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TOOLROOM WORKERS FIGHT SOCIAL CONTRACT



If British Leyland's 3,000 striking toolroom workers win their wage demands they will deal the death blow to the hated social contract and its enforcers in the TUC and the Labour government.

While the Chairman of their unofficial committee, Roy Fraser, might claim they are not against the social contract, the reality is that their claim *cannot* be met within the framework of the 5% deal.

STAGE THREE

And, what is more, it *cannot* be met under a Stage Three of wage controls either. Because, despite the continuous talk from TUC leaders and the Communist Party about possible 'flexibility' and restoration of 'differentials' after Phase Two runs out in July, both government and TUC are completely committed to extending wage control.

That can only mean wage control for *everybody*, rigidly enforced - otherwise it would collapse in a matter of days. This is why we stress the

importance of fighting for full support to the toolroom workers.

The stakes are high. The Callaghan government has pinned its entire strategy on imposing another period of rigid wage controls upon the working class, as part of their effort to restore profits in private industry.

LOCK OUT

And the rumblings about closures or even a possible government lock-out in Leyland - tactfully referred to as a "cooling off period" - indicate how seriously they and the employers take the toolmakers threat to their plans.

Meanwhile dozens of full-time union officials have been queueing up to get in their attack on this section of workers which has dared to defy their bureaucratic control.

The AUEW National Executive - both "left" and right alike - voted *unanimously* to instruct the strikers back to work.

This instruction was rejected. Birmingham AUEW District Official Ken Cure attempted to attend the meeting of the toolmakers' unofficial stewards' com-

mittee on Saturday - only to find a unanimous vote to exclude him from the meeting.

Budding TGWU General Secretary, Moss Evans went on radio on Sunday to add his call for the strikers to return to work - without any impact whatever.

And on Monday AUEW District Secretary Bert Benson failed in both his bid to meet the 45 toolroom stewards in the Longbridge plant and in his attempt to convene a mass meeting of the 1,000 toolroom workers - with stewards manning the factory gates to turn back their members with not a *single* toolroom worker attending Benson's meeting.

VIOLENCE

Meanwhile at Cowley toolroom workers picketing Leyland's Body Plant had to confront an unholy alliance of Communist Party and right wing TGWU stewards and conveners threatening to whip up violence against them.

This was echoed at Castle Bromwich, where TGWU Regional Secretary Brian Mathers was

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STUDENTS FIGHT CUTS

The wave of occupations now taking place in colleges and universities throughout the country is clear testimony to student willingness to fight the proposed tuition fee increases.

The proposals were announced last November by Shirley Williams and will mean an average 313% increase in fees. These increases represent nothing more than a direct governmental attack on education in Britain.

Overseas students will be particularly hard hit; Williams has already declared her intention to reduce the number of overseas

students from 80,000 to 70,000 by 1980.

And as 47% of all postgraduates are self-financing, the increases will obviously mean a clearing out here also.

The proposed increases are thus clearly an education *cut*, and go hand-in-hand with Williams' other proposals to shut down as many teacher training colleges as she can.

Needless to say these attacks on students will soon be followed by attacks on all workers in the education sector: lecturers, maintenance staff and catering workers alike.

Less students, therefore less

work, therefore less jobs: this is the real nature of Williams' Education "Debate".

In the face of these attacks the Broad Left leadership of the National Union of Students have done absolutely nothing.

Or more accurately, they have gone out of their way to defuse existing struggles and to prevent any new ones from getting off the ground.

Recent struggles at Essex, LSE and elsewhere (see p.5 for details) prove once again that the fight against the proposed increases necessitates a fight *against* the Broad Left within the NUS, and

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WAGES CONFERENCE MARCH 27 SEE P4

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

PORTUGAL: SOARES - BANKERS' BEST FRIEND



Portuguese workers

When Portuguese Prime Minister Mario Soares walked the tight-rope of EEC capitals a fortnight ago, tens of thousands of striking fishermen and textile workers called for him to jump.

Soares's first European high-wire act (the second is scheduled for 6th March) was only a limited success.

In order to persuade the heads

of the common market of Portugal's eligibility for the capitalist club of Europe, he must not only hold his own working class in check, but destroy what is left of the gains of the Portuguese revolution - nationalisation and trade union rights.

That is not easy. But Soares and his Socialist Party government, aided by the bourgeois Centre Democrats and Social Democrats (and in a more roundabout way by Cunhal's Communist Party), are

game to try.

Essential to preparing an all-out attack on the trade unions is the sell-out to American imperialism.

Early last month it was announced that foreign currency reserves were about to run out.

Against the background of a 'tighten-your-belts' New Year's speech by right-wing military President Ramalho Eanes, the US offered a loan of 300 million dollars to prop them up.

That won part of a 1,500 million dollar 'rescue' programme organised by the American government and to be funnelled through the International Monetary Fund.

Although not all the strings attached to this bit of capitalist 'generosity' have been made public, the austerity budget passed with the help (by abstention) of the Communist Party was clearly a precondition.

SUBSIDIES

So was the announcement on 9th January of subsidies for private industry. And so was the concession of closer ties with NATO.

European Commander General Alexander Haig is now closely supervising the setting up of a Portuguese NATO brigade, trained by the Americans and supplied with equipment from the US and West Germany.

The extra arms are necessary, according to Haig, because of Portugal's 'special situation'.

For millions of Portuguese workers, perhaps the most 'special' aspect of the current situation is a rate of inflation of 30%, with petrol costing £1.80 a gallon.

Given an external debt of 1000 million dollars and an estimated need for food imports alone of 200 million dollars in 1977, the 15% devaluation of the escudo just declared is going to make that inflation a great deal worse.

In such circumstances the government's attempts at wage control along the lines of the British 'social contract', will surely be put to rout.

STRIKES

The February strike wave gives some idea of what the working class has in store for Soares and his capitalist friends.

When Secretary of State Caelo tried to remove from the seamen's union the right to control the

issuing of cards and the formation of crews, 20,000 fishermen withdrew their labour.

By 16th February, when the strike ended with partial satisfaction of the demands, their ranks had swelled to 25,000.

During the same period there were major disputes in the textile industry and on the railways.

A strike of civil servants in protest over a 15% pay limit was declared illegal by the government and converted into a 'day of information, mobilisation and unity', consisting mainly of workplace meetings.

Soares has responded to press criticism by announcing restrictive legislation for the media, ostensibly against the right, but sure to be used sooner or later to gag the workers' movement.

In the labour movement the Socialist Party has tried to sow divisions among workers by drawing trade unions around a sort of alternative TUC called the 'Open Letter' Group, in opposition to the CP-controlled Intersyndical.

They have had only a little success, mostly among white collar workers in the North, even though the bureaucratized nature of Intersyndical has given them a good opening.

A national congress of trade unions held on 27-30 January inaugurated Intersyndical's successor, the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers - National Intersyndical (CGTP-IN).

MINOR CHANGES

The CGTP-IN remains firmly under the thumb of the CP, although a left-centrist opposition within the Congress was able to force through minor changes to its statutes.

The 'programme of action' of the organising committee of the CGTP-IN proclaims:

"The trade union movement will mobilise all workers to provide the productive forces necessary to resolve the serious economic, financial and social problems of the country."

The CGTP-IN leadership must be forced to break from this line, and to organise strike action against wage control, anti-union laws, the EEC negotiations and US intervention through NATO. Otherwise the spectre of fascism, aided by US imperialism, will walk again.

GANDHI ON THE RUN

The possibility is growing that the Gandhi dictatorship will not survive the Indian general elections in which voting takes place on March 16th.

Both inside and outside her Congress Party the campaign has been a disaster for dictator Indira Gandhi and her son and heir apparent Sanjay.

A number of other prominent Congress politicians have deserted the Congress and gone over to either the Janata Party (an unprincipled alliance of 'socialists', Hindu nationalists and others) or to the 'Congress for Democracy' formed by former Agriculture Minister Ram.



Gandhi

Those who have remained in Congress have forced Indira Gandhi to drop her reliance on her Sanjay's Youth Congress.

The Youth Congress which was hoping for 200-300 of the parliamentary nominations was in the end given less than ten, though they include Sanjay Gandhi.

The only comfort, and it must be small enough, which Gandhi can derive from the last two weeks is the slavish return to her fold of the Communist Party of India which, flirting for a few days with the possibility of opposition, has made its usual electoral alliance with Congress.

This time, however, Congress and the CPI will be facing a similar electoral alliance of the opposition - the Janata Party, Ram's Congress for Democracy, the 'left-wing' Communist Party (Marxist) and other regional parties.

This, for Gandhi, is the most ominous sign of all since, because of the proliferation of opposition parties, Congress has always won previous general elections on a minority of the total vote.

Even in the 'landslide' of 1971 Congress only got 47% of the votes.

The opposition, therefore, although many of its candidates are still in prison under the emergency regulations, could win.

But this right wing alliance can provide nothing whatever for the masses of workers and peasants in India.

Its programme consists of a single point: opposition to Gandhi.

Whoever wins the elections, therefore, the Indian masses cannot expect parliament to solve a single one of the problems of abject poverty and oppression which beset them.

The situation poses with greater urgency than ever before the need to construct a Trotskyist party in India which can lead a struggle around democratic and transitional demands which answer the real needs of Indian workers and peasants.

*Out with the Gandhi dictatorship!

*No confidence in the 'opposition'!

*Free all political prisoners and end the emergency! Liquidate the repressive apparatus!

*Expropriate the landowners! Redistribute the land!

*Cancel the debt of the small farmers!

*For a sliding scale of wages and hours!

*For a programme of public works to abolish unemployment!



IN BRIEF



North Korea - Kim Il Sung's Stalinist government has dropped its long standing demand for the withdrawal of US forces from South Korea and wants to negotiate an all-Korea federation with the reactionary government of the South without any pre-conditions. The elderly Kim has turned North Korea into a kind of 'Stalinist monarchy' by having his son designated his successor as head of state and of the Communist Party.

Bolivia - The announcement of a new era of 'liberalisation' by military dictator Hugo Banzer was followed within a few days by a wave of new arrests of members of left wing parties including the Communist Party, the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) and the Workers Revolutionary Party (FOR).

China - The Chinese bureaucracy is ready to open negotiations with the United States to settle the US claims for property worth about 200 million dollars expropriated at the time of the revolution in 1949. There are also 76 million dollars of Chinese assets 'frozen' in the US.

Iran - Documentation presented to the Amnesty International seminar on Iran held, despite the Shah's protest, in Holland, shows that there are between 25,000 and 100,000 political prisoners in Iran.

Since 1972 there have been over 300 judicial executions. Hundreds

more people have been killed by the police 'while resisting arrest' - the press reported 69 killed in this way between January and October 1976.

Chile - In an interview published in the French paper *Le Monde* a spokesman of the Christian Democratic party says that the party wants to share power with the military which is in politics for good and "will not return to the barracks".

If the military demand in the transition period that the Communist Party stays illegal then 'we shall have to talk to the Communists'. 'Between you and me', the spokesman said, 'they think just as we do'.

He was right: CP leader Luis Corvalan has recently stressed two things: the need for an alliance with the Christian Democrats and the importance of searching out the "democratic" sections of the officer corps of the army.

Zimbabwe - In announcing proposed relaxations of the Land Apportionment Act and other aspects of racial discrimination, Ian Smith's racist regime is attempting to get what he calls an "internal settlement": some way of involving part of the black leadership (possibly Bishop Muzorewa) in a compromise with racism which might stem the growing support of the black population of Zimbabwe for the liberation struggle.

SPAIN: FAKE DEMOCRACY

Spain's Francoist dictatorship has even provoked the indignation of its two faithful servants, the reformist and Stalinist leaders.

Under its new regulations the regime has legalised the Socialist Party (PSOE) of Felipe Gonzalez; but it has simultaneously legalised the right wing "historic" PSOE, led by a group of exiled time servers, such as Rodolfo Llopis.

This, says Gonzalez, is a plot to confuse the electorate and reduce the Socialist vote in the elections scheduled for early June; the "historic" PSOE should have been forced to change its name.

Gonzalez has withdrawn from the ten-man 'democratic opposition' negotiating team, which has just reached more or less complete agreement with Premier Suarez on the rules of the election.

The CP is equally piqued by the Suarez regime's refusal to legalise it at all. The case has been sent to the Supreme Court which must decide within 30 days.

The CP has in any case already published its list of election candidates who, even if it is not legalised will put up as independents.

Along with the CP's application the regime also threw out those of the three Maoist-centrist parties,

the Revolutionary Workers' Organisation (ORT), the Labour Party (PTE) and the Communist Movement (MCE).

Another failed applicant was the 'Trotskyist' Revolutionary Communist League (LCR) which supports the Majority Tendency of the "United" Secretariat of the Fourth International.

For an organisation claiming to be Trotskyist to apply for legalisation under these conditions is indefensible.

Asking a government of fascists for permission to exist can do nothing but give more legitimacy to that government.

No addition proof is needed to "expose" the utter fraudulence of the regime's democratic reforms.

The elections will take place without the legalisation of all workers' parties (which the regime has no intention to allow), with a proportion of members of the proposed legislature being nominated by the King, and without its being given clear constituent powers.

They are a mockery of democracy. This, however, will not stop the Socialist and Communist Parties from forgetting their lukewarm call for a boycott of the referendum two months ago and treacherously participating in the regime's fake democratic plans.

PAY STRUGGLES SWEEP EUROPE

The wave of strikes in Holland, which over the last three weeks halted ports and several other industries, has achieved partial victories.

Employers nationally have been forced by the action to agree to maintain the limited sliding scale of wages which they wanted to abolish.

The strikes have been mostly to secure the other demands which included a 2% rise in the basic real wage.

EMPLOYERS

Employers in different industries offered either nothing or 1%; and most of the settlements reached so far have given a rise of between one and two percent.

Other demands such as early retirement with high pensions remain to be negotiated. And in some firms the strikes are continuing in the face of inadequate offers.

The campaign has been a militant one backed up by large demonstrations in the major cities, especially in Rotterdam where the ports remained closed for almost

three weeks.

In many instances the bureaucracy had to struggle hard to force workers back to work after settlements which did not meet the full demands. The gains however have been limited but real.

Most importantly they show that Dutch capitalists have been completely unable to impose their will on an undefeated working class.

Workers have at least maintained living standards at a time when capitalists are seeking every possible way to reduce them.

In neighbouring Belgium the same struggle has now begun. There it is directed straight at the government and its policies of wage control and spending cuts.

