

SOCIALIST PRESS



Weekly paper of the Workers Socialist League * No. 107 * 5 July 1978 * 15p

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**MAY-JUNE
1968**

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Prime Minister Callaghan intends to stomp the country from now until the General Election campaigning for a fourth phase of rigid wage control—with increases no more than 5%—followed by permanent pay limits.

This was made abundantly clear in his arrogant, provocative speech to bureaucrats of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions conference last Friday.

Callaghan declared not only that there would be a Phase 4, but also that he had no intention of seeking prior agreement with the TUC on his proposed figure.

In other words, as with the Phase 3 10% limit, the government has decided simply to throw down the gauntlet to the TUC bureaucracy, knowing full well that these union leaders are so eager to assist the employers to pull through their crisis and so scared of the strength of their own members that they will do nothing to challenge a pay ceiling.

True to form, the Confed leaders did nothing to challenge this high-handed display by Callaghan. The press next day described official union reaction as "guardedly favourable".

There can be no doubt that if Callaghan is allowed to carry out this policy it can only bring fresh setbacks to the workers movement.

Record

Callaghan's latest plan for further wage control, combined with the whole treacherous record of Labour in government which in four years has thrown 1½ million out of work and inflicted historic cuts in working class living standards, may well be sufficient to alienate further working class Labour voters, and bring the return of the Tories under Thatcher's right wing leadership.

But even if Labour were to scrape a majority in a General Election, the Callaghan cabinet would regard this victory as a mandate to crack down with renewed viciousness on any section of workers that defied the pay policy and fought to defend their living standards.

During the past year we have already seen Labour ministers, in a Parliamentary coalition with the bourgeois politicians of the Liberal Party, use troops in a massive scabbing operation to defeat the firemen's pay strike.

There is every indication that, with the beginnings of an upturn in inflation, working class pressure on wages after the expiry on



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Phase four election looms **SACK CALLAGHAN TO DEFEAT TORIES!**

Phase 3 will unleash further mass struggles and further acts of treachery from Callaghan and the coalition cabinet.

The question now posed starkly before every Labour Party member and trade unionist is how they must act to prevent Callaghan's planned sabotage.

Nothing could be more dangerous than to stand back passively and allow the Labour right wing and their allies in the TUC bureaucracy to ride roughshod over the interests of the working class.

Tame

Those 'left' Labour MPs who have consistently taken this position, and tamely gone along with every reactionary government policy have opened the door for this latest move by Callaghan.

Headed by cabinet 'left' Wedgewood Benn, the Tribune Group of MPs have trooped time and again like sheep into the government lobby to register support for mass unemployment, social service cuts, pay laws and attacks on democratic rights—each time arguing that the 'only alternative' was the return of a Tory government.

But the way to fight and defeat the Tories is to advance the independent struggles of the working class. And this can only take place if a clear stand is taken at each point against the reactionary policies of the Labour leaders.

The 'lefts' have demonstrated their refusal to take such a stand at any point—and in doing so they have contributed to demoralisation and cynicism among Labour supporters who want to fight the capitalist offensive.

Callaghan and the right wing feed off such weakness.

They are counting on the traditionally low level of Labour Party activity during the summer period and the likely cancellation of this year's Party conference, in order to force through a thoroughly reactionary manifesto with rank and file members being denied even the pretence of a demo-

cratic voice.

This strategy for betrayal must be fought throughout the workers' movement.

Every trade union branch, Labour Party ward and GMC must discuss these latest developments and pass resolutions demanding a full Labour Party conference be called prior to the General Election, at which delegates will have the opportunity to throw out Callaghan's proposed manifesto and the entire Lib-Lab cabinet.

Local MPs must be forced to state their positions, and Callaghan's supporters removed from lists of candidates.

It is on this issue and the fight in practice for a socialist programme based on abolition of wage controls, restoration of spending cuts, a programme of public works, to create new jobs and nationalisation of the banks and major industries without compensation under workers' management that the Labour 'lefts' can be put to the test.

As they are proved unable to challenge the right wing, the best layers of workers will recognise the necessity for a break from social democracy and the construction of a revolutionary leadership to take the working class to power.

Scanlon puts bosses case

AUEW President Hugh Scanlon last week called on fellow union officials to act more energetically alongside British Leyland management in forcing through speed-up on their shop floor members.

Speaking at the annual conference of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, Scanlon bemoaned the fact that certain unions have not yet been drawn fully into the reactionary joint management/union 'participation' set-up that has transformed whole layers of convenors and shop stewards into an arm of management.

