



# BLACK GRUNWICK! CHALLENGE THE COURTS

The Tory Party and the right wing National Association for Freedom are making the ten-month strike against victimisation and for union recognition at Grunwick the centre of an onslaught on trade union rights.

Encouraged by the cowardice and collaboration of TUC and Labour leaders they have thrown their full weight behind a viciously reactionary management.

But the working class has surged forward in support of the strikers, spurred on by the hostility to the brutal police attack on last Monday's mass picket in which 84 arrests were made.

## ARRESTS

Since then the ranks of the pickets have grown to 1,500 each morning and arrests now total nearly 200.

As part of rising working class support, postal blacking has been reimposed. The London District UPW has correctly defied telegrams and instructions to 'work normally' from General Secretary Tom Jackson and called on branches to black the sorting of Grunwick's mail.

This action, taken up in Cricklewood and Willesden last Wednesday has now spread to other parts of London—indicating the readiness of workers to defy NAFF-directed court threats as well as police brutality.

For trade union officials the whole affair is an acute embarrassment. The Grunwick strike is a fullscale class battle with no middle ground. Either the employer is defeated by the strength of the working class—or the union leadership will carry responsibility for allowing a crushing setback.

## SOCIAL CONTRACT

This reality exposes the illusion of there being some "common interest" between worker and employer—the reactionary concept central to the social contract.

This is partly why Labour government spokesmen show nothing but contempt for the workers' movement in this

struggle. Home Secretary Rees today, Monday, made a Parliamentary speech which was endorsed by Tory shadow spokesman William Whitelaw and which completely backs up Tory moves to new anti-union laws.

## PICKETS BLAMED

Rees actually blamed pickets, under constant police harassment, for the violence at Grunwick, claiming:

"Some people have latched on to this dispute as a means of attacking the police and breaking the law."

Small wonder the Tories were delighted.

Meanwhile Employment Secretary Booth was launching a futile "initiative". This was dismissed with contempt by Grunwick management, but brought APEX General Secretary Grantham to issue a call to cut mass pickets to a maximum of 500—a figure Grantham knows to be completely inadequate to close the factory.

Grantham has sunk nearly as low as it is possible to get in humiliating bids to end the dispute. Most disgusting of all was his participation last week in a meeting with management set up by NAFF administrative director Gouriet.

## PREDICTABLE

Grantham was led tamely in the gate by the vicious anti-unionist Gouriet and subjected to a predictable orchestrated barracking at the hands of the assembled scab workforce—to the delight of waiting pressmen and TV cameras.

Grantham, 'leader' of the 142,000 strong clerical union, was finally chased out of the factory after a "vote" had been taken.

According to the *Daily Telegraph* report, Gouriet went after this to meet Tory Party leader Thatcher on Friday.

Whether or not this is true there is no doubt that the Tories, recognising that the government crisis means they will soon be returned to power, are using this dispute to widen their base of anti-union propaganda and activity.

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Police in action on the Grunwick picket line.

## NOW — BREAK THE COALITION!

Two left wing Labour MPs last week showed how easy it could be to torpedo the reactionary policies being foisted on the working class by the Callaghan-Steel coalition government.

Audrey Wise and Jeffery Rooker voted against Healey's budget proposals to defeat them in committee.

The effect of these defeats is that many workers earning wages below the poverty line will pay less income tax (though they will still pay tax, even while in many cases claiming Family Income Supplement).

But the real importance of this move by the 'lefts' is not the minimal reform that was won. It is the fact that, after "left-wingers" have trooped into the lobbies time after time to support public spending cuts, Healey's handouts to industry, wage control and a host of attacks on workers, for once two 'left' MPs have taken a stand against Callaghan and Healey.

## BREAK NEEDED

Wise and Rooker have said openly they do not want to precipitate an election. But the

fact remains that to carry through any real change of government policy, it is necessary to break the coalition deal with the Liberals.

Liberal leader Steel has now made it clear that the coalition hinges on providing jobs for leading Liberals in the European Parliament through elections run on proportional representation, and a Phase Three of incomes policy. Liberals will not support any socialist measures whatever.

Under these conditions a break from the Liberals must take place. It would mean immediate defeat for Labour in Parliament and an election.

## WAGE CONTROL

But under the present Parliamentary conditions the government cannot linger on much longer in any event. Failure to obtain a stringent Phase 3 of wage control could bring it down.

The Labour 'lefts' must break from their craven subservience to Callaghan and Healey.

They must launch a campaign throughout the movement to throw out these collaborators, break the coalition and for the Labour Party Conference to adopt a platform of socialist policies on which to fight a General Election.

## Fords erupts

The Ford Dagenham plant has exploded. A series of disputes about layoffs threaten to close the whole plant of 22,000 workers.

Workers in the body plant at Dagenham have occupied the factory, locked the gates and backed stacker trucks against them to block all movement of material in or out.

The frustration which has led to what the men describe as 'the dispute to end all disputes', flows from continuous attacks by management—moving workers around and laying off for any reason imaginable.

The main banner over the occupation demands NO MANNING CUTS as well as lay-off pay.

After one such lay off a month ago on the Kent line in Dagenham (which produces Cortina, Capri and Escort models) the workers resurrected their demand for 80% lay-off pay for all disputes—internal as well as external.

At present payment is only made during external disputes.

On Friday 10 June a worker was suspended for refusing to work his job in a new sequence, complaining it was painful. The 77 men on his line in the Body Plant walked out in sympathy.

This led to lay-offs in the Assembly Plant with workers marching around the plant chanting "What do we want? 80%! When do we want it? Now!"

Pickets were put on the gates, leading to the closure of the Body Plant. Then the occupation began.

The fact that a few hundred workers have closed the giant Dagenham complex shows the feeling on lay-off pay.

This feeling arises directly from the plunging value of wages and the difficulty in living on less than 40-hours pay.

This dispute must not be allowed to lead into an attack on the right to strike in exchange for management 'concessions'.

Union leaders have toyed with the demand for 80% lay-off pay for too long. That must now be fought for.

At the same time the demands of the shop stewards—for a 15% wage increase and a cost of living clause—must be brought forward in the annual review, due in July.

# INTERNATIONAL NEWS



## ONE YEAR AFTER SOWETO

Demonstrations in South Africa, marking last year's slaughter of over 600 black workers, have again produced a violent response from police upholding South Africa's racist regime.

In Soweto, scene of last year's massacre, nine people were wounded when police fired on a large crowd which had been peacefully commemorating the killings.

Sechaba Montsitsi, president of the Soweto Students Representative Council and a number of others have been arrested in the township.

The following day the police arrested four white students. All of these students are being held under the apartheid regime's General Law Amendment Act, which allows them to be detained for up to 14 days before appearing in court.

### DEAD

In the Inkabah township outside Port Elizabeth, two black youths were shot dead, and in the car manufacturing centre of Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape, seven workers were killed and 23 others wounded. In addition, another 278 people have been arrested.

As usual, the South African authorities have rushed to white-wash the shootings, claiming that those shot dead were drunkenly looting bottle stores, and were merely "tsotsis" (hooligans) with no support within the black township.

The facts destroy this police myth: in Soweto over 80% of the

black workforce stayed at home on the 16th and 17th of June; the Soweto Traders' Association unanimously decided to close down on those days also.

In the Kabah township of Uitenhage a mass riot developed on Friday night, causing over £600,000 worth of damage.

Vorster's government has proved as brutally reactionary as ever in the face of this new upsurge by black workers.

### TEAR GAS

New weapons, such as a machine capable of pumping out tear gas and talcum powder, have been developed—but these have proved ineffective in crushing the mass movement among South Africa's black workers.

Time is clearly running out for the white racist regimes of all Southern Africa. The South African foreign minister, Pik Botha, made a visit to fellow racist Ian Smith on June 15 and reportedly "received an assurance" that a transition to black majority rule would soon take place there.

Botha obviously hopes to save South Africa by voluntarily "sacrificing" Rhodesia. But such a strategy is doomed to failure: diplomatic manoeuvring by South Africa, Rhodesia, the United States and Britain can at best delay the tide of militancy which threatens to engulf all of southern Africa; it can by no means turn that tide back.

### VICTORY

In order to ensure victory over Vorster, African workers need both a correct revolutionary policy and



South African police

the means to carry that policy through to a successful conclusion.

In Britain we can take a positive step along that road by fighting for arms to be sent, under trade union control, to South African workers. And at the same time we must demand an end to all politicking in southern Africa by Labour's foreign minister, David Owen, and must press instead for an international boycott and blacking of all South African produce.

Only concrete action of this sort can help overthrow the racist regimes of Vorster and Smith.

The NUS demonstration in London, called to commemorate the Soweto killings attracted 2,000 people. The platform of speakers at

the end of the march was originally planned to include Tsitsi Mashinini one of the leaders of last year's Soweto uprising. But shortly before the demonstration took place, the Broad Left-Communist Party dominated NUS executive withdrew the invitation to Mashinini, because of pressure from the African National Congress (ANC). In a slanderous statement the executive alleged:

1. that Mashinini had been "denounced by students in Botswana"
2. that he criticised the ANC.
3. that he had been acting shadily during a speaking tour of the USA.
4. that he has no support in Soweto.

Finally the NUS executive insinuated that Mashinini either consciously or unconsciously acted in a way that could only help American imperialist interests in Africa!

This series of lies, half-truths and distortions must be denounced by every Students Union in Britain, who should now try to pass motions of condemnation of the Executive for this attack on Mashinini. In this the Stalinist policies of the Broad Left are seen to be backed up with Stalinist methods of calumny also. A minority report has been drawn up by Colin Talbot who was on the working party which originally extended the invitation to Mashinini.

## ANGOLA

### NETO'S RIVAL DEFEATED

On May 27, after a four hour gunbattle, President Neto of Angola successfully defeated a coup d'état led by his former Minister of the Interior, Commander Neto Alves.

The President's object now seems to be to politically behead the small but significant Angolan working class and resolve a crisis which has been inevitable since the MPLA took power in 1975.

In 1974, faced with the attacks of right wing gangs, the workers from Luanda shanty towns set up self defence militias to defend their houses.

With their support the MPLA defeated the reactionary "Liberation" armies of the FNLA and UNITA in the battle of Luanda, the turning point of the civil war.

After victory, the MPLA, a petit-bourgeois movement ruling a country in which the economy was shattered by the civil war, had neither the will nor the immediate ability to provide the material benefits which the working class expected from the "revolution".

In the summer of 1975 Neto attempted to dissolve the militias. They refused to give up their arms; battalions refused to leave Luanda to march to the front, and the MPLA backed down.

It was then that Neto Alves, the only MPLA leader born in the shanty towns became champion of "popular power".

But he always opposed any attempt to direct the indignation of the masses towards independent action against the MPLA.

Instead he set out to raise himself up within the leadership of the movement, concentrating his fire on the social and racial origins of individuals in Neto's cabinet.

Popular power was not the only card Alves used to advance himself. He was also known to be "Moscow's man in Luanda".

If the MPLA bureaucracy was to defend itself against his attacks and against the working class they had to persuade the Russian bureaucracy to disown him.

In October 1976 President Neto went to Moscow. A few days after he returned Alves was dropped from the political bureau of the MPLA and his supporters in the secret police were purged.

On 21 May he was expelled from the Central Committee of the MPLA. At that point Alves had to show the bureaucracy the extent of his popular support if he was to force them to take him back into the fold. It was pure self interest that brought him to lead his supporters to occupy a radio

## IRELAND Lynch landslide

The results of the Irish Republic's general election have toppled the national coalition government of Fine Gael and Labour, and have brought back to power Jack Lynch's Fianna Fail.

The final state of the parties in the new Dail (parliament) is: Fianna Fail, 84 seats; Fine Gael, 43; Labour, 17 and Independents 4. This gives Lynch an overall majority of 20, the biggest ever in the history of the State.

The Irish working class will shed no tears at this crushing defeat of the Fine Gael/Labour coalition, and will rejoice at the fact that three former ministers have in fact failed to secure re-election.

### ARROGANT

These include ex-Minister of Justice, Patrick Cooney (Fine Gael) and ex-Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Conor Cruise O'Brien—a former 'left' intellectual, but now one of the most arrogant anti-working class reactionaries in Irish politics.

But Ireland's workers will hardly rejoice at the return of Fianna Fail. They fought the election on a manifesto full of promises to reduce unemployment and inflation, to grant equal pay for women, to "review" certain anti-republican laws and to secure a commitment from Britain that it will withdraw from the North of Ireland.

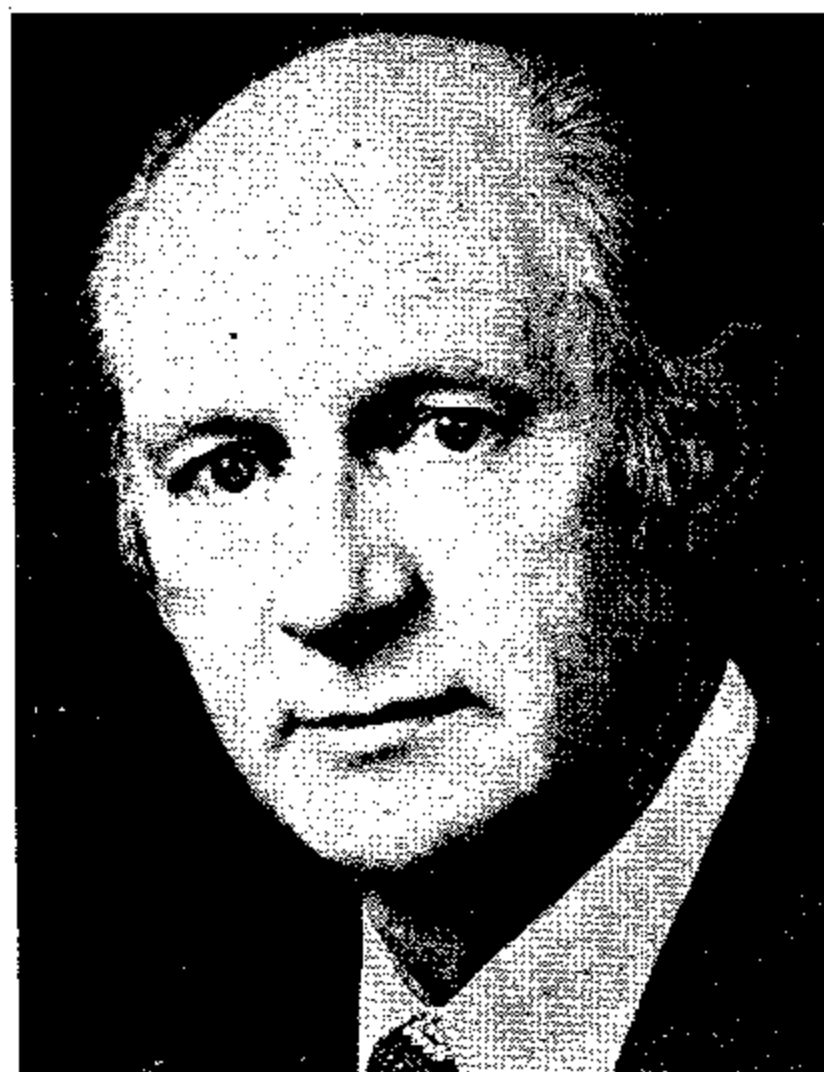
### BACKTRACK

But already Lynch has begun to backtrack on even these vague and limited election pledges. On the last point above, Lynch has made it clear that "our demand is not necessarily a demand for a declaration to withdraw within a specific

that Britain will "ultimately" disengage of her own volition.