Even the unions linked to Prime Minister Tindemans' own Christian Democratic Party have supported the plan for one day strikes in the public sector, beginning last week with the first strike for 17 years on the Belgian railways.

POLITICAL

Tindemans has immediately acknowledged the political nature of the strikes and in a campaign of



Italian workers demonstrate

right-wing demagoguery has called them a threat to democracy.

In Belgium workers are fighting to maintain their limited sliding scale and are also demanding a reduced working week with no loss of pay.

HEADING OFF

These demands cannot be won unless the working class goes beyond the method of one day strikes, which are designed by the bureaucracy to head off a real political struggle.

In Denmark, too, notice of strike action has been served by the unions on the minority Social Democratic government, which was returned to power with significant gains in last month's general elections.

The unions have refused to accept the government's plans for a statutory wages policy which would restrict increases to 6% a year for

the next two years.

It was these plans which precipitated the parliamentary crisis which forced the general election.

The results, even if they have made the Social Democrats' parliamentary position more comfortable have done nothing to resolve the crisis of Danish capitalism.

After weeks of negotiation in Italy Andreotti's Communist-supported Christian Democratic government has still failed to get agreement on a range of anti-working class measures through which it hopes to alleviate the economic crisis.

A mass mobilisation of the working class could throw out the government of Italian Tories. But so far such a mobilisation has been prevented by the criminal collaboration of the Communist Party, Socialist Party and trade union leaders.

APPEARANCE

They still cannot force the Italian working class into accepting Andreotti's demands (now given Roy Jenkins' backing) and they are now opportunistically putting up the appearance of resistance to a few details of the Andreotti economic programme while supporting its general line.

Throughout Europe the effects of the capitalist crisis are throwing millions of workers into struggles against wage control, inflation, unemployment and attempts to cut social services.

The lesson of both the setbacks and the partial victories in this struggle is that it can be won — but only through all out strike action to back up demands for a sliding scale of wages, for work sharing with no loss of pay, and for public works programmes to provide jobs.

Sri Lanka CP quits

Last week's exit of the Communist Party from M. Bandaranaike's right-wing coalition government was opportunistic as its entrance seven years ago.

Having helped to implement the Freedom Party's consistent anti-working class policies, the CP was alarmed by their increasing unpopularity as shown in the wave of strikes in December and January. It has tried to save itself from oblivion by going into opposition.

It has joined with the 'Trotskyist' LSSP in an alliance of opportunists called the Socialist Front.

The LSSP is itself only out of the coalition because it was thrown out by Bandaranaike in 1971. Bandaranaike's Freedom Party still has an absolute majority in parliament.

But, just so as the withdrawal of the CP shouldn't create parliamentary difficulties she has suspended parliament for three months.

Although she simultaneously lifted emergency regulations imposed during the uprising in 1971, this new move gives her virtual dictatorial power. She claims that she will allow general elections due under constitution before the end of the year.

But the problems of the neighbouring dictator Gandhi will well change her mind.

LIBYA: GADDAFI'S 'LEFT' FRIEND

What is the explanation of the suspiciously intimate political relationship between the leadership of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the anti-communist regime of Colonel Muammar al Gaddafi in Libya?

The question emerged again last week as the WRP bestowed coy support on the launching in Britain of Gaddafi's 'Green Book' which sets out his political 'philosophy'.

This followed regular glowing reports in the WRP's press from anonymous 'correspondents' in Libya which might well have been taken verbatim from Gaddafi's oil-rich propaganda services.

Last Saturday's issue of the WRP's paper *Newsline* carried a vigorous plug for the 'public discussion meeting' — complete with cine cameras and a full complement of Libyan diplomatic staff — on Gaddafi's 'Green Book', run two days previously by the Libyan embassy in a virtually empty Kensington Town Hall.

The *Newsline* reporter (and WRP Central Committee member and full time official, Roy Battersby) complained that

"Gaddafi's writings and his drive towards people's democracy hardly received the attention they deserve.

The book is an uncompromising rejection of Western bourgeois parliamentary democracy in favour of 'the authority of the people'.

And, as in his contribution at the meeting itself, Battersby bleated that the two main platform speakers — right-wing Labour MPs Andrew Faulds and Prentice John Cartwright — had paid too much attention to the defence of Parliamentary 'democracy' against Gaddafi's criticisms.

What Mr. Battersby did not tell *Newsline* readers was that his fellow WRP Central Committee member, Vanessa Redgrave, had also accepted an invitation to appear on the platform.

Her name was widely publicised (in the *Times*, for example,) as a speaker; the organisers explained she was 'unfortunately prevented' from coming.

An examination of Gaddafi's real political philosophy reveals



Gaddafi

why the WRP leadership are so diplomatically shy about making their opportunist relations with the Libyan state over-public.

When Gaddafi launched his 'popular revolution' in 1973 he proclaimed what he called his 'five principles'. These included: 'purging of all the politically sick from the country'.

"Anyone who speaks of communism, Marxism or atheism is to be isolated and put in prison" (Speech at Zurawa, 15th April, 1973).

In fulfillment of his policies Gaddafi has used troops, for example, to shoot down left-wing students demonstrating in Benghazi.

Interviewed by a sympathetic journalist in 1974 Gaddafi also outlined his notorious policy of reinstating medieval Islamic law.

He was in favour, he explained, of cutting off the hands of thieves.

He thought, however, there was room for 'interpretation' and that the penalty should not automatically be applied to those who stole in order to eat.

Any humanity, he explained, required that these days amputations should be carried out under anaesthetic.

But the case of adultery, he went on, was unambiguous:

"The punishment is flogging: more precisely the adulterer is to receive a hundred lashes. There, things are clear and unequivocal: a hundred lashes are a hundred lashes and no argument, the fault is so grave that it deserves this punishment."

It was, indeed, diplomatic of M. S. Redgrave to find an excuse not to appear.

On the day of her public meeting Gaddafi's government announced that henceforth all forms of private capital will be allowed to invest in the country: a policy warmly advocated by both the Labour MPs.

The question to which members of the WRP should demand an answer is — Why does Gerry Healy's leadership lend its name and press to the support of this reactionary charade?

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to build a revolutionary leadership in the working class to lead the mounting opposition to the betrayals of both 'left' and right wing Labour and trade union leaders and the Communist Party, as they attempt to enforce wage control, sackings, speed-up and public service cuts.

As workers take up the struggle against these policies they are forced by the sheer weight of forces opposing them to confront political questions. Only with an understanding of the role of the labour bureaucracy and a programme to unite the broadest sections of workers in struggle can a way forward be found.

The Workers Socialist League is the only movement that sets out to do this, fighting consistently in the working class for transitional demands, which go beyond simply trade union militancy to raise the political questions to workers and prepare the forms of organisation and the knowledge necessary for the struggle for socialism.

As a result we have been at the forefront of struggles against the cuts, against wage control, for unionisation, and against redundancy. We have done more than any other tendency to fight the introduction of 'workers' participation' in industry. And we have strongly supported the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement, which has set out to show the link between the reactionary policies of the Social Contract and bureaucratic dictatorship in both the unions and the Labour Party.

But our practical struggle for the continuity of the principles and method of Trotsky's Transitional Programme is in no way a task confined to Britain. It requires an attention and involvement in the struggles of the working class internationally, and the fight to reconstruct the Trotskyist Fourth International.

So there has been a consistent drive within the WSL to deepen and enrich the movement's understanding of the history and the present crisis of the Fourth International as an essential part of our initiative towards its reconstruction.

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

LCDTU FRAUD BACKS WAGE CONTROL

Any militants who might have expected a lead in the fight against wage control from the Communist Party's front organisation the Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions would have received a rude shock at last Saturday's Conference of that body in London.

Not a single speaker other than a hand-picked list of Stalinists and hangers-on, with the 'left' decoration of Socialist Workers Party spokesman John Deason were allowed to speak; no resolutions or amendments were allowed from the floor: and there was not so much as a whisper of support for the actions of workers - most notably the toolroom workers in British Leyland - who are now on strike against the social contract.

Derek Robinson, an executive member of the Communist Party, and convenor at Leyland's Longbridge plant, spoke from the platform without once mentioning that that car firm is at present at a standstill as a result of a wave of strikes - and staying prudently silent on his own attack on the toolroom workers.

The Conference eventually passed a resolution calling for a return to free collective bargaining "after August" - thus completely accepting that the 5% wage limit should remain in force until then.

At the same time the demand was carried for a one day protest strike on April 19th to coincide with the similar call from the Leyland combine stewards' committee.

ONE-DAY

This call for a one-day action, forming part of a series of similar equally futile and restrictive one-day actions, is consciously designed to do no more than ease the pressure on conveners such as Robinson from a rank and file increasingly hostile to the 5% limit.

It is not intended as the first step in a campaign - but as a means of wearing down the militancy of the working class, and, like the Leyland call, will certainly be received with considerable hostility by workers looking for a serious lead against wage control.

Under these conditions the Recall Conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement on March 27th in

Birmingham offers a clear and a crucial alternative road. In declaring full support for the toolroom workers and other sections prepared to 'Fight Phase Two Now!', the conference draft resolution goes on to show the vital role of political leadership in the struggle against wage control and its enforcers in the TUC bureaucracy.

At the forefront of the demands in the draft resolution is the call for substantial increases now, linked to the rising cost of living (as assessed by trade union committees) through a sliding scale of wages.

Other demands take up the fight against unemployment, for women's rights, against the cuts and against racialism.

But unlike the Liaison Committee Conference the CDLM conference is open for labour movement bodies to submit amendments or resolutions and for all political tendencies to contribute.

We urge all our readers to attend and fight for support for this Conference.

Credentials can be obtained from Kevin Lee, 44, Devonshire Rd. Handsworth Wood, Birmingham 20.

DEPORTATIONS DELIGHT CIA

Satisfied smirks from the Tory benches and impotent howls from 'left' and not-so-left Labour MPs greeted Home Secretary Merlyn Rees's announcement in the House of Commons on February 17th that he would, after all, deport American-born journalists Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball.

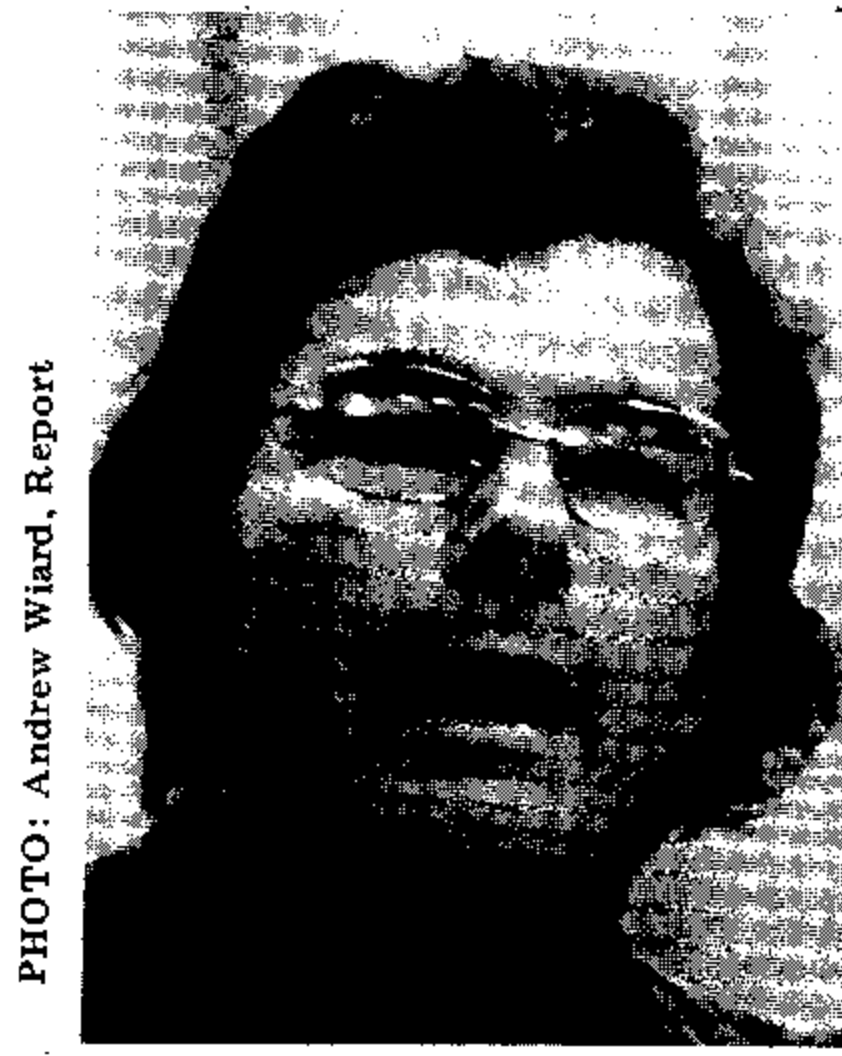


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

The expulsion of Agee, whose exposure of covert CIA activity has angered those who hold the purse strings of the Labour government, was a foregone conclusion.

It was, on the other hand, widely believed that Hosenball would be let off, and Rees's decision to deport him is an indication of the government's determination to capitulate to both British and American secret services.

It is also a reflection of the weak response from the trade union movement in protest at these viciously anti-democratic and anti-working class moves.

Flushed with easy success, Rees then gave the nod to arrest journalists Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell, and former Royal Signalman John Berry, all members of the Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee, on extremely tenuous charges under a section of the Official Secrets Act that Rees himself had promised would not be used.

EXPOSE

Every blow against the CIA, every exposure of British 'security' is in the interests of all British workers.

"Intelligence", national and international, is used daily to penetrate, disrupt and damage the trade union movement.

The Agee/Hosenball Defence Committee is continuing the struggle to force a reversal of the deportation decision. Among the planned activities is a mass picket of Callaghan at St. Pancras Town Hall on Saturday 5th March at 10.30am, followed by a demonstration from Embankment tube station to the headquarters of MI6 starting at 1.00pm, with a rally in Waterloo Bull Ring at 3.00pm.

Agee



Sparsely attended at the SDA Rally

WOMEN'S RALLY: ANOTHER IMG JAMBOREE

The latest in a series of non-political jamborees organised around the question of women's rights took place at Alexandra Palace last Saturday.

This was the much heralded "Mass" Rally for Women's Rights, which followed closely on the heels of the "tribunal" in January for abortion rights.