"There are unions that for all the reasons in the world are not participating in participation", he declared.

This is certainly not true of Scanlon himself, who openly declared his complete dedication to Leyland management when, jointly with former TGWU leader Jones, he went on to the front page of the *Leyland Mirror* to call on his members to "keep working" and accept management attacks.

In line with this, Scanlon and the Confed leaders gave their backing last Spring to a management ultimatum to 3,000 striking AUEW tool-makers, demanding they return to work or face the sack.

He is clearly eager that other union officials follow this line, and make similar threats to their members.

"We must work together on the problems that face the workforce", he said. "At times we have to say unpleasant things to our members".

Echoing every employer in the current crisis, Scanlon linked his call for continuous production to the threat of withdrawal of investment and closure if stoppages continued:

"What does one do when disputes of the nature of some which have developed in BL take place, and you are asked to bring money forward and there is no money available because it has gone on lost production?"

The answer to Scanlon's question is straightforward: you get rid of the class collaborationist 'participation' set-up and its defenders; you set up elected trade union committees to open BL's books and expose the huge profits accruing to component firms, suppliers and the banks; and you step up the fight throughout the workers' movement for the nationalisation of these private sectors, without compensation, under workers' management.

Any answer which stops short of such a solution serves only to tie the working class and its unions in with BL management which, under Michael Edwardes and the Callaghan government, is hell-bent on slashing 12,500 jobs and imposing drastic speed-up throughout the combine.

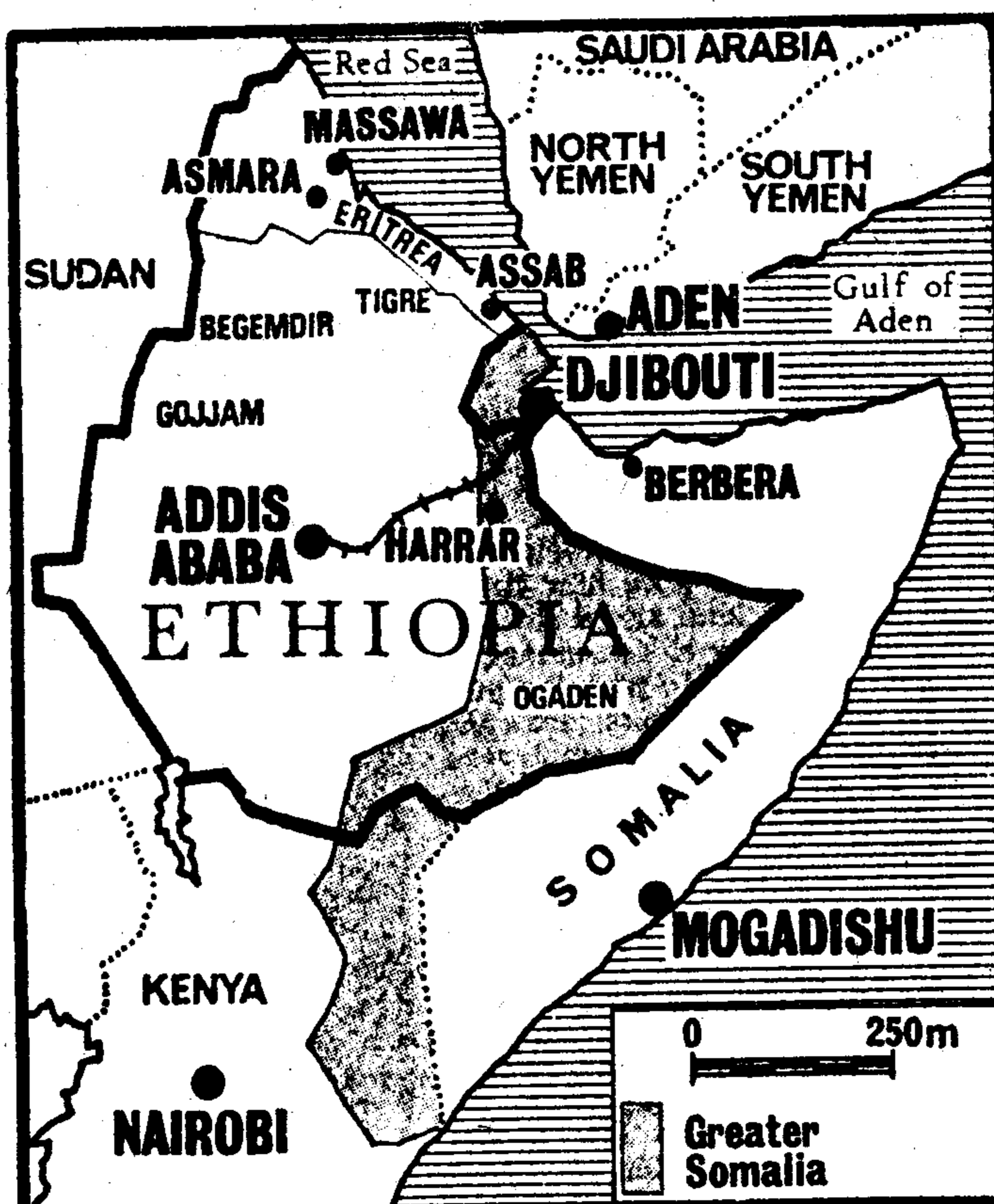
Stop torture of Irish POWs! March July 9 See back page