Such touching faith in British imperialism's benevolent attitude to the Irish people is unlikely to lessen the oppression faced by Catholic workers in the North.

In fact just one week before the election, Northern Ireland Secretary Roy Mason announced a batch of new "security" measures to be enforced there.



Lynch

These include: longer prison sentences for political offences; an increase in RUC numbers to 6,500 plus greater use of the police reserve; an increase in the complement of full UDR members from 1800 to 2,500; and an expansion of SAS activities, which, Mason informs us, are already more widespread than the public realises.

There will be no amelioration of Ireland's economic or political problems as long as the tasks of Ireland's democratic revolution (centrally, the question of unifying the country) remain unfinished.

these tasks can only be accomplished in the context of a socialist, working class revolution, for which an all-Ireland revolutionary Trotskyist party is necessary.

Concrete steps must now be taken by socialists in Ireland towards the construction of such a party. The recent election provided an important opportunity for winning workers over to such a perspective.



Cosgrave

The Irish Labour Party fought the election on the basis of a joint coalition programme with their senior conservative allies Fine Gael. Socialists should therefore have demanded an end to this bloc as the minimum precondition for voting Labour.

### INDEPENDENTS

But in certain areas a number of candidates were standing as Independents, on the basis of opposition to Labour's alignment with Fine Gael.

these was Noel Browne who stood in Dublin Artane, and Matt Merrigan, who stood in Dublin Finglas.

Browne had originally been selected as official Labour candidate, but the party's top brass intervened and overruled the local branch. Both candidates also called for the scrapping of the 1977 National Wage Agreement, but lamely confined their alternative to a return to free collective bargaining.

In Limerick East, Joe Harrington of the Movement for a Socialist Republic (Irish section of the USFI) was standing as a candidate of Bottom Dog, a local trade union paper. Details of his electoral programme were unavailable as we went to press, but it is clear that he was standing in opposition to Labour's record of betrayal.

It would have therefore been permissible for socialists in Ireland to call for critical support for independent anti-coalition candidates such as these.

Full details of the results were not at hand at the time of writing, so we do not know how these candidates fared. But with the fruits of Labour collaboration with Fine Gael now clearly visible, the struggle to ensure that such a coalition is never again repeated must now be taken up at once.

### WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

#### Public Meeting SPAIN AFTER THE ELECTIONS

Thursday 30 June at 7.30  
Small Hall, Conway Hall  
Red Lion Square  
Speaker: Socialist Press  
Correspondent recently

# INDIA

## NEW DEFEATS FOR GANDHI'S PARTY

India's ruling Janata Party has won a landslide victory in the State Assembly elections held from June 10 to June 14.

Almost all of the 10 states and 2 union territories which had been electing new legislative assemblies are now controlled by Janata.

In the states of Rajasthan, Himachal, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, and Orissa, as well as in the New Delhi Union Territory, Janata candidates won more than two-thirds of the seats.

In Bihar, which was J.P. Narayan's original base for agitation against the Congress Party, and in Uttar Pradesh—Mrs. Gandhi's home state—Janata won absolute majorities.

In addition, they are to form a government in the Punjab with their allies, the Sikh Akali Dal Party.

These victories represent a crushing defeat for the Congress Party, and look like paving the way for a Janata victory in the August presidential elections.

Significantly, however, Janata failed to win a number of states. Early results from West Bengal indicate that the Communist Party of India—Marxist (CPI-M) will return to power there, after five years of Congress rule.

As we went to press, 91 results had been declared, giving the CPI-M 70 seats, and Janata 13 seats. Congress had at that stage won only one seat, as had a Naxalite (Maoist) who fought the election from jail.

India's problems are far from resolved by these election results. The maintenance of the Internal Security Act—which was used by Gandhi to jail over 36,000 people during the 19 month "emergency"—has not yet been repealed, despite Janata's electoral promises.

### POLITICAL PRISONERS

In addition, some 1500 political prisoners are still in jail, including 60 Naxalites. Janata must now be forced to release immediately all political prisoners, and to repeal all reactionary legislation.

The evidence of rising militancy within India's working class since Gandhi's fall indicates the reason for Janata's reluctance to repeal these measures.

Economically, India's workers and peasants are facing an inflation rate of 12% and a 6% fall in food-grain production from 121 million tonnes to 111 million tonnes—a fall which could spark off further rises in the price of basic foodstuffs.



Gandhi

The Janata Government has given vague promises that it will eradicate "destitution" within a decade, but so far have failed to indicate precisely how they intend to do this.

The excuse given—that it is trying to "restabilise" the country after the upheaval caused by Gandhi's dictatorial rule—is small comfort to those millions for whom "destitution" is a very grim reality, and for whom "restabilisation" can only mean a further round of impoverishment and oppression.



## IN BRIEF



### PAKISTAN

Pakistan's Prime Minister, Bhutto, and the opposition Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) have announced that an agreement has been reached on a date and arrangements for a new general election. No details have been announced, but it is expected that elections will take place after the religious observances of Ramadan and in mid-September. The three month old political crisis is far from over, however, with the PNA claiming that the agreement signifies that the March 7 general election had been rigged as alleged.

### MOZAMBIQUE

Fresh incursions by Rhodesian forces has led to sustained fighting between Frelimo and the Rhodesian army, according to statements released last week in Maputo. Smith's troops invaded the Mussorize district of Manica and

have apparently caused heavy damage in the Espungabera area to the south. Reports from Radio Mozambique however, reveal that Smith's racists have taken a pasting near the town of Machafem.

### THAILAND

The trial of some 110 students, detained after the savage military coup d'etat of October 1976 began in camera on June 17. All of the students, who include Sutham Saengprathum—secretary of the Thai students' union—are accused of "plotting against the State", and "high treason". If found guilty they could be sentenced to death.

The bulk of the students were arrested in the wake of the massacre, carried out by the military, at Bangkok University last October.

# W. GERMANY

FROM A CORRESPONDENT IN WEST BERLIN

On 2 June 1967, during a demonstration called to protest against West German aid to Iran's fascist dictatorship, Benno Ohnesorg was killed by a policeman's bullet.

The judge who presided over the investigation that followed declared that the policeman had "acted in self defence", although dozens of witnesses testified to the contrary.

As in the case of the Kevin Gately cover up two years ago, this affair serves to convince anyone still in doubt of the links between the state and its agents.

### NOT FORGOTTEN

That the murder of Ohnesorg has not been forgotten was proved at the beginning of this month when both in commemoration and to protest against the ever-growing wave of political repression, an 8000-strong demonstration was held in West Berlin.

The repression most overtly manifests itself in the mounting prosecutions under the so-called 'Anti-radical Laws' designed to prevent 'elements hostile to the constitution' from employment in

the Civil Service.

Among factors considered to indicate such "hostile elements" are: membership of left wing parties or sharing their ideas; personal contacts (i.e. marriage, flat-sharing) with suspects; and participation in demonstrations protesting against aspects of government policy.



Brandt

Although this law has been built into the German Constitution since Bismark unified the country, its real designs only became apparent in January 1972 when Brandt's government authorised the states of West Germany to interpret the law

as they saw fit.

First in Hamburg and then in the rest of West Germany, the Red Hunt was on. In the months that followed, the number of investigations into workers' pasts grew to McCarthyite proportions.

By the start of 1976, there had been over half a million checks. The number of people investigated for 'loyalty to the constitution' now exceeds 800,000.

### UNIONS

Apart from vaguely worded motions of opposition passed at meetings of the OGB (W. German TUC), the trade union rank and file has found itself fighting both the government and their own leaderships.

Among the exceptions is the GEW (Union of school and university teachers) which has attempted to organise resistance.

In Bavaria alone, the GEW estimates that during the period 1972-77 over 136 of their members were denied jobs on political grounds.

# USA

# UAW jamboree

EXCERPTS FROM AN ARTICLE IN 'LABOR NEWS' —PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST LEAGUE DC (USA).

The recently concluded 25th United Auto Workers National Constitutional Convention in Los Angeles was a six-million dollar staged extravaganza.

Woodcock, in handing over power to the new UAW president, Douglas Frazer, sought to suppress all criticism of his recent contract sell-out and his open collusion with management to crush and defeat the wave of wildcat strikes sweeping the industry.

Ten Fleetwood auto-workers of Local 15, who were unjustly fired for leading a wildcat strike to defend their suspended local leaders, circulated petitions among the delegates to gain a hearing of their case before this convention.

They were simply ruled "out of order", and told to refer their problem to the Executive Committee in typical bureaucratic dispatch.

Handpicked resolutions were read, calling for a "full employment economy" by supporting the Humphrey-Hawkins bill and Kennedy's "National Health Care Plan." Both passed unanimously, placing full confidence in the Democratic Party—despite Carter's



UAW Convention-complete with balloons.

opposition to these reforms.

President Carter, himself, spoke to this assembly on Tuesday, and announced his appointment of Woodcock as ambassador to the People's Republic of China, because he "is a proven labor leader with an excellent track record as a negotiator" (for the capitalist class).

Carter's energy plan ("require sacrifices from everyone in the country") is a bitter pill for the working class to swallow, because it means higher prices, inflation, higher taxes, loss of jobs, in order to shore up the capitalist class, with rebates and increased productivity.

The political pay-off to Woodcock shows Carter's need to harness the UAW bureaucracy to help carry out these attacks on the auto workers.

A resolution blaming "illegal aliens" for unemployment, and calling for further attacks on their democratic rights to jobs, benefits and political equality in a dangerous chauvinist bid to further divide workers along national lines was forced through without discussion.

Through a series of skillful manoeuvres, the Constitution Committee stopped all resolutions from coming to the floor that would give to the ranks any resemblance of democratic control over their union.

Frazer and Woodcock in effect

told this convention, "For the sake of unity, there should be no opposition. For the sake of democracy the membership should not be allowed to vote".

To the uninitiated who might inquire what six million dollars spent on a convention will buy he must personally witness the hotel parties to buy the loyalty of the delegates. If this person was to wander into this convention hall on Wednesday, he would be impressed by a circus-like atmosphere where balloons filled the air and funny looking hats everywhere advertised the Frazer team.

Delegates of the UAW convention paraded around the convention hall to the tunes of circus melodies, carrying placards saying "Keep the Team", "leadership", "Unity". Local after local cast their block votes for the "Frazer Team". The hypocrisy of this charade belies the seriousness of the problems facing auto workers who face speed-ups and job loss due to plant closures and runaways.

Frazer who supports attacks on undocumented workers along with his chauvinistic "Buy American" "Employ American" campaign is helping the capitalist class to divide the working class and defeat union organising campaigns.

Frazer and Woodcock have allowed General Motors to build seven out of nine new plants in the South and six of them are still unorganised.

# 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.

# NAFF - DEFENDERS OF THE RIGHT TO SCAB

One of the features of recent industrial disputes has been the repeated intervention on behalf of the employers by the National Association for Freedom and its administrative director John Gouriet.

When the Executive of the Union of Post Office Workers instructed its members to boycott South Africa for a week it was the NAFF that sought and gained a court injunction against this action. Similarly the NAFF has been able to hold off for several months the blacking of Grunwicks postal services by threatening court action.

## UNIONISATION

In hotel unionisation disputes the NAFF has been especially active. It encouraged the Linton Lodge Hotel in Oxford to hold out against unionisation by campaigning in the local press around the defence of the "freedom not to join a union".

It established links with Trust Houses Forte very early in the disputes. Its allied organisation, "Self-help", run by the well known fascist sympathiser Dowager Lady Birdwood, was responsible for the provocative picket-busting meeting of fascists at the Randolph Hotel which resulted in a massive battle between police and Oxford trade unionists.

The NAFF threatened to obtain an injunction to reduce the picket at THF's 'Night Out' night club in Birmingham to four, to halt the mass picket and to forbid the picketing of other THF establishments.

## ASSAULT

It organised the scabs to hold demonstrations (mostly of NAFF supporters) through Birmingham, and to assault women pickets.

It is also said to be responsible for the series of full page adverts in the national press by THF—reeking of Gouriet's style and once again concentrating on the right of workers "not to join a union".

The NAFF has not confined itself to industrial disputes. It counts as its greatest success the £8,000 law suit they financed which brought the decision of the High Court to allow the Tameside Tories to keep grammar schools in spite of the decision of the Education Minister.

What is this organisation and what is its programme?

The NAFF was set up in December 1975 after the shooting of the extreme right wing journalist Ross McWhirter by the IRA. However it had been planned for several years.

Its director is Robert Moss, best known for his books, *The Collapse of Democracy* and *Chile's Marxist Experiment*.

## ADVOCATES

The first of these advocates an authoritarian state in Britain and applauds the success of the Brazilian and Chilean fascist dictatorships in removing the "threat to the right of private property".

The second is a straightforward attack on the reforms attempted by Chile's President Allende, and is used as propaganda by the Pinochet dictatorship.

Robert Moss writes frequently for the Institute for the Study of Conflict.

The Institute's director, Brian Crozier, also writes for NAFF's paper, *Free Nation*. The Institute is linked with the CIA and is in constant contact with the Rhodesian and South African secret police, as well as the experts in all parts of the world on "pacification cam-

## As union leaders cave in to injunctions



APEX leader Grantham.



UPW leader Jackson

paings" against urban and rural guerilla armies.

Its links with the Police College were recently exposed in the anti-fascist paper *Searchlight*.

But on top of these close links with the CIA and CIA-backed regimies, Moss has another string to his bow—as speech writer for Tory leader Margaret Thatcher.

He penned the notorious anti-Soviet speech that won Thatcher the ludicrous title of "Iron Lady" from incompetent Kremlin propagandists last year.

NAFF is also connected with outright fascist organisations like the Self-help group. Self help thinks those responsible for strikes should be imprisoned for conspiracy and that the right to picket should be abolished.

It consists mostly of the self-employed. NAFF also recognises the potential of organising the self-employed.

Its manifesto refers to them as "the last ditch core of resistance to the excesses of bureaucracy and trade union bosses."

In this, too, NAFF finds common cause not only with fascists but also with the Tory Party, which has set out to cultivate links with so-called "unions" of self-employed.