Both events could have been important initiatives in giving programme and perspective to struggles against the questions of pay, jobs and cuts in social services. But both instead retreated from this programme, under the notion that the broad mass of support they hoped to attract would be put off by politics. Previous articles in *Socialist* have reported how the Planning Committee for the Rally actually agreed not to mention the social contract or the leadership of the working class. And the National Abortion Cam-



IMG's Celia Pugh

paign's emphasis on solely parliamentary means of protest has allowed the Benyon anti-abortion Bill to get its second reading without a single squeak from the TUC or Labour Party, both of which contain clauses calling for free abortion rights in their programmes.

Yet both events were heavily influenced by leading members of the International Marxist Group - the NAC by Berry Beaumont, and the Rally by Celia Pugh.

Saturday's Rally brought out very clearly the lessons to be learnt from such "lowest common denominator" politics.

The attendance was abysmally low - a few hundreds - and predominantly drawn from the petty bourgeois layers of the women's movement.

NOT DISCUSSED

Major struggles for equal pay were not discussed - the victory gained only last week by workers in the bakeries as a result of the threat of national strike action did not apparently merit a mention.

Even more devastating, after all the efforts to exclude politics, a statement was read out on behalf of the Trico strike committee stating they had decided to attend instead the LCDTU conference where they could "discuss the social contract".

The speakers from Grunwicks, the EGA occupation, nursery campaigns and Betty Tebbs from SOGAT made interesting contributions which without the opportunity for debate from the floor or political direction from the organisers were left very much at the level of "swapping experiences".

Individuals spoke from the platform of experiences of taking their own cases to industrial tribunals - and again no speaker from the organising committee counteracted these or argued for boycotting the tribunals and fighting instead through trade union action.

The IMG with their slogan of "the fight has just begun" consequently succeeded in demoralising those layers of women coming forward and looking for direction from this Rally.

At this time especially, in which wages struggles are erupting throughout industry, the questions of wage control and the trade union and Labour leadership are crucial to all workers - men and women - who are fighting to defend living standards.

The WSL therefore urges anyone who attended Saturday's rally to attend the conference on "Wage Control and Union Democracy" called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement in Birmingham on March 27th where the political issues of programme and perspective for a united struggle not only for women's rights but also to defend and improve living standards for all workers will be discussed.

NCC LIVES ON

Believe it or not the National Coordinating Committee against Cuts in the NHS is rumoured to still be alive! We have reason to believe they met last week for the first time since last November.

But it was not a full meeting: only a small, basically London-based "action" committee gathered in NALGO headquarters.

They have taken the dynamic decision to postpone their conference from April to November and to call regular full meetings between now and then to organise it.

The first of these meetings is not expected till mid-April. This only gives them seven months to organise the Conference which, going on the recent practice of the NCC, may mean they've bitten off more than they can chew!

This is the sorry fate of yet another IMG-inspired campaign. The committee began with great potential, but has established a dismal record of inaction and impotence in the face of growing struggles and strikes against the cuts, largely as a result of the IMG's refusal to wage a sharp fight against the 'left' bureaucrats and MPs who were drawn into the NCC.

By next November massive rounds of cuts will have been implemented with not a finger lifted in action by this "Coordinating" committee, which is still yet to debate a motion, tabled last summer, calling on it to coordinate national support for any section of workers taking strike action to stop the cuts.

- * NO FEE INCREASES!
- * DEMAND A SLIDING SCALE OF GRANTS - LINKED TO THE RISING COST OF LIVING!
- * OPEN THE BOOKS OF THE EDUCATION AUTHORITIES AND SUPPLIERS TO ELECTED COMMITTEES OF TRADE UNIONISTS AND STUDENTS!
- * REVERSE ALL CUTS - FOR AN INCREASE IN GOVERNMENT SPENDING RISING IN PACE WITH COSTS AS ASSESSED BY THESE TRADE UNION COMMITTEES!

STUDENTS IN STRUGGLE



ESSEX SIT-IN SET BACK

The campaign against the proposed student fee increases has suffered a temporary setback at Essex University.

On Thursday 17th February over 1500 students voted by about 4 to 1 to call off an occupation which had been scheduled to begin on 21st February.

This extraordinary decision can only be explained in the light of a number of incidents in the preceding fortnight.

At a Union meeting on 7th February a motion was overwhelmingly passed instructing the Executive to prepare for an occupation from 21st February.

At that meeting a further decision was taken to protest at the presence of Sir Keith Joseph who was to address a Conservative Association meeting on 11th February.

Needless to say, when Joseph did arrive to speak, he was vigorously heckled by Essex students, who made it plain they did not want him on campus at all.

CLOSE DOWN

Incensed at this protest against right wing policies, the *Sunday Times* on 13th February carried an editorial calling for the closing-down of Essex University, arguing that such militancy among students should be smashed once and for all.

The University administration, in alliance with the Conservative Association, seized on this editorial, circulated thousands of duplicated copies, and generally whipped up anti-socialist feeling on campus.

For four days, right wing hysteria reigned at Essex: almost 200 lecturers and tutors including many so-called "Marxists" signed a petition calling on the Students Union to call off the occupation; classes and lectures were cancelled as individual teachers instructed students to vote against the occupation; and on 17th February entire departments were shut down (including the Engineering Department), to allow students to attend the Union General Meeting.

STAMPEDED

At the meeting itself a motion against the occupation was stamped through by about 1200 to 300.

The most disgusting aspect of this entire episode was the attitude of the Stalinists of the Communist Party and their satellites organised

in the Broad Left.

The night before the meeting the National Student Organiser of the CP - Ken Spours - came down to Essex to ensure that the campus Stalinists would cravenly capitulate to this right wing terror.

He needn't have bothered. The CP there had already decided to ally themselves with the administration and to vote against the occupation.

Yet despite this combination of administrative hysteria, right wing witch hunting and Stalinist betrayal, the fees issue is still alive at Essex.

WEAKNESS

The frenzied over reaction to a proposed occupation only revealed the weakness of the administration not its strength.

At least 300 voted for occupation, a very considerable figure in view of the pressure on students to vote down direct action.

Moreover, the University have now got themselves in quite a dilemma. For at a Senate meeting on 16th February, a motion was passed supporting the NUS National Demonstration on March 9th.

This was obviously intended as a sop to students, a bribe to ensure that the occupation was called off.

But the Students Union, in alliance with campus trade unions, are taking the motion seriously, and have demanded a complete shutdown of the University on March 9th, and for the University to finance coaches to take all those who want to go - students and workers alike - to the March 9th demonstration.

The University now say that only 20 trade unionists can have a day off to attend the march; but campus trade unions are insisting that all their members be allowed to attend. The administration's efforts to bludgeon the students into accepting the fees increases may have succeeded in stopping one occupation; but they have not yet stopped student determination to fight.

What has been lacking hitherto - at Essex and nationally - is any effective leadership to fight these increases on clear political lines.

The struggle against the fees increases is of necessity a fight for revolutionary leadership of the NUS which must now be taken up in time for the NUS conference at the end of March.

Police used at LSE

A Students Union meeting decided on February 9th to occupy the administration building of the London School of Economics in order to fight the fee increases.

After a week of occupation, the four executive members who were participating in the occupation, (two Tories, a Liberal and an "independent") tried to sabotage the occupation by giving slanderous

press statements that the "extreme left was using the occupation for its own ends".

They then went on to engage in private discussions with Dahrendorf asking him to somehow end the occupation.

However, a union meeting soon established who the real 'extremists' were.

It voted by over 500 votes to 140 to throw out a motion submitted by these four calling for an

end to the occupation.

The continuous threats of an injunction by the 'liberal' Dahrendorf, led another section of the students' leadership to capitulate.

The Broad Left at the next union meeting sided with the Tories in voting to call off the occupation and they were likewise defeated this time by 314 votes to 299.

On Tuesday February 23rd, the 'friendly' Judge granted an order for possession of the occupied sections of the college. But when the Sheriff of London came to the school with the police escort - he found the doors leading to occupied sections of the building padlocked and chained.

Unable to gain entry, he left, threatening to come back with a large contingent of police - which subsequently took place at 3am on Saturday morning equipped with crowbars, driving out the remaining 50 or so occupants.

The LSE struggle indicates both the treachery of the Broad Left and the uncompromising and determined struggle of many students to fight the cuts in education.

It is clear from this that students are going to fight this Labour government's reactionary policies.

MOVED

The TASS executive has decided to move the venue to Bournemouth to avoid any problems with cold or picket lines.

The one day strike might be an indication that at last ASTMS is beginning to mobilise its full strength behind the dispute.

The response to the call for action from the University Technicians was overwhelming.

In Norwich even the academics came out in support and ICL Computer Services have respected the picket lines so the one day strike had impact.

The main problem for ASTMS now is the term ends on March 8th and if the dispute is not won then it will be diffused over the vacation.

ASTMS say the one-day strike was not a once off dispute and there will be follow ups but for tactical reasons they will not say what but we are to expect something to happen in "early March".

ASTMS TEST STRIKE

A one-day national strike last Friday of university technicians organised in ASTMS marked the 25th week of a strike by 130 technicians at Birmingham University.

The strike is over the University's refusal to implement a national agreement with ASTMS for a fifth week's annual holiday.

Seventeen other universities are holding out against the agreement while 34 have implemented it. The strike has become a test case for the ASTMS organisation in Universities.

The administration are clearly out to break the union in this confrontation, and such a defeat would be of national importance.

24-HOUR PICKET

A 24-hour picket has been maintained at Birmingham for many months. The supply of fuel has become the most important issue.

By using a scab transport firm with its own hired thugs for protection, the university has been able to maintain heat to the staff block, but the rest of the campus is freezing cold.

The boiler stokers are now considering solidarity action.

Up till now TGWU support has been excellent, and the picket line has been strictly observed. a

SABOTAGE AT KINGS

Even sleepy, God-minded King's College, University of London, has been drawn into the storm over fees increases.

On Thursday 17th February, sympathisers of the WSL called a meeting in support of the LSE occupation.

After the Broad Left members of the student executive had made a last ditch attempt to sabotage it by calling another meeting at the same time, a combined gathering of

about one hundred heard speakers from the LSE and Middlesex Poly argue the case for direct action against the government's attacks on education.

The strong response led the President of the Union to call an Extraordinary General Meeting for the following Tuesday.

UNPRECEDENTED

Although the Broad Left provided little publicity, an unprecedented five hundred students arrived to debate a motion which 'noted and deplored' the fees increases, but did little to organise a fight against them.

An amendment calling for a one-day "token occupation" lost by the surprisingly narrow majority of 230 to 207.

Eventually an amendment was carried calling for a delegation to the Principal of the college to demand that the college refuse to implement the fees increases and that no quota system of foreign students be imposed.

It also moved support for the LSE occupation.

As we go to press a meeting has been called to hear the delegation's report and, if it is not satisfactory, to discuss the occupation of the college.

United Fight at Middlesex Poly

The Enfield site of Middlesex Poly went into occupation on Thursday February 17th in protest at fees increases for overseas students as well as for home students and against the discriminatory quota system that is being implemented by the Labour government.

This week the occupation spread to other sites of the Polytechnic,

making this occupation the first united action in the history of the Poly.

The occupation was only a partial one (and did not stop lectures and seminars).

This was because the original motion for total occupation was defeated. A Broad Left amendment was passed which used the excuse of the coming examination to argue for a partial action.

FRENCH REVOLUTION

Part One By Paul Stein

We begin in this issue a series of four articles on the revolutionary history of France. This article deals with the French bourgeois revolution from 1789 to the Thermidorian reaction of 1794. The second will describe its later development under Napoleon, and its international repercussions. The third and fourth will deal with the revolutions of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1871.

Just as the Russian Revolution of 1917 dominates our age, the Great French Revolution of 1789-1794 echoed down the nineteenth century.

In each case the revolution began as an uprising against the remnants of feudal society: the absolute power, arrogance and luxury of the monarchy; the denial of parliaments and of elections; oppression and restrictions on trade and monopoly; near serfdom, starvation and ruinous taxation on the land; the crushing material and spiritual weight of the Church.

In both cases the emerging capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, in order to settle accounts with the old order, had to bring into play the peasantry and the revolutionary workers and poor of the cities.

But at this point the resemblance between the two revolutions ends.

The Russian bourgeoisie of 1917 were unable to satisfy the most elementary demands of the oppressed classes: bread, land and peace.

Their hands shook and the revolution was torn from them by the working class.

The Russian bourgeoisie became a class without history.

YOUTH

But the French bourgeoisie of 1789 was a class in its youth, far from having exhausted its historical role.

To deal with their common enemy, the King and nobility, they brought onto the streets of Paris the *sans-culottes* in their masses.

But the *sans-culottes* (the poor, literally: those without breeches, ie not dressed in the bourgeois fashion) were not a working class in the modern sense, but only the more mixed social soil from which the working class was to grow.

They included some wage-workers, apprentices, small master craftsmen, shopkeepers and traders, and the unemployed.

Not then united in great factories and unions, the *sans-culottes* were only the embryo of the proletariat, not yet full-grown enough to rule.

So the French bourgeoisie were able successfully to turn on their temporary allies and crush them.

Napoleon Bonaparte stepped to power over the corpses of the Paris poor.

Like the English bourgeoisie had done 140 years before them, the French cut off the head of one king, only to accept his descendant back on the throne.

To this day France remains the most bourgeois and hypocritical of

'republics' - in which official celebrations of the storming of the Bastille are protected by the riot police!

Thus both the French and Russian revolutions demonstrate - the first negatively and the second positively - the theory of permanent revolution - that distinct and opposite social struggles are in reality united in sharp conflict.

LESSONS

Combining the lessons of the two, Trotsky wrote:

"To distinguish between the bourgeois and the proletarian revolution is political ABC. But after the ABC come syllables, that is, combinations of letters. History accomplished just such a combination of the most important letters of the bourgeois alphabet with the first letters of the socialist alphabet . . . It is nonsense to say that stages cannot in general be shipped. The living historical process always makes leaps over isolated 'stages' which derive from theoretical breakdown into its component parts of the process of development in its entirety, that is, taken in its fullest scope. The same is demanded of revolutionary policy at critical moments. It may be said that the first distinction between a revolutionist and a vulgar evolutionist lies in the capacity to recognise and exploit such moments".

Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution*, (Merit edition, pp239-240).

The task, therefore, is to decypher the confused syllables of the French revolution from beneath the mound of historical writing on it (which serves, in large measure, to smother them).

Correctly joined, they spell out an important message for the British and European working class today.

At the close of 1788 the regime of Louis XVI is in acute crisis.

Faced with bankruptcy following the American war of independence, the royal government had attempted to raise its revenue, in part at the expense of the great aristocratic landowners.