INTERNATIONAL

Eritrea's historic liberation fight

David Whitfield traces the history of the struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination against both imperialist powers and a succession of repressive regimes in Ethiopia. Part Two.



When the British forces invaded Eritrea in 1941, they came, of course, not to liberate an oppressed people but to advance one campaign in the second imperialist World War.

Yet the eleven years of British colonial rule gave rise to major political developments among the Eritrean people.

In this phase of imperialist domination, Eritrea was radically transformed economically and socially, both by the policies of the administration and even more by the operation of forces completely beyond the control of the British rulers.

In the first period of Italian rule after 1889, Eritrea had been exploited as a market for Italian goods, as a settler colony and as a military base for further colonial expansion into north-east Africa.

But with the consolidation of fascist power, Mussolini's dictatorship began a limited but rapid industrialisation of the territory.

A considerable communications infrastructure had already been developed, but this was expanded along with military projects and the growth of light industry.

By the time of the British invasion, 20% of the Eritrean population lived in the mushrooming towns and cities, and a substantial proletariat had been born.

The new administration regarded Eritrea in a very different light. For the British state, Eritrea did not have the same unique strategic value it held for the Italian colonialists.

Britain already dominated or directly controlled most of the Middle East, and by now all of north-east Africa.

Not long term

The British had no intention of extending their rule beyond the end of the war, and so very little incentive to develop the country's resources with any long-term plan.

In their mass propaganda, successfully used to incite the Eritreans to revolt and to desert from the conscript Italian armies, the British declared "we give you our word you shall be allowed to choose what government you desire!"

In practice, the British aimed at this stage to hand over Eritrea to Haile Selassie, the puppet emperor whom they had restored to autocratic despotism in Ethiopia.

Later, after the defeat of fascism in Italy, they were to consider returning the colony to its former masters—but never to concede independence.

During the remainder of the war, Eritrea was used as a source of supplies for the Allied forces in the Middle East.

Boosted by American capital, light industry flourished in a short lived boom, with 300

new factories established. The military installations were easily adapted and expanded, but other aspects of the Italian legacy were less easy to dispose of.

Huge numbers of Italian settlers were deported or interned outside Eritrea, but a large number still remained.

The British sought at once to win their allegiance and to increase agricultural produce by granting them extensive tracts of the most fertile land owned by Eritreans.

Despite replacements at the top, the Italian bureaucratic apparatus was largely co-opted lock, stock and barrel.

But in other ways, the forms of British rule were very different from those that had preceded them.

With far greater experience of colonial rule, the British bourgeoisie had a relatively more sophisticated understanding of the dynamics of colonial development than the Italians.

Rigid repression

Particularly in the period of fascism, the Italian administration had exercised rigid repression over any signs of independence from the Eritreans.

The Eritreans had been held back at the lowest possible level of development, educated only in the glories and triumphs of Italian civilisation.

While the British state had by now uncomfortably realised

that such a colonial policy was, in the long term, suicidal, in Eritrea it faced the problem of controlling a country with the potential of massive resistance not only from the Eritreans but also from the Italian settlers.

And all this at a time when the British government was severely strained by the demands of the war, and could ill afford great expenses in Eritrea.

The direct appeasement of the Italian settlers had to be accompanied by some form of political reliance on the Eritreans themselves.

Education

The British greatly expanded and completely transformed the education system, hoping to win the loyalty of a new petty-bourgeois elite of intellectuals and technicians. A process of 'Eritreanisation' began in the civil service.

The new colonial rulers also turned their attention to the rural areas, which still contained 80% of the population.