## FRONT BENCH

But the links are more explicit still. Seven Tory MPs, including two front bench spokesmen, feature among NAFF's council. Most prominent is education spokesman Rhodes Boyson.

# 500 HOSPITAL JOBS TO GO

Liverpool Area Health Authority have announced their intention to save £1 million by axeing 500-700 jobs.

While they claim this will be done by "non-replacement" the authority does not rule out sackings.

At the same time it has been revealed that Mill Road Maternity Hospital is to close in July, with patients transferred to Broadgreen Hospital—though the upgrading of facilities there will not begin until after the transfer has taken place.

## CLOSURE

Many wards are scheduled for closure along with the accident department at the Southern Hospital, with overall cuts in spending on special facilities, overtime work and on-call payments.

The response by trade union leaders has been half-hearted and confined to protest gestures—fruitlessly lobbying AHA meetings and the Secretary of State, lamenting the plunging standard of health care in the area.

This is despite an obvious response to any prospect of a fight against these cuts. A NUPE public

meeting addressed by Assistant General Secretary Bernard Dix was attended by 500 people.

A motion demanding that the AHA reveal its full long and short term plans to a committee of trade unionists as a starting point for wider action was passed at that



Bernard Dix



Police attack mass picket at Randolph Hotel

These Tories sit comfortably with their big business colleagues including Sir Frank Taylor (of Taylor Woodrow), Lord de L'Isle (Chairman of Phoenix Assurance), Hugh Astor (of Hambro's Bank) and Sir Paul Chambers (former chairman of ICI).

## SOCIAL DEMOCRAT

But these extreme right wing elements are only too pleased to extend freedom in the columns of their paper, *Free Nation*, to 'social democrats' such as Dr. Stephen Haseler of the Social Democratic Alliance.

The attitude of such a grouping as NAFF to trade unions is predictable. Its particular wrath is reserved for the closed shop, and it has assisted several groups of anti-unionists to resist closed shop agreements.

Its members interlink with Aims of Industry, the organisation which runs a comprehensive blacklist of left-wing militants and is financed by right wing industrial giants such as GKN.

Aims of Industry is in turn closely linked with True-Mid, the notorious right wing organisation in the engineering union where 3,000 members are said to contribute £1 a month towards ensuring the election of right wing officials.

## OPPOSITE

NAFF's attitude to the right to join a union of course is the opposite to its view of the right "not to belong". It has consistently helped employers in their attempt to victimise workers trying to join and establish trade unions.

It often tries to gain favour with scab workers by going on at length about the excesses of the bureaucratic trade union bosses.

But it is well to remember that its greatest fury is unleashed at those who genuinely defy the union bureaucracy for trade union principles such as the postal workers at Cricklewood.

The NAFF has many of the

same policies as obviously fascist groups such as the National Front.

## SOPHISTICATED

But it is far more sophisticated in the tactics it uses through the courts and the media and in the way it influences large sections of the right wing of the Tory Party.

Its monetary resources are clearly immense and it is fast becoming the most mobile and organised expression of the extreme right wing sections of the ruling class.

Without a mass organisation, however it at present lacks the forces needed to carry through its programme in the face of working class opposition.

## APPARENT STRENGTH

Its apparent strength at the moment rests on the unwillingness of trade union officials—at local or national level to defy its court injunctions and its organised scabs.

Given firm and principled leadership, the working class could sweep aside the interventions of NAFF and its tame courts on every occasion.



NAFF Administrative Director Gouriet: links with fascists and CIA.

# BACK-PAY BATTLE

Ancillary workers at the London Hospital in London's East End have banned overtime and are working to rule in a dispute which could spread nationally.

Since 1964, hospital authorities throughout the country have cheated their employees out of pay to which they were entitled for holidays and sickness.

Instead of following a national agreement and calculating holiday and sick pay on the basic rates plus regular overtime, the authorities have paid out only the basic rates.

Now that they have been found out, the AHAs are offering to pay the money they owe at the historic rates—the rates for each year in question since 1964!

Pointing out that rates in 1964 were 20p an hour and that 13 years inflation has made such amounts worthless, union members are insisting that the money they are owed should be paid at 1977 rates.

With the low paid hospital workers as frustrated as anyone over the way in which their wages have been held down by the Social Contract, this claim over back pay represents one way they can express their anger.

# EGA REPRIEVE

Fifty EGA supporters attended a meeting of Camden and Islington AHA last week to discover the latest date proposed for the closure of their hospital.

Instead they heard a motion calling for an immediate transfer of patients out of the hospital amended to read that a recommendation be made to the Secretary of State that the transfer should take place (a formality) and given his approval in principle, that the local authorities, CHCs and unions should be consulted.

Meanwhile the occupation of the hospital continues.



# SPAIN'S GREAT ELECTION FRAUD

This is the first part of a two part article on the June 15 elections by a special 'Socialist Press' correspondent in Spain. The second part, in our next issue, will examine in detail the campaigns of the reformist and Stalinist parties and those of the parties to their left, including the electoral alliance supported by the Revolutionary Communist League, (LCR), Spanish sympathising section of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International. The second part of this article will also assess the campaign for the boycott of the election.



Disfranchised voters protest

A voter burst into tears in a Madrid polling station last Wednesday when told that she could not vote for Franco.

She cried too soon; because the "results" of the Suarez elections on June 15 were almost precisely what they were always intended to be—a victory for Francoism.

After what virtually every spokesman of the world capitalist class has labelled "Spain's first free elections for 41 years", it is virtually certain that the "reformed" Francoist Union of the Democratic Centre (the electoral alliance led by Suarez which has 168 out of 350 seats in the new Congress and about 106 of the 207 elected seats in the Senate) will form a government alone.

And every minister in it is likely to be either an ex-Minister of Franco or an ex-loyal servant of Franco in some lesser post.

Could it be that the Spanish masses have freely elected a "reformed" version of the dictatorship which has oppressed them for the last 40 years?

For numerous reasons the answer is emphatically no.

For one thing, the Spanish elections were very far from free, even in the very limited sense in which any bourgeois elections can be free.

The designation of the constituencies gave significantly less representation to provinces with large working class populations than to others.

Barcelona, for instance, where workers' and bourgeois Catalan nationalist parties could not be prevented from getting a huge

majority of the seats, sends one representative to parliament for every 87,000 voters.

But backward rural Avila, where Suarez took all the seats needs only 43,000 voters to elect one member.

The ruling class had forgotten nothing of the two forms of fraud through which it rigged all elections before Franco's dictatorship.

One of these is called caciquismo (undue pressure by landowners, capitalists and priests on their tenants, workers and congregation).

Even Spain's cautious bourgeois press, still liable to arbitrary state censorship, revealed numerous examples of this during the campaign, including inevitably priests who proclaimed voting Communist to be a "mortal sin".

## GUNS AND CLUBS

And the supporters of Manuel Fraga's unashamedly Francoist Popular Alliance (which got 16 seats in the Congress) made a habit of doing their "campaigning" armed with guns and clubs.

The second traditional form of fraud is known as pucherazo, or stuffing the ballot boxes.

This practice was particularly easy in this election since the voting procedure for the Congress involved simply putting one of the party lists, unmarked into the ballot box.

In areas where the workers' parties were not able to keep observers in all the polling stations (of which there were 38,000 in the whole country) nothing was easier than to add or substitute the lists in the interests of the Francoist and other bourgeois parties.

In addition, the lists of the workers' parties often "disappeared" from polling stations. In Madrid alone on polling day there were 10,000 complaints to the electoral authorities (mostly state-appointed magistrates and other officials) about irregularities of this kind.

## ABSTENTIONS

In many places numerous names had disappeared from the voters' lists and this especially seemed to have happened to those who had abstained in the referendum of December 15.

Since it was the left, and even half-heartedly the Communist and Socialist Parties, which had called for abstention then, this form of "eliminating" voters was almost certain to benefit the Francoists.

A Communist Party spokesman estimated that 200,000 potential voters had been disfranchised in this way in Barcelona alone.

stration of disfranchised citizens took place outside one polling station. The state-controlled and totally censored television, needless to say, reported not a single word on these ubiquitous forms of electoral fraud.

Instead it spewed out an endless series of vacuous self-congratulatory "reports" from the provinces, the BBC, Edward Heath and others explaining how the elections had passed without incident and were everywhere "clean and authentically democratic."



CP leader Carrillo voting



PSOE leader Gonzalez

During 12 hours of concentrated TV propaganda about the "fairness" of the elections, however, no results came.

Only continuous statements that the votes counted so far were not sufficient to make an assessment. In fact it was evidently a tense and nervous Interior Minister Martin Villa who finally—12 hours after the time originally announced—brought the news to the waiting

Democratic Centre had "won".

The pretext he gave for the delay was the "complicated" counting system, though there is no doubt that the real problem was fending off the complaints and making sure that the "recounts" produced the right results.

Because of their nature, there was never a serious possibility that these elections could have produced a majority for the workers' parties.

And the reformists and Stalinists went into them in the full knowledge that that was true and as part of an effort to head off the demands of a growing number of workers for a decisive and therefore revolutionary overthrow of Francoism.

## APPEARANCE

But this joint counter-revolutionary strategy of the Francoists and the reformists and Stalinists forced the former to give the elections a clear appearance of democracy and to permit a transformation of the surface of Spanish political life.

There was an extraordinary proliferation of TV and radio broadcasts by the political candidacies (even those supported by illegal parties).

The blank walls of Franco's Spain were plastered with posters which, as long as they did not call for a boycott, the police permitted to be pasted up anywhere.

Teams of fly-posters (militants of the workers' parties or unemployed young people paid up to £25 a day by the bourgeois parties) were everywhere.

## POSTERS

The walls of Madrid's underground stations were in places plastered ten posters thick with election propaganda. And the streets were inches deep in leaflets or after heavy rain in a thick mulch of unreadable propaganda.

In the big cities cars constantly toured the streets asking for votes or, in the case of the workers' parties, playing the Internationale.

The most striking and important feature of the campaign was the meetings. The Democratic Centre held very few and most of those of the Popular Alliance (AP) took place discreetly in cinemas with entry rigorously controlled by AP thugs.

But the workers' parties held vast rallies in the open air or in sports stadiums or bull-rings.

An attendance of 3,000 at these was a minimum for the large cities.

numerous meetings of more than 10,000 and the CP's "fiesta" outside Madrid on the Sunday before polling day attracted 300,000.

The record, however, goes to the Catalonian left (Esquerra de Catalunya), an alliance nominally to the left of the CP, and led by the Labour Party (Partido de Trabajo) which in Barcelona on the last night of the campaign had an attendance of 400,000.

Again the only meetings forbidden were those advocating a boycott.

The leaders of the Socialist and Communist Parties have gone to extreme lengths to make sure that this massive commitment of the working class to change is channelled exclusively through what they have publicly accepted to be free democratic elections.

But the reformist and Stalinist leaders could not prevent, even in their own meetings, outbursts of anger by workers against the monarchy and its repressive law enforcement apparatus.

## NO SOLUTION

The masses of workers and students showed by their behaviour that they were not expecting their problems to be solved by elections.

And frequently they shouted their own solutions which were much more uncompromising than those being presented from the platform.

More than that, the reformist and Stalinist leaders have by no means had complete success in their efforts to impose an electoral truce on the working class.

In the provinces of Euskadi in particular, the period of the election campaign has been one of increasing wage struggle.

It began on June 2 when virtually all the 33,000 construction workers in the province of Viscaya (which includes Bilbao) defied the reformists and Stalinists who would like to become their leaders and went on strike for big increases in pay and a long series of other demands which the bosses had contemptuously dismissed as impossible.

The construction workers were followed by scaffolding erectors and then last week by bakery workers.

## JOINT MEETING

The day after the election results all three groups took the unprecedented step of holding a joint assembly and demonstration.

A week before the election the workers in Alava province also came out on strike.

Two days before polling day, 22 of them were arrested and six detained in custody.

An almost instantaneous demonstration of 3,000 building workers outside the Palace of "Justice" forced the fearful authorities to release them immediately. Not one word of this appeared in the capitalist press.

It is nevertheless now a much weakened Francoism which rules Spain. The limited liberties of propaganda and assembly granted for the campaign will not be easy to withdraw.

The once tightly integrated sectors of Francoism, the army and police, the church hierarchy and the political leadership have become unhinged from each other.

It is the struggle of the working class and the oppressed nationalities which has obliged the Francoist political leaders to attempt to legitimise their rule through constructing an appearance of democracy.

Only in that way have they up to now managed, with the help of the reformist and Stalinist leaders, to avert an openly revolutionary struggle for power by the working class and at the same time to hold back those sectors of Francoism who see the only way out for the bourgeoisie as the reimposition of the dictatorship through a military coup.

The elections may produce a brief respite for Suarez but they have not in any way resolved these contradictions.

There is no doubt that the acceptance of the result by the hardline Francoists is a conditional acceptance. After the elections the task facing the Spanish workers movement is in essence the same as it was before—the forcible overthrow of Francoism.



# BETRAYALS THAT OPENED DOOR FOR HITLER

SECOND IN OUR SERIES 'HOW FASCISTS TOOK STATE POWER.' BY JIM SHORT.

The magnitude of the defeat inflicted on the German working class by Hitler's seizure of power can perhaps best be gauged by taking stock of the organisations of the German labour movement prior to 1933.

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) had, at the time, over one million members, and published 16 daily papers, 18 weeklies and one monthly theoretical journal.

The German Trade Union Federation (ADGB), which was closely linked to the SPD published numerous journals of its own and claimed a membership of some five million.

The Communist Party of Germany (KPD), was then the largest party in the Communist International, with the sole exception of the Soviet party, and at the end of 1932 had a membership of 350,000.

## 6 MILLION MEMBERS

It published almost a score of daily papers, several weeklies and one theoretical journal. And at its peak, its own Red Trade Union Organisation (RGO) could claim 1,000,000 members.

Thus between the KPD, SPD and their respective trade union organisations, there were, allowing for the inevitable overlapping, at least six million members. At the time the two groups could muster an additional six to seven million votes.

Indeed, in the last "free" elections of Weimar Germany—those of November 1932—they

together polled 1.5 million votes more than the Nazis.

Yet within months of those elections both the SPD and the KPD were outlawed; their membership was attacked and imprisoned, and the trade union movement they controlled had been utterly crushed, leaving the German working class atomised and defenceless in the face of the onslaughts of big business.

## MAJOR BLOW

The reasons for this truly catastrophic defeat can only be found in an analysis of the objective conditions prevailing in Germany from World War I onwards, and in an analysis of the criminally mistaken policies pursued by both the SPD and the KPD during the same period.

The first major blow inflicted on the German working class by its own leadership was on August 4, 1914, when, in clear violation of its declared policy, the SPD decided to support German capitalism's war effort by voting for war credits in the Reichstag (parliament).