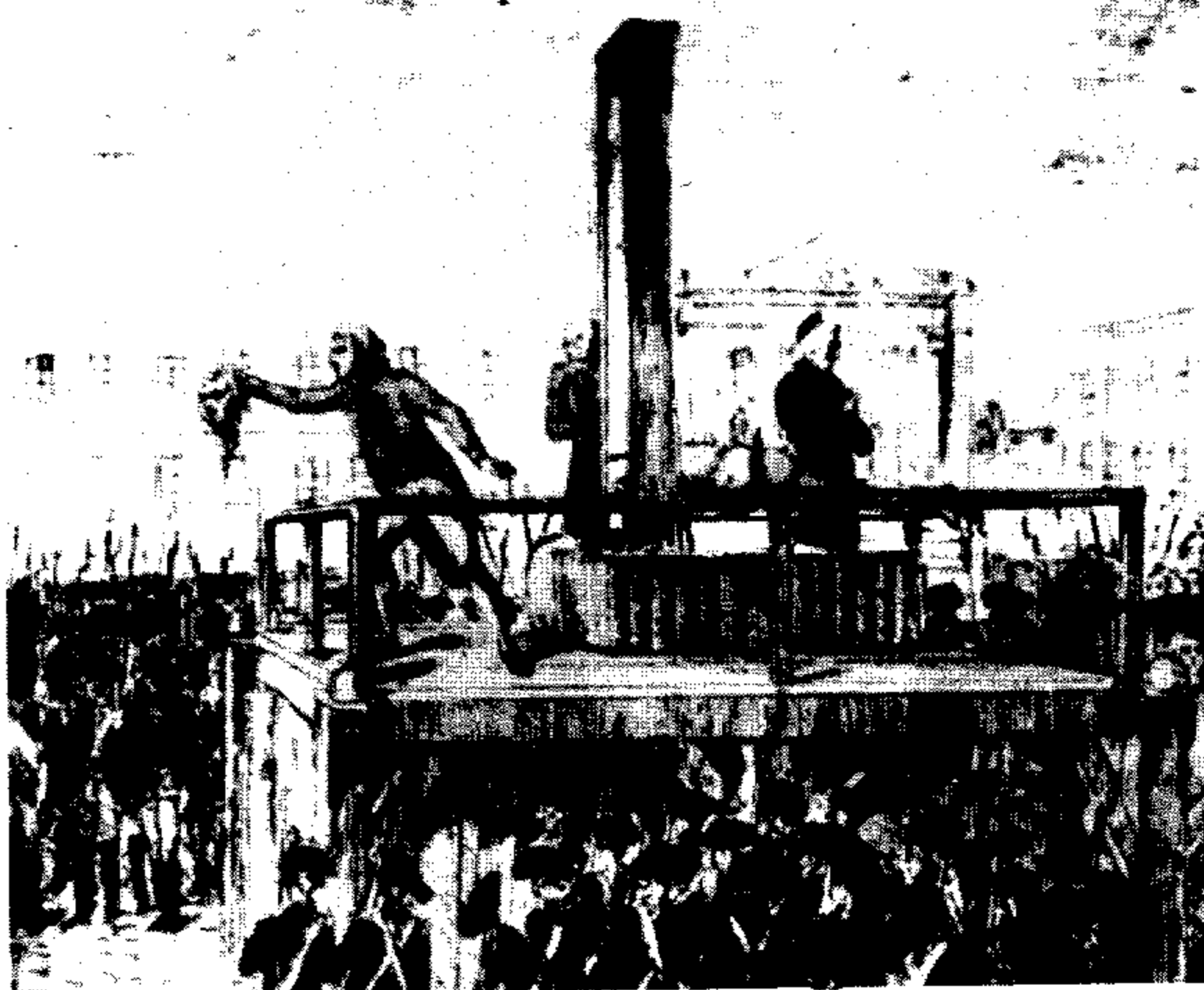
IMMUNITIES

The nobles resist, claiming (along with the clergy) traditional immunities from taxation.

Their opposition to the King's ministers fosters other moves of resistance: peasants rise against both aristocratic exactions and the shortage of food; in Paris the poor riot against the increase in the price of bread. The middle classes add their protests against royal privilege and luxury.



The sans culottes surge into the royal palace



Louis XVI's head held up from the platform of the Guillotine

The government retreats, promises to convene the ancient 'Estates-General' of the realm. When the Estates meet at the royal court at Versailles (May 5th, 1789) the Third Estate (reflecting the bourgeoisie and the middle class, the other two representing the nobility and the clergy) solidify behind demands for reform before they will provide money for the King.

Given a political voice for the first time, they swiftly become the centre of events.

Faced with procedural fencing on the part of the King's ministers and the Court, they declare themselves a 'National Assembly' and vow (the 'tennis-court oath', June 20th) not to depart until a constitution is drawn up.

TRIGGERED

But it is Louis XVI who triggers the July revolution.

On the 11th he dismisses Necker (his reforming finance minister) and garrisons Versailles with foreign mercenaries.

In Paris the news provokes insurrection: a mass search for arms, the taking of the Invalides barracks and (on July 14th) the Bastille - prison, fortress and armory.

The capital is in the hands of the bourgeois politicians; Louis XVI recognises the National Assembly and visits Paris wearing the red, white and blue cockade of the revolution.

On August 4th, in an all-night session, the National Assembly abolishes most titles, feudal dues and servitudes; on the 27th they adopt the 'declaration of the Rights of Man' for which all men are 'equal in rights' but especially in

The revolution has now reached its first point of equilibrium which is maintained during 1790 and the early part of 1791.

The bourgeoisie have asserted their inalienable rights, while the absolute monarch remains on his throne (though not absolutely so; in September, when news of Royalist intrigues add to food shortages in Paris, hundreds of poor women lead a march to Versailles which forcibly removes the King and his family back to the capital).

EQUILIBRIUM

The equilibrium is far from stable, but unaided neither the old regime nor the new, bourgeois one can break the deadlock.

King and royalists ceaselessly conduct secret negotiations for foreign intervention to restore their power.

And at each moment of crisis the more revolutionary section of the bourgeoisie is forced to lean on the *sans-culottes* for support.

When this is lacking they fall. Again it is the King who provokes the next phase. He attempts (the 'Flight to Varennes', June 25th 1791) to escape across the frontier and lead foreign war against the revolution.

The plan misfires, Louis XVI is brought back under heavy guard; officially he has been kidnapped by 'enemies of the revolution'!

But in Paris mass demonstrations back the demands from the Left of the National Assembly for his abdication and for a republic.

They are suppressed by the National Guard. But the old 'Third Estate' of 1789 is now definitively reborn. Maximilian Robespierre

'Jacobins' in the Assembly, backed by the 'democratic clubs and the *sans-culottes* in the districts of Paris.

Robespierre opposes the declaration of war against Austria (April 1792; defeat in Belgium and spreading reports of royal treachery strengthen the Jacobins' position.

The crisis of August-September 1792 sees a new 'revolutionary' commune of Paris take the royal palace.

The King is deposed, the republic is proclaimed; the new 'National Convention' - elected well to the left, by a much wider electorate - is its government.

From now on the battle ground shifts. The old order is dead (in January 1793 Louis himself is guillotined).

ARMED

The bourgeoisie now face the task of establishing their rule over the *sans-culottes* which they have armed. The workers have no party of their own, but it is nonetheless they who define the divisions and struggles within the Convention.

The Girondins are the most consistent spokesmen of provincial interests and above all of the bourgeoisie (-fast growing rich from the war, and from property and land confiscated from the Church, and abandoned by royalist aristocrats who have fled).

The Jacobins (also known as the 'Mountain' since they occupy the high seats on the left of the chamber) have their power based not on the number of deputies but in the enthusiasm of the workers and poor of the capital for their more radical policies.

As the struggle between bourgeois and *sans-culottes* moves to a climax in the first Republic, the Jacobins are to become its barometer.

It is on their initiative that the King is sentenced, that Christianity is abolished (autumn of 1793) and that the new, revolutionary calendar, starting with Year I, is declared (October 1793).

'MAXIMUM' LAWS

In February-March of 1793 food riots bring a fixing of the price of bread; in May they enact the first of the 'Maximum' laws, whereby local authorities can control a wide range of prices (and in theory, wages).

Pressure grows for the Girondins to be purged. At the beginning of June this is done.

The Constitution of 1793 gives universal male suffrage; in practice power shifts more and more into the hands of the centralised committees of the Convention (originally set up by the Girondins and especially Robespierre's 12-man 'Committee of Public Safety' and to the leaders of the clubs, assemblies and militias of the *sans-culottes* in the Paris sections.

The crisis of the Paris revolution



6,000 angry women armed with pikes and cannon marched to the palace at Versailles.

"The French revolution is but the forerunner to another revolution far greater, far more solemn, and which will be the last.

The people marched over the corpses of the Kings and priests who had united against them. They will do the same with the new tyrants

ON



Robespierre

rebellions in the provinces and by foreign war; in August a young gunnery officer of no political significance, Napoleon Bonaparte, distinguishes himself by freeing Toulon from English siege.

Robespierre, elected as a 'liberal', becomes by the end of 1793 the chief organiser of revolutionary dictatorship.

His Committee of Public Safety directs accelerating repression (the 'red terror') against 'enemies of the people' — first the leading Girondins, then the centre, then sections of the Jacobins themselves.

But his dictatorship remains one of the *bourgeoisie*; as it centralises power in its hands, it begins to lose its active support among the masses.

GUILLOTINE

The guillotine decimates the politicians who formed the Republic, but it cannot cut back the price of bread.

By the summer of 1794 Robespierre's revolutionary dictatorship is squeezed into an impossibly narrow political space.

The bourgeoisie and the middle classes demand elbow room for profits and (since the war danger has temporarily receded) an end to the terror.

The workers are deeply hostile when the Maximum laws are used to try to cut wages.

Robespierre and his young lieutenant, Saint-Just become isolated within a divided Committee of Public Safety. On the Ninth of Thermidor (27th July, 1794) they are booed in the Convention; the following day they too mount the guillotine in the Place de la Revolution.

The 'white terror' which follows,



Classical dress became popular against the left and the *sans-culottes*, far outstrips Robespierre's repression in its ferocity and scope.

From that day the 'republic of proprietors' could stand on its own feet.

The French bourgeoisie found itself unable to separate the revol-

ution into the 'stages' it would have liked.

To this day it stands in fear of the forces it once relied on, then crushed.

Robespierre has been turned into a monster by bourgeois public opinion. In fact more people are killed now each year in road accidents in France than perished in his 'red terror' of 1794.

The revolutionary 'principles' advocated by the merchants, lawyers and journalists in 1789 were in reality enacted by a working class in its infancy, driven into action as much by the price of food as by the force of ideas.

And these two were in practice never separated.

The *sans-culottes* of Paris continued to struggle.

TERROR

Driven into submission by Thermidor and the 'white terror' they rose again against months of inflation and assaults by bourgeois thugs (the 'gilded youth') — in the insurrections of March (Germinal) and May (Prarial) 1795.

The women of the streets wore two slogans on their blouses 'Bread' and 'The Constitution of 1793!'

But as a class their weakness was expressed in the fact that they found their own political voice only after they had been physically defeated: Gracchus Babeuf's 'Conspiracy of Equals' — the first genuinely communist movement in history — was suppressed without difficulty in 1796.

Where the Russian proletariat had grown up, physically and politically, to produce a Lenin the *sans-culottes* of Paris could put their maximum weight only behind Robespierre, the greatest and purest of bourgeois revolutionaries.

HEROISM

The classic heroism of the French revolution comes from the fact that it joined the revolutionary spirit of two classes.

But the fire they had lit dazzled the bourgeoisie of 1789; they draped their actions in styles and events drawn from Roman antiquity.

Napoleon, their new Caesar, was to spread their revolution across Europe.

But in the wake of his armies there marched a silent ghost — the spectre of Communism.



The British bourgeoisie's horror at the French revolution is shown in this savage cartoon

"It is notorious that all their measures are decided before they are debated. It is beyond doubt, that under the terror of the bayonet, and the lamp-post, and the torch to their houses, they are obliged to adopt all the crude and desperate measures suggested by clubs composed of a monstrous medley of all conditions, tongues and nations . . . The assembly, their organ, acts before them the farce with as little decency as liberty. They act like the comedians at a fast, before a riotous audience: they act amidst the tumultuous cries of a mixed mob of ferocious men, and of women lost to shame, who, according to their insolent fancies, direct, control, applaud, explode them."

The Rt. Honourable Edmund Burke M.P.

Tribunals - Employers' 'Justice'

Industrial tribunals set up in 1971 were hailed as courts which stripped the judges of their wigs.

The new courts allowed 20th century language; lawyers had little but their expensive suits to distinguish them from claimants; and most important of all trade unionists were beckoned up to sit on the dais alongside the employer.

Any startling impact was spoiled a little by the complete refusal of the trade union movement to have anything to do with the tribunals.

This was not because they raised doubts in the minds of trade union leaders, but because they were part and parcel of the Industrial Relations Act, on which the working class had declared an all out war.

When that battle was won and the Labour government ushered in the Trade Union and Labour Relations Act of 1974 those same leaders fell upon the tribunals with cries of delight.

These courts were perhaps one of the most pernicious devices of the Tory government.

OPIATE

Where the no-strike clauses and the bans on closed shops attacked the trade union movement from the front, the tribunals were the equivalent of an opiate slipped into the water supply.

It was not surprising that the Labour Party and union leaders eagerly took over dealing in these drugs and started to inject larger and larger doses into the independent struggle of the working class.

The aim of the tribunals was, and is, to reduce areas of conflict, cut down the numbers of strikes and compromise the trade union movement by embracing it in the tentacles of the state.

They seek to offer an independent individual solution as an alternative to mass action.

For a Trotskyist the question of tribunals is not one of reform and improvement but of abolition. A complete boycott of all tribunals is not a matter of tactics but a matter of principle.

SPURIOUS

Tribunals do no more than provide a spurious respectability for the employers' right to sack and exploit.

Their role as an adjunct of the state is inbuilt.

An industrial tribunal for example is chaired by a legally qualified person sitting with two lay officials, one of them drawn from the ranks of the employers, the other a trade unionist.

The legally qualified chairman can on occasion turn out to be a Brigadier who has done a little extra swotting.

The "trade unionist" almost invariably turns out to be a super-annuated hack who follows the proceeding with some difficulty and occasionally struggles to ask a question which will show his heart is with the workers.

MAJORITY

The employers representative will occasionally be a member of the professions. In case the trade unionist shows an unexpected tendency to identify with the worker involved the tribunal is given powers to reach a majority decision.