Here the Italian administration had done little but attempt to gain the support of the feudal chiefs by not interfering with their powers.

The British followed the pattern they had established in other colonies by seeking to create a new system where the chiefs would become the local representatives and administrators of the colonial power,

dependent for their authority on the strength of their new employers rather than their dominant position in the feudal society.

But all these initiatives actually contributed to the acceleration of hostility and open opposition to imperialist oppression.

With the ending of the war, British policy took a new turn. The industrial boom immediately collapsed as imperialists withdrew their capital, and many factories were closed.

The administration acted to dismantle the factories and other installations, transferring and selling off the machinery, scrap and even the floating dock of Massawa to other British colonies.

Already the British had prevented the development of cotton plantations and gold-mining which had begun to develop in the last years of Italian rule (India, Egypt and South Africa provided British imperialism with these commodities in abundance).

Many of the infrastructural schemes started by the Italians had been halted, and large areas of the communications network allowed to fall in disrepair and neglect.

Now the post-war Labour government presided over the rundown and cynical, systematic plundering of the whole economy.

PRO-SOVIET TAKE-OVER IN SOUTH YEMEN

"A very bad business for the United States" was the reaction of a Republican congressman in Washington to last week's dramatic events in the Arab Republic of Yemen (North) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South).

In these events the Presidents of both countries were killed.

On June 24 the North Yemeni head of state President Lt.-Colonel Ahmed El Ghachemi died in an explosion which, according to the North Yemen authorities was caused by a booby-trapped brief-case carried to his office and opened by a personal emissary from the President of South Yemen, Salem Robaya.

But by the following Wednesday, the accused President was no longer alive to answer the charges.

He was "executed" in an internal coup in South Yemen led by Ali Nasser, a rival member of the ruling triumvirate of the National Liberation Front.

Not known

The fate of the third member of the triumvirate, Abdel Fattah Ismail, the Secretary General of the NLF, is not known.

At the end of last week Aden radio was continuing to broadcast communiques in his name.

But some press agency reports say he was killed in the fighting between sections of the army and the people's militia which followed the coup.

The death of Ghachemi in North Yemen does not seem to have affected the extremely reactionary nature of that regime.

It has continued to broadcast denunciations of South Yemen "which has espoused communist ideology which offends moral values and denies the existence of God".

But in South Yemen the coup seems as if it might resolve a real dispute within the National Liberation Front.

Ali Nasser, the new supreme leader, clearly represents the most pro-Soviet wing of the Front.

Naval base

Salem Robaya had made overtures to Saudi Arabia, probably to the imperialists and to China in order to undermine Yemen's close economic ties with the USSR, which uses Aden as a naval base.

Salem Robaya's "execution" was necessary, according to the Ali Nasser regime, because he had tried to "monopolise power" and to "collaborate with imperialist and reactionary circles".

The South Yemen government has also implied that the North Yemeni accusation that Robaya had been responsible for Ghachemi's assassination was correct.

They have condemned him for wanting "to lead our people into a new fratricidal war with North Yemen".

In the years since 1968, when South Yemen won independence after a long and bitter armed struggle against British colonialism, virtually the whole of the economy has been

nationalised and other social reforms instituted.

The latest events show the problems which exist in defending such gains in backward countries without the political and military protection of the enemies of socialism in the Kremlin.

If the coup has halted plans for a new individual compromise with imperialism, it has probably brought South Yemen into closer involvement with the Soviet bureaucracy's world-wide counter-revolutionary strategy.

These contradictions can only be resolved through the struggle of the masses, under the leadership of Trotskyist parties, against both imperialism and the bureaucracies in the workers' states.



In Bucharest, Romania, at a meeting of the council of the economic body of Comecon—the body for economic cooperation between the East European countries, Cuba and Mongolia—Alexei Kosygin, Soviet Prime Minister, called for closer co-operation between the countries involved.

He recognised the organ-

European dockyard struggles

The strike by 60,000 workers in the government dockyards and munitions factories of France has increased in strength over the last week.

Giscard's government lost no time in unleashing the repressive forces of the state against this mass action in defence of a wage claim.

After a powerful strike in 1951, the workers in these sectors gained parity with

engineers in Paris, and this meant substantial wage increases.

But in March of last year, Barre's cabinet decreed that this arrangement would be 'suspended' for twelve months only.

The hostility of the workers intensified this year, when the government refused to return to the 1951 settlement.

The present strike began in the traditionally militant yard of Brest early this month, and rapidly spread

to other yards.