14 SPD deputies, led by Karl Liebknecht, opposed this policy in the SPD Reichstag fraction, although in the actual Reichstag debate they maintained party discipline and voted for war credits.

But Liebknecht's opposition persisted, and it was this which paved the way for the formation of the KPD in early 1919.

The establishment of the Communist Party occurred too late, however, to prevent the bourgeoisie from crushing the revolution which broke out in Germany at the end of 1918.



New Yorkers throng Wall Street during the stock market collapse, 1929.

Under the influence of events in Russia, the German working class overthrew the Hohenzollern monarchy and established a republic in its place.

But that republic had at its head an SPD government led by the right winger Ebert—a government whose sole aim was the stifling of the revolution and its containment within the straight-jacket of bourgeois property relations.

From the very outset, Ebert—aided by other SPD leaders, Noske and Scheidemann—actively colluded with the German high command in putting down the revolution.

SPD intervention in the soldiers' and workers' councils which sprang up at the end of 1918, ensured that the German revolution would be wedded to a parliamentary road, and would not follow the road mapped out by the previous year, by the Bolsheviks in Russia.

## ELECTIONS

The lack of a revolutionary party in Germany at this stage meant that the SPD's task was so much easier, and at the First Congress of Soldiers' and Workers' Councils, held in Berlin in November-December 1918, it was decided by 400 votes to 50 to establish a parliamentary regime in Germany.

It wasn't until two weeks after this Congress that the first decisive steps were taken towards the formation of the Communist Party.

This development was thrown back when terrorists from the SPD-backed Freikorps murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg on January 15, 1919.

The elections for the Constituent Assembly which followed gave the SPD and the USPD (the Independent Social Democrats, led by Kautsky) 45.5% of the vote. These groups then formed a "centre-left" coalition with the German Democratic Party and the Catholic Centre Party.

## KAPP PUTSCH

This was known as the Weimar Coalition, and it was to rule Weimar Germany for the first troubled years of its history.

But even though the bourgeoisie had managed to defeat the revolution, its problems were far from over. In 1920 saw the Kapp putsch—

an attempted right wing coup led by the reactionary General von Luttwitz. 1921 saw the KPD inspired "March Action"—an absurdly adventurist attempt to seize power which almost led to their destruction; that same year saw Hitler's shock troops, the Ordnertruppe, (i.e. Service for Order, later known as the Storm Troops—Sturm Abteilung, or SA) attack workers' meetings; and in 1922 the Weimar's foreign minister, Rattenau, was assassinated.

## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

The main reasons for such instability were two-fold. In the first place, the Weimar coalition was born of an unholy alliance between social democracy and the bourgeoisie against the revolution of 1918.

As early as 1919, the bourgeoisie were no longer in favour of the alliance, since its original motive—stemming a revolutionary movement of the proletariat—was no longer visibly present.

The bourgeoisie were now looking to ditch the SPD and make a new alliance with more right wing forces.

Secondly, the Weimar Coalition was the product of a cramped and frustrated democratic revolution, against absolute monarchy, and as such was inherently unstable, since it was only a socialist revolution which could properly solve the problems posed by Germany's late arrival on the historical scene.

## REPARATIONS

It was this lateness which had in fact propelled Germany into the 1914-18 imperialist war, in a do-or-die effort to secure a share of the world market for its own greedy bourgeoisie.

Defeat in the war had merely exacerbated those difficulties, for in the treaty of Versailles of 1919, the victorious countries fleeced Germany in an attempt to keep her perpetually subservient to them.

At the start of 1923 the French bourgeoisie ordered its troops into the industrial Ruhr area of Germany, because Germany had defaulted on the payment of reparations stipulated at Versailles.

The entire country was suddenly plunged into a savage crisis:

runaway inflation produced hundreds of bankruptcies; massive strikes in the Ruhr and other industrial centres provoked political frenzy and complete loss of confidence in the government.

The Nazis and other ultra right wing forces grew rapidly, but among the working class large scale support developed for the KPD as a force capable of resolving the crisis through revolutionary means.

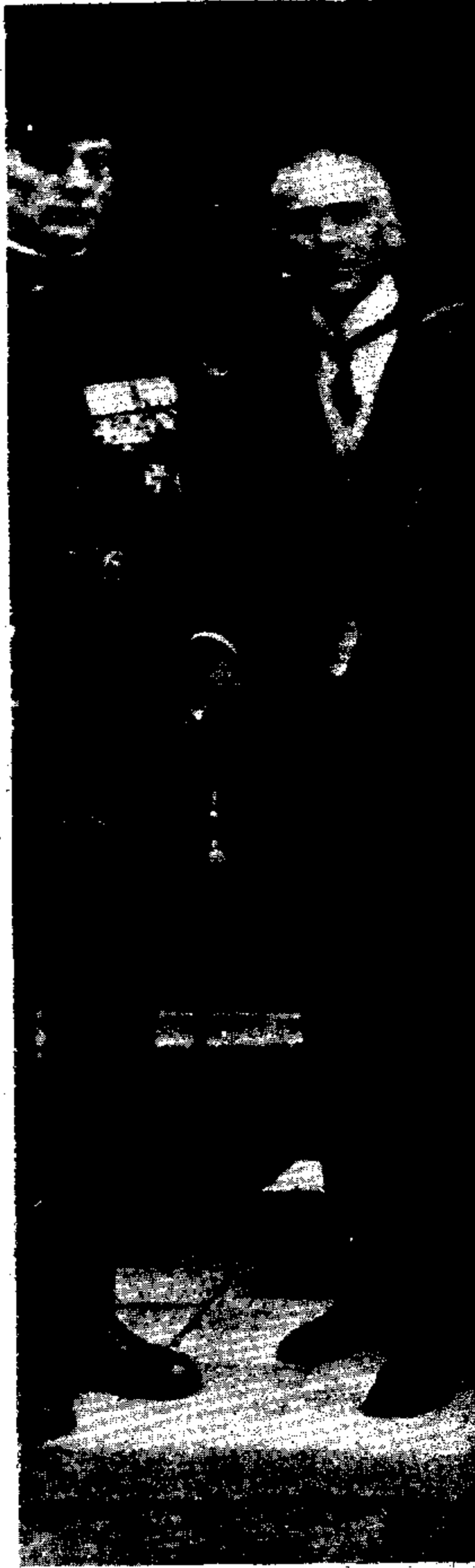
By the autumn of 1923 a truly revolutionary situation had developed which could have brought the KPD to power.

But the KPD leadership, now under the supervision of a Comintern led by Stalin, Zinoviev and Co. hesitated, vacillated and finally missed the opportunity for the seizure of power.

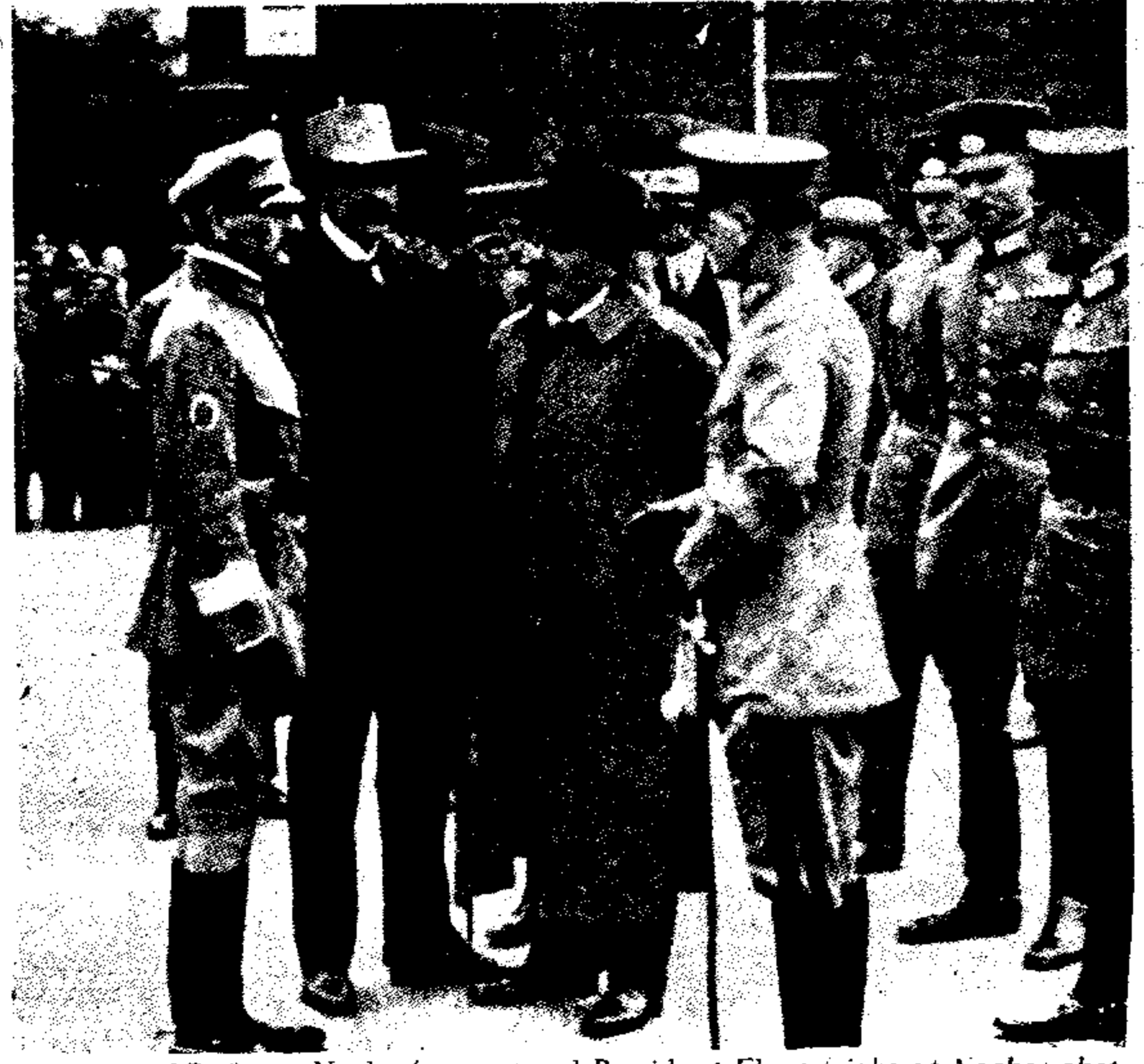
The crisis in Germany passed; and with American aid the German government managed to restabilize the economy, and therewith their own political authority.

## STABILITY

The years 1924-29 were the years of greatest political stability for the Weimar Republic. Plans drawn up by American capitalism under Dawes and Young ensured that Germany was now thoroughly



A common sight in Germany at the time, soldiers and workers in discussion.



Minister of Defence Noske (centre) and President Ebert (right of Noske) chat with senior officers of the Bavarian troops.



Hitler with military leaders in the early 1920s.



threw Germany back into instability. By 1930 unemployment had reached the 3 million mark; by 1931, 4 million were out of work, and as desperate American capitalists clawed back the loans they had made during 1924-28, big banks failed and small businesses were wiped out.

Nor was there any political equilibrium. KPD membership increased significantly—despite its suicidal tactics of splitting the unions in pursuit of its "social fascist" line.

**UNPRECEDENTED**

But more alarmingly the fascist movement began to grow on an unprecedented scale. With large financial support from big business the Nazi's armed wing—the SA—grew until they numbered 100,000 by the end of 1930.

In the face of the worsening economic crisis the Great Coalition proved not so great, and Muller's cabinet resigned in March 1930.

It was to be the last Weimar Cabinet to rest on a parliamentary majority. The monarchist general Hindenburg, who was then President of the Republic, intervened and appointed Heinrich Brüning of the Centre Party as Chancellor with instructions to form a more right wing government.

Brüning was unable to get the support of a majority in the

The results showed big changes from May 1928. The SPD vote fell by 6%, while the KPD vote rose by an impressive 40%—although their combined percentage of the total vote fell from 40.4% in 1928 to 37.6% in 1930.

But the outstanding change was the enormous increase in the Nazi vote (by some 700%), from over 800,000 votes in 1928 to 6.4 million in 1930. Clearly the fascists were attracting considerable support, and a correct strategy to defeat them was now more urgent than ever.

But astonishingly, the KPD fell able to call the election a victory for the Communists and the "beginning of the end" for the Nazis. The Comintern completely endorsed this judgement.

Frightened by the Nazi upsurge in the September elections, the SPD took a further step on the road to their own destruction by deciding on 18 October 1930, to tolerate the Brüning government as "a lesser evil".

This decision meant that Brüning was to hold the Chancellorship for a further twenty-six months, and although all his Cabinets were minority governments, SPD "toleration" meant that many of his measures were put into effect.



Stalin

Such measures, designed chiefly to stabilise the German economy at the expense of the working class, were highly unpopular. And this unpopularity was seized upon by the Nazis, who were attracting more support from big business, and who were daily becoming more audacious in their attacks on working class opponents.

1930 ended with the fascists cock-a-hoop at their electoral successes, and with the working class in increasing disarray—the KPD blithely disregarding the realities around them; the SPD preaching restraint and "non-provocation".

Clearly, any continuation of such policies would allow the Nazis to stroll to power without the slightest resistance from the working class.

At the end of 1930 no one could imagine that this most pessimistic of all prognoses would turn out closer to the truth than all the hare-brained schemes of the KPD and SPD put together.

on American rations, and that as long as all was well there, all would be well in Germany.

Elections held in May 1928 gave the SPD 29.8% of the vote, compared with 26% in December 1924.

The Communist vote rose from 9% to 10.6%, while that of the Nazi's fell from 3% to 2.6%.

The SPD was again the largest party in the Reichstag, and after four years out of office was called upon to form a government.

**FURTHER RIGHT**

This time, however, they went even further to the right than they had in 1919, and allied themselves with the People's Party (DVP) in what was known as the Great Coalition.

The Social Democrat Hermann Müller became Chancellor, and presided over the coalition for the next 21 months.

1928 marked another fateful event for Germany and its working class. In that year, the Communist International proclaimed its absurd, ultra-left doctrine of the "third period".

The Comintern, which in 1927 had seen the expulsion at Stalin's instigation of Trotsky and the Russian Left Opposition from its ranks, presented a hopelessly schematic analysis.

The 'first period' (1917-24) of capitalist crisis and revolutionary upsurge had, they declared, been succeeded by a 'second period' of capitalist stability, lasting from 1925-28.

This 'second period', it was now ordained, had given way to another period—the 'third period', in which nothing but capitalist crises and proletarian revolutions were to be expected.

**'THIRD PERIOD'**

And whereas the 'second period' had been one of right wing opportunism in which Social Democrats were uncritically wooed (as in the Anglo-Russian Committee of 1925-27), the 'third period' was now marked by an ultra-left sectarianism which deemed that the Social Democrats had no place in the workers' movement, and were in reality a mere wing of fascism—"social fascists".