The tribunal is empowered to examine cases of unfair dismissal,

illusions that tribunals were created to spread.

An employer has to be a fool or a hot head to sack someone so that their dismissal will be deemed unfair.

EXCLUDED

Totally excluded from the Act is the biggest single cause of sacking — redundancy.

The layman's guide to the 1974 Act — *A Guide to Unfair Dismissals* — puts the point clearly:

"Redundancy itself is a fair reason for dismissal . . . The test is whether the employer needs fewer employees to do work of a particular kind."

Even where the employer does not intend to cut the total workforce but merely transfers work from one factory to another, that does not constitute unfair dismissal.

Also excluded from consideration are cases where a worker is sacked for not being good enough, not having the right qualifications, or misconduct.



It is popularly believed that tribunals can stop an employer sacking workers on strike. This is not so. All an employer is required to do is to sack everybody on strike.

Only in cases where such sackings are selective can unfair dismissals be claimed!

These exclusions lead to the unedifying sight of a worker who has been made redundant trying to prove that it should have been someone else who was chopped.

It is as if someone appealing against a prison sentence had to nominate someone else to take his or her place in the cell, should the appeal succeed.

RECORD

In the case of equal pay tribunals the record of the first year has been appalling. The crudest tricks by employers in grading women differently from men have all been accepted.

This reached such a pitch that following the Trico ruling (reversed not by appeals but by a 20-week strike) the bourgeois press started wailing that unless more decisions went the way of women workers, the tribunals would become "discredited".

This outcry illustrates what the bourgeoisie require from the tribunals — just enough favourable decisions to keep workers from throwing them out.

In practice the tribunals now act

striking in defence of jobs or trade union principles.

"If you have a case, why don't you go to an industrial tribunal?" has become the favourite parrot cry of every barrack room lawyer crossing the picket line.

ORGAN OF STATE

It is not just that tribunals are blatantly and flagrantly pro-employer. It is not just that no tribunal can order an employer to take back a sacked worker — but can merely recommend. It is possible that a Labour government under pressure could redress the balance slightly on these matters.

The real point is that a tribunal is an organ of the state in the same way as is a criminal court, or the police force. Its role therefore is to uphold the dominance of the capitalist class over the proletariat.

That is the central requirement which can never be changed by reforms.

In *The State and Revolution* Lenin wrote:

"The forms of bourgeois states are extremely varied, but their essence is the same: all these states whatever their form, in the final analysis are inevitably the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The transition from capitalism to Communism certainly cannot but yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms, but the essence will inevitably be the same: the dictatorship of the proletariat". (original emphasis).

What goes for the state as a whole goes for those organs which the state sets up to protect itself.

MORE DANGEROUS

In fact the more that the tribunals are reformed, the more dangerous they become. Their essence is to remove the clear call for united struggle in opposition to the employer, and to replace it by an appeal for "justice" to a body run by the employer.

Over fifty Soviet artists who are not united either schematically or artistically, have joined forces in their common determination that art must have greater autonomy from the official dictates than it presently enjoys.

This exhibition shows the fruits of their labours.

To understand their art some background knowledge is useful.

The increased development of capitalism in Russia at the turn of the century was made possible by the investment of capital from Western Europe, and especially France.

A by-product of this financial chain was the patronage of the class of Russian industrialists for the European radical developments in art made around the turn of the 20th century.

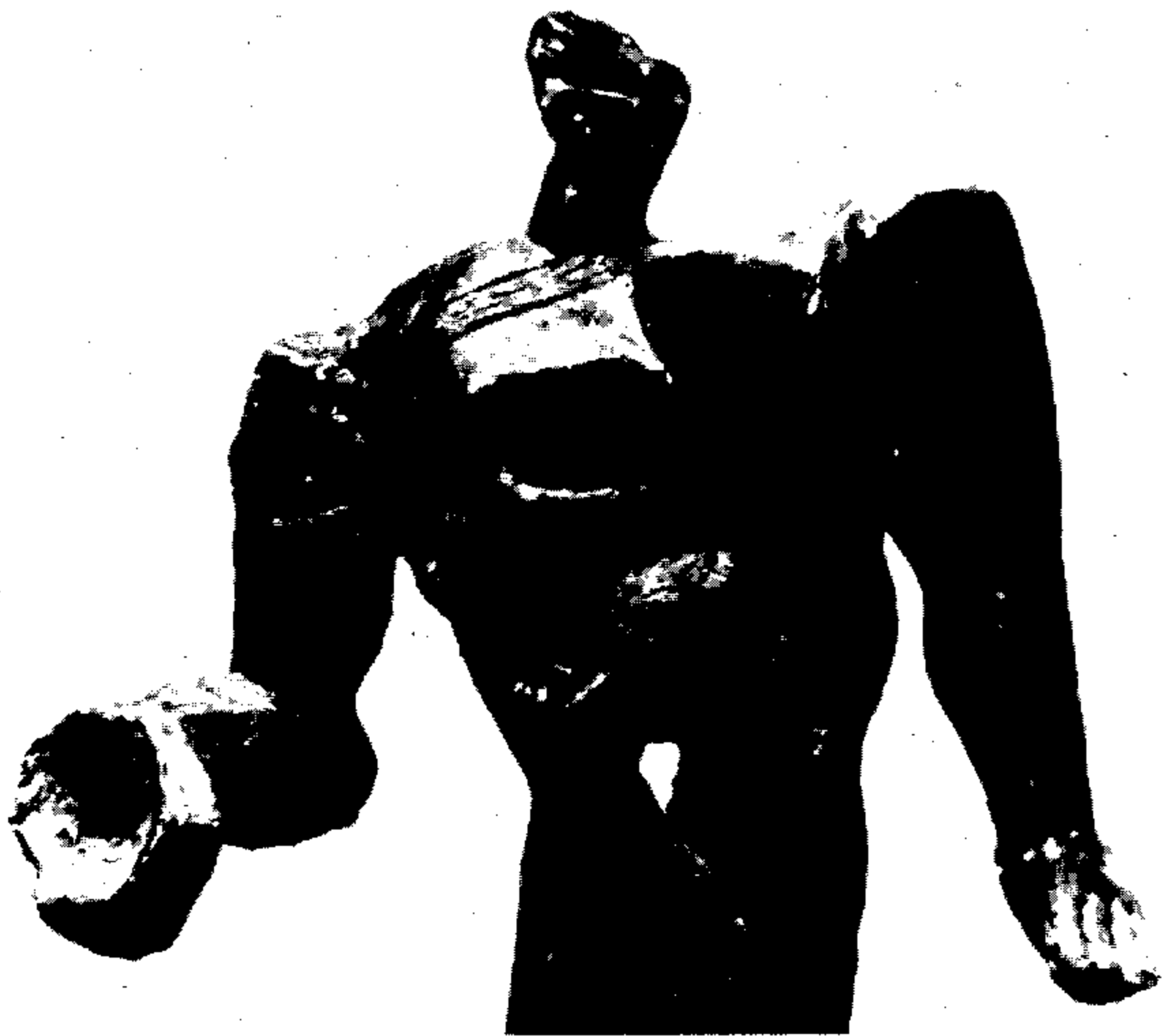
to name but a few, took a vanguard position in that heroic struggle for socialism.

Their common purpose was the synthesis of all productive activity; thus industry, architecture, painting, graphics, propaganda, industrial design, poetry, films and the theatre became forged into an instrument of the revolution.

The creative scope of this period has had a profound but largely unacknowledged influence in every country of the world, as refracted and extended through the Bauhaus of Germany between the wars.

The seizure of power by the bureaucracy, led by Stalin, was the final nail in the coffin for this movement which had suffered from the general exhaustion from the revolutionary period, from the previous famines and disruptions of early Soviet life, and the defeat of European revolutions.

Stalin's policy of 'Socialism in



Neizvestny. Machine Man. Bronze, 1961-2.

Thus by 1914, one industrialist, Sergei Shchukin had a collection which included works by Monet, Degas, Cezanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Matisse, Rousseau and Picasso, and was open to public viewing.

In such a way the revolutionary art forms of Cubism and Futurism were infused into the revolutionary political events to produce the unique and brilliant explosion of experimental art between 1917 and 1923.

Avant-garde works and projects by El Lissitzky, Leonidov, Rodchenko, Eisenstein, Mayakovsky, Kandinsky, Pevsner, Malevich, Chagall and the Vesnin brothers,

one country' had immediate implications in the field of art. The concept of the 'artist-engineer' was replaced by the academic oil painter, whose job it was, and is, to idealise and propagandise the state.

In 1932, all painting and sculpture were placed under the centralised control of the Union of Artists, and Isaac Brodsky, an artist trained in the pre-revolutionary Academy and a notorious opponent of all post-Impressionist art, became the director of the new Academy.

Its chief function, as is that of all Academies, was to aggrandise and perpetuate the status quo. With the excuse of "popular art", works

UNOFFICIAL ART

The Exhibition on Unofficial Art at the ICA Gallery which ended on February 27th, reviewed by Tim Summers.

depicted contented bronzed workers and granite deifications of Lenin and Stalin.

In sharp distinction to the inventive and lyrical dynamism of the earlier period, Stalinist Academia is essentially static and dull, glorifying obedience to the monolithic state.

The Tretyakov Gallery best reflects in terms of art, the 'liberalisation' and continuance of Stalinism since Khrushchev's reforms in the 1950's.

A greater affluence has led to the demand that art should reach out to the international mainstream, gathering pace alongside consumer demands for a greater choice in such things as clothing and popular music.

Such demands for a greater flexibility led this group of artists to attempt to display their works without state sponsorship for the first time in 44 years.

Perhaps the artist best known to the West in this group is Ernst Neizvestny, whose contribution of etchings and sculpture use the human body as the point of departure.

He uses elongated and tortured forms which are somehow neither organic nor inorganic — more a kind of 'mechanised biology'.

SURVIVAL

Their savage angularity, recalling Picasso's sketches for 'Guernica', are loaded with sexuality — not of the kind associated with the idealised aesthetics of 'soft porn', but more indicative of sex as a part of tough survival.

His forms unite the enduring qualities of Henry Moore and the humanism of Rodin, to express a vision of a humanity born to struggle.

Historically speaking, the work of Neizvestny is a progressive break

from the Stalinist stranglehold of the plastic arts.

Neizvestny's dominance of this exhibition is shared with the powerful, heavily executed oil paintings of Oscar Rabin.

Bold and high-contrast monochrome shapes built with a palette knife are combined with fine brushwork of muted colour within a firm and accomplished composition.

His works show a mature solution to the problems of integrating three-dimensional spatial relationships to the two dimensions of the canvas surface.

SYMBOL

Students of art will be familiar with the fish as a historic symbol of Christianity. Is it in continuity of this tradition that dead fish figure prominently in three of the paintings on exhibition?

Another work depicting the Crucifixion in front of a bleak industrial landscape suggests an affirmation of this. Such reactionary forms of dissidence find their literary parallel in Solzhenitsyn.

However, two works distinguish this artist from such a position. A painting called America shows a photo-montaged cat eating a fish on the rooftop of a black and inhuman cityscape. Another shows a woman's torso in the form of an article of clothing hanging on a washing-line.

While this symbol has become banal to the Western public familiar with the book of Germaine Greer, the inclusion of this symbol is a welcome attestation that the struggle for women's equality is not confined to the West.

But an overall impression suggests that where Rabin lays on his paint with a palette knife, he lays on his crude symbolism with a trowel.

Such crude and regressive allegory pervades the work of other artists who lack Oscar Rabin's pictorial talents. A painting by Alexander Rabin contrasts a foreground of a smashed and ruined wooden edifice holding a fallen horseshoe, a crucifix and a ripped playing card against a background of endless blue-grey architectural modernity. Above this desert of a city hangs a portrait of Lenin.

AMBIGUOUS

But some clearly dissenting works are more subtle, ambiguous and interesting, like Ilya Kabakov's presentation of a small multi-fractured mirror held in place by a giant, thick grey frame. Near the base of this frame, a hand gently holds an egg.

While much of the remaining work is didactically religious this does not mean that the majority of exhibitors are directly ideological.

Most works are a reflection, (if a somewhat pale one) of the major currents in European and American art from, say 1900 to 1960.

Sitnikov and Birger may be described as Impressionists; Kalinin, Kropivnitskaya and Yankilevsky are Surrealists in the most individualistic and idealistic sense; while the more measured work of Kulbak is closer to Magritte.

This exhibition represents a diversity of artistic approach, based not on the developments taking place in the USSR, but those outside it. That such initiative should be hampered by the Stalinist bureaucracy is indicative of its general role in fettering development in the Soviet Union.

IRONY

It is an irony that the Western modes of art received such great impetus from the Bolshevik avant-garde period, and now should be considered as an exclusively capitalist and degenerate development.

Trotskyists should on one hand recognise that the objective necessity of a break from Stalinism in the USSR will be reflected in cultural controversy; but on the other hand, we should not be diverted from attacking the backward, confused or reactionary elements of this exhibition.

In the 1930s Andre Breton and Diego Rivera put forward a clear Marxist position on art which offers a key to this exhibition:

"Our aims —
The independence of art — for the revolution.
The revolution — for the complete liberation of art!"

SPOTLIGHT

ON
REFORMISM

CROSLAND: THE TORIES' FAVOURITE "SOCIALIST"

Those who have joined the socialist movement since the early 1960s may have been surprised at the extravagant praise heaped on Labour Cabinet Minister Charles Anthony Raven Crosland after his death on 19th February.

The praise came from the capitalist press, the Tory leaders and various other dedicated opponents of the working class movement, its organisations and its aims.

It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the importance of Crosland, his large contribution to social democratic betrayal and the genuine sense of loss felt by the bourgeoisie at the demise of such a capable and consistent representative of their interests.

a dedicated supporter of capitalist exploitation, of imperialism, and of the bourgeois legal and political system.

This much can of course be said of any Labour leader. What was different about Crosland was that he tried to give theoretical gloss — of a sort — to his role.

Crosland was born in 1918 into a prosperous family of civil servants. He attended a public school and Oxford University.

JENKINS

There, just before the war, he developed with Roy Jenkins that special brand of aggressive right-wing reformism that comes out in different generations of Oxford students.

It was Crosland and Jenkins

Labour Club, at that time dominated by the Stalinists, and set up a so-called 'Democratic Socialist Club'.

Jenkins continued to take a close and personal interest in such student affairs, helping to build a big Gaitskellite group in the early 60s, and thus training future generations in the kind of back-stairs manoeuvring so essential for the success of a reformist politician.

Events in recent months at Newham North East (reported elsewhere in this issue) show that this particular breed is still being churned out at Oxford University.

