" intend.

That depends on whether the working class and peasantry can build a leadership based on a programme which represents their independent interests.



Somoza

Reports give little sign of this development. Quite the contrary, the Communist Party is predictably in an unshakable alliance with the bourgeois opposition of UDEL.

And it is also reported that the pro-Castro Sandinista Liberation Front, which staged dramatic attacks last week on pro-Somoza army posts, has also entered into an alliance with UDEL in order to get rid of the dictator.

# SRI LANKA CRACKDOWN

Dictatorship is once again the solution of the bourgeoisie to the crisis it faces in south Asia.

Junous Jayewardene has now established himself as both head of state and head of government in Sri Lanka.

Jayewardene came to parliamentary power last year as leader of the United National Party.

## Not acceptable

His amendments to the constitution now give him at least six years in office as President, and his government will no longer be accountable to the Assembly which he can dissolve at will.

The UNP won a landslide victory in July 1977 on the basis of its lavish promises to

resolve the island's massive social and economic problems.

## Murdered

The election was followed by protests from the Tamils (an ethnic minority in both Sri Lanka and southern India) against racial discrimination.

Their demands provoked a vicious reply: hundreds of Tamils were murdered in government-sponsored massacres.

But while he resists the Tamil movement for self-determination, Jayewardene himself is now proposing to create an independent state-let on the island—what he calls 'a capitalists' paradise', modelled on Hong Kong, that would be a magnet for

foreign investment.

This scheme goes alongside a wide-ranging attack on the Sri Lankan workers and peasants.

An 85% currency devaluation has resulted in a huge rise in prices, and welfare subsidies are being withdrawn.

Already about half the population has been denied the free rice ration in a period where unemployment means near starvation, and the rate of unemployment has reached 20%.

## Not satisfied

But these measures have not nearly satisfied the IMF, which requires an end to subsidies on wheat and transport before it will grant a loan for

the government's investment plans.

## 'new employment'

Jayewardene claims that this strategy will create new employment. But its populist propaganda barely conceals the truth that the UNP, like the Indian Congress Party, is the agent of the landowning and industrial capitalists.

Jayewardene has already moved to suppress opposition to his dictatorship and its policies. Trade union leaders have been removed from office, all demonstrations banned and political strikes threatened with severe reprimand.

seeks to present his alliance of petty-bourgeois collaborators as a substitute for the consolidation of the unity of the working class as an independent force.

## Capital's agent

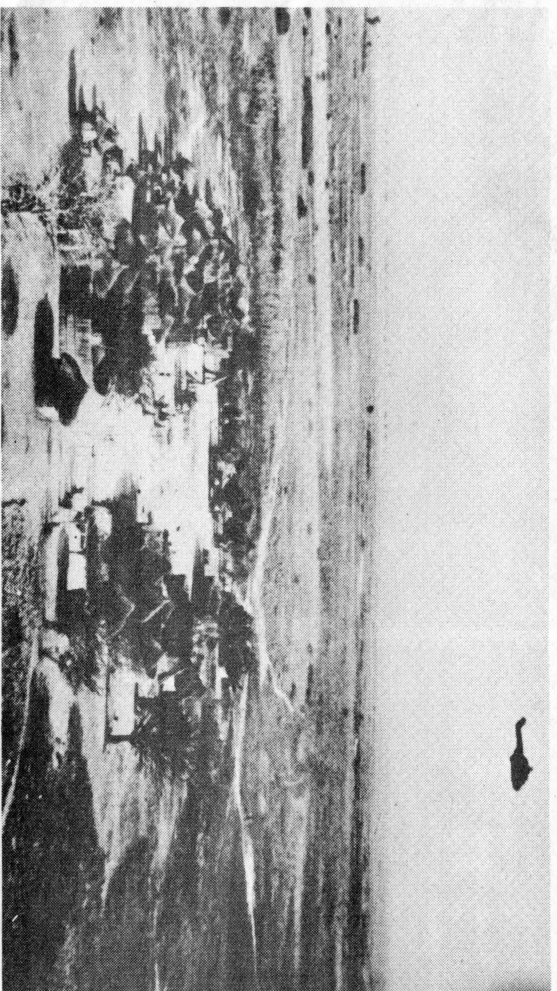
By substituting his new alliance of collaboration for the independence of the class Buthelezi once again exposes his real role as capital's agent in the attempt to demobilise and fragment the working class as an independent force.

Opportunist collaborators will continue to owe their political life to their usefulness to capital on the one hand and the failure of the traditional nationalist movement to develop a revolutionary alternative on the other.

The political dilemma facing the working class in South Africa now demands

the construction of such an alternative. It demands that working class militants inside all the organisations whose bankruptcy has led to the current vulnerability of the working class, break decisively with the political line of collaboration, compromise and popular frontism and regroup around an alternative revolutionary programme of transitional demands based on the independence of the working class.

Such a regrouping is an essential aspect of the building of the genuinely revolutionary organisation which alone can defend the working class against the state offensive through the consolidation of the gains of Soweto and the development of the struggle to the only resolution in the interests of the working class—the establishment of socialism.



Apartheid state spies on Namibian village

As opportunists in Zimbabwe plot betrayals of the black masses similar developments are taking place in Namibia and South Africa.

In Namibia the strategy of imperialism is to create a false independence, securing its interests through a friendly government.

Meetings (planned for New York, February 11 and 12) between South Africa, the 'Big Five' imperialist countries and SWAPO are nothing more than attempts to force SWAPO to accept an imperialist solution.

There must be a fight in the British Labour Movement for maximum moral and material support to any forces within SWAPO which

are genuinely committed to the interests of the Namibian workers and peasants in their struggle to withstand the pressure now being orchestrated by imperialism.

## Desperate attempts

Just as in Britain the Callaghan government plots against the British workers, it plays a major role internationally in imperialism's desperate attempts to head off the mass struggle in Namibia.

British workers must combine their opposition to wage cuts in social services with a campaign in support of their class brothers and sisters in Southern Africa.

At present the central demand

focus on the role of Foreign Secretary David Owen who is travelling the world hatching secret deals with 'moderate' Black leaders.

The demand 'No secret diplomacy' must be carried, systematically into the British workers movement as part of the fight for the breaking of the coalition and the fight for a new leadership which will start from the interests of the workers not of imperialism.

Such solidarity, however, can be no substitute for the building of a genuinely revolutionary organisation—the *only* measure which can defend the interests of the workers and peasants of Southern Africa.

In South Africa itself, the struggle has developed from

the Soweto rebellion to the point where the workers face a new sharper level of state reaction without the only weapon which can defend them—Independent organisation and programme.

Standing at that political crossroads the working class, in the struggle to preserve its independent interests, is increasingly vulnerable to state repression and the schemes of the reformists.

## No shortage

There is no shortage of opportunists standing in the way of the working class.

One of the most important is Chief Buthelezi, leader of the legal Imkatha movement who swings between left and right in his cynical attempt to ride to power on the backs of South African workers.

His recently announced alliance with fellow collaborators in the Coloured Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party, brought into life with a wave of radical rhetoric, is not an attempt to forge genuine working class unity but a further attempt to shackle the workers firmly to a petty-bourgeois leadership.

The Soweto movement saw broad sections of the working class breaking from the sectarianism of the traditional nationalist movements and forging a fighting unity.

## Substitute

But this was achieved without the political leadership necessary to defend and develop the struggle through building on that unity.

In true opportunist fashion Buthelezi now emerges from the gutter of his capitulation and betrayals during the Soweto events and



Native reserve in Namibia





# YEARS OF SOCIALIST PRESS

Editor John Lister examines the record of 'Socialist Press' over the past year.

1977 was the year of the British Leyland toolroom strike; the Lib-Lab Coalition; mass picketing of Grunwick; the rejection of a formal Phase 3; the imposition of the 10% pay limit; the firemen's strike—scabbed on by the army and the TUC; and the sell-out of the miners £135 pay claim. Internationally, there were major developments in Southern Africa and the spread of Popular Front type governments throughout Europe.

And it was the year in which *Socialist Press*, the only paper to have consistently analysed and provided programme and perspective in the course of these upheavals, acquired the material and political resources to go from fortnightly to weekly publication, beginning last October.

The Third Anniversary of *Socialist Press* is for us an occasion both to look back on the record established by the paper in the class struggle, and to work for further expansion and development of its sales and coverage.

### Daily fight

From the very first edition of *Socialist Press* six weeks after the formation of the Workers Socialist League (from forces expelled from the Workers Revolutionary Party) the programme and politics we have put forward have drawn not on surface impressions of events, but on analysis of the experience of our members' daily fight for the Trotskyist programme within the working class.

This has made our paper different from any other left wing paper. It has been this strength

that has enabled *Socialist Press* to arrive at the correct analysis that the working class would not tamely submit to Phase 2 of wage control.

### Coalition

It led us to forecast the explosion of militant struggles on pay that eventually took place in the first months of 1977 and brought the Leyland toolroom strike, and major struggles at Heathrow Airport and Port Talbot steelworks.

And while almost every other 'left' group took Callaghan at his word when he gave assurances that the Lib-Lab pact was simply a parliamentary arrangement, *Socialist Press* produced a special edition to ram home the fact that what was involved was an undeclared coalition to enforce a third phase of wage control.

### Refuted

The opportunists and sceptics who doubted this analysis have been amply refuted by events.

Despite a summer period in which union conference after conference made it



The first issue



The Special issue — on the Lib-Lab coalition.



First issue on newspaper



First weekly Socialist Press

impossible for the TUC to endorse a formal Phase 3 of wage control, Chancellor Healey, in harness with Liberal leader Steel, unilaterally declared the imposition of a 10% limit on pay.

And it has been the refusal of the TUC leaders to challenge that limit, linked to solid parliamentary support on wage control from the Liberal Party and complete prostration from the spineless

Labour 'lefts' that has preserved both the Callaghan-Healey government and state control of wages.

Only *Socialist Press* has consistently shown that the government policies of wage-cutting, mass unemployment and social service cuts can only be defeated through a fight which will break the Lib-Lab coalition and remove class-collaborating supporters in the unions and

# Porter dies: strike to stop the cuts

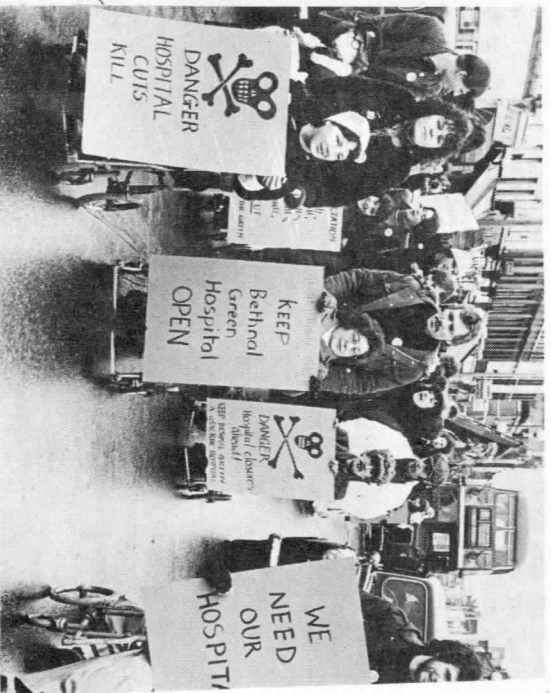


PHOTO: Mark Rusher (IFL)

Fighting the cuts in London — marchers protest at the closure of Bethnal Green Hospital.

NUPE members at the Westminster Hospital in London walked out last Tuesday after a porter was left to die in the hospital's Casualty Department.

The porter, Mr. Loretto Galano, aged 35, had been sick since the previous week and on Tuesday was taken

into the Casualty Department by two fellow NUPE members at about 10 am.

Apart from a cursory examination at 11 o'clock, Mr. Galano was not seen again until he collapsed and died at 1.00 pm.