This violent swing to the left was in fact dictated not by these feeble theoretical considerations, but by material developments within the Soviet Union itself, where Stalin in a belated, bureaucratic zig-zag of economic policy,

was now desperately intent on policies of super-industrialisation, forced collectivisation and the infamous use of the Red Army to dispossess prosperous peasants until then pampered by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

But the left turn internationally was given a "theoretical" rationale by an article Stalin had written in 1924, in which he argued that:

"Fascism is the bourgeoisie's fighting organisation that relies on the active support of Social Democracy. Social Democracy is objectively the moderate wing of fascism . . . These organisations do not negate, but supplement each other. They are not antipodes, they are twins."

Stalin, *Works*, Vol 6, p. 294.

The logic of this position was that the policy of the united front, elaborated by the Fourth Congress of the Comintern was completely mistaken.

Since Social Democracy was merely fascism in disguise, Communists could undertake no joint work with it to defeat "undisguised fascism"—i.e. Hitler and the Nazis.

**UNITED FRONT**

Occasional actions by local groups of the KPD and SPD could be carried out, (this was the "united front from below") but it was completely inadmissible for the KPD leadership to approach the SPD leadership with a view to national joint action.

In contradistinction to this rubbish, Trotsky called for the consistent application of the united front tactic, pointing out that the basis for joint actions did exist.

Fascism, he argued, meant the destruction of all working class organisations—regardless of whether they were controlled by Social Democrats or Communists.

Fascism's historic role consisted not just in destroying the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, but in fragmenting and atomizing the class itself, holding it in a state of forced disunity, and allowing big-business to jack up the rate of exploitation unhindered.

And to do that, fascism had to destroy the defensive organisations of the working class as well, namely its trade unions.

Social Democracy, he pointed out, rested on these organisations as much as did the Communists.

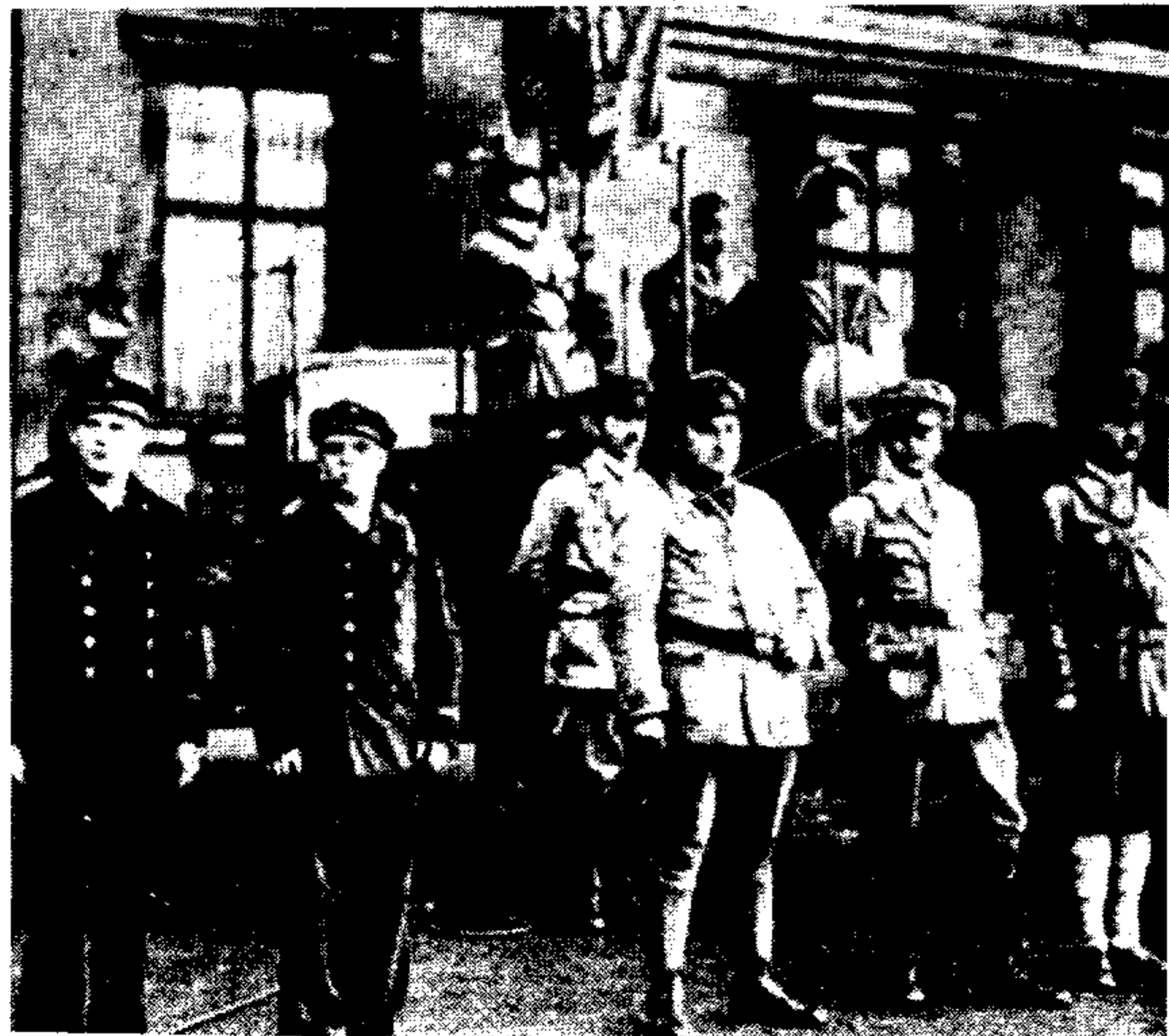
Fascism in power would be obliged to destroy Social Democracy also—despite the fact that the SPD were already

completely subservient to the German bourgeoisie.

To implement the united front policy did not mean that the KPD's criticisms of SPD policy should cease. On the contrary, the United Front meant making those criticisms more effective, by exposing in practice the role played by the SPD in paving the way for a Nazi victory.

"March separately, but strike together"—that was how Trotsky conceived of the United Front.

And, he added, joint practical actions would not only crush the fascist movement, but could decisively change the balance of forces towards the Communists, thereby raising the possibility of



The SPD armed wing, the Reichsbanner.

their striking out on the road of proletarian revolution.

His pleas for the implementation of such policies met with little or no response, however. He himself was denounced as a "left social-fascist" whose aim was the destruction of the KPD and the overthrow of the Soviet Union.

The grim reality, unfortunately, is that it was Stalin's policy which led to the annihilation of the KPD, and which left the USSR almost completely defenceless when Hitler invaded it in August 1941.

The economic crisis of 1929

Reichstag and so decided to rule by "emergency decree"—a device which the SPD had introduced into the constitution to use against others, but which they now found unexpectedly directed against themselves.

**REJECTED**

In July, Brüning's emergency decrees relating to the budget were rejected, and in this situation Hindenburg dissolved the Reichstag and ordered elections for 14 September 1930.

# REVIEWS

## CONDITIONS IN SOWETO

"A Window on Soweto" by Joyce Sikakane, published by International Defence and Aid Fund, 104, Newgate St., London EC1. 80p. Reviewed by Ann Evans.

This book gives a straightforward autobiographical account of life in the black township of Soweto—an account which cannot fail to reveal the exploitation, which, although it exists in any capitalist society, is so blatant and extreme in South Africa.

Sikakane briefly outlines the roots of the apartheid system and the pass laws—the purpose of which is made clear by a statement made by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party when it came to power in 1948:

### TEMPORARY

"All the Bantu have their permanent homes in the reserves and their entry into other areas and into the urban centres is merely of a temporary nature and for economic reasons."

She effectively describes the conditions which black workers have to face as a result of apartheid and economic exploitation.

As an unmarried mother herself, Sikakane describes the double oppression which women workers have to bear in South Africa. Since the average wage is too low to even feed a family, married women have to work—under even worse conditions than the men.

### SHUNTED

Without effective means of birth control, their only child care facilities consist of shunting children around the town to grannies—untrained childminders.

If none are available, children spend the day locked in a room



Schoolchildren in Soweto

with some scraps of food and a potty.

However, Sikakane is confused in the demands she puts forward. Instead of seeing the importance of demanding improved working conditions and child-care facilities to release women from their double oppression, she wants 'normal family life'—in other words improved wages for men, so that women don't have to go out to work, and can fulfil their 'natural' role of mother and domestic labourer.

This shows one way in which, although this book is a useful description of the apartheid system it does not present it in terms of a class analysis, and offers no answers to the question of how the struggle of the black working class can be strengthened.

Political organisations such as the African National Congress and the South African Students Organ-

isation are rarely mentioned and their policies and outlook are never discussed.

Sikakane left South Africa in 1973, so she cannot give a first-hand account of the uprising of June last year.

### NO IMPROVEMENT

However, she fails to assess the importance of the Soweto events at all, and only mentions the demonstrations in passing on the last page. Her last sentence perhaps sums up what the whole book lacks—she concludes:

"There is no improvement in the ghettos of South Africa and no progress until the whole apartheid system is removed."

The book should have emphasised that the struggle is not merely against an apartheid system, but against a capitalist system, and it should have given some idea of how that struggle can progress.

## LETTER

## Contradictions in Paisley's stand

Dear Comrade Editor,

The article in SP 61 entitled "Paisley gains from Loyalist strike" fails to explain why Paisley fared so dimly in leading the protest workers out on strike yet did so well in leading them, a few days later, into the polling booths in support of essentially the same programme.

The article correctly notes that bourgeois pundits had predicted for Paisley and Baird "that the strikes demise would see their electoral rout."

This clearly did not take place, yet a bourgeois understanding of the dynamic of the struggle in Ireland is hardly rebutted by turn-

ing their opinions upside down.

Just because they say Paisley lost heavily in the strike it does not therefore follow in reality that he actually gained, even if this is done with retrospective wisdom, pointing to the local election results as proof of that gain.

### EXPLICABLE

If we look at the class alliance that composes loyalism, the industrial failure and electoral success of Paisley becomes explicable. For Paisley, while advancing the same programme in both cases was in fact pursuing two contradictory strategies.

In the strike he clearly was challenging British imperialism and the logic of such a challenge could only lead to a declaration of an independent loyalist state cut free from Britain.

In the elections the demands for a restored Stormont, greater security and the annihilation of the IRA were also raised but this time within an electoral framework that had been set up by Britain and was indeed part of Britain.

It is by this imperial link with Britain that Protestant working class support for the loyalist union is secured. But as Paisley discovered to his cost in the abortive loyalist strike, it is a very conditional support.

### RUIN

The shop keepers, and all Paisley's petty-bourgeois support, on the other hand, have been driven to ruin by the war and the recession. Their despair is such that

a declaration of UDI appears increasingly to them as the only way out of the present impasse.

The leadership of the Protestant working class however, grasp the British link in the present crisis the more firmly, the more slippery it becomes.

In much the same way the English bureaucrats demand of their working class that they 'save' themselves from the crisis by grasping the life line of the Social Contract.

Contrary to the notions of those so-called radicals on the left who begin with the ideas of the working class rather than the reality of their material conditions, the Protestant working class by their refusal to be led by Paisley reveal that they are far from fascist.

### SUICIDAL

They are prepared to defend as they see it, their interests as a class. Their idea of defence, however, is the suicidal one of rejecting the only real defence of their material conditions—an Ireland in which the working class both owns and rules.

But their willingness to fight creates the most futile conditions for a revolutionary intervention that leads them to that conclusion.

J.Q. Liverpool.

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

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

## APARTHEID IN BRITAIN

"Apartheid in Britain—an analysis of the Prevention of Terrorism Act", produced by People Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act (P.A.P.T.A.) Price 25p. Reviewed by Jim Rogers.

This booklet shows how the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) forced through Parliament in 1974 by the then Labour government, is in fact the legislated seal of approval on systematic police terror directed against the Irish population in Britain.

The PTA's specific purpose is to intimidate, terrorise and crush the Irish republican movement and its struggle for a united Ireland free of British imperialism.

The authors draw the parallel between the centuries-long struggle for Irish liberation and the struggles now erupting among black workers in Southern Africa for the overthrow of white racist rule.

In each case the naked military force used by imperialism to maintain its control is backed up by brutal political repression of all forms of opposition.

The booklet shows the scale on which police Gestapo-style operations continue against Irish workers.

So far almost 2,500 people have been arrested under the PTA. 1,900 of them have been detained in police custody for up to seven days; and while only 100 people have been charged in court with offences, an equal number have been deported—in cases "blacked out" by the bourgeois press.

The Act ensures that if the police cannot complete their harassment and intimidation of their "suspect" in 48 hours they have only to apply to the Home Secretary to extend detention for five days more. So far no such request has ever been refused.

And if the "suspect" is unlucky enough to be picked up at an airport or port, additional regulations enable the police to hold them without charge for up to 12 days.

The PTA allows the police, where they cannot find evidence to back up a criminal prosecution, to apply for an order to have a person removed from the country, or prevented from entering it. The only people safe from such actions are those who can prove they have lived here for 20 years or who were born in Britain and stayed here all their lives.

The only appeal allowed is to the Home Secretary himself. Lawyers are not permitted. And the charges are not revealed to the accused!

And if the individual is outside Britain at the time, the Home

Secretary does not even have to tell them they are banned. The first they might know about it would be the heavy hand of police and immigration officials on their shoulder at a port or airport.

This web of repression against the Irish community is developed even further by political proscription under the Act, as the booklet points out:

"The Home Secretary can now make an order banning any organisation which appears to him to be concerned in terrorism in the United Kingdom and connected with Northern Ireland affairs, or prompting or encouraging it..."

One man, Albert O'Rawe, was deported because he was unable to deny having once been in the IRA—in 1943!

Accounts are included of the way trade union action has successfully freed people from detention and forced the lifting of deportation orders. On the other hand, the pamphlet details cases of the fascist National Front taking advantage of the Act to play on anti-Irish prejudice and hound Republicans and Republican sympathisers.

The authors show correctly that simply to denounce the outrages carried out against innocent individuals under the act is not sufficient to fight it.

"The PTA operates in Britain as a supplement to the work of the Army in Ireland. They are two methods by which the British government attempts to destroy republicanism, not only as an armed movement, but also as an expression of the long-held desire for a free united Ireland."

It outlines the beginnings of a campaign throughout the trade union and labour movement to expose the Act and its provisions, to organise leafletting and pickets of police stations wherever arrests take place under the PTA, and to prevent arrests in workplaces.

The booklet provides much useful material, though presented in a somewhat repetitive way.

It is the work of a group called People Against the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PAPTA)—who carry the sponsorship of a number of labour movement bodies.

PAPTA are planning to develop the campaign by holding a Tribunal on Repression to be held at Conway Hall, on Saturday November 19, to consider evidence on persecution of Irish people in Britain and Ireland.