Crosland's role in all this was somewhat different.

Not for him the rough and tumble of behind the scenes wheeling and dealing. He was a 'Prince Rupert' in such matters — pursuing



PHOTO: Chris Davies (Report)

Crosland

his own defeat.

He thus became the intellectual of the gang, giving a much needed 'theoretical' gloss to the sordid dealing and carefully calculated betrayal.

This is why all the obituaries to Crosland in the capitalist press have made so much of his book *The Future of Socialism*, which came out in 1956.

His publishers described it as 'monumental' and it was certainly a bible of the extreme right within the Labour movement for at least a decade after it came out.

It is interesting to notice however, that the book is never nowadays quoted, even by its most

The reasons for this are obvious to anyone who takes the trouble to look at it now — its theoretical structure is utterly threadbare, its political diagnosis is irrelevant, and its entire set of predictions about society are completely discredited.

In fact *The Future of Socialism* is a crude and now utterly falsified anti-Marxist tract, a product of a capitalist boom that was expected to last forever, where all the ideological baggage of the extreme right goes side by side with an overweening faith in the future of capitalism.

Crosland's book talks of 'the declining importance of economic problems' when 'the capitalist busi-

IN PLACE OF SOCIALISM

Di Parkin concludes her two part series on the first period of Wilson government, and assesses some of the movements that originated in that period.

The first of these articles described how the 1964-70 Labour government confronted a deepening capitalist crisis as the post-war boom came to an end.

Faced with inflation, financial instability and falling profits in private industry, the Wilson government saw their task not in implementing socialist policies but managing capitalism — with the gloves off.

DEVALUATION

The devaluation of the pound, stoking up further inflation, added to the pressure from the banks for the government, jointly with the TUC, to enforce wage restraint upon the working class.

The Trotskyist weekly paper of the time, the *Newsletter*, published by the Socialist Labour League, summed up the political situation in this way:

"The Tories were relying on a Labour government to do something Selwyn Lloyd and Reginald Maudling were unable to do — tie the trade unions closer to the state under some form of agreement in order to prepare to crush working class militancy".

"This is not the Labour government that millions of workers thought would act in their interests. It is a caretaker government that is kept in power by the bankers until it puts down legislation against the unions."

While the boom had enabled capitalism to expand and develop the forces of production, at the same time it had strengthened the grave-diggers of capitalism — the

organised working class.

Whole new sections of women and immigrant workers had been drawn into the labour market. But at the same time full employment enabled workers to demand and force wage increases.

STEWARDS

Shop floor power grew with the control of wage bargaining in the hands of the shop stewards movement which consistently extended its influence.

Each victory on wages strengthened further the move towards organisation and the determination of the working class as a whole.

It was for this reason that the Wilson government set its sights first of all on enforcing wage controls using the support of the TUC.

But as it became more apparent to Wilson that, despite the collaboration of the bureaucracy, the trade union movement was not a creature to be led by the nose, the resolve strengthened within the government to attempt to impose anti-union laws.

This was spurred on by the awareness that new and drastic measures had to be taken to drive up productivity and exploitation if British capitalism was to remain profitable.

The Devlin report on the docks, the huge rationalisation of mines and railways, the attempts to impose Measured Day Work within the motor industry, all called for a weakening of the shop-floor strength of the working class.

And while the class remained strong, a fight to prepare a politically conscious leadership to resist these attacks was being led by the

power'.

A neutral state was he claimed controlling more and more private enterprise, and those sections still in private hands were apparently run by managers no longer devoted to 'crude profit maximisation'.

There was thus, according to Crosland, a 'growing irrelevance of the ownership of the means of production', class struggle had all but disappeared, and it had become "manifestly inaccurate to call Britain a capitalist society".

Now it is of some interest to consider these statements twenty years later.

When the capitalist press describe him as a 'brilliant theoretician' this incredible rubbish was the best he could produce.

Those social democrats who sneer at some of the inaccurate predictions made by Marxists were so utterly deceived by surface impressions that they failed to see the basic remaining contradictions of capitalism.

Little wonder that Crosland called only for comprehensive schools, some slight redistribution of wealth, 'participation' in industry and somewhat less state intervention in the economy that now seems normal.

In those halcyon days, Crosland considered "a national, centralised wages policy" to be "impractical and unwise".

This great 'socialist' intellectual also proposed better street lighting, late-night opening of pubs, and a whole series of other similar central demands for the welfare of the working class which only a great intellectual of his calibre could envisage.

The fact is that for the Labour Governments ever since 1964 of which Crosland was a member the reality was what lay beneath the

surface.

Capitalism was still a system that drove for profits and involved crisis in its very development. Class war still stares the Labourites in the face and those who once denied its existence are its most active proponents — on the side of the capitalists!

Though a Minister in all the Labour governments and 'shadow' cabinets since 1960, Crosland did not play a central role in planning economic policy.

However he did plan the strategy on the Housing Finance Act, refusing to sanction in any way defiance against it. Here once again, he found common ground with the Tories.

At the same time he began, when Minister concerned with Local Government, to embody in his notorious 'the party's over' statement, the first step on the slippery slope of cuts in the welfare services.

He introduced a Rent Act which by bringing down rents while refusing to make any state take-over in the private sector simply allowed private rented accommodation to disappear altogether — a perfect example of the results of reformist compromise.

As Foreign Secretary he was a willing tool of US imperialism in Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

Unlike the capitalist press, we will not mourn the passing of a man such as this.

The 'overwork' that struck him down was not in the interests of the working class or socialism.

Neither of these causes will be served unless Crosland and his sort are thrown out of the leadership of the labour movement.

By John Docherty



Occupied factory, France, May-June 1968 — student movements reflected shifts in the working class.

Socialist Labour League, beginning with the Oxford Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions, and leading into the All Trades Unions Alliance — each with a considerable base of rank and file support.

The Donovan report on the trade unions failed to draw the conclusions the government wanted. Concretely they were searching for a pretext to outlaw unofficial strikes, institute compulsory strike ballots, and "cooling off periods".

The replacement of Ray Gunter by Barbara Castle as Minister of Labour (now retitled "Employment and Productivity") marked an attempt to soft-soap the trade union movement into acceptance of a legal noose around their necks.

Castle had already made her mark in tea-time chats with striking Ford sewing machinists demanding equal pay. But her key role was in drawing up one of the biggest legal assaults on the unions ever attempted by a Labour government — 'In Place of Strife'.

INTERVENTION

Central to this document was the concept of the intervention of the law into industrial relations. No longer were workers to be free to negotiate and fight for wages directly with the employer.

"Unconstitutional" strikes were to be attacked by the implementation of a 28-day "cooling off" period.

In certain cases unions were required to hold ballots. And the whole process of bargaining was to be hedged around by legal procedures and structures.

Scanlon and Jones went so far as to argue that legislation against unofficial strikes "would lead to greater and irresistible pressure to turn unofficial action into officially recognised disputes".

Finally Wilson and Castle had to hand over the task of disciplining the rank and file to the trade union bureaucrats themselves.

'UNCONSTITUTIONAL'

"For good or ill, we had accepted the views of the TUC but only because they had accepted responsibility for dealing with... unconstitutional strikes in a situation where the shop floor was becoming increasingly militant and determined."

The TUC leaders signed a binding agreement that they would police the rank and file.

Then as now, they were the key agents attempting to restore capitalist profitability.

We have focussed on the key issue facing the Labour government in this period: its relationship with the working class at home and its attempt to break the independence of that class.

However, industrial relations are but one aspect of the relationship between social democracy to the workers movement.

The Wilson government also had its role to play in preserving British capitalism's waning imperialist power.

Many of the themes of the 64-70 government are revealed once again in the current period. It was the Wilson government which sent troops into Ulster and introduced the racist Immigration Act.

And in Rhodesia Wilson capit-

This movement allowed various groups on the left (notably those who were eventually to group themselves into today's International Marxist Group) to set themselves on the diversionary track of seeing students and others as the main focus of revolutionary action and to turn their back on the working class.

In doing so they assumed, as they do today, that the working class was somehow not prepared to struggle.

The lessons they should have learned over the explosion of militancy against In Place of Strife seem still unlearned.

The SLL alone turned the orientation of the anti-war movement into the labour movement and were the first to move beyond empty slogans concerning "peace" or Bring the Troops Home to calls for the victory of the NLF.

It has been suggested that the SLL played no role in the struggles in Britain against the Vietnam war.

PREVENTED

Far from it. The *Newsletter* published the complete text of the letter from Bertrand Russell which founded the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign but when that movement physically prevented the SLL from voicing criticisms of Stalinist policies (going so far as removing the microphone from SLL General Secretary Gerry Healy) they withdrew from the VSC.

However, the weakness of the SLL was in then adopting a rigid blinkered viewpoint, failing to realise that the Vietnam issue had radicalised whole sections of the population and that a mass movement existed.

They did not participate in its demonstrations — under their own slogans.

Instead they stood aside and missed many opportunities for giving direction and orientating that movement into the working class.

This left the VSC arena free as a hot house for all the diversionary ideas of that era — from "flower-power" to meditation, ideas of student "red bases" and the cult of Che Guevara.

In the latter period of the Wilson government students occupied colleges; the events in France in May 1968 and Czechoslovakia in August 1968 had a great impact and protests continued against the Vietnam war.

WORKING CLASS

But at the base of all these movements, however, was the movement of the working class and the government's battle with the working class — a battle which prepared the ground for the Tories.

Social democracy set itself against all these movements and left the door wide open for a Tory victory in the 1970 election on the basis of mass abstentions. But the Heath government that followed Wilson was also unable to defeat the working class and was itself swept aside by the miners in 1974.

As Today the Callaghan government engages in a wretched re-run of all Wilson's most treacherous policies, the lessons of that last Labour government must be brought to the fore — as the unbroken strength of the working class reasserts itself once more.



The 1967 Conference of the Oxford Liaison Committee

The most obvious response of the TUC leaders to this attack was not to launch an all-out opposition to it, but to disaffiliate Lambeth Trades Council for organising a lobby of Parliament against the anti-union laws!

It was not the TUC but notably the All Trades Unions Alliance which spearheaded demonstrations and strikes against the government's plans — culminating in the hundreds of thousands who struck on May Day 1969.

PRESSURE

Under these conditions the TUC despite its eagerness to shackle and control the shop floor and the rank and file, recognised that the pressure was such that some show of opposition to the government's plans had to be made.

ulated and acquiesced to the UDI move by Smith in November 1965.

Committed above all to the maintenance of British imperialist interests, Wilson could no more contemplate than can Callaghan now, unleashing and supporting the revolutionary African forces which alone could overthrow Smith's racist rule.

Social Democracy may pay lip-service to opposition to racist or right-wing rule; but for reformist leaders such regimes are a lesser evil than any threat to private property.

For similar reasons the Wilson government supported the policies of American imperialism in its vicious assault on Vietnam and the rest of South East Asia.

Wilson's policies led in Britain to the development of a mass protest movement of students and others.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS



The CLASH Conference

HEALTH STEWARDS JOIN AGAINST CUTS

In the first attempt to bring together NHS stewards throughout London, to coordinate the sporadic fight against the cuts, some seventy shop stewards representing nine NHS unions and twenty-eight hospitals in London attended the inaugural meeting of CLASH – the Conference of London Area Stewards in the Health Service on February 23rd.

Opening the meeting on behalf of the Joint Stewards Committee of South Camden which had called the conference, Eustelle Lindsay [NUPE, University College Hospital] spoke of the fight put up by her committee to defend the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital.

Their experience had convinced them that hospital closures could not be fought one by one and they had therefore called the conference to build united action.

DEFEND

Platform speaker, Arthur Churchly, NUPE steward at the occupied Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital, emphasised the responsibility of the large, well organised hospitals to defend the small, poorly organised ones.

He paid tribute to those few individuals who had fought against the defeatism to be found among the non-unionised EGA staff at the beginning of their fight against closure, and whose leadership had persuaded workers that the only way of defending their hospital was to occupy it.

This, he stressed, was the only way to fight the cuts. Whilst the Campaign to save the EGA had concentrated their activities on lobbies of MPs, organising petitions and other protests, they had lost half their hospital.

PREVENTED

Since the occupation started, however, they had on two occasions prevented the AHA from closing the remainder of the hospital.

One of the immediate successes of the conference was to draw in a number of stewards from the Whittington hospital – which until now has been the weak point in the fight to save the EGA.

Whittington GMWU steward Bill Woodall speaking in response to Arthur Churchly stated that the Whittington unions would cooperate with EGA workers in refusing to allow the EGA to be moved

there.

Later, the conference adopted a resolution demanding that the NECs of NUPE, COHSE, NALGO and ASTMS call all-London strike action on April 18th, the day when the AHA have announced they intend to close the hospital.

STRIKE

Denis Renton [GMWU, St. Bartholomew's] described the recent strike in defence of night porters when they were victimised for refusing to do work normally done by clerical staff.

The strike had won the reinstatement of the victimised porters after the joint unions banned all emergency services, including oxygen deliveries.

As a result the strike was short, patients were less harmed and the outcome was that management had to create a new post – for a night records clerk.

Consequently the management were looking for other ways of making cuts and a further dispute was brewing over overtime and rota changes.

Supplementing these remarks, John Clarke [NUPE, Queen Elizabeth's Hackney] explained that the Barts workers had also won guaranteed earnings from overtime. Staff to be recruited since the agreement, however, were not entitled to guaranteed overtime.

DIVISIONS

This led to divisions amongst workers doing the same job. Further, the AHA had promised that when they closed hospitals there would be no redundancies.

Instead, staff were transferred to other hospitals, including Barts.

Two chefs, transferred to Barts from the now-closed Metropolitan, were not included in the guaranteed overtime agreement and consequently lost £17 a week in wages.

Since their basic wage was inadequate they were forced to leave and therefore lost even the chance of redundancy pay. In this way, the "no redundancy" promises of the AHAs could be seen to be a fraud.

The main resolution to the conference was moved by Colin Kenny [ASTMS, St. Mary's] on behalf of the organising committee.

NECESSARY

He emphasised that the resolution posed what was necessary if a real fight in defence of living standards was to take place.

The theme of the resolution was the emphasis to place the NHS and

its major supply industries under workers control.

Furthermore, to defend living standards, pay rises should be based on the rate of inflation, as determined by "labour movement assessment of the effects of inflation".

The resolution called for opposition to all redundancies, including "natural wastage" and proposed opposition

"by linked strike action and occupations to the closure of any wards, departments or hospitals, except where replaced by immediately improved facilities."