When his fiancée, who also works at the hospital, asked about his condition at 1.30 pm., she was told she

would have to wait, and was not told of his death until an hour and a half later.

### Mass meeting

Friends and colleagues of Mr. Galano were only allowed to see his body after a wrangle with the hospital.

Over 200 NUPE members voted in a mass meeting to support by a series of lightning strikes, the call of NUPE branch secretary Jamie Morris for an inquiry by the Regional Health Authority into Mr. Galano's death, and a further inquiry into the running of the hospital.

This tragic case has highlighted once again the effects the cuts are having on the London area.

A NUPE steward at the Westminster told *Socialist Press* that pressure on the casualty department had increased since the closure of the Casualty Department at the nearby St. Georges hospital; and the closure of 39

the Labour Party, campaigning continually on the slogan "Regan and Defend Living Standards" we were able to expose and fight the manoeuvres by the union bureaucrats who throughout the summer attempted to create enough elbow room for the introduction of a formal Phase 3. We spelt out the necessity for an end to all wage controls, for full catching up claims, and for agreements to include cost of living clauses to protect against inflation.

### International struggle

And we traced week-by-week the betrayals of the TUC leaders who consciously isolated and betrayed the firemen, allowing mass military strike breaking bigger than any time since 1926, in order to preserve the Lib-Lab coalition government.

These struggles take place as part of the international struggles of the working class for its political independence and against capitalist and imperialist exploitation.

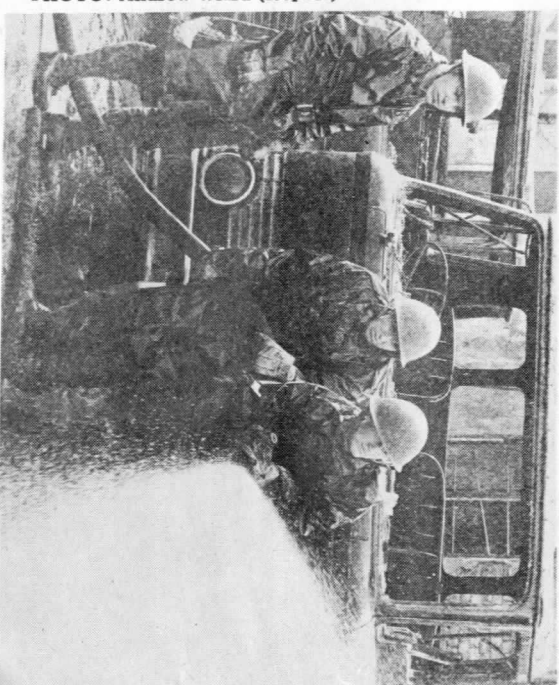
*Socialist Press* has closely followed the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, the fight against Franco's heirs in Spain, the battle against vicious dictatorships in Latin America, and the age-old struggle for self-determination of the Irish people.

An eleven part series on Ireland has been a part of the theoretical and historical material presented in *Socialist Press* over the last year, which also included an important series on the rise of fascism in pre-war Europe.

### Break from bosses

The emergence of new class collaborationist 'Popular Front' governments—comprising social democrats and

PHOTO: Andrew Wiard (Report)



Troops scabbing on firemen's strike - by permission of TUC

beds at the Gordon Hospital, part of the Westminster Group, had meant it was more difficult to find beds for patients who needed to be admitted urgently from Casualty.

### Worthless

Since it is cuts like this which are the cause of Mr. Galano's death, it is worthless to ask the Regional Health Authority to hold an inquiry: it is they who drew up the plan to close 150 of London's hospitals.

The only people capable of carrying out an inquiry into Mr. Galano's death and the workings of the Westminster Hospital are the NUPE members themselves, in conjunction with other hospital unions in London.

### Not active

And the inquiry must not stop at the Westminster Hospital, but must include the Regional Health Autho-

bourgeois representatives, with the open or tacit support of the Communist Parties—has been analysed continuously with the consistent demand that the workers' parties break from the bourgeoisie and form a government.

And *Socialist Press* has carried series of articles analysing the "Euro-communist" parties and their leaders' adaptation to the capitalist class in their "own" countries.

Alongside this basic coverage we have waged a fight against the unprincipled drive for "Socialist Unity", which has led the self-styled "Trotskyists" of the International Marxist Group to formally abandon their party press and, more important, to drop any pretence of a fight for the principle of defence of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

### Important year

And we have exposed the ultra-left and opportunist posturing of the Socialist Workers Party which tailors its demands and actions not to workers' objective needs but to the prevailing mood of the working class.

The third year of *Socialist Press* has therefore been an active and an important one. We urge every reader to play a role in ensuring that this work can be taken further in every field in our fourth year.

Take an extra copy of the paper to sell at work or to a friend. Give a donation—however small or large—to the Socialist Press Monthly Fund.

Give us the material basis to expand our work and improve the paper as the vehicle for the Trotskyist programme in the workers' movement.

# Taxmen fight low pay

In an act of class solidarity with low paid home workers, the 64,000 strong Inland Revenue Staff Federation have refused to handle 1978-9 tax return forms until home workers receive adequate rates for their mental tasks.

Currently, home workers are employed by the government to put tax-change slips into Inland Revenue return envelopes, an onerous, repetitive chore which the government feels it can farm out with impunity to the lowest paid section of the working class.

At the moment, home workers receive 25p for every 600 forms they put in envelopes, an hourly rate of roughly 12½p.

The Inland Revenue Staff Federation's action—unprecedented among Civil Service workers—is an important step forward for the largely immigrant, largely female home workers whose conditions of employment have scarcely changed since the 1800s.



# Fight anti-Irish laws

The decision by Acton magistrates to recommend Martin Williams, an unemployed Irish worker, for deportation after being convicted of ordering a meal he could not pay for, has sparked an angry response.

Irish workers resident in Britain leafleted the court hearing denouncing the way the law discriminates against Irish people, hanging the continued threat of deportation over their heads.

This is not only true of the obviously anti-Irish "Prevention of Terrorism" Act, aimed at intimidating and suppressing Irish militants, but can be activated by even the most trivial criminal court conviction.

Such treatment is clearly discriminatory. And Tory spokesman on Ireland Airey Neave has launched a campaign to increase this discrimination against Irish workers if Irish Prime Minister Lynch does not stop his opportunistic talk of a united Ireland.

Neave has called for a retaliatory crackdown on social security entitlements, passports and democratic rights for Irish people resident in Britain.

An ad hoc grouping of Irish people has been formed to fight these moves—but on a completely inadequate basis.

It attacks "unions and left groups" for being "too busy pursuing productivity deals and revolution" to take much notice of the problems of Irish people.

And it issues a 'call' to "all loyal Irishmen to join with them in the formation of The Irish Men and Women's Alliance of Britain".

While the sentiments and frustration that motivate this call are understandable, it represents a *retreat* from the fight that must be taken up to mobilise the whole British labour movement in defence of Irish workers in Britain and against all the discriminatory laws and regulations—which are vigorously upheld by the Lib-Lab Coalition Government.

This fight must include the struggle for the repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and also the Immigration laws.

The challenge laid down by this group of Irish workers must be taken up, and the signatories of the 'call' must take responsibility for carrying a serious campaign on the issue into the Labour Party and the trade union movement.



## Fake names confuse Tories

The laughably-named right wing front organisation 'Campaign for Labour Victory' has run into a problem of mistaken identities.

Reactionary elements in the Labour Party looking for sympathetic crypto-Tory groupings are apparently confusing the CLV with the equally despicable 'Campaign for Representative Democracy' run by Newham infiltrators Julian Lewis and Paul McCormick.

### Legal wrangles

And other elements in the party are also apparently blaming the CLV—which includes such diabolical opponents of socialism as Shirley Williams, William Rodgers and John Cartwright—for the legal wrangles initiated by Lewis and McCormick.

## Nursery fight

A well-attended meeting last week in Oxford's Town Hall discussed the action against the closures of first, middle and nursery schools by the Tory County Council.

Speakers from the threatened schools, an NUT member and a Trades Council delegate spoke about the steamrolling tactics of the Council, lack of parental consultation and the inaction of union and Labour Party leaders on the subject of closures.

The meeting agreed to send a letter to NUT Divisional Committee members condemning their recent decision to accept school closures on the grounds of a national drop in school-age population, and reminding the NUT of their



Irish workers on the Sinn Fein Bloody Sunday commemoration

recent campaign to "support our children" and defend pupil-teacher ratios which was being supported by parents.

Members of the Oxford City Nursery Campaign asked the meeting to support their five point policy which includes defence of nursery schools and classes through occupation, and the setting up of committees of parents, teachers and other trade unionists to investigate the finances of the Council.

Discussion on the policy of occupation exposed worries about the Criminal Trespass Act, and some people felt that while direct action will inevitably be necessary, "we shouldn't publicise our intentions to the Council".

An amendment to delete the occupation clause was successful by 31 votes to 30.

## 1m will be on dole in 1982

Two allegedly 'left' Labour MPs were given answers to questions in parliament this week which should put them on the spot.

Both of them were enquiring about jobs. One was the Tribune group's economic "expert", Brian Sedgemore who is a member of the Commons Committee that last week quizzed a Senior Treasury economist, Frank Cassell, on the official government forecasts for jobs.

In response to Sedgemore's questions, Cassell revealed that even if the economy grew by 3½% a year between now and 1982—considerably in excess of anything achieved by British capitalism this century—then unemployment would still remain well over a million at the end of that period.

### Sentenced

That means the government is admitting that, even if the British economy fulfilled its most optimistic expectations, hundreds of thousands of workers have been consciously sentenced by the government to unemployment for life.

Of course, these same estimates imply that the continuation of the recent overall stagnation of production in British capitalism is bound to lead to mounting mass unemployment which by 1982 could reach three million, the peak figure of the 1930s.

Indeed fearsome possibilities exist in the world capitalist economy today which make even the Treasury's figures look optimistic.

These are most visible in the development of trade wars between the capitalist countries, taking the form of protective duties, competitive devaluations and various kinds of export subsidy.

A new study has just been

## PRESS GANG King Edwardes

The chorus of praise that greeted Michael Edwardes' speech last week to an assorted mixture of managers, class collaborators and shop stewards had been a long time brewing.

The Edwardes plan, half formed, vague and inadequate for the problems of capitalism though it is, marks a turn from the policies of Lord Ryder, a decided shift in the direction of confrontation.

Since Leyland has been the whipping post for Fleet Street for years the press was guaranteed to hail any move towards an attack on the workers.

The *Daily Mail* hailed it:

"Union leaders cheer as Leyland lays it on the line".

Focusing on the grovelling reaction from Communist Party and right wing collaborators, the *Mail* posed the question for Leyland in the following form:

"Can the shop stewards control their membership, sell them the idea of redundancies, and help management restore the notion of a fair day's work for a fair day's

But behind the razzmatazz of the *Mail* and other populist papers lies a deeper unease based on the knowledge that what is crippling Leyland is a crisis of capitalism far deeper than promises of good behaviour can cure.

The *Financial Times*, noting in its news page that Edwardes' reception was certainly no warmer than that given to Lord Ryder, two years ago, nevertheless echoed the *Daily Mail's* focus in an editorial headed 'New boom at Leyland'.

Beneath the heading, however, the text took a different turn.

What the *FT* understands (but obviously cannot openly state) is that *no* policy for Leyland short of closure can cure its ills under capitalism. The populist option of closing volume car production is not on.