In taking up the British dimension to the military repression in Northern Ireland the group is carrying out a useful task. But the booklet would have been strengthened



Protest against deportation of journalists Agee and Hosenball: 100 Irish people have been deported under a virtual press blackout.

ened by a clear statement demanding the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, and by more clearly linking this demand with its correct points against the PTA.

And in failing to press the few Labour 'lefts' who have opposed the Act to carry through a serious fight on these issues within the Labour Party and trade unions, PAPTA allow them to get away with individual gestures.

Nevertheless, at 25p plus 15p p&p the booklet is still to be recommended, and is available from PAPTA, 182, Upper Street, London N1.

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Paisley - Pursuing two contradictory strategies.



# THE STRIKE THAT COULD HAVE CRUSHED PHASE 2

"The Toolmakers Strike and the Fight Against Wage Control"  
published by the Workers Socialist League, price 25p. Reviewed  
by John Lister.



As TUC and government leaders put the finishing touches to Phase 3 of wage controls it is important to recall that the situation might have been very different.

Three months ago a solid strike of British Leyland's toolmakers, which had paralysed much of Leyland's car production and secured active support from sections of workers throughout the AUEW was sold out by its 'rank and file' leadership.

The strike, whose main strength was the willingness of the toolmakers to fight employers, union officials and the government in the struggle to bring their wage rates in all factories up to the highest toolroom pay rates in Leyland, posed the sharpest and strongest challenge to the Social Contract.

If this demand, however inadequate, had been held to and won, it would have driven a coach and horses through Phase 2—and it is precisely an intact Phase 2 of wage control that the TUC are now using as a launching pad for a third round of rigid controls.

## DRAMATIC

Despite the eventual sell-out, the toolmakers succeeded in the course of four dramatic weeks in subjecting AUEW leader Hugh Scanlon to total humiliation, exposing the role of the entire TUC leadership as policemen of wage control, and in the process creating such a monum-

ental governmental crisis that the Labour government fell, to be replaced by the present reactionary Liberal-Labour parliamentary coalition.

But the leadership of the toolroom committee, spontaneously thrown forward into the front line of struggle was not up to the tasks demanded of it.

Leyland—backed to the hilt by union officials—announced its ultimatum—demanding the 3,000 striking toolmakers return to work or face immediate sacking.

The toolroom committee at first took a correct stand on this, voting to recommend a continuation of the strike, and calling for support from other skilled men inside and beyond British Leyland if the sackings were carried out.

But the next day at the very point support began flowing in most strongly, the toolroom committee (pressed hard by Longbridge convener, CP-member Derek Robinson, to surrender completely) opted to make a new approach to management, and in exchange for meaningless verbal concessions by management, called off the strike.

## HOSTILITY

It is precisely at this point that the WSL alone shows itself able to analyse correctly the strengths and weaknesses that led to this outcome.

The strength was clearly in expressing massive shop floor hostility within the working class to the bureaucratically imposed

Phase 2 pay policy.

This hostility produced a wave of strikes in December and throughout the New Year, centred on wages and defence of living standards (though nearly all avoiding specific reference to Phase 2.)

The toolmakers, with their foot on the windpipe of Britain's major car manufacturers, were undoubtedly the best placed of all these sections to press home their action.

## OPEN OPPOSITION

Subsequent actions by Heathrow maintenance engineers and Port Talbot steelworks electricians, although in many respects standing on the advances made in the toolroom strike, never had the immediate and devastating industrial impact of the toolmakers' action.

And the toolmakers' leaders also took open opposition to trade union officials to a new peak with the mass meeting in Birmingham that howled down and humiliated AUEW President Hugh Scanlon, in scenes which endeared the toolmakers to every militant worker in the country.

But the toolroom committee never spelled out clear demands on wages. They denied at every opportunity that they were leading a fight against the Social Contract—a fight from which every section of workers would gain, and which thousands would support.

They refused to centre the struggle on defence of living standards. And this political vagueness and weakness left sufficient room for the final sell-out—with not a penny gained and Phase 2 left intact.

The struggle in this way stands as a crushing indictment of those who claim all that is needed is rank and file militancy or "more support" or industrial muscle. The toolroom strike had all these to abundance, yet was stopped in its tracks by lack of principled leadership.

But at the same time the action, followed by the Heathrow and Port Talbot strikes, completely refuted those who had argued that the working class "accepted" the Social Contract, "accepted" the arguments of its leaders, or had been pacified by the existence of a Labour government.

## GROWING MILITANCY

Here was a conservative, skilled section of workers, a basic layer within the organised labour movement, prepared to stand firm against its official leadership, the TUC and Labour government.

Given even the most inadequate lead, they responded overwhelmingly. And in galvanising widespread promises of solidarity action the toolmakers showed they are not a rare exception, but a part of the growing militancy of the working class.

The booklet shows how misconceptions on these questions led to wrong positions, and articles point to the central role of the Communist Party in scabbing on the toolroom and other wages struggles, providing 'left' sounding arguments, all of which diverted from the fight to defeat Phase 2.

Another article shows the bureaucratic methods through which Phases 1 and 2 of wage control were foisted on the working class, and points out that the only initiative aimed at defeating Phase 2 was conducted by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement.

## PHASE 3 COALITION

The Liberal-Labour coalition government, brought suddenly into the world amid the turmoil of the toolroom strike, aptly characterised the "Phase 3 Coalition" is dealt with in the opening article.

And in this period of acute governmental crisis, with Callaghan dragged round on a lead by Steel and his coterie of place seeking bourgeois politicians, it is well to remember the struggles that toppled the elected Labour government.

That strength—and those same political problems—remain now within the workers' movement. The building of a new political leadership is still the only way to unleash that strength and open up the fight to defend jobs and wages.

The booklet, comprising articles from the Special Edition of *Socialist Press* and other articles with a new introduction stands, at 25p, as extremely good value and provides essential reading for all militants in today's struggles.

# PRESS GANG

A closed shop in journalism will be the end of the freedom of the Press. How many times have those words been written in the pages of the bourgeois Press?

One of the evils that is supposed to result is that 'politically motivated' journalists will use the columns for their own ends and censor all contrary views.

As a matter of fact the National Union of Journalists is about to elect a new General Secretary. There is no Trotskyist candidate and only one who could be regarded as a 'left' Mike Bower, from Sheffield.

Electioneering is banned in the rule book and members are forced to make up their minds from previous knowledge or from the short election address. The campaign, if it can be called one, prevents journalists from questioning the candidates at meetings.

That however does not stop our fair minded liberal Press, *The Times* and Bernard Levin—now the foremost right winger in the union—deciding to have a look at the election.

In a long article he recommends ballots among union members to see if the union should be destroyed and takes a side swipe at the Randolph strikers—now sold out but still being trodden on by Levin and the like.

He then goes on to say that the NUJ executive has shifted to the left. "It is of the highest importance that the chief executive officer of the union should be a moderate."

Highest importance to whom? He doesn't say.

Levin manages to identify Bower as "standard bearer of the Left", gives a short mocking summary of his election address and then moves to the real heart of the matter.

"Many NUJ members will be casting their votes in this vital election with no idea of where the candidates stand in the political struggle; several union members have asked me for guidance, and I am therefore taking the opportunity today to say how I shall be voting myself . . ."

"It is important for NUJ voters to understand that since the method of election is the single transferable vote, it is only of limited use to plump for a single candidate. In addition to the important task of helping a moderate candidate to win there is the almost equally important negative one of ensuring the defeat of the leftist, Bower."

Levin goes on to list the five right wingers in a kind of random order and say he will not vote for Bower.

It is good to know that as long as Levin is around to fight the unions there is not the slightest danger of anyone using the Press to push their political views.

P.S. If NUJ members haven't got the drift of Levin's remarks, Bower is just about worth voting for and the others should not be touched with a ballot box.

If there is one thing more important than keeping the Labour government in power and Phase 3 alive, it is the vexing question of who Prince Charles is going to marry.

Among all the rubbishy speculation one word of truth emerged in the *Sunday Mirror*.

"A medical specialist close to the Royal Family told me frankly: 'I wouldn't like to be in Prince Charles's shoes today'."

Smile please and click. Yes it is the smiling policewoman in the pages of the *Daily Mirror* struggling against the pickets at Grunwick's and still managing to look cheerful for the cameras. Even a girl can do it.

With this picture the *Mirror* managed not only to be anti-worker and pro-police but also sexist with it. Personally we have decided not to discriminate between male and female police. We think they should be treated exactly the same.

# 'BOUND FOR GLORY'

"Bound for Glory"—biographical film of folk singer Woody Guthrie, reviewed by Dettie Gormley.

The brutality of the employers and their hired thugs in breaking up the attempts of workers to organise and form unions could have been set in present-day Grunwicks or in the Spanish countryside.

But the struggles depicted in "Bound for Glory" are of the fruit pickers in California in the 1930s.

The backdrop to their fight is the Depression in America. They were forced to abandon their homes in Texas and Oklahoma, which slump and dust storms had laid waste, and travel west in search of the "promised land".

But this is not really a film of despair and misery. It does show the determination of these workers not to be beaten.

The refusal to be ground down is generally personified in singer Woody Guthrie, the subject of the film.

But it also comes through clearly for example, in the man who urges Woody not to compromise on the content of his radio show.

His face is badly swollen from the beating he received on the picket line.

Guthrie's songs particularly the rousing "I'm Stickin' to the Union" convey more clearly than words the fighting spirit of that generation of workers.

The wonder and beauty of America are breath-takingly photographed as we see Woody thumbing lifts and jumping trains on his way West.

It contrasts starkly with the dust bowl conditions of small town ruin in Texas or the squalid camps where the pickers live.

The song "This Land is my Land" portrays in a populist way the idea of everyone, regardless of class differences, having the freedom to own the country.

So it is easy to see why liberal Americans can enjoy this film and adopt a patronising attitude towards it.

Woody, for all that he exhorts workers to 'organise' is a complete individualist.

He rambles from place to place with his guitar for company. He does not himself get involved in the day to day problems of the workers but moves on after each beating up, having done the more 'glamorous' job.

Although he takes a principled stand and refuses to compromise with the radio sponsors, he has no clear idea of what he considers important.

He says he just wants to talk to "the people".

The film is clearly influenced by Stalinist popular front type conceptions.

This is also shown by the crude depiction of employers as nasty ogres and workers as downtrodden

though at times prepared to struggle—they are idealised rather than dealing with actual situations.

Somewhat more sensitively shown is the relationship between Woody and his wife.

He makes no attempt to draw her into his trade union organising and cannot explain to her why it is important, (largely because he cannot explain it to himself).

She is left worrying about whether he will "foolishly" lose his job and urges him always to compromise.

She remains isolated at home with the children and eventually leaves him.

Once again an extremely important period in the history of the American workers' movement has been inadequately dealt with and the real lessons obscured.

Nonetheless this is a moving film with music to please Guthrie devotees.



# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## TGWU CONFERENCE - THROW OUT PHASE 3

Phase 3 of wage control is on its way. The clearest guarantee of this is the way in which Len Murray and Jack Jones are now touring the country claiming that no figure will be fixed as a limit in what they describe as an "orderly return to free collective bargaining".

Jones has gone so far as to suggest that the preservation of the 12-month rule restricting workers to one rise a year, might be sufficient as such an "orderly return".

On this basis he extracted a unanimous vote from the union's 37-man Executive in support of this policy, to be moved at the union's Biennial Delegate Conference next month.

### FRAUD

But the whole argument is a fraud. Firstly, the enforcing of the 12-month rule in a period of sky-rocketing inflation itself acts as wage control, and a sure fire means of cutting workers' living standards.

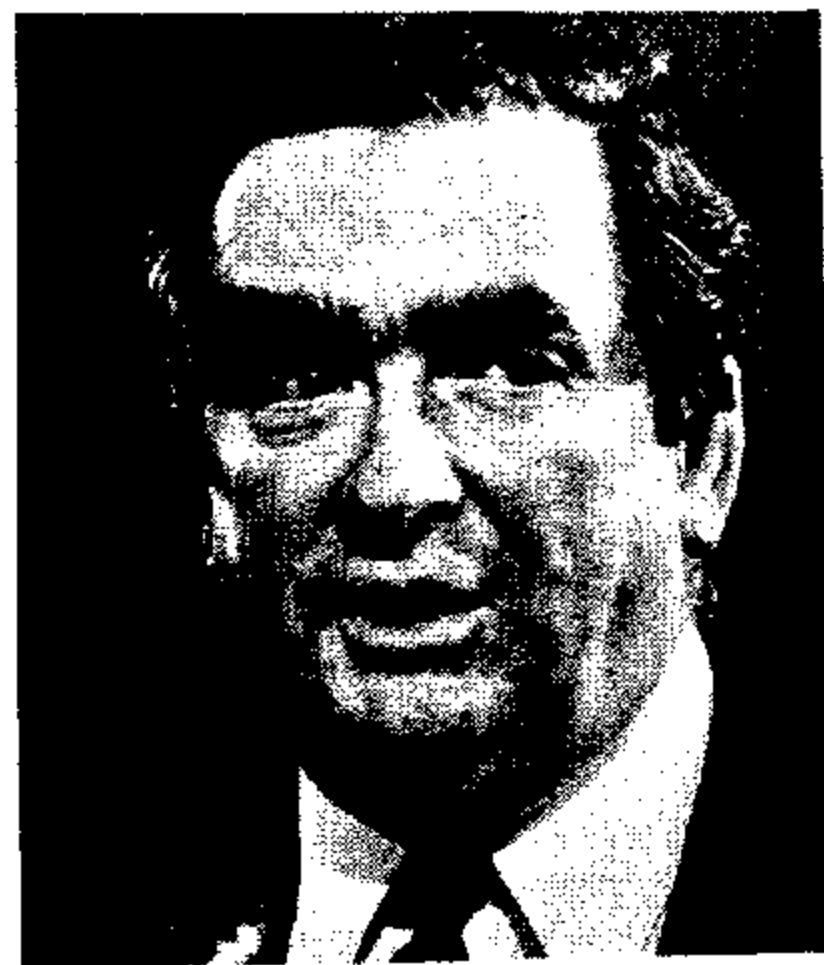
Secondly, Jones is most concerned with pressing home the principle of conceding wage control. Once trade union bureaucrats accept that living standards should fall to boost capitalist profits, then talk of how much they should fall becomes a point of fine detail.

Workers should remember the way Jones approached the question of ramming home wage controls at the last BDC in July 1975.

### FLAT RATE

There was talk then also of "no figure" being involved as a limit. Jones assured the conference that to accept his proposal of "flat rate increases" (with no amount specified) was the "only alternative to statutory wage control."