The Maritime Police banned all mass meetings at the docks and used dogs to help enforce lockouts, while regular police have launched violent attacks on pickets at Lorient.

Although the government is demanding the ending of the strike as a precondition for talks, last Tuesday the workers in Brest voted with a majority of 76% to continue their strike indefinitely.

The use of state violence against the working class is not of course unique to the French bourgeoisie.

Amid the present strike wave, Giscard must be watching with envy the legal powers possessed by the 'democrats' who now operate the machinery of the Francoist state in Spain.

The Civil Governor of Barcelona—a position invested with massive authority by Franco's dictatorship—moved in to end the eight week dispute in the city's docks.

1,800 workers had been operating a go-slow in protest at the derisory 'safety' conditions in force, and were demanding an end to the system of hiring and piece work which prevents any security of employment.

The Civil Governor was left with no option but to smash this phase of the movement by dropping the mask of liberal democracy, and threatening the workers not only with automatic dismissal but also with probable charges of sedition.

isation faced difficulties because of economic problems in the West. He called for a discussion on "negative tendencies happening within the capitalist economies, but which to a certain degree reflect on the economy of the world Socialist system".

Congress of the Yugoslav League of Communists, President Tito, in his opening address, hypocritically attacked grave shortcomings in the country's economic performance, which include low productivity and "shameful" competition among Yugoslav firms in foreign markets. He also attacked soaring inflation.

Meanwhile at the 11th



INTERNATIONAL

Can elections save Banzer?

Two weeks ago the military regime in Peru staged elections to a so-called constitutional assembly.

During July two other South American military dictatorships will be permitting Presidential elections (July 9 in Bolivia and July 16 in Ecuador).

The Brazilian regime (in power since 1964) claimed this week to have abolished press censorship and will also shortly be holding presidential elections.

Even the Argentinian dictators are talking more and more in public of some form of "return to constitutional rule".

Elections are never to be confused with democracy. And that could not be more true of Latin America at the present time.

The constitutions under

which all these elections are taking place are profoundly undemocratic.

And the elections themselves are commonly characterised by fraud, trickery and intimidation by the rulers.

They are using elections to give a semblance of legitimacy to their own rule and it helps them to fit in with the rhetoric of Carter's imperialist "human rights" policy.

But that is only one side of a complex process which is taking place almost throughout Latin America.

The other side is that the elections are one sign that the military dictatorships are losing their political grip and becoming increasingly powerless to deal with the upsurge of the mass movement.

Except for Pinochet, the Latin American dictators came to power for the most part

without inflicting any decisive historic defeat on the organised working class movements of these countries.

They have held down these movements through a combination of repression and where possible, making alliances with the most unprincipled sections of the working class leadership (e.g. the Communist Party in Peru).

But their power has lacked any social base.

In general the dictators have failed to assimilate the traditional bourgeois parties and equally failed to create their own.

This has created a crucial lack of bourgeois power at the political level which shows up whenever any rise of workers' struggle takes place.

On more and more occasions in the last 12 months, sheer repression has been shown to be



Armed workers on the streets of Bolivia in 1971

inadequate to preserving stable capitalist rule.

All the regimes, therefore,

are being forced towards (they hope) some very limited "democratic opening" through which

bourgeois rule can be strengthened.

But the process is one which in Latin America's political conditions is extremely difficult for the dictators to control.

The years of repression have led to the seeking of increasingly radical solutions by the oppressed masses—illustrated in different ways by the mass abstentions in Colombian elections and the gains by the far left in those in Peru.

Bolivia's presidential election, due on July 9 is dictator Banzer's last ditch attempt to maintain his power after the threat to destroy it implicit in the wave of strikes and occupations in the tin mines and in the universities and schools which began last year.

Not standing

Banzer has not even dared to put himself forward as a candidate.

Instead he is aiming to remain in charge of the armed forces and is supporting General Juan Pereda Asbun for the Presidency.

Pereda Asbun as the official government candidate is expected to 'win'—after all the government 'counts' the vote.

But his 'victory' (which under the 1966 constitution will also give him automatically 80% of the seats in the national assembly) will be generally regarded as a formality rather than a political triumph.

Battles

Because the real political battles are taking place among the opposition candidates—the battles over who represents the bourgeoisie and imperialism and over who will lead the working class.

And these battles have drawn in many of Bolivia's leading political figures who have been lying low or in exile for the 7 years since Banza overthrew General Torres and dispersed the Popular Assembly in the pre-revolutionary crisis of 1971.