The *Financial Times* says: "To abandon volume cars at this stage is hardly feasible. Quite apart from the political objections, it is extremely doubtful whether Jaguar, Rover and Triumph are viable on their own. They depend for bodies and other components on factories whose main volume comes

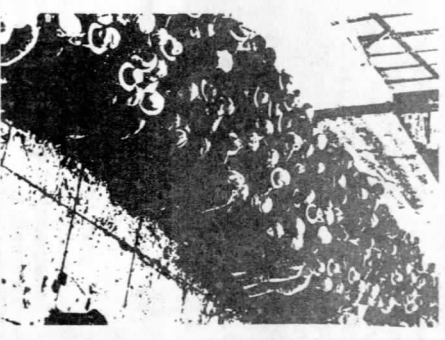
from Austin Morris: if Austin Morris disappeared, the economics of those factories would be undermined... "The present system of making cash injections vaguely dependent on good behaviour is unsatisfactory. In the financial reconstruction which seems likely in the near future the cardinal principle must be to put responsibility for Leyland's future where it belongs—with the people who manage the company and work in it.

"To the extent that they are unable to generate funds out of their own operations, a further contradiction must take place—and this, too, is a matter for management to decide."

In other words, the *Financial Times* is hoping that "political considerations" (i.e. working class resistance) will disappear in a cloud of management decisions.

To achieve that capitalism will require more than a new boom.

They will require to stamp out all opposition to closures... a task beyond even the considerable powers of Derek Robinson, Terry Duffy and the other collaborators at the Kenilworth meeting.



steelwork, telecommunications equipment, and artificial fibres. They also show a number of industries where production fell relative to employment and which are therefore, likely to be key striking points in the capitalists' latest offensive against jobs.

These danger point industries include machine tools, industrial engineer textile machinery, mechanical handling equipment and industrial trucks, telecommunications equipment and man-made fibres.

This kind of information can be an important acquisition for socialists since it can enable a socialist leadership to understand better the inter-connected manifestations of the capitalist crisis.

It opens the possibility of adjusting tactics in the workers' fight against the effects of the crisis and for the social overthrow of the capitalist system which produces it.

In the hands of the Tribunes who have obtained it, however, information like any other potential weapon of the class struggle is unloaded, 'made harmless and used as the basis for one of their unprincipled class collaborationist schemes.



# 'COMMUNISTS' WHO DECLARE SUPPORT FOR MATO AND PRIVATE INDUSTRY

By John Lister and Enrique Alvares

In last week's 'Socialist Press' we examined the theoretical positions argued by leaders of the Spanish and Italian Communist Parties. In this article we intend to look at some much more recent pronouncements by spokesmen of these self-styled "Eurocommunist" parties.

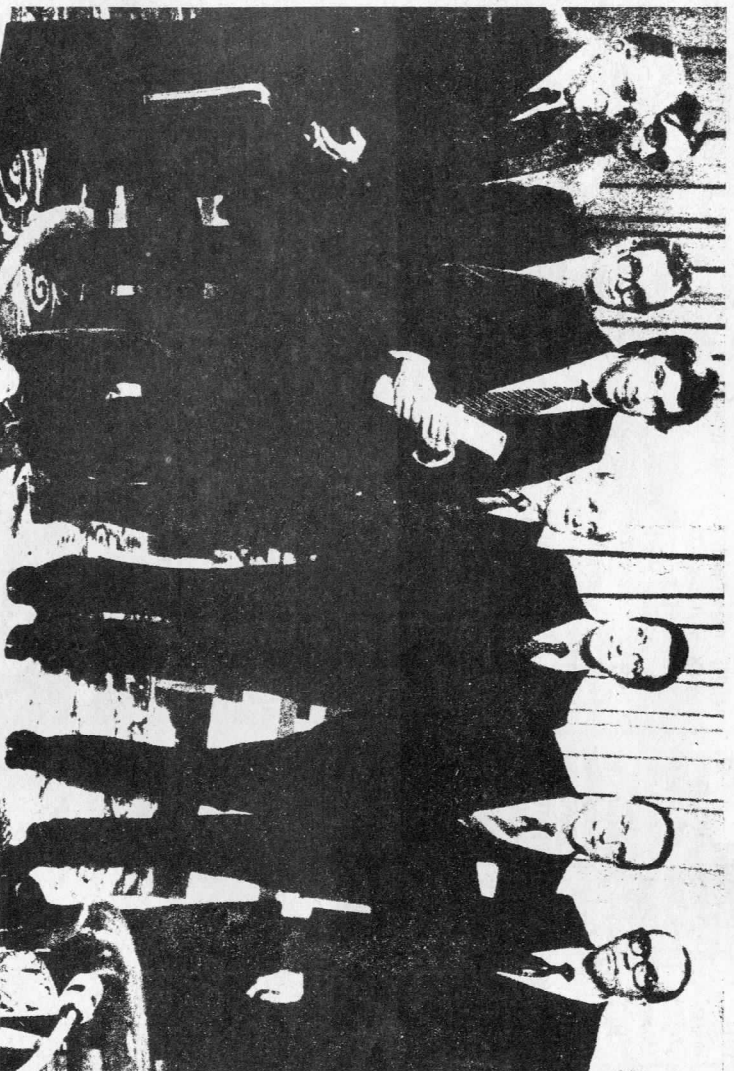
These show even more clearly the way in which the "new" phenomenon of "Eurocommunism" is in reality the extension of the Stalinist perspective of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful co-existence" with capitalism, under conditions where the Communist Party leadership comes under acute pressure.

## Open collaboration

The critical weakness of the capitalist class and its state regime in these countries and the revolutionary potential of the working class have forced the Stalinist leaders—determined at all costs to preserve the status quo of class relations on which their bureaucratic existence is based—into new levels of open class collaboration in which the Communist Parties' traditional links to Moscow have been called into question.

The results have been dramatic. In Spain alone, over the last year the Communist Party has:

- \*denounced proletarian internationalism.
- \*denounced the dictatorship of the proletariat.
- \*scabbed on strikes and demonstrations.
- \*praised the "democratic" Francoist regime.
- \*lauded the Francoist army.
- \*adopted the flag of the Francoist monarchy as its own.
- \*defended the institution of the monarchy.
- \*supported American bases in Spain.
- \*signed the anti-working class Moncloa Pact with the Francoist regime.
- \*expelled one of its members who killed a fascist in self defence.
- Its leader, Santiago Carrillo, has:
  - \*appeared on public platforms with fascists like Manuel Fraga.
  - \*sent condolences to the Francoist police when some of them were killed.
  - \*crossed a strike picket line in the United States.
  - All of this is only in keep-



Carrillo (left), along with Socialist Party leader Felipe Gonzalez, Prime Minister Suarez and arch-Francoist Manuel Fraga after the signing of the reactionary Moncloa Pact.

ing with the long history of class betrayal of the Spanish Stalinists since the 1930s, when they were responsible, along with the KGB, for the murder of Trotskyists and other left-wing militants, and for the Popular Front policy that ensured the defeat of the working class in the Civil War.

## Decorated

It was a member of this party, Ramon Mercader, who on Stalin's orders, murdered Trotsky in 1940.

Mercader, still said to be a member of the Spanish CP, now lives in the Soviet Union and has recently been decorated by Brezhnev.

These are just a few examples of the historic and recent record of the Spanish Communist Party.

So the Party's latest pronouncement is in one sense on of the most superfluous political statements ever made.

At last week's meeting of the leadership it was agreed that a resolution would be put to the Party's April Congress removing the description "Leninist" from the party's statutes.

## Melifluous

The Party is to call itself "revolutionary Marxist"—a phrase which it manages to invest with such a melifluous sound that even the most savage bourgeois breast would be soothed.

Politically redundant as it may seem, this new move is



Carter

an important new symbol of the Spanish CP leaders' attempt to bury completely its past links, however distorted they may have been, to the communist tradition of the Russian revolution and confirm its increasingly total compromise with the Spanish ruling class and its state.

## Participation

Meanwhile in Italy the Communist Party continues to press for direct CP participation in the next government.

This call for a grand coalition follows on years of loyal support for Christian Democratic governments, and connects with a willingness to slash workers jobs and living standards in the name of "solving" the crisis of Italian capitalism.

Luciano Lama, the leader

and speed up, the Governor of the Bank of Italy said, as well he might, that Lama's were "fine and courageous words"—a reaction shared by virtually the entire capitalist press.

A local union official in Turin commented:

"We were already having problems putting our programme over to the rank and file; these declarations won't make the task any easier."

## Cross-breed

These positions of the Spanish and Italian CPs were illustrated in more detail in a discussion programme, *Analysis*, on BBC Radio 4, two weeks ago, in which Spanish CC member Manuel Ascarate and Italian economist Giorgio Napolitano took part.

The strange cross-breed of Stalinist, social-democratic and bourgeois rhetoric that expresses the reactionary views of these "Eurocommunists" was demonstrated by Ascarate:

"We are an independent party, absolutely independent."

"We give the judgement that we consider corresponds to the interest, I would say of the cause of peace, of the development of peaceful co-existence, the development of the fight of the people for their liberties, for the betterment of their conditions."

## Second priority

In this, not for the first time, he shows himself ready to scab on every single struggle of the working class.

Echoing "our own" class traitors in the labour movement, Lama said:

"In order to help relieve unemployment, the improvement in workers' living standards will have to be given second priority."

"To impose overmanning on firms would be a suicidal policy."

"Up to now we have fixed a certain level of wages and of employment and demanded that the economy be adapted to them."

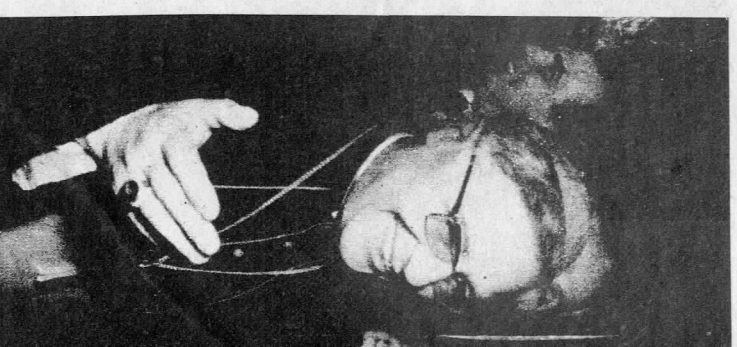
"Well, it is necessary to be intellectually honest; that was stupid. In an open economy all the variables depend on each other."

The unions, Lama went on, must develop an overall economic programme:

"This proposes to the workers a policy of sacrifices—not marginal but substantial sacrifices."