Any other policy, he assured delegates, would lead to an

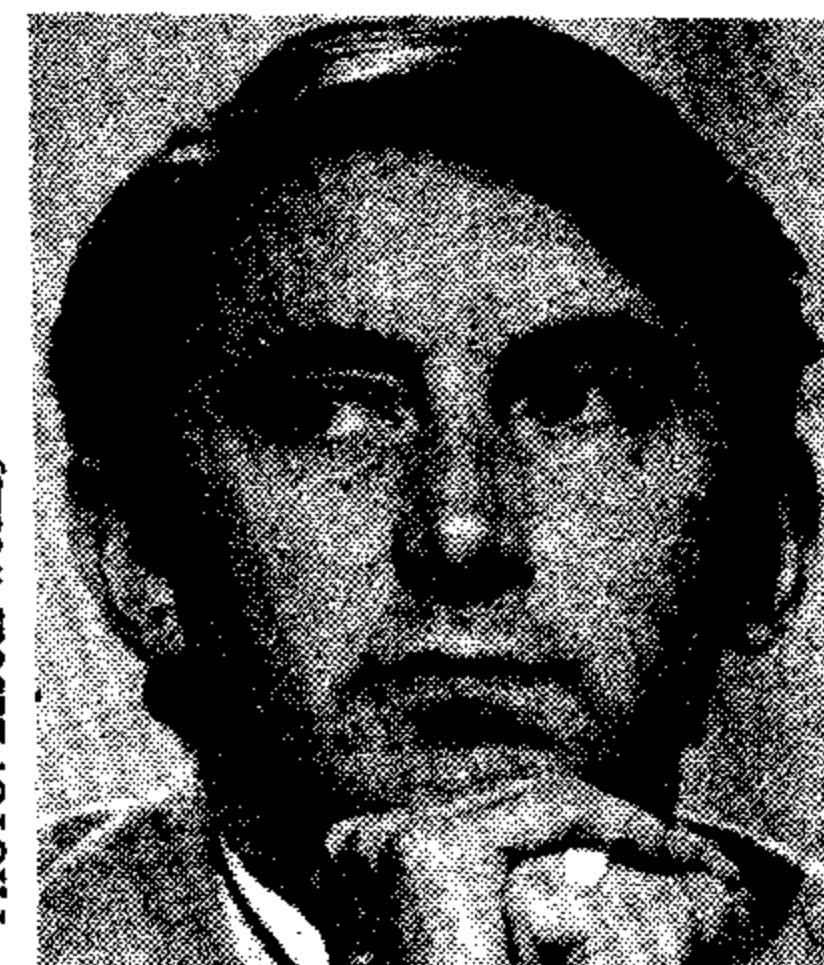


Healey

inflationary spiral and "massive unemployment".

Not one shred of Jones' argument remains intact. The TGWU conference's swallowing of "voluntary" flat rate limits was followed two hours later by Chancellor Healey's announcement of rigid state control of wages, in which Healey decreed the "flat rate" limit was £6.

Jones, despite claiming to oppose statutory control of wages, accepted this, and, in defiance of BDC policy, joined with the Executive to cast the union's 1.9 million votes in favour of the more vicious



Steel—demanding Phase 3.

wage cuts in Phase 2 at the Special TUC last June.

In the meantime, despite rigid pay curbs there has been a never ending inflationary spiral, and there are now record levels of unemployment.

### SAVE THE GOVERNMENT

The notion that wage controls could "save the Labour government" has been shot to ribbons as thousands of voters, furious at falling living standards under Callaghan, withheld their support



The Special TUC, June 1976

single figures under Phase 3. This means a definite figure—and it means essentially another year of the 4½% limit of Phase 2.

### CANNOT ACCEPT

Jones knows that the government cannot accept a deal with no figure and remain in office. But he is consciously creating confusion until he has a blank cheque from the TGWU Conference behind him.

Talk of enforcing the 12-month rule is designed to block discussion on the essential policy for defence of living standards—continuous wage increases to keep wages in step with rising prices through a

sliding scale of wages, based on a cost of living index worked out by elected committees of trade unionists and housewives.

This policy was raised explicitly at the last TGWU conference when Alan Thornett, a delegate from the 5/293 Branch at Cowley moved a resolution along these lines and spoke in opposition to Jones.

That Branch has again put down a resolution demanding a sliding scale of wages for discussion at this BDC. It remains the only alternative to another year of plunging living standards under a third phase of wage control.

Last week's votes at the NALGO and COHSE conferences shackling another 885,000 workers to support for a Phase 3 of wage control means that a vital element in the TUC vote will be the TGWU conference in the first week of July.

This is because, although the leaders of unions representing nearly 5 million workers have obtained conference decisions or announced their intention of voting for a Phase 3, there is a substantial opposition, including the AUEW (1.7 million), ASTMS (400,000) and CPSA (225,000), with leaders of the NUM and Post Office Engineers about to recommend rejection.

If the TGWU's 1.9 million votes were thrown in with this in opposing a Phase 3 it would mean that both Britain's biggest unions stood opposed to wage controls—and would rule out a workable policy.

Even *Labour Weekly*, voice of the Labour leadership, has pointed out that:

"It is inconceivable that the TUC would try to make a pay agreement with the government that was not supported by the TGWU."

The message is clear: a vote against Jones' "orderly return" motion at the TGWU conference is the only way of ensuring that the end of Phase 2 is the end of wage controls.

TGWU delegates were used by Jones two years ago as a springboard for Phase 1. This time they must take the chance to torpedo plans for a vicious Phase 3.



Jones

from Labour candidates in by-elections and local elections.

And as they did so, Callaghan dropped any pretence of socialist policies, concluding a reactionary parliamentary coalition with the Liberals. There is now no Labour government to "save".

Now Chancellor Healey is time and again stating that he wants overall wage increases held down to

## WHO GETS CHRYSLER SLUSH?

An explicit statement that a 'slush fund' was used to bribe trade unionists as well as the usual government employees bankers and distributors was made this week by the giant Chrysler Corporation.

While refusing to say where payments were made, and how much was involved in each case, Chrysler assessed payments over the five years 1971-76 at \$425,000 a year.

The international corporation maintains ten funds in seven overseas countries.

Among their routine expenditure is \$173,000 a year to tax officials and other government employees—to smooth the way to easy trade, and \$30,000 a year are paid to trade union representatives in six foreign countries.

This raises huge questions for workers in Chrysler. The management has only recently carried through a major redundancy programme, bringing about rationalisation of its operations and attacks on working conditions.

In bringing this about management found cooperation from a wide range of trade union officials and conveners, each of whom was ready to sell the jobs of their members in the bid to increase Chrysler's profits and make it "viable".

But perhaps they were selling these jobs for something of more immediate value to themselves?

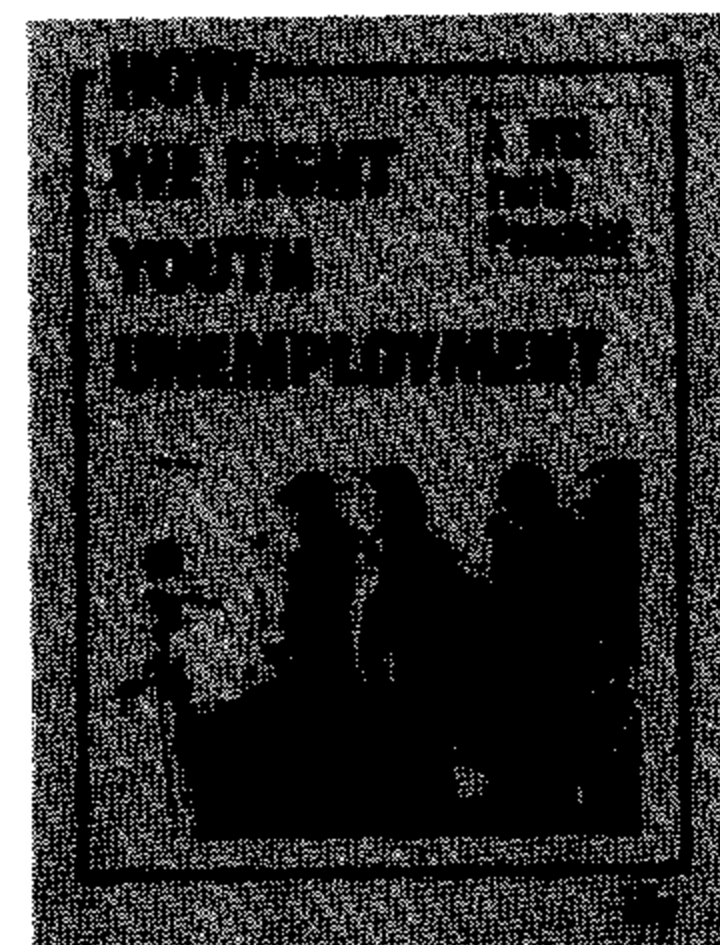
Perhaps they were receiving a slice of Chrysler's \$30,000 cake for union collaborators?

Unless Chrysler are forced to reveal full details of their slush fund, and name the trade unionists concerned, every union official and conducer must be suspect.

And of course, \$30,000 is simply the amount Chrysler admit to spending, as a result of their own enquiry.

The Leyland slush fund scandal, and the BP revelations indicated the many ways in which such illicit backhanders can be paid under seemingly innocent headings in account books.

Chrysler workers must demand an immediate investigation be carried out by an elected committee of rank and file trade unionists—to hound out the paid agents of management.



A new pamphlet just published, available from the Workers Socialist League, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

## CLOTHES-SHOP SACKINGS

Burton's are to make yet another thousand workers redundant. The latest sackings in their high street shops, comes on top of the 1,400 redundancies already announced.

Officials of USDAW, the shopworkers' union which represents those on the new list have already decided against any fight and are now simply negotiating the redundancy payments, though some members have suggested early retirement instead.

While union official Mr. Flood told reporters "Our people are appalled at the extent of the proposals", he put forward not a single policy to defend jobs.

### DISASTERS

An examination of even the published accounts of the group over the past few years shows a complex web of operations and a chain of financial disasters which question the job security of any Burton's worker if the firm remains in private hands.

The French division, for

example, opened up new shops in Bordeaux, Lille and Strasbourg in 1971, amid great management optimism. By 1977 however Burton's had begun rationalising the operation, closing its last small factory in Paris and pruning office staff.

### BOYSWEAR

A boyswear chain "Orange Hand" launched in 1970-71 and "booming" in 1973 had by 1976 begun closing loss-making shops.

The Green's camera firm bought over in 1973 was sold off in 1976 for £1.7 million cash after losing £700,000 the previous year.

And Rymans office equipment, forecast as a profit-winner, managed to lose £1 million in 1976.

The demand for the opening of the books of the Burton group to elected trade union committees is thus one which is relevant to a wide range of workers both in shops and factories.

In Leeds, for example 700 workers are being made redundant in the Hudson Road garment factory.

The local union leaders and shop

stewards have put forward the notion of "cheap foreign imports" from "low wage countries" as an explanation for the collapse of the Burton empire in clothing.

This is nonsense in view of the fact that one of the major countries from which suits are imported is Sweden where wage rates run at three times the level of Burton's.

The Workers Socialist League has consistently called in leaflets given into the factory for a campaign to open the books of the whole Burtons empire as part of the preparation for the occupation of the Hudson Road factory.

This call must be taken up along with a campaign to forge links with the shopworkers and other threatened factories in order to wage a joint campaign for the nationalisation of Burtons without compensation.

To do this, the question of leadership is essential.

The present shop stewards committee has put forward not a single perspective to save a single job in Leeds. To start the fight to save all the jobs it is essential to wage a struggle to change this leadership.

# NUT STRIKE CALL

Angered by the ruthless obstinacy of the extreme Tory council the National Union of Teachers leadership is now acting on the massive vote for strike action and calling out members in Oxford City schools for two weeks.

This may well provoke a lock-out on the part of the Council which will prolong and deepen the dispute throughout the Summer holiday.

Since schools returned from the half term break NUT members throughout the county have been operating sanctions—at first withdrawing from voluntary dinner time supervision and then action against oversized classes.

The response from the Council, headed by Brigadier Streatfield who says he "cannot accept that any section of the community has the right to make life difficult for our children" has been to grant emergency powers to fight the teachers.

## MANDATE

Of course it is true that extreme Tories (cynically arguing that the May local election results give them a clear mandate for cuts) are using government policy to decimate public services such as education and health.

But the NUT must be challenged on their argument that "the cuts proposed by Oxfordshire are not in keeping with the government's guidelines on local expenditure."

The truth is that these cuts are part of the £3000 million package of cuts legislated by the Labour government in March 1976 and endorsed by the TUC in May of that year when it accepted the renewal of the Social Contract and Phase 2.

When the NUT argues that "Oxfordshire can afford it" it fails to say that "no cuts" is not in line with government policy.

To fight the cuts means to challenge the Lib-Lab coalition government.

Teachers in Oxfordshire must stand out against any reduction in the staff-pupil ratio for all ages.

## REEMPLOY

All teachers on temporary contracts must be re-employed permanently—the threatened cut-backs in nurseries and equipment money must be dropped—and the policy of "natural wastage" in ancillary staff jobs must be challenged.

In order to challenge government policy on the cuts national strike action must be called. Oxfordshire is not a special case—cuts of the same nature are on the agenda for all areas of the county in the future.

The determination of Oxfordshire teachers must be used to give a lead to teachers throughout the country and an all-out national fight waged to defend the education service completely against cuts.

The NUT Executive however still insists that it is leading a

protest move, hoping to persuade Oxfordshire councillors to change their minds.

This is the kind of talk which leads simply to negotiations and the danger of a deal being cooked up over the summer holidays can by no means be ruled out.

This dispute must also be fought against public spending cuts as a whole.

Yet NUPE Divisional Officer, Stalinist George Anderson has publicly argued that teachers' actions in withdrawing their voluntary assistance with school meals is "threatening" his members' jobs.

Anderson is using this as a pretext for refusing to organise support until a "joint policy" is agreed on. In reality his statements mean nothing except that Anderson himself is not prepared to put up any fight to save his members' or

any other jobs.

Teachers, parents, trade unionists from trades councils and other public service unions must join together to demand that the Tory councils open up the full plans and accounts to trade union inspection.

This will bring to light all "reserve", and contingency funds, along with profits made by school building firms and suppliers.

No agreement can be made to end the dispute except withdrawal of all cuts—the education service must be protected from inflation and the capitalist crisis by a sliding scale of public expenditure.

The strike call must be extended to cover the whole of Oxfordshire. And plans must now be laid for renewed action next term if victory has not been won.

# CLOSED SHOP CRUNCH FOR N.U.J.

The strike at Northern England Newspapers, now into its third week in defence of a closed shop, has posed the sharpest possible questions for the National Union of Journalists. Already the strike has spread to London.

Following every rule in the book and after every effort to avoid a strike, more than 100 members of the union at Darlington are now in

action against one of the toughest managements in newspapers—Westminster Press.