At the last count, two ex-presidents were standing for the presidency—Victor Paz Estenssoro and Hernan Siles Suazo.

Petty bourgeois

Both of them are leaders of the main petty-bourgeois nationalist party the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement) which took power after the revolution of 1952 and held it until the military coup by General Barrientos in 1964.

Siles Suazo has the support of the 'left' section of the MNR, of the Bolivian Communist Party (pro-Moscow) and of the MIR (Left Revolutionary Movement) a reformist group allied to the 'Socialist International' especially through its links with the Spanish PSOE.

Paz Estenssoro has tried to do a deal with Siles Suazo as well as with the Christian Democratic candidate, General Rene Bernal Escalante. But he is also reputedly ready to do a deal with Banzer and Pereda Asbun if that will get him back a bit of his lost power.

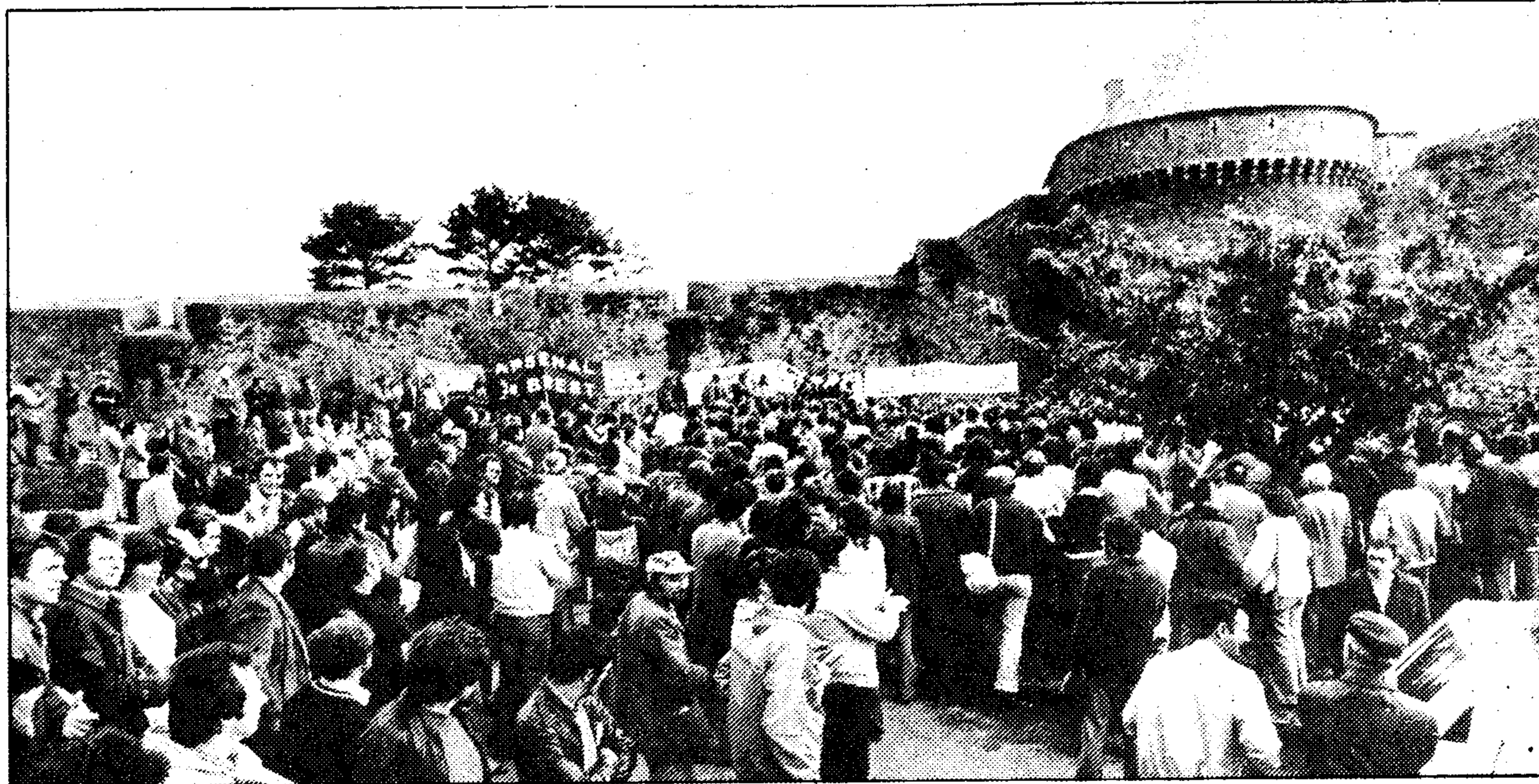
Not for nothing is Paz Estenssoro known as a supreme opportunist in a country where the competition is very strong.