## Bitter hostility

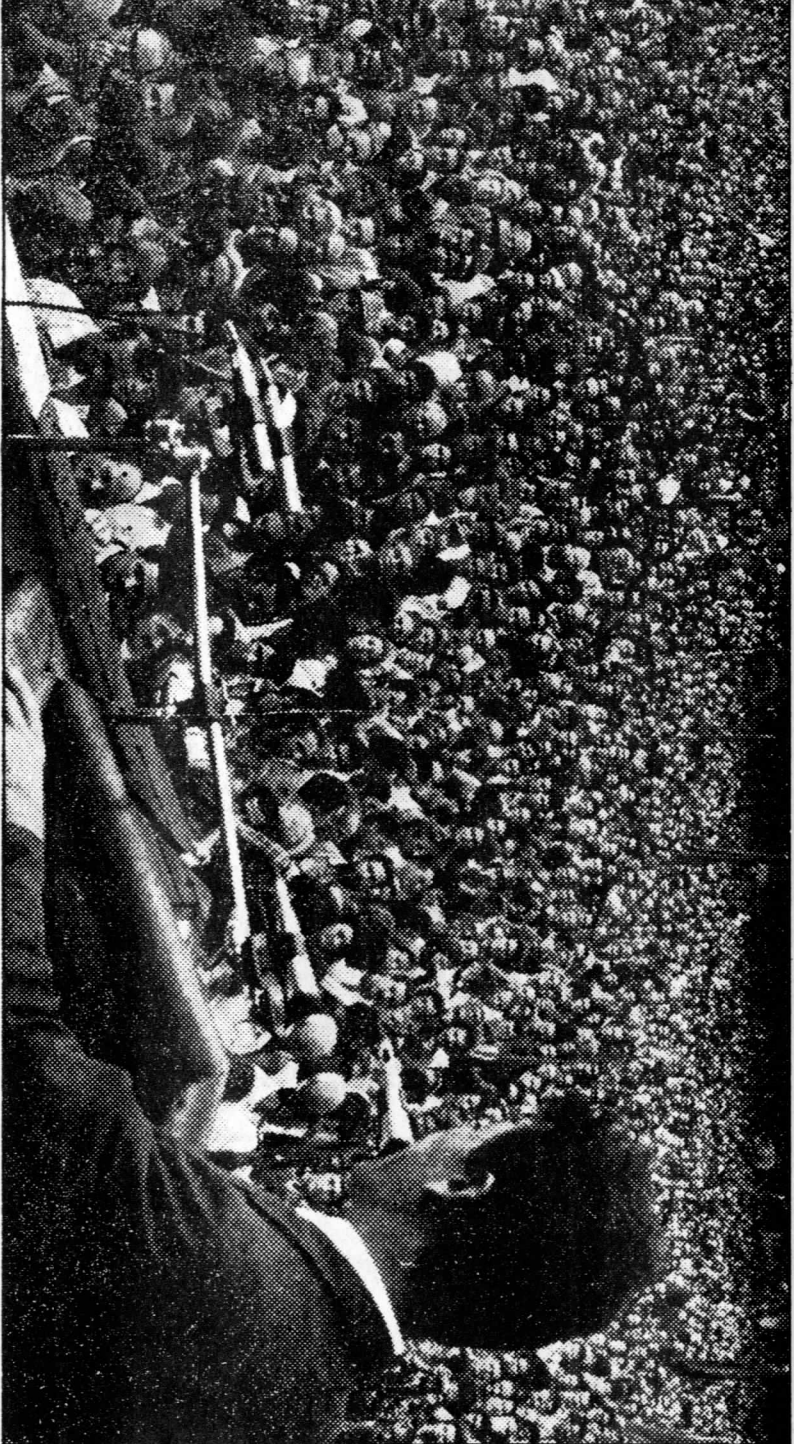
While growing numbers of workers expressed their bitter hostility to this open invitation to sackings, wage cuts



Berlinguer with a Catholic card

# Trotsky writes on 'Communo- chauvinism'





"Eurocommunist" CP leader Berlinguer—Stalinist bureaucrats are subject to a dual pressure.

one abstention.

"Usually now in our CC (and not to say in the provincial committees and so on) it is very frequent that there are votes against and abstentions.

We work on the basis of majority rule and free discussion of all the opinions and decisions that are made in the party."

#### Anathema

Such "openness" of course is designed not to open up CP ranks to discussion on a revolutionary programme, which remains anathema to the Stalinist leadership, but to appease bourgeois public opinion.

Napolitano pointed out that the Italian CP has lost supporters to the left:

"We had very sharp discussions and we had conflicts. There were people who abandoned our party.

There are people who are now for instance in some extreme left groups who were in the past secretaries of federations or something like this.

"For instance there was a secretary of the Milan federation, one of the most important organisations of our party, who never accepted our condemnation of Stalinism and who is now in a small extreme left wing group.

"I mean we have had so many, so deep and so sharp disputes in our party on all these problems that it is absurd to say that only the leaders impose a certain strategic line on the militants in our party."

#### "Discussion"

But of course Napolitano knows that "discussion" within such a mass party without the intervention of a conscious alternative leadership cannot seriously threaten the worked-out positions pushed by the whole apparatus of the Central Committee.

The distance these CP leaders have travelled from even the semblance of a socialist programme was indicated when the discussion moved on to nationalisation. Ascarate announced:

"We believe that there must be a public sector of the economy. It will be a state sector that can have different forms related to regional and local authorities and so on.

"We believe that for this public sector in Spain the question of energy will be very important—a nationalised energy body that can co-ordinate all this policy.

"But at the same time we are in favour of keeping private initiative in a very broad part of the economy.

"In any case we strongly support the maintenance of private enterprise in what we call small and medium property, because in this sphere the experience has even shown that nationalisation or to create a state economy in these sectors hinders even the economic solution of the problem—it is going backwards in satisfying the needs of the people.

"They are questions that you cannot solve by a socialised economy and we believe it is necessary to keep the private enterprise and co-existence between the public sector and a sector of private initiative."

"Private initiative" of course is an arch-Tory pseudonym for capitalism. But if Ascarate speaks up for "small and medium" property, Napolitano went further still—*opposing* nationalisation of even the giant Fiat car monopoly:

"We think that in Italy the economic public sector is already big enough to influence the general development of the national economy.

"We are convinced that the small and middle private enterprise is a fundamental pillar of the Italian economy and must not only be respected but concretely helped by the state.

"As far as the great private enterprises are concerned—beginning with Fiat, we have

no intentions to nationalise it, we do not think it is necessary for general reasons. "We think on the contrary that the country requires a democratic flexible planning based on some essential guidelines.

"A few days ago according to recent opinion polls a good half of Italian private industrialists took a position in favour of a Communist participation in government."

A brief glance at these policies of the Italian CP make it clear why industrialists have such faith in them.

#### No dilemma

And while the US imperialists fret on the possible "dangers" to NATO, Napolitano points out that the CP has declared 100% for the Italian bourgeoisie and its allies, and *against* the Soviet Union!

"We made a very clear choice. We have no dilemma to face because we are loyal to our country and not to anybody else and we are loyal to the international alliances of our country.

"We don't ask for a unilateral withdrawal from NATO.

A few months ago after a very important discussion a common statement on foreign policy was signed by all democratic parties—by our party, the Christian Democrats, the Socialists and so on. "I don't see what question

could really arise. I don't think President Carter's worries are based on a serious knowledge of our policy."

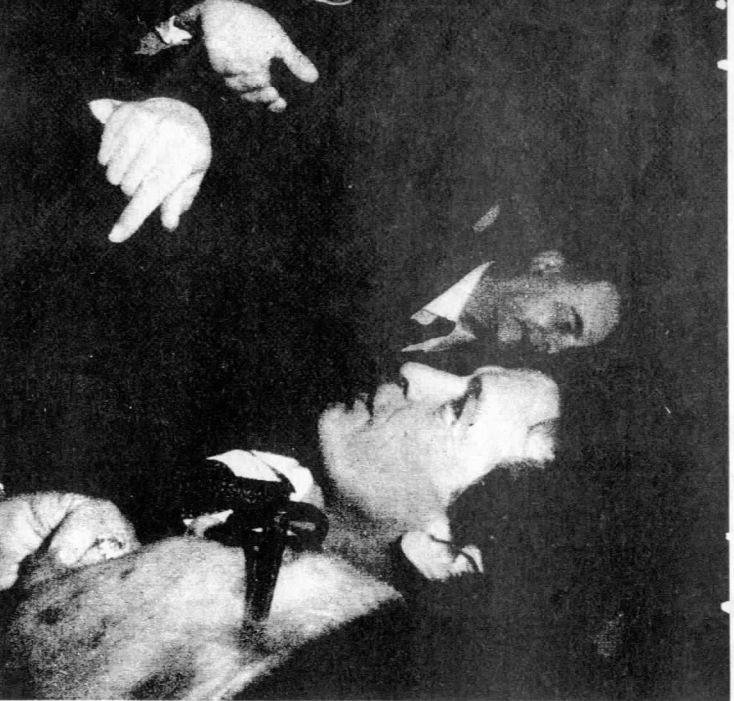
#### Adaptation

If President Carter's worries are not based on knowledge of the policies of the Italian CP, then the same can be said of the apparently strong electoral support given to the Stalinists by Italian workers.

A Trotskyist party in Italy or in Spain, beginning from a clear understanding that "Euro-communism" represents an adaptation by counter-revolutionary Stalinist leaders to the problems and needs of their "own" bourgeoisies, would certainly be able to win sections of advanced workers from these parties.

Only the Trotskyist programme offers an independent road for workers to take action in defence of their jobs, wages, and democratic rights, combined with the necessary understanding of the historical origins, evolution and role of Stalinism to enable workers to fight their bureaucratic leaders.

The building of parties based on the fight for that programme in practice is an urgent task in the mounting political and economic crisis of Italy and Spain.



The Italian CP has moved closer to Church as well as bourgeoisie.

"The monstrous and rapid development of Soviet opportunism finds its explanation in causes analogous to those which, in the previous generation led to the flowering of opportunism in capitalist countries, namely, the parasitism of the labour bureaucracy, which had successfully solved its 'social question' on the basis of a rise of the productive forces in the USSR.

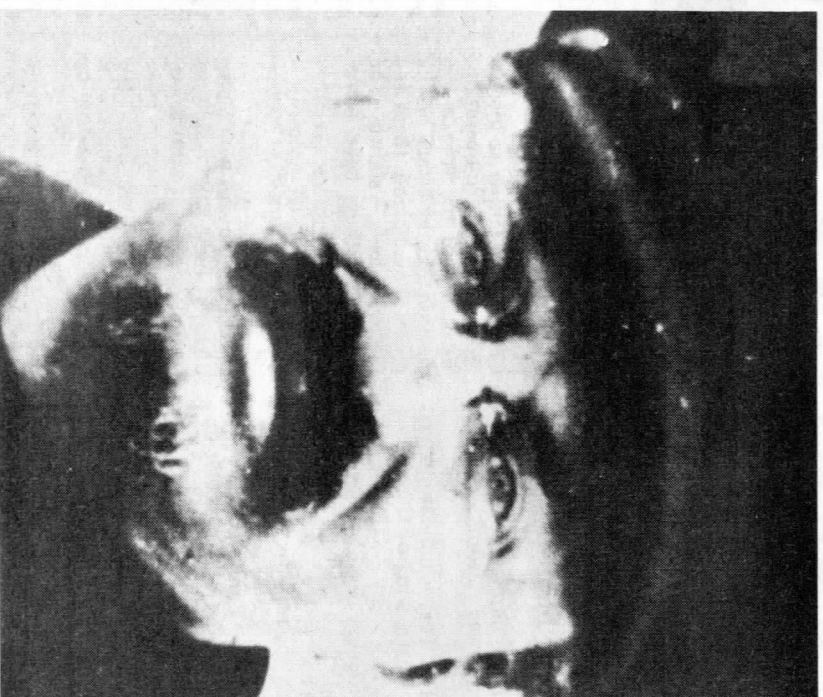
"But since the Soviet bureaucracy is incomparably more powerful than the labour bureaucracy in capitalist countries, and since the feeding-trough at its disposal is distinguished by its almost unlimited capacity, there is nothing astonishing in the fact that the Soviet variety of opportunism immediately assumed an especially perfidious and vile character.

"As regards the ex-Comintern, its social basis, properly speaking, is of a twofold nature. On the one hand, it lives on the subsidies of the Kremlin, submits to the latter's commands, and, in this respect, every ex-Communist bureaucrat is the younger brother and subordinate of the Soviet bureaucrat.

"On the other hand, the various machines of the ex-Comintern feed from the same sources as the Social Democracy, that is, the super-profits of imperialism. The growth of the Communist parties in recent years, their infiltration into the ranks of the petty bourgeoisie, their installation in the state machinery, the trade unions, parliaments, municipalities, etc., have strengthened in the extreme their dependence on national imperialism at the expense of their traditional dependence on the Kremlin.

"Ten years ago it was predicted that the theory of socialism in one country must inevitably lead to the growth of nationalist tendencies in the sections of the Comintern. This prediction has become an obvious fact. "But until recently, the chauvinism of the French, British, Belgian, Czechoslovak, American, and other Communist parties seemed to be, and to a certain extent was, a refracted image of the interests of Soviet diplomacy ("the defence of the USSR"). Today, we can predict with assurance the inception of a new stage.