These policies could only be carried out through the building of joint stewards committees in opposition to the participation schemes of joint consultative committees. This motion was carried 41-6.

A second resolution, implicitly opposing the organising committees resolution was tabled by supporters of the SWP (IS) paper *Hospital Worker*.

STEWARDS

Pointing out that CLASH was a conference of stewards and that SWP members had failed to get their resolution adopted by any stewards committee, the Chairman nevertheless allowed the resolution to be taken.

In its support John Clarke argued that demands like nationalisation were "irrelevant" to the present problems facing hospital workers.

Instead, the *Hospital Worker* resolution called simply for support for the *Hospital Worker* conference; for £60 a week minimum wage; support for the Leyland stewards "initiatives"; and support for the *Hospital Worker* paper.

Several delegates pointed out that unlike the organising committee's resolution, it contained no policies for a continuing fight against cuts or wage controls and the resolution was heavily defeated.

In addition to the main resolution, the conference called on all its delegates to fight for a mass lobby of the conference of public sector union executives on March 22nd in Central Hall, Westminster, to demand that these executives organise a "nationally coordinated one day public sector strike" against the cuts, on May 11th, and to demand through their union branches that the NECs of each union call official strikes on that day.

CLASH will now meet at three-monthly intervals. Details of future meetings can be obtained from Colin Kenny, Virology, St. Mary's Hospital Medical School, Praed St., London W2.

Labour Council demands wage cuts

The Direct Works department of Sandwell Council are on strike following a demand that they accept a wage-cut.

The Labour councillors want the bonus rate reduced from 92p to 87½p per hour and a reduction in job target times, which would also reduce the bonus.

This has brought to a head the grievances of the maintenance and modernisation workers in Sandwell which have been building up over a number of years.

Sandwell Council employs lump labour, and refuses to end this practice even when declaring there is not enough work for the Direct Works Department.

FLYING PICKET

The strikers say they will not return until the lump workers are off the sites, and a strike committee of

60 is acting as a flying picket to ensure that the sites remain fully closed during the dispute.

Sandwell also has the unusual practice of deducting up to 25% of bonus earnings for "administration" and to pay the employer's contribution to superannuation.

More of the bonus is deducted from the skilled workers to pay any apprentices working under them!

This practice obviously leads to hostility between apprentices and adults, to apprentices being unwanted, and untrained because of pressure on bonuses.

The hypocrisy of some councillors themselves demanding wage increases at work while asking council workers to accept a wage cut is astonishing.

But at least one councillor on the Public Works Committee has at last been removed from the Labour Group. He is Stan Harris a self-employed sub-contractor!

Mass pickets win pay strike

The 17 day strike of hourly paid workers at Winsford's giant International Computers factory ended with a partial victory.

The strike by 900 members of the Electrical and Engineering unions became necessary after months of abortive discussions with management over a claim for back pay averaging £120 per employee.

DETERMINATION

The determination to win was reflected in some of the strongest and most organised picket lines the Industrial Estate has seen in its ten year history, with mass pickets out 24 hours a day.

A cry of 'poverty' by the employers was quickly muted by the recent announcement that ICL had made profits of £47 million in the last financial period, and this news made the strikers even more determined to win.

The calibre of their leadership however can be assessed from the

statement by Mr Terry McMahon, Senior Steward of the EETPU, to the local press:

"We were prepared to meet them [the management] half way".

His desire to meet them half way was fulfilled when, along with the full time officials, a meeting was arranged without the knowledge of the work force.

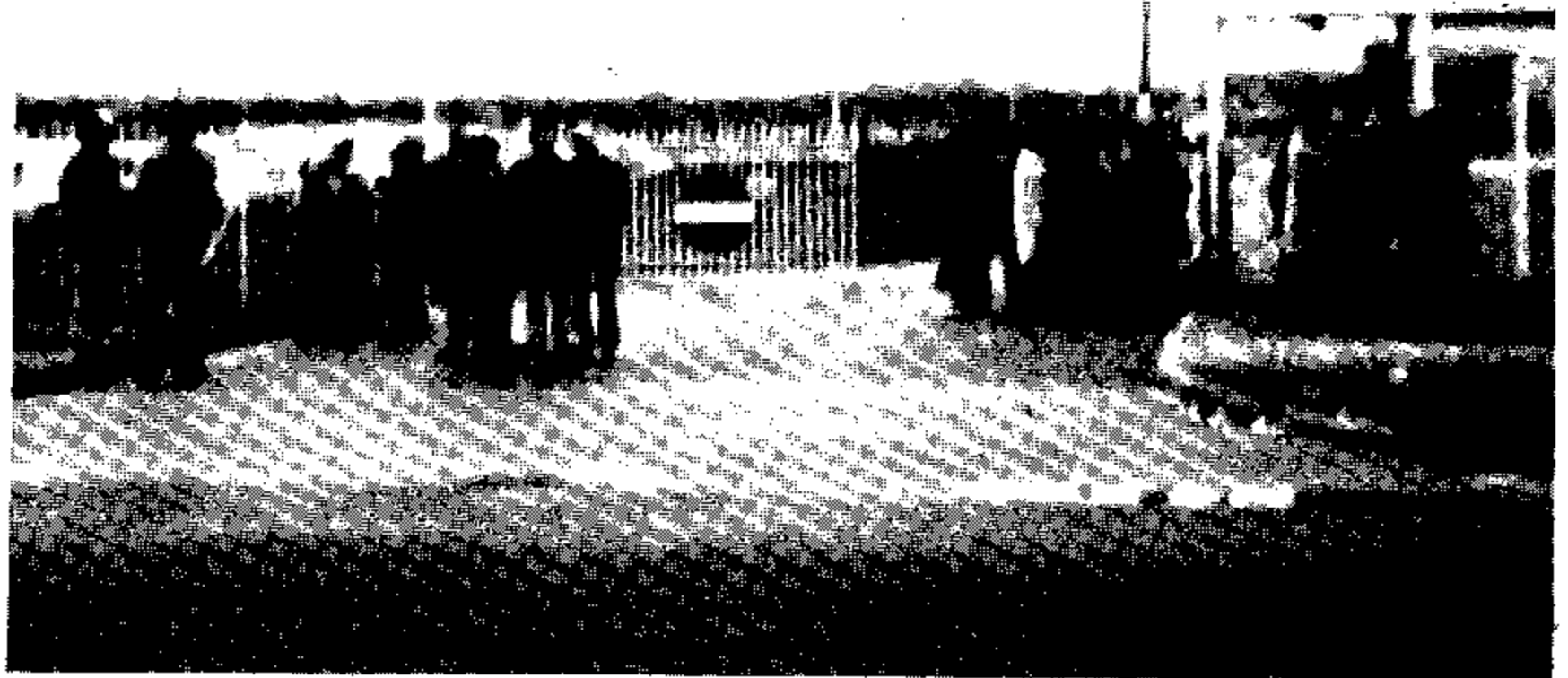
A solution of £70 tax free to be paid immediately upon a return to work was agreed and this was eventually accepted by the strikers.

Some workers see the 'return formula' as a sell out.

One worker, Ritchie Dunleavy, told *Socialist Press*:

"These full-time officials with senior stewards in tow have caved in at a time when we had management on the run. The shop floor workers were solid."

"The need to have democracy in the trade union movement is vital when you have these officials making deals behind our backs. They should be elected and not selected."



Pickets at ICL, Winsford.

Friends in high places

A long-standing campaign by Coventry Trades Council and Equity to black the Barras Green Working Men's Club, which operates a colour bar, met with success recently when T&GWU convenors at Ancells, Davenport & Courage all refused to deliver to the club.

Within four days, however, the deliveries started again. The black had been called off by someone in the T&GWU hierarchy.

Now, eight prominent T&GWU convenors in Coventry have signed a letter calling on the brewery convenors to reintroduce the blacking.

The T&GWU has produced a fine-sounding pamphlet and many words on the need to fight racialism. Why then was the blacking called off?

Sliding scale demanded

Workers at Winsford Textiles Ltd, members of the National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers, have without a single dissenter signed the following resolution in a mass petition from the factory to the union's District Committee.

"This Branch of N.U.T.&G.W. declares its opposition to the present policy of wage control.

Already after less than 2 years of the incomes policy the average wage has been cut by £10 a week.

We therefore call for a substantial wage increase and also a policy of wages tied to a cost of living index: a sliding scale of wages.

TGWU MUST BLACK HOTEL CHAIN

The national executive of the Transport and General Workers Union is faced once again this week with a demand for national blacking of all Trust House Forte hotels and subsidiaries.

The union leaders who have stalled off action in support of hotel strikes in Sheffield and Oxford are fast running out of places to hide after the breakdown of the latest talks with Trust House Forte.

UNREST

The decision will be taken against a background of growing unrest throughout Forte hotels and an extremely sharp call for action from Oxford where strikes at the Randolph Hotel and the privately owned Linton Lodge have lasted more than 13 weeks.

A strike has started in Birmingham at the Night Out night club - owned by THF - after the shop steward there was sacked. More than 40 workers are demanding that she be reinstated.

BOUGHT

In London the Strand Hotels have been bought by THF and workers belonging to the General and Municipal Workers Union have discovered that 'recognition' means little to their new bosses.

A worker there has been sacked; the management has refused to discuss the matter with the union and members are actively consider-

ing strike action.

Many THF workers are now contacting the strikers in Sheffield and Oxford to discuss moves for recognition.

Against this background the national executive has so far argued that national blacking would be "illegal". This fatuous argument explains why blacking has been confined to certain regions.

The most notable effect is on the M6 motorway where one service station has run out of petrol and the AA are warning that motorway travel could become a chancy dash from one petrol oasis to another. The TGWU, of course, has the strength to bring THF to a virtual standstill.

A 300-strong demonstration in Oxford in support of hotel workers showed the pressure that union officials are under.

CONDEMNATION

Speakers from the Linton Lodge, the Randolph and the Grosvenor House in Sheffield were unanimous in condemnation of the TGWU for inaction, particularly over the question of blacking.

Pat Lally, speaking on behalf of the Oxford Student Trade Union Liaison Committee, recalled the first demonstration called by the Oxford and District Trades Union Council in December.

"The issues now are the same as in December. We will not be content with another Trades Council demonstration on May Day".



The Oxford demonstration

WARWICK WORKERS FIGHT CUTS

Tory dominated Warwickshire County Council has voted cuts of £3.7 million. The vast bulk of the cuts, £2.2 million's worth, are to fall on education and in practical terms it means the axe for 1,500 part-time and 250 full-time posts and a lowering of standards all round. Most heavily hit will be the part-time school meals supervisors, over 1,000 of whom face the sack.

Attempts to implement the cuts will not go unchallenged. The meeting which voted the cuts was picketed by several hundred teachers, school meals staff, administrators and students.

But the most militant action had come the week before the meeting when hundreds of school children took to the streets in Nuneaton and Bedworth in spontaneous demonstrations against the education cuts.

Teenage pupils walked out of George Eliot School and marched over a mile to protest outside the council chambers.

At nearby Bedworth, police were called to disperse hundreds of young demonstrators who were blocking the road demanding the retention of their dining room

supervisors.

The local NUT leadership should take a lead from their militant pupils. NUT action has so far been limited to refusal to cover for absent colleagues and not supervising pupils at dinner time.

And the lobby of Warwickshire County Council was called on the ridiculous demand for an increase in the rates to prevent cuts!

Instead of pointing out that the council's cuts are the sign of things to come nationally, the NUT leadership prefers to attack the local authority for its "meanness".

Further more, the demand for a rise in rates does nothing to put local Labour councillors on the spot in the cuts fight.

The Labour members on Warwickshire County Council voted against the cuts and argued for a rate increase.

A meeting of NALGO office representatives in Rugby has shown an alternative way forward by voting to set up a committee to investigate local authority finances.

This committee will be able to establish what profits are being made by the supply companies at a time when services are being slashed.

The NALGO representatives will

be arguing for other unions affected to be involved in the committee.

Socialist Press believes that an investigation of local authority finances will show clearly the need for nationalisation of the supply companies as part of a trade union plan for the defence of public services.

In an attempt to split school meal supervisors and teachers the council has stated that if supervisors' sackings are successfully resisted more teachers will have to go.

In the G&MWU (the union representing most of the school meals supervisors) the local bureaucracy, in an attempt to head off calls for an all out strike by the full education section, put forward a call for a two day protest by supervisors.

A meeting of about 70 supervisors unanimously decided to continue the action for two weeks before meeting again to decide on escalating the action.

A G&MWU shop steward told Socialist Press.

"We're going to win this one in spite of the officials. We've been trying to contact our regional officer now for a fortnight but he appears to be unobtainable, while his members are threatened with sackings.

In my opinion we need all out strike action to stop the cuts."

'FIGHT PHASE 2' - THORNETT

"The breaking of Stage Two is now the central question" said Alan Thornett, candidate to replace Jack Jones in the election for the General Secretaryship of the TGWU.

Thornett was speaking at a press conference last Saturday called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement. Despite the powerful movements in the working class against the social contract, said Thornett, "we simply can't say it's all over bar the shouting".

He warned that the determination of the right wing, both in the government and the TUC, to impose a third year of wage cuts on union members meant that there was a long if bitter struggle ahead.

SLIDING SCALE

He recalled that the resolution from his branch - calling for a sliding scale of wages to match inflation - spearheaded the opposition to Jack Jones' launching of the TUC-policed wage control at the TGWU Biennial Delegate Conference in July 1975.

A vote for his platform today, Thornett argued, was a valuable blow against the ruling bureaucracy in the TGWU and for carrying forward a principled record of struggle within the union.

Thornett warned that the policies put about by the "lefts" and Stalinists and mainly represented by the candidature of Alex Kitson within the TGWU, were dangerously deceptive.

Their series of Conferences - like that day's LCDTU Conference - were "bureaucratically controlled" as was that called by the Stalinist-led BLMC Combine Committee.

"Their position", he said, "is one of being opposed to actual action against Stage Two now", postponing everything to "a return to free collective bargaining after July".

LABOUR MOVEMENT

Commenting on the present stage of the TGWU election campaign, Thornett said he was glad to accept the CDLM's invitation to a press conference since it was only open to the press of the labour movement and the left, and was called by a body that had waged "an essential fight for democracy in the unions and on the wages question".

The four main candidates presented by the capitalist press, including Jones' appointed heir, Moss Evans, and Alex Kitson,

had already debated their election positions in interviews on television.

Thornett pointed out that when he himself was the target of a witch-hunt he was besieged by invitations to appear on the media.