Heterogeneous

There will also be at least one working class candidate standing in the name of the Left Revolutionary Front (LRF).

This is politically heterogeneous alliance including left reformist union leader Juan Lechin's National Left Revolutionary Party (NLRF), a Maoist party, the 'Guevarist' Workers' Revolutionary Party, and a group led by miners' leader Filomon Escobar which claims to be Trotskyist.

This may not be the only left-wing candidacy since there is a possibility that Lechin may stand independently



Dockworkers demonstrate in Brest



Giscard d'Estaing

Massive strike wave engulfs France

President Giscard d'Estaing's blissful vision of renewed capitalist prosperity in France has been blocked in recent weeks by the very material obstruction of thousands of workers in struggle

Every region of the country and almost every sector of industry has been flooded by a tide of strikes and occupations that shows little sign of ebbing.

The national railways have been spasmodically paralysed by the action taken by drivers demanding improved conditions, and the Lyon underground more seriously disrupted by a strike that has continued despite the appeals of the CGT union's Stalinist leaders.

Construction strike

In the Alps, construction work on a massive nuclear energy installation at Malville has been halted for nearly two months by a strike on a claim for increased travel allowances.

After a fortnight on strike, workers in the mineral water-bottling plant at Vichy returned to work last Thursday having won a wage increase.

Workers in the regional information centres of the

government tax department recently struck for a week in support of union demands that more jobs be created for youth.

24-hour strikes have virtually halted production in the iron mines of Lorraine, and in the Pompey steel-mills. With the threat of 6,100 redundancies in other steel-plants, this action is certain to escalate.

Picket lines

Again in Eastern France, lorry drivers have refused to cross the picket lines of workers in the furniture factories of the Vosges, on strike since June 13.

The collapse of the industrial empire of Marcel Boussac has also had its impact in the Vosges. In a protest campaign to save their jobs, workers from the textile factories blocked main roads for several days.

With the announcement by the court administrators of this vast collection of companies that July's wages would be paid in full, most of the roadblocks were lifted.

But the possibility of occupation has not evaporated, either in these factories or at the offices and printing works of *L'Aurore* (the daily newspaper formerly owned by Boussac).

These strikes, and the many other scattered actions that are breaking

out daily, all form part of the militant resistance of workers in France to the ravaging attacks of the capitalist crisis.

Attacked on all sides, workers have been fighting to protect their living standards with wage increases, where they have not been struggling to defend the very existence of their jobs.

A major element in this movement by the proletariat in France has been the involvement of women and immigrant workers.

Both sections receive very low wages and experience the most intolerable working conditions in French industry.

At the same time women have to endure the burden of domestic slavery, while immigrant workers are forced to live in the inhuman conditions of hostels and camps.

But it is these heavily oppressed layers who have come forward most sharply in the recent weeks—not only the immigrant workers at Malville, but above all the workers at Moulinex and Renault.

Of the 11 plants of Moulinex, 8 were occupied as workers throughout the company struck on their demand for a wage increase, far above the government's recommended levels.

The Moulinex factories produce domestic appli-

ances and employ mainly women. (the Socialist Party-led CFDT has been putting forward the slogan "Moulinex liberates the woman, but exploits its workers")

The company has refused to negotiate until the occupations are ended, and at some plants successfully applied to the courts for an eviction order.

But the state and the employers held back on using this power until signs of weakness appeared in the action.

Riot police

The forces of the state showed no such hesitation in dealing with the Renault occupation at Flins. Riot police were called in to remove the strikers from the press-shops, and remained in force for some days.

Maintenance workers refused to deal with the machinery until the police were withdrawn.

Once this had been achieved, some 100 strikers re-occupied the press-shops. The last 30 were finally ejected on June 27, when management threw in 700 eager scabs and reactionary forces, armed with iron bars.

The core of the strike has been immigrant workers from North Africa, who have been fighting on a whole range of demands to improve their abysmal conditions.

Wage claim

Their claims—on the management abuse of the grievance procedures, for

regrading, retraining and job security with increased leave to visit their families abroad—finally developed to centre on a massive wage claim which, like that at Moulinex dwarfs the government's proposals.

Throughout the dispute at Renault, the trade union bureaucrats have retreated into hiding.