"The growth of imperialist antagonisms, the obvious proximity of the war danger and the equally obvious isolation of the USSR must unavoidably strengthen the *centrifugal, nationalist tendencies* within the comintern. Each one of its sections will begin to evolve a patriotic



Trotsky



Stalin

policy on its own account.

"Stalin has reconciled the Communist parties of imperialist democracies with their national bourgeoisies. This stage has now been passed. The Bonapartist procurer has played his role.

"Henceforth the Communo-chauvinists will have to worry about their own hides, whose interests by no means always coincide with the "defence of the USSR."

"When the American Browder deemed it possible to declare before a senate committee that in case of a war between the United States and the Soviet Union his party would be found on the side of its passionately beloved fatherland, he himself might have possibly considered this statement as a simple stratagem.

"But in reality, Browder's answer is an unmistakable symptom of a change from a "Moscow" to a "national" orientation. The "stratagem" arose out of the necessity of adaptation to imperialist "patriotism."

"The cynical grossness of this stratagem (the turn from the "fatherland of the toilers" to the republic of the dollar) reveals the profound extent of degeneration that has occurred and the full extent of the dependence of the sections of the Comintern on the public opinion of the bourgeoisie."

"... In that imperialist country which happens to be in the same camp with the USSR during the war (if any such is found), the section of the ex-Comintern will, naturally, "defend" Moscow.

"This defence, however, will be of no great value, for in such a country all parties will "defend" the USSR. (In order not to compromise itself with its imperialist ally, Moscow would probably order the Communist Party not to shout too loudly, and might possibly try to dissolve it altogether).

"On the contrary, in countries of the hostile camp, i.e., precisely where Moscow will be in greatest need of defenders, the ex-Communist parties will be found completely on the side of their imperialist fatherland: this course will be infinitely less dangerous and far more profitable.

"The ruling Moscow clique will reap the just fruits of fifteen years' prostitution of the Comintern."  
(A Fresh Lesson, Writings of Leon Trotsky (1938-9), p.70-2).



# IN REVIEW

# FASCISM UNDER THE GLASS

A review of 'Destiny' by David Edgar which was shown on BBC 1 on Tuesday 31 January.

Despite being an unashamedly 'political' play David Edgar had obviously gone to great lengths to avoid simply stringing together a series of political speeches.

Within the obvious limits imposed by such a comprehensive subject there was clearly great effort to give the characters some depth.

After making the point that Powell's 1968 'Rivers of Blood' speech made racism respectable *Destiny* went on to trace the elements that go into British fascism today.

The central character, Turner (brilliantly portrayed by Colin Jeavons) returns from army service in India and sets up a small business in a Midlands town.

As a supporter of the 'British Empire' he finds his world gradually crumbling, more and more immigrant faces appearing in the town.

The final straw comes when Metropolitan Trust buys up the whole street where his business is and he is ruined.

## Drawn to fascism

He sets up the Taddley Patriotic League (TPL) and the play uses a public meeting of the League, addressed by David Maxwell from 'Nation Forward' (NF) to show how people are drawn towards fascism.

A young housewife married to a reactionary lecturer complains about her husband's 'anti patriotic' colleagues, black students who "don't work" and the fact that her house has become unsealable because of her black neighbours.

A middle-aged Tory woman says that all the views she has held dear for 30 years seem to be losing ground.

Her attack on the unions brings a response from a white working class trade unionist who feels that he too is under threat—this time from the growing proportion of blacks in his factory.

The final element in the meeting is a young unemployed worker who sees no prospect of getting a job.

Desperation draws all these people to the meeting and their attitude is cleverly summed-up by NF member Maxwell in the phrase 'fings ain't wot they used to be'.

He goes on to argue that despite class differences they have more in common—they

must come together to "save the nation". The TPL becomes part of the NF and Turner is selected as candidate for the coming by-election.

## Two faced

During the course of the campaign the classic two faces of fascism were shown in the conflict between Maxwell, who wanted more emphasis on policies, such as opposition to wage control, which would appeal to the workers, and the old NF campaigner Cleaver, who wanted to leave himself more room for deals with the employers.

In this case Maxwell is 'purged' but it is important to draw out the fact that if fascism is to succeed it will indeed attempt to maintain this dual position right up to the point of power.

While its role is to *defend* capitalism, the fascist party needs to use 'socialist' rhetoric to succeed.

The 'anti-monopoly' Gregor Strasser wing of the Nazis, which was dominant in the SA and which took *National Socialism* at face value was purged only *after* Hitler had used it to gain a base amongst backward workers and power in the state.

Edgar skillfully portrays the way Turner is manipulated by the hard-core Nazis.

In one scene we see him being coached through his speech, and watch Cleaver draw out the importance of the "world Jewish conspiracy".

Rothschild, Marx, Luxembour, Trotsky were Jews he declares—so finance, capitalism and communism are all part of the same plot.

When a confused Turner protests that he is not anti-semitic Cleaver delivers the final blow.

The owner of Metropolitan Trust, the source of Turner's ruin, is named Goodman—clearly a Jew.

## 'Left' Labour

The way in which reformism is incapable of meeting the fascists head on is shown by the 'left' Labour candidate who initially supports black workers on strike against discrimination in a local factory.

When he starts getting complaining letters from Labour voters he backs down.

The crunch comes when

# A respectable failure

The attempt to declare psychoanalysis "incompatible" with Marxism and simply turn one's back on Freudianism is too simple or, more accurately, too simplistic. But we are in any case not obliged to adopt Freudianism. It is a working hypothesis that can produce and undoubtedly does produce deductions and conjectures that proceed along the lines of materialist psychology. The experimental procedure [of Pabloy] in due course will provide the tests for these conjectures. But we have no grounds and no right to put a ban on the other procedure, which, even though it may be less reliable, yet tries to anticipate the conclusions to which the experimental procedure is advancing only very slowly.

## Culture and Socialism

Since Trotsky wrote this in 1926, a series of commentators and critics has attempted to reconcile, synthesise or variously combine Marxism and Freudian psycho-analysis.

The results have almost invariably abandoned Marxism and distorted the work of Freud to no useful purpose.

This latest offering takes its place in a long procession of respectable failures, tawdry

crudities and shabby journalism. Comrades should not be deceived by the intriguing title of Ann Foreman's book into expecting a work that is stimulating or challenging. Sadly, it has neither of these qualities: it is rarely interesting, and never important.

Foreman marshals her forces with all the self-absorbed confidence of the eclectic.

Marx and Freud are rolled out to the front, to be flanked by such Marxists and pseudo-Marxists as de Beauvoir, Fromm, Lukacs, Marcuse, Mitchell, Reich and Sartre.

These are then backed up by a very thin (and not at all real) line of bourgeois anthropologists and sociologists.

## Random forays

Backed with this imposing regiment, she launches random forays into history and literature, but captures only a miserable handful of well-worn weapons that she then deploys with neither strength nor accuracy.

There is little point in analysing this work. Its conclusions amount to little more than a claim that the women's movement could humanise the revolutionary workers' movement by transforming the "traditional form, content and limited location of political struggle".

Where these proposals assume any clarity, they advocate the old familiar concept of an 'autonomous' women's movement—a mystical concept beloved of self-



Fascists attacking Jewish shops in London in the 1930s

he is asked to defend an 'illegal' immigrant.

Although he claims to oppose the 1971 Immigration Act, he refuses to defend those who have "broken the law".

## "Joint stand"

The immigrant workers turn away from him in disgust.

The Tory candidate, from the Heath wing of the party, revolted by the NF, approaches the Labour candidate for a "joint stand".

This offer is rejected. When the result is declared he makes a gesture by refusing to shake Turner's hand but has nothing else to offer in the fight against fascism.

The way in which the employers are drawn towards the fascists is shown when the NF are called in to break the Asian picket line.

## Co-operation

The firm's owner is a

friend of the Tory candidate. We see him at first ridiculing the ideas on military rule put by Lewis Rolfe, a right wing Tory.

But when the chips are down, the employer uses the NF to defend his profits.

In the final stages of the play he and Rolfe meet Cleaver and Turner to discuss more long term co-operation. With 23% of the vote in the election and the attack on the picket line behind them the fascists have shown the employers they have something to offer.

## Relationship

The employers won't produce financial support straight away but want a continuing relationship.

The attitude of the employer to fascism is summed up neatly when he says "one doesn't like the dentist but perhaps to save a tooth...". In this final scene as Turner and Cleaver discuss

with the employer and Lewis Rolfe it emerges that Rolfe's company is Metropolitan Trust.

Turner is shattered to find he is being used by people who ruined him. He breaks from the fascists.

## Weakness

A weakness in the play was that there was no treatment of Labour's role in paving the way for Fascism by refusing to provide a socialist answer to the crisis.

This could have been done in the scene where fascist and socialist confront each other in the prison cell.

While the point made at the end as to the necessity of crushing fascism in the cradle is clearly correct and a central focus in the anti-fascist fight the exclusion of any suggestion of the need for policies to answer the effects of capitalism's crisis detracts from the political strengths in the play.

Finally, perhaps the most

ANN FOREMAN  
Femininity as Alienation  
Women and the Family in  
Marxism and Psychoanalysis  
Pluto Press £2.40  
By David Whitfield

## READERS' LETTERS

Letters from readers in response to articles contained in Socialist Press or on other topics are welcome. They should, however, be kept as brief as possible. Write to Socialist Press, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill London NWS 1HR.



# OUR POLITICIANS COUNCILS OF ACTION

The emergence of compulsory wage controls under the Labour government, and rising working class hostility to the Phase 2 pay limits, in particular from the end of 1976, created the general conditions in which revolutionaries again needed to look at the question of councils of action.

With the government hanging its whole existence on the perpetuation of wage control, and with the whole TUC apparatus throwing its weight in with Callaghan-Healey, a major challenge to

the 5% Phase 2 limit inevitably meant a confrontation with the whole bureaucracy, raising the question of government.

## Alternative

The WSL pointed out that should such a struggle erupt, the mood in the working class made it possible that a strike movement could quickly grow among other sections of workers, creating a situation similar to the May-June events in France in 1968.

Under these conditions we began to draw attention to the councils of action demand, in order to be able to offer workers an alternative leadership and organisation, independent of the direct control of the TUC

bureaucracy.

This long-term perspective was confirmed by the rapid growth and implications of the Leyland toolroom strike which in March 1977 led to the brink of a national engineering strike against Leyland's

These events brought the downfall of the Labour government and the emergence of the Lib-Lab coalition, since when every key wages battle in defiance of government pay limits has implicitly included a threat to the very life of the government.

This was particularly true of the firemen's strike. As the 48,000 firemen went out, 1 million local authority workers were still pressing



PHOTO: Mark Rusher (IFL)

their claim for a 30% pay increase, and 250,000 miners were pursuing their demand for a £1.35 a week wage.

The fight to mobilise these workers on their pay claims *alongside* the firemen was essential if the pay policy was to be defeated in the public sector.

But the official leaders of both sections were dedicated to *preventing* such united action—and were assisted in each case by the Stalinists.

The Workers Socialist League, therefore, combined the demand that these leaders call action with agitation on a local level for councils of action to be established,

bringing together firemen and delegates from other union branches in order to broaden the action and mobilise these other sections.

While in Sheffield the Stalinist-led AUEW District Committee was able to ignore a demand by shop stewards for a council of action, in North London a council of action was established, embracing the firemen, the trades council and the local Labour Party.

The predominance of Stalinist influence on this committee, combined with the FBU bureaucrats' moves to wind up the strike, meant, however, that the Camden

Council of Action was relegated to the status of a strike support committee. While the question of wage control and the continuation of the present government remain so closely linked, and while the TUC leaders remain openly dedicated to the preservation of government pay dictates, the council of action demand retains its general relevance for workers' struggles.

## Essential step

But as the Transitional Programme points out: "Soviets can arise only at the time when the mass movement enters an openly revolutionary stage".

We cannot artificially create councils of action at a point where major class battles are not in process, and we do not seek to do so.