Journalists in the London Office of Westminster Press who refused to strike break on Darlington by sending copy to the non-union executives still working were suspended without pay. The London office has since come out on strike and is picketing, with minimal support from Fleet Street.

After years of backtracking on the issue the NUJ national leaders have come up against their worst nightmare—a determined united chapel digging in for the closed shop and a determined management which says it would rather go out of business than concede one.

## CLOSED SHOP

Much more sharply than any sterile debate could have done, the Darlington action has brought to the boil the issue of a closed shop for journalists.

All print unions have closed shops but for years right wingers in the union have aided employers by arguing against one for all the usual spurious reasons—the freedom of the press and the freedom of the individual.

Meanwhile the freedom of the employer to keep wages down has gone unchecked as Westminster Press has led the campaign to help the IOJ develop into a powerful anti-union force.

The editorial director of the group has responded to the strike by sending a letter to every journalist in Westminster Press (at a cost to the company of £1,500) witch-hunting Darlington and attempting to sow doubts about whether a fight on the issue would succeed.

The letter was sent to home addresses of most journalists, a well tried technique in Leyland for example, to try to isolate workers.

## PICKETING

Picketing at Darlington, which started off as a polite gesture, has now become highly effective and thousands of copies of the Northern Echo have been lost.

All 106 journalists are actively picketing and there are no signs of cracks in the chapel's ranks.

But if the dispute is to be won the question of support from printers is essential. A lobby is to be held this Thursday (June 23) of the Printing Industries Committee of the TUC to persuade them to instruct members not to cross official picket lines and not to handle blacked copy.

Other Westminster Press chapels have organised a £2 a head levy, asked for strike pay to be raised to £40 a week and have called for the complete blacking of London Office and Press Association in an attempt to stop strikebreaking at Darlington.

## SYMPATHY ACTION

The Westminster Press group chapel will meet in a little over two weeks when sympathy strikes will be very much on the agenda. Some chapels, notably Bedford and Swindon have already called for sympathy strikes, and moves are being made to get speakers to all other offices in the group.

Editorial Director Herbert, who has declared "implacable opposition to giving any single body the right to control access to newspapers" (except employers) also said in his letter.

"We know that once joined, battles of this kind can be long and costly but we are very definitely committed to seeing it through."

Even greater determination will need to be shown by not only the NUJ but also the print unions if this strike is to be won.



Teachers on 4,000-strong protest against cuts in Oxford last year.

# Grunwicks

(FROM FRONT PAGE)

Leading Tory Keith Joseph led a chorus of right wing spokesmen when he announced last Saturday that:

"Here we have a further erosion of the rule of law and civilised norms of behaviour by members of the labour movement; by leading members no less than by rank and file Marxist militants."

Tory James Prior went on to demand government legislation laying down maximum size of picket lines and ensuring that pickets come only from those on strike.

## BLACKING

In the meantime other Tories are demanding the Solicitor General launch legal action against the UPW blacking, and Grunwick managing director George Ward is talking of independent court action.

Meanwhile the "anti-terrorist" Special Patrol Group and plain clothes police provocateurs were running riot on a picket line that

had been supported by three government ministers, Len Murray and union General Secretaries.

## WORDS NOT ENOUGH

These threats must be answered by the labour movement. Words are not enough. Eric Heffer has correctly called in Parliament for there to be "20,000 pickets". He, together with every Labour MP must take up the fight to bring such forces into action to crush this employer.

Trade unions, despite the wretched cowardice today of the Len Murrays, Tom Jacksons and Granthams, were built through defiance of courts and legislation.

It was the threat of national strike action by the AUEW in 1974 that forced through the dismantling of the apparatus of the Tory Industrial Relations Act.

## MASS ACTION

Mass action today can defeat any court order, any injunction.

Many more sections of workers would join this struggle if given a clear call by officials.

\* The mass pickets must be increased. Build another Saltley! Shut down Grunwick until total victory!

\* Police and courts, the weapons of the capitalist class, must be challenged. Drop the charges against the arrested pickets!

\* Extend the postal blacking. EETPU must black power. GMWU must cut water supplies.

\* If any trade unionist is taken to court, general strike action must force their release.

\* The Grunwick strike can be won. No concessions to court, NAFF, Tories or employer!

## NIGHT OUT

Strikers holding out at the Trust House Forte 'Night Out' night club in Birmingham are steeling themselves for a probable sell-out as we go to press.

TGWU Regional Officer Alan Law, who has held personal control of the dispute is known to have had a copy of an ACAS report on it in his possession since last Friday - though he has made no move to inform strikers of its contents.

Today (Monday) Law was due to meet THF management. It is thought certain some form of deal will be imposed upon the strikers in time for Law to take a three-week holiday beginning on Thursday.

Another ominous sign is that the strikers' union branch, the 5/35 Branch of which Law is the leadership, is not due to meet for the next three months.

This would clearly provide time for anger over a sell-out to dissipate.

The labour movement in Birmingham must prepare for the possibility of an urgent call for support if the Night Out strikers have to fight a betrayal

## OPEN CONFERENCE OF NUT MEMBERS

Saturday 2 July  
Birmingham University Students Union  
10.00a.m. to 5.00p.m.  
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Further information:  
Convener, 23, Kenilworth Gdns., London SE18.

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# WITCH-HUNTERS BID TO SPLIT COWLEY WORKFORCE



Workers leave the Cowley Assembly Plant

Yet another massive witch-hunt has been launched in British Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant by a right wing TGWU bureaucracy desperate to attack militants who resist their policies.

Their bitter hatred of anyone prepared to lead struggles in defence of living standards and working conditions and their inability to win support among workers for their line of collaboration with management has driven the right wing to deliberately split the trade union movement on the plant.

The instrument used for this fresh attack on trade unionism is a TGWU Region 5 inquiry report on Leyland's withdrawal of recognition from four shop stewards last August.

That attack by management provoked a two-week strike during which TGWU District Secretary David Buckle and TGWU plant convener Reg Parsons publicly supported management.

The Region 5 report, published 9 months after the victimisations, was accompanied by two Regional Committee decisions: the stewards'

credentials were removed by the union; and the Oxford District Committee was given free rein to "reorganise" the TGWU within the Cowley Assembly Plant.

Their proposals, revealed at the June meeting of the District Committee, called for the creation of a new TGWU Branch for the factory.

## MONTHLY

This branch, they went on, should meet only monthly, on the factory premises; it would have its constitution drafted by Buckle and its officers elected by shop floor ballot.

The objective was clear: either the existing 5/293 Branch (set up in the 1974 "reorganisation" after the victimisation of Alan Thornett) would be broken up; or the bulk of the members would be taken out, leaving an empty shell.

These moves are the culmination of a general plan worked out in the aftermath of the December 1975 elections when the right wing was voted out, with Frank Corti elected secretary and Alan Thornett as chairman. Abandoning even the pretence of democratic procedures, the right wing set out to regain

## FOUR DAYS IN THE LIFE OF DAVID BUCKLE OXFORD DISTRICT SECRETARY, TGWU.

**Monday morning:** Persuade Cartransport drivers to return to work—their senior steward Brian Preston still sacked on trumped-up charges in a blatant victimisation.

**Monday afternoon:** Cancel the transporter drivers' union branch meeting, to prevent any chance of immediate supporting action.

**Tuesday morning:** Assembly Plant TGWU stewards meeting. Failed to get support for smashing existing 5/293 Branch.

**Wednesday morning:** Body Plant TGWU stewards meeting. Persuade them to accept Leyland's scheme to stamp out plant bargaining and put wage negotiations into hands of national bureaucrats. On then to meet Jim Barson, "caretaker secretary" of the new TGWU Branch in the Assembly Plant.

**Wednesday afternoon:** Meeting with Parsons to arrange Thursday's mass meeting. Drop him at the plant in time to arrange barricades to protect right wing from shop floor.

**Wednesday evening:** Meet Cartransport drivers and obtain majority to work on, their senior steward still sacked.

**Thursday morning:** Mass meeting in the Assembly Plant. Issue lying statement declaring "overwhelming majority" in favour of new branch.

**Thursday evening:** Mass meeting of night shift. One and a half hours of witch-hunting produces majority for new branch, and a riot.

control by manoeuvre.

The Oxford District Committee, with a built-in right wing majority of personal friends of Buckle and various elements of management, endorsed the proposal for a new branch.

Last Tuesday Buckle called a full meeting of all 130 TGWU stewards on the plant, all paid by management.

## NO VOTE

The meeting went badly for the right wing. Although the chairman announced he would be calling on stewards to vote endorsement of the proposals he rapidly reversed this position as the meeting voiced its hostility to the idea of a new branch. The meeting closed without a vote.

The right wing had no choice but to go over the heads of the stewards to the members.

Again management cooperation was enlisted for the holding of mass meetings of both day and night shift of the 4,000 members.

The company agreed to stop all production lines for the meetings (losing around 100 cars per hour) and to pay full wages to the whole plant—however long the meetings may be.

Under Parson's direction, management cleared a car park, and constructed a high barrier of pallets around it, leaving only two entrances.

The right wing platform was set against the side of a building, with an entrance from a door behind. A high barricade was then erected around the platform to prevent access from the floor of the meeting.

A major blow to these plans came when 75% of the day shift membership boycotted the meeting—leaving only 400-500 in attendance.

But the biggest blow had been the action of the 5/293 Branch committee in distributing a statement prior to the meeting exposing the slanders on alleged misuse of funds that Buckle had raised at the stewards' meeting.

## DEVASTATING

So devastating was the reply that these slanders were dropped completely at the mass meeting.

Buckle announced instead that the 5/293 Branch was controlled by people of "extreme" political views; these people go to "extremist" conferences and "commit" branch members to policies they don't agree with; and they spend whole branch meetings talking about "Vietnam" and "abortion".

This brought forward nothing but hostility from the meeting which rang out with demands that the 5/293 officers be allowed to speak.

Secretary Frank Corti even managed to climb over the

speaking Parsons called for a show of hands on the proposition "that the vote be taken".

Understandably most workers were confused as to what was taking place, and did not vote. Some hands went up. Seconds later Parsons declared the vote carried "in favour of a new branch."

As howls of anger went up he rushed from the platform followed by Buckle.

In the angry scenes that followed many workers voiced their views on Buckle's brand of "democracy", and others told the right wing what they could do with their new branch.

But the local press and radio obediently relayed Buckle's statement that an "overwhelming majority" was in favour of the so-called reforms.

## REFUSAL

The night shift meeting, though somewhat larger, ended in a similar way. Bitterness centred on the right wing's refusal to allow 5/293 Branch committee members to speak in their own defence.

At one point angry workers seized the microphone. It was surrendered when Buckle promised to allow a Branch committee speaker. This promise was abandoned as soon as the microphone was returned.

An hour and a half of anti-communist witch-hunting, laced with brazen lies and slanders, secured Buckle a majority vote. Key to this was the refusal to allow any right of reply.

## CONTEMPT

As the meeting ended, hundreds of workers converged on the platform to voice their hatred and contempt for the bureaucratic display they had witnessed.

Desperate for support, Buckle even attempted to turn this to his advantage, and in collaboration with anti-union reporter Peter Sturges put together the story headlined in Friday's *Oxford Mail* 'TOP UNION OFFICIALS ASSAULTED'.

Buckle's tactic had come full circle: slander people; refuse them right of reply; accuse them of 'disruption' when they complain; and then use this to justify denying them the right to speak.

Despite all this there remains a considerable body of support for the 5/293 branch. For this reason the Branch officers are not prepared to see the branch broken up and the TGWU membership weakened and divided.

They are calling on all members to stay in the 5/293 Branch and resist right wing pressure to transfer them into the new branch.

# DRIVERS' STEWARDS SACKED

Brian Preston, chairman of the TGWU branch covering car-transporter drivers taking cars from the Leyland's Cowley Plant, and senior shop steward at Cartransport Ltd., has been sacked.

The only 'crime' which *Socialist Press* can discover he has committed is that he has supported members he represents and refused to toe the line of the TGWU's Oxford District Secretary, David Buckle.

The man who sacked him, Cartransport depot manager Bill Hillier was, until his recent promotion, a close crony of Buckle, as well as vice-chairman of the Oxford TGWU District Committee and many years a member of the No. 5 Regional Committee.

When Alan Thornett was victimised in Leyland's Assembly Plant, and removed from the position of Deputy Convener by the Regional Committee, it was Hillier who was brought on to the plant to help conduct the resulting election.

## NOT AUTHORISED

Now settling into his open role as a manager, Hillier set out to frame Preston, claiming that as depot manager he had not authorised a management/union meeting for which Brian Preston was paid wages under the normal agreement—and then sacked him.

The resulting three week strike by drivers employed by Cartransport Ltd did not halt production in Cowley because the firm carries only a third of Cowley's output.

The rest is divided between other car transporter companies, all covered by the branch of which Preston is chairman.

The key to winning reinstatement was therefore a strike by the whole branch. The branch committee therefore called a full meeting for last Wednesday with a recommendation for strike action.

Buckle then moved in. He called a meeting of the striking Cartransport drivers for Monday morning. And at that meeting he convinced them to return to work.

## SPREAD STRIKE

He did this on two counts: firstly, he argued, he was meeting management on Tuesday, and they may not meet him if the strike was still on; and, secondly, if the issue was not settled on the Tuesday, they could spread the strike from the branch meeting the next day.

After obtaining a return to work on this basis—even though senior steward Preston was still sacked—Buckle set to work to ensure the cancellation of the branch meeting.

This was carried out by the Branch Secretary (another long-standing crony of Buckle's) and the assistant secretary (general foreman over one of the companies still working!).

When Cartransport drivers met on Wednesday therefore, they found no Branch meeting—only Buckle, waiting to drive home his advantage. Conveniently, management had not given Buckle a final answer—and he obtained a majority decision to stay at work until this answer arrived by post.

## SACKINGS

This victimisation is completely linked to the struggles inside the Oxford car factories. If Buckle and the TGWU extreme right wing cannot achieve the isolation of militants by routine bureaucratic means, they may well invite Leyland management to come up with similar sackings.

This will not be easy. Workers are becoming thoroughly sick of the manoeuvres of these bureaucrats and are in no mood to tolerate victimisation by management.

# £3000 FUND

£134.15 has arrived in the office since the last issue of *Socialist Press* bringing the total of our £3,000 fund received to date to £901.65. Latest donations include: Banbury £10; Cowley car workers £12.50; Oxford University booksale £51.80; CK £5; IS £15; Hull £2.10; London £5; Oxford £30.50.

If we are to reach the £3,000 target by October 1, when we launch the weekly *Socialist Press*, we will have to step up our efforts and make sure that more money comes in each week.

At the same time the monthly fund must be maintained. The June fund stands at £263.87, a long way short of our £600 target.

All readers and supporters of *Socialist Press* are urged to help us raise the necessary finance by sending a donation to:

Socialist Press Fund Drive  
21, Dartmouth Park Hill