SILENCE

But when, as now, he was standing for union office, there was a blanket of silence. In his view, he added, it was an essential principle of democracy in the labour movement not to cooperate with the capitalist press and media.

"On the ballot itself he warned that:

"this election is being run, once again, with no protection against corruption, and with ballot procedures wide open to corruption."

He demanded to know why counting will be at Regional level, contrary to rule 13 of the union which gives that responsibility to branches.

Thornett demanded that the vote for each branch should be declared, and called on all TGWU members to attend their Branch meetings, to discuss voting procedures and to elect and demand a report from scrutineers.

Answering questions on other left candidates in the election, Thornett commented that Tony Riley, backed by the Right to Work Campaign, lacked any serious programme and stood mainly for more "rank and fileism".

"Except for the election of officials", he said, "all Right demands could be supported by most union officials. What this election address leaves out is any account of actual struggles he has been involved in".

BELATED

Remarking on the belated support from *Newsline*, paper of the Workers Revolutionary Party for his candidature, Thornett wryly observed that he was described as "an incurable syndicalist and opportunist".

"It seems strange to me," he remarked, "that *Newsline* should now be advocating votes for opportunists!"

Thornett is completely right to insist that the issues in the TGWU election are vital to all workers, not only TGWU members. Voting ends on March 19th. *Socialist Press* calls on all TGWU members to ask their branches to invite candidates to address them before voting takes place - and to fight for support for Alan Thornett.



The major demonstration at Stechford

CP SPLITS MARCH

Saturday 26 February saw the ridiculous sight of two separate demonstrations opposing National Front activity in the Stechford by-election.

Proposals were originally put through the Trades Council and District Labour Party for a demonstration to be held.

This was opposed by the Communist Party who argued that there was a danger of confrontation with the NF.

After losing the vote the CP then used their influence with the "moderates" on the Trades Council Executive to have the march routed away from the immigrant area of

Stechford to Birmingham City centre.

This was unacceptable to the immigrant organisations. They demanded a change of plan, but could make no headway. Eventually they and the left groups were forced to call a separate demonstration.

The Trades Council Executive Committee did nothing to mobilise for their demonstration.

Eventually a motley contingent of 50 CP and 'Militant' supporters set off, leaving a rather larger number to form the nucleus of the second demonstration, which grew to something like 2,500 people.

ABORTION RIGHTS IN DANGER

Forty-six Labour MPs joined hands with Tory bigots and backwoodsmen last week to give a second reading to the reactionary Benyon Abortion (Amendment) Bill, and set it on its way through Parliament.

Indicating the complete inability of the Labour and trade union leadership to carry forward even the most limited defence of women's rights, the Labour Party declared the Tory Private Member's Bill the subject of a "free vote" — on which the Party apparently had no interest.

DEVOLUTION

Yet during the same week on a topic far more peripheral to the lives and well-being of the working class, the diversionary Devolution Bill, Callaghan and his lieutenant, Foot, had been straining every muscle and cracking a three line whip in an unsuccessful effort to force through a guillotine measure as part of a manoeuvre for an electoral toehold in Scotland.

Of course if this right-wing

Callaghan administration is removed from office and a General Election forced on them, the reason will not be that it has particularly discriminated against Scottish or Welsh workers — but that it has used the full armoury of Tory policies against the entire British working class.

PRIVATE PRACTICE

One example of this has been the savaging of the Health Service and the refusal to stamp out private practice in medicine.

The result has been that already under the NHS abortions are increasingly hard for women to obtain.

In Birmingham for instance, now only 13% of abortions are performed under the Health Service — the remainder being forced into private clinics by the unsavoury combination of money-grabbing and bigotry which distinguishes the medical profession in that area.

AMEND

The Benyon Bill, which seeks to amend the existing 1967 Act, plays up completely to this sector of the medical profession.



Using the fraudulent notion of "abuses" of the Act, the Bill seeks to shorten the length of pregnancy in which abortion could be carried out from 28 to 20 weeks except in certain circumstances; it specifies that two doctors of at least five year's experience (thus excluding young doctors) should give permission for abortion to take place; and it calls for licensing of advisory services, consultancies and pregnancy testing agencies.

RESTRICT

The overall effect will be massively to restrict the availability of free safe abortion.

Of course the whole idea of "abuses" of the law is ridiculous. As long as even one woman is forced to go outside the National Health Service to seek an abortion, the NHS and its framework of operation is inadequate.

But the 'left' MPs who claim to oppose this legislation have at every key point refused to take a clear stand against NHS spending cuts or mobilise any struggle within the Labour Party for the removal of the Healey and Callaghan leadership.

WHIP

And they have even failed to come out and demand the Party whip be used to force Labour MPs to support the right to free abortion or be excluded from the PLP.

This is not a great issue of "conscience" or hypocritical morality, but a vital question of rights for all women.

Motions must be put down in union branches and CLPs demanding Labour MPs toe the line in defence of these most elementary democratic rights for women and the preservation and extension of

the NHS or make way for those who will.

In particular ASTMS members must demand that all union support is withdrawn from the union-sponsored MP, Labour Minister Dr. Dickson Mabon, who flouted ASTMS policy in voting for the Tory Bill.

STUDENTS FIGHT CUTS

... from Front Page.

for their replacement by a principled leadership.

This struggle will only be successful if it is based on a clear political programme.

Such a programme obviously takes as its starting point in the present situation the demand that colleges refuse to implement the proposed fees increases, and that they end all quota systems, whereby overseas students are permitted access to education in limited numbers only.

And if colleges claim they cannot afford non implementation of the increases, we must demand that all their books be opened to elected committees of students and trade unionists.

In addition we must agitate for the abolition of all fees, and the granting of full education facilities to all those who wish to study — regardless of whether they possess the "qualifications" deemed necessary by LEA's and the DES.

Yet the bare right to education is meaningless if students cannot afford to keep themselves while studying: we therefore call for a sliding scale of grants and for a sliding scale of public expenditure rising in pace with inflation to ensure that grants and education are protected against the ravages of inflation.

Of course these demands will not be won overnight: but only a determined struggle to achieve them, using the tactic of occupation and fighting for organised working class support, will ensure that free education becomes a reality and not the myth it now is.

WE WERE UNABLE TO

report the final figure for the January fund in our last issue due to the technical difficulties we faced in producing the paper but we are pleased to say that the final total was £579 — our highest to date.

Unfortunately, the picture this month is more gloomy with only £405.90 in and only one more post to come.

There is a lot of promised money still outstanding. Can we urge all readers and supporters to take this situation seriously and send contributions immediately to:

Socialist Press Monthly Fund
31, Dartmouth Park Hill,
London NW5 1HR

CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT PUBLIC MEETING

"Wage Control and Union Democracy"
NUFTO Hall, Jockey's Fields
Holborn
Thursday 17th March at 7.00pm
Speakers
Alan Thornett, Shop Steward, BLMC
Chris Condon, North Islington CLP
Pat Ollie, Newham N.W. CLP
Gerry Bennett, GMWU, Central London Hotels
(All speaking in a personal

NEWHAM BUST

Newham North East Labour Party was given the real flavour of right wing "democratic" politics last week when the forces of the state were called in to break up their Annual General Meeting.

As the meeting ended in chaos some of the staunchest Prentice supporters were openly calling for the removal of the right wingers from all their Labour Party offices.

The move had been engineered by an Oxford don — Paul McCormick, the man who helped found the Democratic Labour Club in Oxford as a right wing breakaway group from the University Labour Club.

This organisation has become notorious for championing Tory infiltrators into the Labour Party. Its President is Roy Jenkins.

McCormick, who has absolutely no connection whatever with Newham, obtained the injunction for a supposed breach of rule, 36 hours before the meeting to elect officers.

But the court official, flanked by two strong arm men, was instructed to make no move until

ten minutes after the meeting began so that right wingers could see first whether they had a majority.

Had there been a genuine grievance the matter could and should have been dealt with inside the Labour Party. But these "democrats" chose to use the machinery of the state to interfere directly with a democratically called meeting.

DESTROY

By doing so they have shown themselves willing to destroy democracy inside the Labour Party rather than accept that the 'moderates' they represent have been rejected.

The officers, who declared themselves, like Prentice, to be shocked by events, did nothing to fight them. They abandoned the meeting at the instruction of the court officials.

The meeting should be reconvened and elections take place without waiting for a group of Tory judges to rule.

The four men who signed the application for the injunction must be expelled.

Reg Prentice, who attracted these people to his aid, and whose views they aim to propagate, must be replaced.

On the platform at the CP-run Liaison Committee for the Defence of Trade Unions Conference, Derek Robinson, Longbridge convenor and Executive member of the Communist Party.

Only a week earlier he had said: "The worst thing that can happen to British Leyland and the country is for groups of workers to think they have got the God-given right to take sectional action in defence of their own conditions... We can't afford the toolroom strike, or any other strike."

Seated next to him is Bob Wright, Broad Left AUEW Presidential candidate, who only shortly before had joined in a unanimous decision of the AUEW leadership to instruct the toolmakers to return

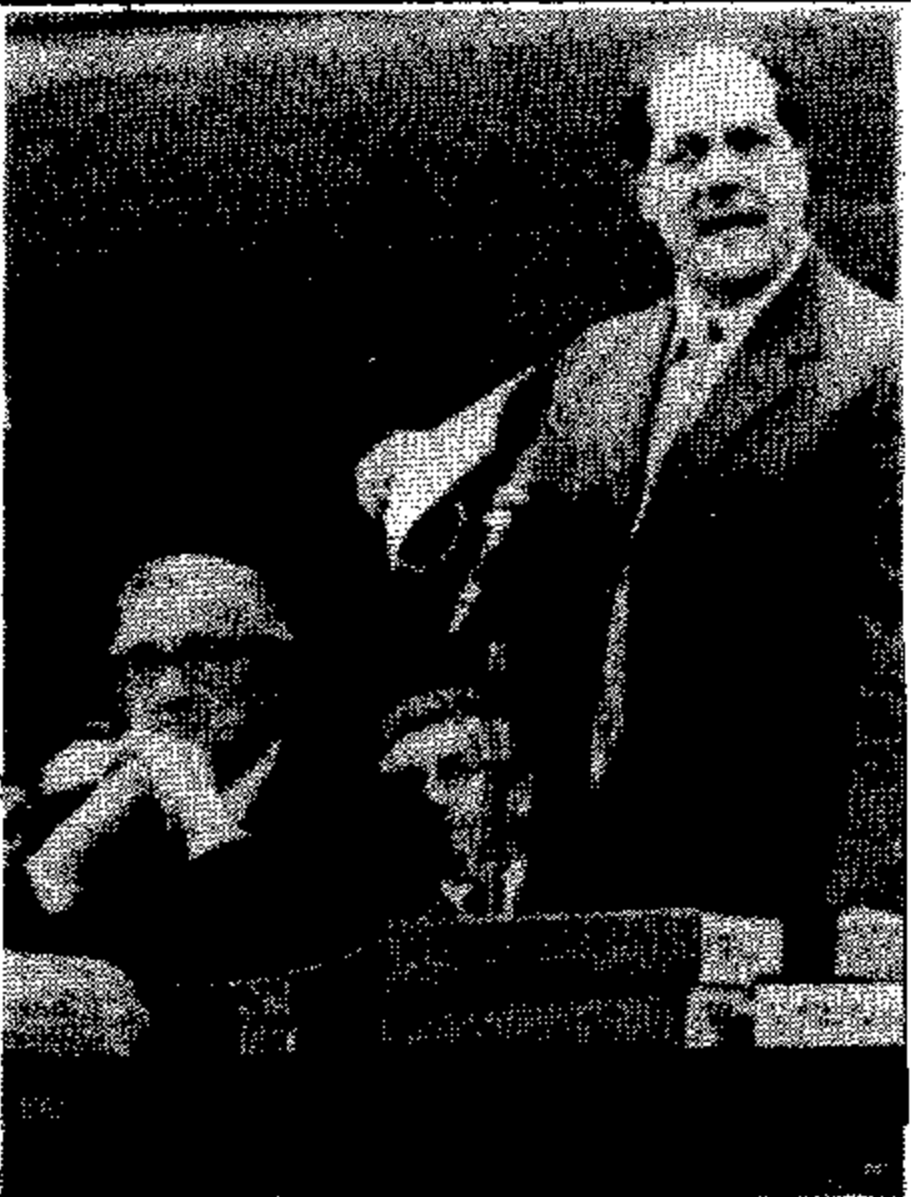


PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report.

TOOLROOM WORKERS ... from Front Page.

reported to be instructing TGWU drivers to cross a 500-strong AUEW picket line.

Despite these moves, the dispute remains solid, with Leyland at the point of complete shut-down.

The scale of these events and the forces ranged against the toolroom workers testify to the importance of the issue.

The toolmakers demands are far from perfect. They call, for instance, for what amounts to corporation-level bargaining, which we have consistently fought as a wrong demand.

And they fail to call for the increases they are fighting for to be protected against inflation.

To do this, as Socialist Press has consistently pointed out, it is essential to demand a cost of living clause providing automatic increases in step with the rising cost of living — assessed by trade union committees.

But the toolmen's willingness to struggle on wages gives a lead to the entire working class. We reject completely the idea that somehow the toolroom men are 'splitting' the working class.

On the contrary the whole working class is ready to fight on wages — the splitters are the officials, imposing their policies on a hostile rank and file, separating one section from another and preventing a united fight in defence of living standards.

What must be broken is the false unity of the Social Contract — a unity of wage cutting and instead forge a unity in action to defend living standards.

But the toolmakers face one real danger. The attempt by management to use the threat of

closure as a weapon to isolate them.

Toolroom workers must give a clear answer to this.

There can be no question of accepting the figures handed out by management and the press.

The company and its suppliers and creditors must be answered by the demand that they open their books to elected committees of trade unionists.

And if indeed the company is on the verge of ruin as a result of crippling interest burdens and the exorbitant profits of component firms; this confirms the case for the nationalisation of Leyland, its suppliers and the banks as a major step towards an integrated and planned motor industry under the management of these trade union committees.

In this way management closure threats can be challenged and the common struggles of all Leyland workers brought to the fore.

In the context of this crucial struggle and the massive challenge to wage control throughout the working class, political clarity is vital.

This is why we urge all readers to build for and attend the Conference on Wage Control and Union Democracy called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement in Digbeth Civic Hall, Birmingham on March 27th. (Details p.4)

This conference will be in clear opposition to the LCDTU Conference which the Communist Party leadership made sure did not even discuss the 5/293 TGWU Branch resolution for support for those sections going into action against Phase Two.

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