But we retain the conviction that the formulation of such bodies is an essential step in the struggle of the working class for power. "From the first moment of their appearance, the soviets, acting as a pivot around which millions of toilers are united in their struggle against the exploiters, become competitors and opponents of local authorities and then of the central government. . . . Two regimes, the bourgeois and the proletarian, are irrevocably opposed to each other. Conflict between them is inevitable. . . . In the case of victory, the power of the Soviets, that is the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist reconstruction of society, will arise."

In preparing for such a level of struggle we must continue to spell out the need for councils of action, alongside our programme of demands on jobs, wages, workers' control and nationalisation.

# Biermann deals blow at Stalinist regime



Biermann

The battered East German (GDR) regime received yet another jolt this week with the publication in 'Die Zeit' of a major statement by Wolf Biermann, singer and poet exiled since August 1976.

This was in reply to a manifesto "discussion-document", allegedly written by middle or upper GDR functionaries and published in the West German magazine *Der Spiegel* in January.

## Nerve ends

This has rubbed raw the easily disturbed nerve ends of diplomatic relations between the two German states.

The *Spiegel* articles contain all the contradictions of the Eastern European dissident movement—the combination of hatred of the privileged and corrupt bureaucracy with dangerous liberal and anti-communist positions.

Biermann's reply attacks the right wing positions of the document, which he regards as bogus, its authorship remaining a mystery.

## Limousines

He agrees with the characterisation of the bureaucracy as feudal Buddhist priests with incredibly expensive hunting habits, driving luxurious limousines, living in fortified 'golden' residences and attending private clinics restricted to the top 'two-dozen' families, preaching austerity to the underling populace.

But unlike the document's authors, Biermann opposes Ulbricht's introduction of proto-capitalist planning and management, asserting that the capitalist road is not the one for the GDR.

## Cover for Nazis

He denies that class struggle has been superseded, that Spanish CP leader Carrillo's anti-Sovietism can be equated with that of

China, or that fascism and Stalinism are 'twins'.

To maintain the latter position, he says, provides a cover for the old Nazis, and falsifies the fundamental character of fascism, which is that it defends the capitalist mode of production.

## Prague spring

"Stalinism is a socialist revolution infected with bureaucratic syphilis"—only a mortal illness if it is treated lightly.

He also attacks the document's call for 'free secret elections' for a national assembly, and an independent court of justice in order to set up a democratic communist order in a united Germany.

He ridicules the idea that under bourgeois society elections can be free and points out that in the GDR 'free' elections would first require a 'Prague Spring'—prolonged and victorious, to remove the bureaucracy.

## New party

He also says that the development of a new socialist party, independent of the East German Communist Party (SED) is necessary, although this important point is not emphasised.

It may well be true that the Honecker regime in the GDR alleges, the manifesto was written with the collaboration of West German secret services. But it can be used by the

Honecker regime—despite its howls of rage and embarrassment—against the development of a socialist alternative in the GDR.

To prevent such a political development is almost as crucial for the Federal as for the Democratic Republic.

The GDR deals with the utmost ruthlessness with its 'socialist' dissidents.

Raymond Bahro, an academic of many years party membership is now in jail for publishing his book "The Alternative".

This is a major theoretical work giving a detailed political and economic analysis of GDR Stalinism.

## Confined

Robert Havemann, an eminent physicist and party member till his expulsion in 1964 has been confined to Berlin and closely watched since November 1976. His crime in 1976 was 'violating security' by publishing a letter to Honecker protesting against the exiling of Biermann, in *Der Spiegel*.

Havemann has a record of denouncing the sclerosis of Marxism under Stalinism, of demanding freedom of information, of welcoming the Prague Spring uprising and of protesting against 'ps. psychiatric detentions'. Police constantly patrol his street, the houses on either side of his have been bought by the Stasi (security forces) and flood lights erected.

## Followed

When he leaves his house he is followed by 2 to 5 police cars, each with 3 or 4 police in.

His visitors are checked. In an interview achieved by *Le Monde* two weeks ago, Havemann pointed to the economic chaos of the GDR.

He showed that an engineer can earn three times as much doing a sparetime job for a bureaucrat as in his 'regular' job. And he dwelt on the

corrupting effect of the high status attached to western goods. But the 'socialist' upsurge in the GDR is not confined to the intellectuals. Havemann refers to a strike last autumn of workers in a lamp factory, who since most of their produce went for export, demanded part-payment in foreign exchange.

## Uphaveal

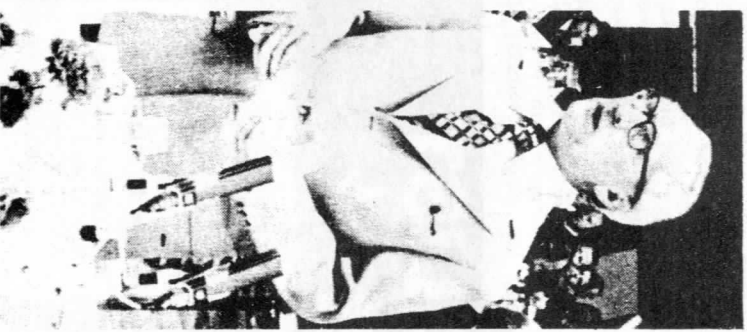
This would enable them to buy coveted goods in the special shops.

One of the biggest upheavals in the GDR took place late last summer when a riot broke out between youth and police at an outdoor concert. Several were killed and the main chant was 'Wolf Biermann'.

It is precisely this connection between dissident intellectuals and the mass of workers that the Honecker overlords would like to prevent—a task towards which the anti-communist *Spiegel* 'manifesto' might be of considerable assistance.

Biermann's reply is an important step against that and in any case there is every sign that the state of concussion in the GDR bureaucracy is too great for Honecker to succeed.

By Pru Chamberlayne



Honecker





# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

# 4 million in fine as union officials stall on pay

Some of the most powerful groups of workers in the country spent last week waiting for a move on their wage demands.

At the same time their leaders—intent on doing everything to avoid a fight against the Lib-Lab Coalition's 10% pay limit—spent the week in ritual denunciations of the employers and preparation for a decisive blow at their own members' demands. South Wales lorry drivers—after a strike lasting just six days—voted to accept a deal thought to be in line with lorry drivers in Hull, the Midlands, Scotland and the North—15%.

Details have not been made public but it is expected that employers agreed to pay 10% on top of consolidation of Phases I and II.

## Complete victory

ACAS was called into the dispute on Thursday and almost immediately TGWU officials handling the strike called off picketing by the 1,500 drivers, which had already stopped production in several factories in the area and as far afield as Leyland's plant in Cowley.

Despite the clearly inadequate demand, the deal appears to be complete victory for the drivers.

But the impact of this blow against the 10% limit is diminished by the fact that the Government has virtually accepted that haulage bosses will all break the limit rather than risk being closed down.

Although London has still to settle, the only open question is whether 25,000 drivers employed by the National Freight Corporation will also win 15%.

## Overtime ban

William Rodgers, Minister of Transport, has said he will sack Sir Daniel Pettit, NFC Chairman, if he concedes more than 10%.

Tanker drivers started their overtime ban on February 1 amid forecasts of petrol droughts and rising prices.

The action had its biggest effect in Scotland where deliveries were cut by up to 40% in some areas.

The drivers—employed by Shell, Esso, BP and Texaco—are claiming rises between 30% and 40% and started

PHOTO: Mark Rusher, IFL



Tanker drivers' official Jack Ashwell

their action in response to a 15% offer, including a 5% productivity rise.

But TGWU General Secretary Jack Jones, announced his intention of sabotaging the claim. On Tuesday January 31 Jones met Rodgers and announced "an area of common good". The need of the 8,000 tanker drivers—whose action has now been stalled for a month—is not for an overtime ban but a strike.

## Decisive blow

Only by taking the most decisive action and issuing a call for other sections to come out on their own claims against the 10% limit, can tanker drivers win their full (though again inadequate) demands and strike a decisive blow for the whole working class.

Instead TGWU transport

trade group secretary, Jack Ashwell, said the resumption of talks was a 'distinct possibility'.

There was, he said, no great difference between the offer and what the drivers would accept.

Railway workers leaders turned up at the British Railways Board on Tuesday January 31 to deliver claims for a restoration of pay to 1975 levels.

Left talking Ray Buckton ASLEF General Secretary, slapped down a claim for £25 - £30 a week, declared the union was "not interested in any government guidelines", and then left.

## Vague claim

But of course Buckton's threat that the Government "would be wise to change its course" is empty without concrete plans to bring the railways to a halt.

The NUR leaders as usual eschewed left talk. They have called for a halt to declining living standards and have added a vague claim for indexation if inflation increased 'exceptionally'.

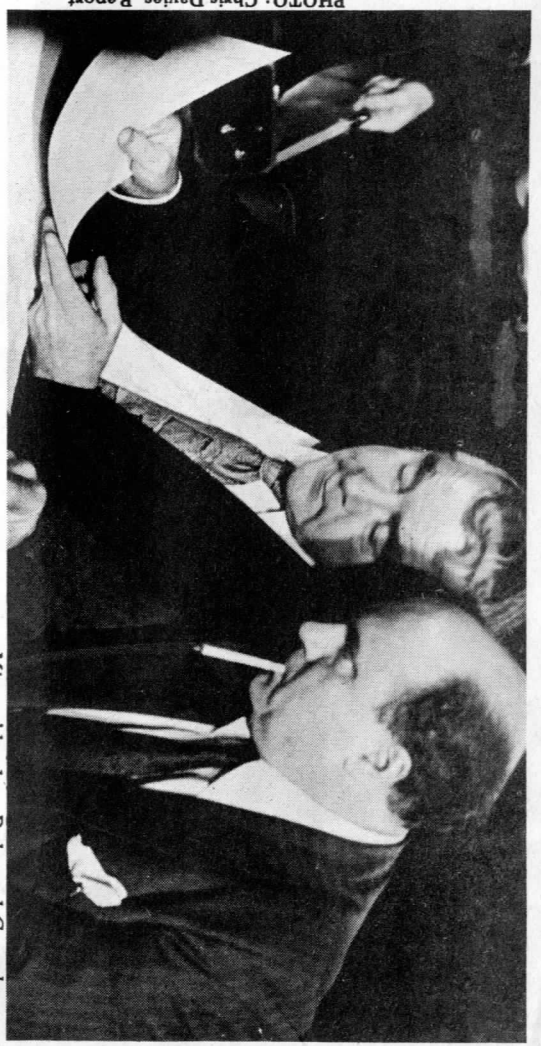
General Secretary, Sidney Weighell, agreed to talk about an 'efficiency scheme' after pay talks are over. In other words Weighell, ignoring the union conference demand for a 63% rise, is ready to settle for a pittance and to sell jobs.

Only last week Weighell was demanding that the Railways Board fill 9,000 jobs which his policies are directly responsible for allowing to arise.

## Ballot moved

The two most powerful single sections of workers had claims submitted on the same day last week, Thursday 2

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



Miners' leaders Daly and Gormley

February. But miners and power workers have no reason to believe that action on their claims is a day nearer.

The NUM lodged their 90% claim for rates up to £135 and received in reply an offer of 10%—plus a warning that the NCB expected the 12 month rule to continue for another year.

Arthur Scargill moved a ballot on industrial action which was seconded by Emyln Williams, South Wales President, but which did not receive a single additional vote.

The NUM have now asked the Government and the TUC to persuade the NCB to increase their offer—the equivalent of asking Al Capone for protection against his gang.

Scargill's resolution, in the context of his refusal to fight for action against the productivity deals, is little more than a left cover for his nakedness.

## Impotence

The truth is that Scargill's impotence as an alternative leader of the NUM has been revealed. To win support for strike action on the £135 claim now the divisive productivity deal has been introduced would require the most rigorous campaign on a programme to confront wage controls and assert the independence of the union.

In place of this Scargill offers opportunism, left talk and accommodation to the right wing.

## Trouble

The Electricity Council have offered 10% plus a £3 a week productivity deal. Electricity supply workers—from three unions all 'represented' by Chapple—are claiming up to 40%.

The problems faced by Chapple in holding back the 90,000 workers were expressed when he warned the employers' organisation to "gird its loins" for trouble. Chapple has already downgraded the claim to £11-12 a

week and has warned that unofficial action will probably start if the next offer due on February 15 does not match it.

He clearly has no intention of extinguishing a single light.

Pay talks for 67,000 steel workers ended without agreement on Wednesday February 1 after British Steel increased their offer from 6% to 9½%—provided the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation agrees to cut jobs and sign a disputes procedure which will virtually outlaw unofficial action.

## Reasonable claim

Bill Sirs, general secretary, protested that British Steel was 'taking advantage' of their financial crisis but has not made a single gesture towards action. He has not even broken off talks.

The Civil and Public Servants Association and the Society of Public and Civil Servants have both lodged claims well outside the 10% limit.

On Wednesday the SPCS put in for an increase of up to 28%. General secretary, Gerry Gilman, said plaintively: "It is a reasonable, reasonable and researched claim. There is no question of the Government's ability to pay it."

The CPSA with 190,000 members to the SPCS's 105,000, submitted a claim of £6-£19 (14%-24%) the following day.

## Bizarre

The claim payable from April 1 is supposedly based on loss of purchasing power and is made up of £6 minimum on top of consolidation.

Perhaps the most bizarre negotiations were held on Friday on national rates for three million engineering workers. The union team, under Hugh Scanlon, decreased their claim from 7.9% to 5%. The employers increased their offer from 2.5% to 4.5%. £3 now separate the £60 minimum skilled rate from the £57 offer.

## "Unacceptable"

For many engineering workers the rates are the basis on which local rises are negotiated. But for tens of thousands the rise in the minimum rate sets their actual percentage wage rate.

Scanlon called the offer "totally unacceptable" but his only conclusion is that it might be better to break off national negotiations altogether and leave local sections to fight for their own wage increases.

## Condemned

Thousands of engineering workers in small factories where membership is weak would be condemned to no wage increases at all. Scanlon would also be able to wash the union's hands of those sections which fought for claims larger than 10%.

In all, just short of four million workers were negotiating for wage increases outside the 10% last week.

They have the industrial muscle several times over to bring the country to a halt. Almost any two sections together has the power to smash the 10% and break the Lib-Lab coalition. Yet the chances of this happening, if anything, receded during the week. All the unions are led by outright supporters of the coalition and—at best—tacit supporters of wage control.

## Inadequate

In 'normal' times militant leaders would be sufficient to lead a major breach of the 10%. Under conditions where the TUC and the whole labour bureaucracy is determined to uphold that limit those militants have become totally inadequate because of their refusal to confront the political question involved—the breaking of the Lib-Lab coalition established for the sole purpose of maintaining wage control.

Workers wishing to break the 10% must understand that to do so requires bringing down a government—assuredly as the miners were forced to bring down Heath in 1974.

They require new leaders. Yet those new leaders must have as a minimum requirement a political will to stand up against the array of fake lefts and Stalinist betrayers as well as the openly right wing leaderships.

## Clarity

At the same time those leaders must root themselves in the strength of the working class, which is capable of sweeping aside the government and the TUC.

The lessons of the tool-room strike, the power workers action and the firemen all point to one conclusion: that strength without political understanding will almost certainly be shared by the treachery of their politically conscious, but thoroughly reactionary leadership.

It is to fight for that clarity that Trotskyists must campaign in the coming period as the major actions against Phase 3 break out from beneath the smothering cloak of the labour leaders.

The demand must be to break the 10% limit, and win full catching up pay increases, protected against inflation through cost of living clauses.

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# Ford solid

Ford workers at Halewood are now in the fifth week of their strike against management speed-up plans.

Already, 10,000 men have been laid off as a result of the strike in the press shop, and last weekend they were joined by 1,500 workers at the Southampton plant which makes Transit vans.

Last Friday Jack Jones, TGWU General Secretary met union officials to discuss the question of making the dispute official.

The results of these talks are expected later this week.

# Pay lines crack

Cracks have appeared in the ranks of Newspaper Society employers after a week of work to rule by National Union of Journalists members.

While the Newspaper Society has been laying down tough rulings banning local wage negotiations for provincial journalists, individual employers have offered local pay rises in excess of 10% and a promise that they will be backdated to January 1.

The work to rule—including a ban on night work, a refusal to use private transport and an obstructive 'one job at a time' rule—has hit papers with 100% NUJ membership hard.

The action is totally inadequate to win a general wage rise openly breaking the pay policy, but will undoubtedly win under the counter deals for many journalists.

But because the campaign has centred solely on the removal of restrictions on local bargaining it, has done nothing to decide the question of what will happen when those talks start.

By allowing chapels which reach agreement with their local managements to call off their sanctions the NUJ leadership has opted for a few gains at the expense of a general wage rise throughout the industry.

Meanwhile the powerful National Graphical Association which verbally rejected the twelve month rule has held back its members until the annual review in March.

# NUS backs apartheid pay

National Union of Seamen general secretary, Jim Slater, has given his backing to a plan to maintain racist pay differentials in British ships for another five years;

Slater has endorsed a report\* which abandons the union's claim for an immediate removal of differentials under which Asian seamen (who constitute one-third of the lower ranks on British merchant ships) earn £49 a month against British seamen's £187 a month, for the same work on the same ship.

Meanwhile the employers will use the time to rid themselves of labour which is no longer to be so cheap.

The report states that if differentials had been removed in 1976 the employers would have faced a cost rise of between 106% and 169%.

Slater's action is in solidarity with capitalism at home and overseas.

The report is the joint work of the employers, the government and the NUS—in the shape of Slater and it has unanimously recommended that the government should grant a five year period of grace.

Meanwhile the employers will use the time to rid themselves of labour which is no longer to be so cheap.

The report states that if differentials had been removed in 1976 the employers would have faced a cost rise of between 106% and 169%.

It is this dramatic rise that has ensured the collaboration of Slater in this apartheid at sea.

But his reasons are also international. Slater said that the NUS accepted the change over 5 years after the Indian government predicted widespread labour unrest inside India if pay rates rose too quickly.

This view was supported by the Indian sea unions, on whom pressure to fight for higher wages would have become immense.

\*Employment of Non-domiciled Seafarers: SO, £1.75.

PHOTO: Mark Rusher IFL



Last Friday's demonstration

# Steak house union fight

Nearly two weeks after the sacking of 84 workers in Garners Steak Houses in Central London, their strike for union recognition has yet to prove successful.

Although picketing has forced the closure of all but a handful of the fourteen restaurants involved, Garners' General Manager has declared that 'we can carry on operating with our present staff and we fully intend to do so'.

It is clear that in the lengthy build-up to the confrontation with approaches to ACAS by union officials, the employer has made elaborate plans to beat the stoppage. Scabs have been organised

to plaster restaurant windows with posters declaring their 'right to work' and attacking 'rent-a-pickets', while a management notice expresses surprise that anyone should prefer a union to the company staff association.

Apart from giving the strike official backing and organising limited picketing, the TGWU official's activity has been in organising the first of a series of demonstration marches last Friday night.

This in fact, began fifteen minutes before the advertised time and therefore prevented many people participating.

By removing pickets from the restaurants on one of the weeks busiest nights, the danger is that such demon-

strations will act not as a way to strengthen the strike but as a diversion for the need to put further direct pressure onto the employer.

A programme of mass pickets at peak times on those premises still trading would be the best means of doing this.

Similarly, backing of suppliers has to be stepped up and a campaign organised throughout the TGWU in London beginning with a call for the Garners workers branch.

Alongside this is the need for the strikers to join with other trade unionists in the preparation of self-defence squads to defend pickets from continuing racism and fascist provocation.

# SACKED! for demanding union rights

Swan Hunter management took savage vengeance on Monday against boilermakers who refused to knuckle under to a 'no strike' promise in return for work.

The employers issued 1,000 redundancy notices, most of them to boilermakers and have promised more to come.

The shipyard workers are being held up as an example to their fellow workers all over Europe—work is to be given only in exchange for basic union rights.

## Responsibility

The Tyneside workers have a responsibility to defend every last job. They must demand that the work available is shared out among all the workers without the loss of a single penny from the pay packets.

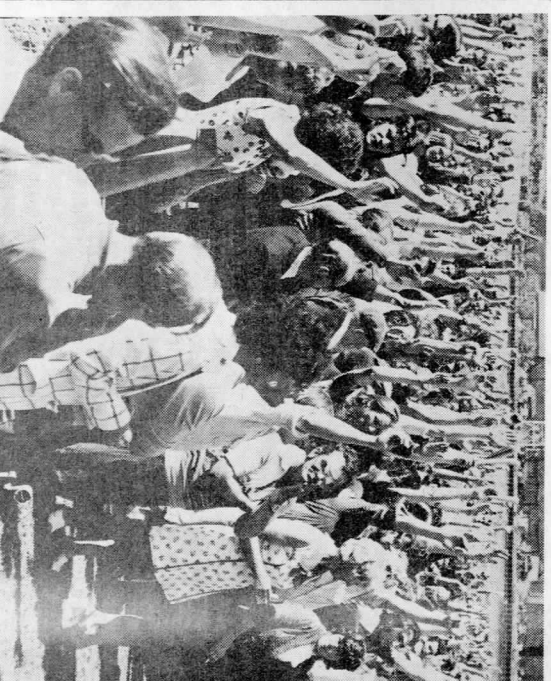
Shop stewards must prepare plans to occupy the plant and to demand the opening of all the secret deals around the Polish ship order and other orders, directly to workers' committees.

They must demand that the allocation and execution of the orders is controlled by the shipyard workers' stewards committees.

## Public works

A programme of public works must be demanded for the docks on projects in the interests of, and under the control of, the working class.

PHOTO: Ray Smith IFL



Mass meeting at Swan Hunters

## Council of action

The workers must also turn their attention to the Lib-Lab coalition whose policies have been directed towards an end to union rights and mass sackings.

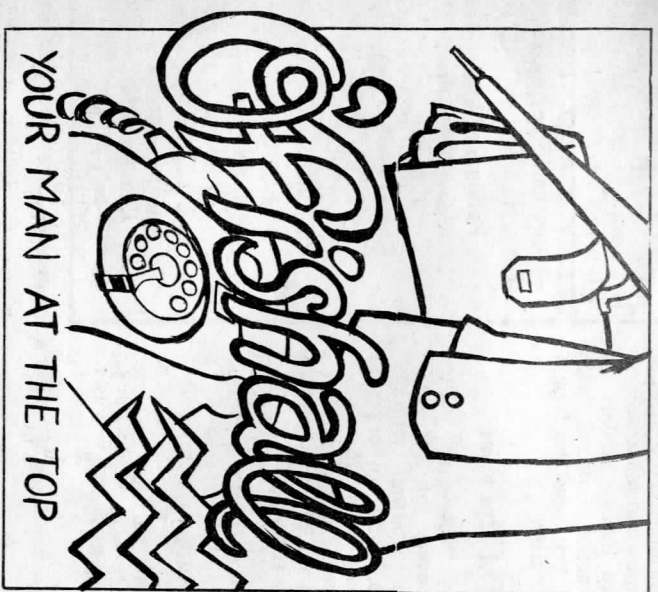
All those who defend this government in the Labour Party and the unions must be removed from positions of leadership.

This campaign clearly cannot be confined to the shipyards or to the Tyne.

A council of action must be called for to draw in support for the Tyneside workers and unite their struggle for jobs with all struggles against the anti-working class policies breaking out on wages and jobs in the area.

Other shipyards' stewards must call mass meetings to declare support for the Swan Hunter workers.

The treacherous leadership of the Govan shipyard must be replaced and solidarity built with the Tyneside to defend their jobs. Airlie has a short memory about the support flooding into the Clyde to defend their jobs during the work-in. The working class has not.



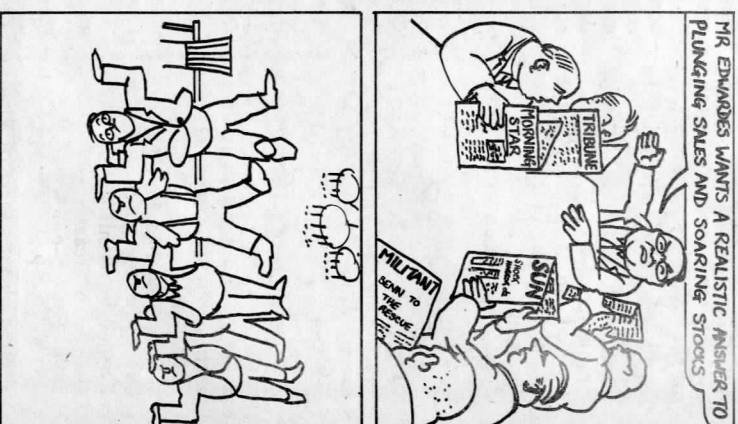
YOUR MAN AT THE TOP



SO WE'RE UNANIMOUS—DOUBLE PRODUCTION AND SCREW MORE EFFORT OUT OF THE BASTARDS ON THE SHOP FLOOR... IS THAT THE PHONE?



SO YOU WANT A CUT IN PRODUCTION—AND SCREW MORE OUT OF THE BASTARDS ON THE SHOP FLOOR, SIR? ANYTHING ELSE?



MR EDWARDS WANTS A REALISTIC ANSWER TO PLUNGING SALES AND SOARING STOCKS



# Convenors 'participate' in speed-up and sackings

The Edwardes plan for British Leyland, which was dramatically unfolded in a plush hotel in Kenilworth last week, means an intensification of speed-up throughout Leyland's plants. And it will mean the loss of jobs through so-called "natural wastage" and "voluntary redundancy".

Edwardes much heralded "reorganisation," turned out to be the old set-up under new names.

And the "decentralisation," announced amid fan-fares of press enthusiasm, turned out in reality to be rigid centralisation, based on corporate wage negotiations at national level.

## No details

12,500 jobs are to go from Leyland Cars, we are told. But no details were given as to which plants will suffer cuts, or whether the jobs will be pruned through cuts in production or reallocation of work.

The objective, however, is clearly speed-up. The previous managing director of Leyland Cars, Derek Whitaker had made the point last October that Leyland regarded it "a matter of principle" not to compromise on manning disputes.

## Support voted

True enough, since then the Speke plant, which builds the TR7, has been on strike for three months over speed up and management's breach of the mutuality agreement.

In the Cowley Body Plant jobs on the tracks are being reassigned, requiring considerable speed-up.

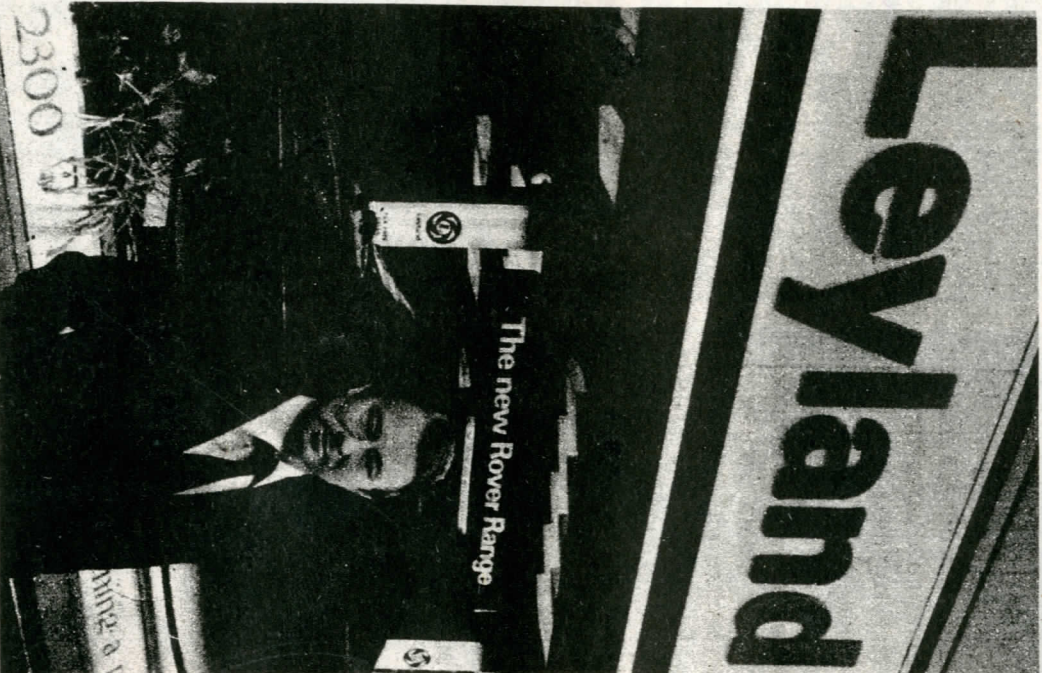
And in the Longbridge plant management are ignoring all agreements in order to drive up work effort.

It was under these conditions that convenors from the 36 Leyland cars plants voted at the Kenilworth meeting—with only five against—to support the Edwardes plan.

## Standing ovation

They followed their vote with a standing ovation for Edwardes.

There is no greater testimony than this to the destructive effects of 'worker participation' on the shop



The new Rover Range Executive Council member.

stewards movement in Leyland. No wonder Edwardes has said that 'participation' will continue in operation!

The Kenilworth meeting summed up the essence of the class collaborationist strategy embodied in participation.

It consisted not of convenors alone, but of convenors and managers from each plant. Some estimates suggest that managers actually outnumbered convenors.

## Sharp intervention

Edwardes' speech was followed by a motion of support—moved by Pat Lowry, the Leyland Corporation's Industrial Relations Manager!

This move provoked a sharp intervention from Bob Fryer—the newly elected TGWU convenor at the Cowley Assembly Plant.

Fryer challenged the validity of a motion moved by Lowry, and objected to any vote being taken in a joint meeting of managers and

The coalition government was given its orders by the CBI, the Tories and the courts this week —"attack the working class directly, don't use us as an anvil".

Sam Silkin, the attorney-general, was forced to apologise to the courts on Monday and to allow a deal outside the 10% limit to be paid.

The extraordinary spectacle of the Tories pushing through a breach of the policy came precisely because the courts and the Tories were determined to resist

# Court blow to 10% limit

attacks on employers, squeezed between the threat of a strike and government sanctions.

Silkin was forced to concede the right of Holiday Hall engineering firm to pay an undisclosed sum outside the 10% limit.

He declared that any thought that the government was trying to force the breaking of agreements was a mistake.

"Insofar as those statements were construed as an invitation to employers to break contracts of employment, I unreservedly withdraw that interpretation on

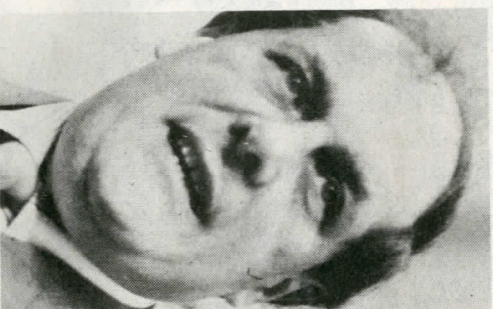


PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Edwardes supporter Robinson

native" to Edwardes—an increase in production from 850,000 to 1 million cars a year.

But as soon as Edwardes got up at Kenilworth and dismissed their "plan" as impractical with a contemptuous wave of the hand, these plant "participation" men obediently rose to give him a standing ovation.

They then got down to the real meat of the day—nodding through the vicious so-called "Security of Earnings" document, which contains far-reaching anti-strike clauses and new procedures for disciplining workers.

This was the document voted out a year ago by mass meetings of workers throughout Leyland plants.

They completed the day by agreeing to the job evaluation criteria required by Leyland to carry through the central bargaining programme designed to control wages in the future.

Quite obviously such servile "leaders" have nothing to offer Leyland workers; who stand to face the full brunt of the drive by the Lib-Lab coalition government to force up exploitation on the shop floor through a sustained attack on manning levels.

Workers must reject every aspect of Edwardes' plan.

It starts out not from the interests of the workforce and the working class as a whole but from the employers' just for profit: it aims to force Leyland workers to shoulder the whole brunt of a capitalist crisis that is none of their making; and in doing so it draws on figures and plans which have been carefully hidden from the eyes of trade unionists.

Now the convenors elected by workers to defend jobs and conditions have been transformed through the worker participation machinery into the supervisory police force of the management.

There must be a complete break with participation. In place of these management stooges workers must elect committees with the task of fighting to force Leyland to



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Edwardes supporter Fraser

open its full accounts for independent trade union examination.

This would expose the way in which the "nationalised" Leyland corporation is used as little more than a marketing outlet for the entirely privately owned and hugely profitable component manufacturers that actually produce two-thirds of each finished Leyland car.

## Fraudulent claim

It would expose the fraudulent claim that "taxpayers' money" is being poured into Leyland to support an over-paid, underworked, labour force.

It would show that money put into Leyland under Ryder is being charged at rates of interest up to 13%, amounting to £60 million a year.

It would show the need to fight for a nationalised, planned, integrated motor and component industry, with a programme of useful public works to ensure that the available resources are utilised to the maximum.

At the same time wherever management attempt to cut back jobs, throwing large numbers of workers into pools of surplus labour, these moves must be resisted.

Workers must demand the reduced amount of work available be shared equally among the whole workforce, with no loss in average earnings, under the control of trade union committees. Where lines, models or plants are threatened with closure, this must be fought by occupation.

## Extra lever

Every "voluntary" redundancy, every job left vacant through "natural wastage" means an extra worker on the 1½ million-strong dole queues and gives Leyland an extra lever to force home speed-up on those remaining.

The Edwardes report must not only be rejected—it must be defeated in struggle.

And in the course of these struggles the Lib-Lab coalition that has spawned Edwardes and hatched his plan must be broken.

## Gay News march

The trial and successful prosecution of 'Gay News' and its editor for the mediaeval offence of "blasphemous libel" will be resisted by a demonstration called this weekend by the Gay News Defence Committee.

Forces from the labour and trade union movement, students unions, women's and gay groups will show their hostility to repressive legislation which attacks the rights of gay men and women in a whole number of ways.

The blasphemy law is only one lightweight weapon from the vast arsenal at the disposal of the state, which starts from a determination to uphold the structure and stability of the bourgeois family unit.

## Inadequate

This is what dictates the bourgeoisie's determination to suppress homosexuality.

The campaign's call simply for a repeal of the blasphemy law is thus inadequate to offer a real perspective to gays.

But the campaign provides an opportunity to forge real links between the gay movement and the labour movement, by showing the necessity for a common struggle against repressive legislation.

The specific oppression of homosexuals is made far more severe by the same crisis of capitalism which threatens all workers with wage cuts, unemployment and political expression.

Wherever the defence campaign can be extended into trade union branches and constituency Labour Parties, it must be taken up as the real basis for a campaign to repeal all legislation which restricts the democratic rights of gay women and men.

The Gay News Defence Committee national demonstration meets at the Temple in London at 1.30 on Saturday 11 February.

## THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF SOCIALIST PRESS

Public Meeting

Thursday 16 February 7.30 p.m.

King William Hotel Market Place HULL

## LONDON

Friday 10 February 7.30 pm

New Theatre, LSE Houghton Street London WC2 Plus FILM