Despite the action taken by 70,000 Renault workers, who stopped work in protest at the first attacks on the occupations, the leaders of the CGT and the CFDT resolutely refused to call any wider strike.

Determination

In the present mass upheaval, French workers have declared in action their determination to resist the violent demands of the capitalist class.

But in the same process they have once again confronted the treacherous leadership of the labour bureaucracy

The cynicism of these socialists' and 'communists' was clearly expressed by Richter, the leader of the CFDT in the Flins plant of Renault. Having contributed to the defeat of the occupation, he dared to sum up the action as a 'suicidal strike'.

Such 'leaders' will always stand by to watch the working-class bleed itself to death in misdirected battles.

The central lesson that needs to be gained from this experience is an understanding of how the daily struggles of the working class and the fight against Richter and his associates are a vital part of the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, and create the dictatorship of the proletariat which alone can give birth to socialism.

A resolution calling for a workers' inquiry into the Health Service to be sponsored by the Greater London Association of Trades Councils and the South East Region TUC was carried on Saturday by a fifty-strong delegate conference.

The conference at Portchester Hall, had been convened by stewards of the occupied Elizabeth Garrett Anderson hospital as part of their fight against continuing moves by the Lib-Lab government to close the EGA.

The inquiry, to be composed of delegates from labour movement bodies, will examine the possibility of trade union action to mend the rift at the EGA; look into the state of accident emergency facilities in the Bethnal Green district and ascertain the availability of acute beds—beginning with the threatened St. Nicholas hospital.

Strike action

A firm call was also put out from the conference for the trade union leadership to lead extended and widespread strike action in defence of threatened hospitals, recognising the central importance of hospital occupations in the fight against the cuts.

The disgraceful record of the union bureaucracy in the fight against the cuts was demonstrated on Saturday by the fact that only one union official attended—a NUPE area officer, who left half-way through—and not a single representative from GLATC or SERTUC was present, though each of these bodies were cosponsors of the conference! The theme of forcing the

STRIKES AND OCCUPATIONS KEY TO CUTS FIGHT

EGA conference calls for workers inquiry

trade union bureaucracy to lead the fight against the cuts was taken up by many of the speakers.

A speaker from the Emergency Bed Service COHSE branch, whose members continued to refer patients to the EGA and played a large part in forcing Ennals to postpone the closure date, spoke of the complete lack of official support from the COHSE leadership.

Sabotage

The five members who were finally disciplined have appealed against the decision and the hearing is on Tuesday July 4.

Speakers from the South Oxford Nursery occupation

blamed the NUPE leadership for the sabotage of their struggle to defend nursery facilities in Oxford, and called for a massive injection of cash into the social services and the linking of social service spending to inflation.

Docked wages

Stan Hurst of the West London Hospital told the conference of the current dispute at his hospital where NUPE members are refusing to clock on and off.

The hospital management are going to enormous lengths to win this apparently minor dispute.

They have already docked 10% from the wages of all workers involved, causing 160 to walk out,

and are now preparing to transfer patients from two wards to a nearby hospital.

Full support

This is obviously an attempt to break the militancy of the West London NUPE branch which was the only hospital branch to embark on indefinite strike action when the Hounslow Hospital was raided.

There were also speakers from Bethnal Green hospital and the conference ended by pledging full support to the first workers occupation of a casualty department and called for London-wide strike action in its defence.

Kuwaiti cash handout

While leaders of the Workers Revolutionary Party continue to deny that their daily paper *Newsline* is financially backed by 'progressive' Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi, evidence has emerged of a far more startling cash subsidy to the WRP—from the reactionary Kuwaiti government.

WRP Central Committee member Vanessa Redgrave financed and starred last year in a documentary film 'The Palestinian', which is chiefly remarkable for its absence of any Trotskyist positions whatever.

The film has been extensively shown both in Britain and internationally. But it appears that the WRP and the film's distributors have been none too choosy as to who it handles.

The Kuwaiti rights of the film were offered not to the Kuwaiti masses but to the semi-feudal regime's 'Information Ministry', for the sum of £13,000.

Delighted at the prospect of donning a 'left' face, and at the fact that the film in no way criticises the Arab bourgeois leaders who have betrayed the Palestinian struggle, the 'Information Ministry' paid up in excess of the asking price—handing over £20,000.

The extra £7,000, said the Kuwaitis, was 'in appreciation of Miss Redgrave's efforts in support of the Arab cause'.

It remains to be seen whether such a handsome donation to WRP funds will be rewarded with increased and favourable coverage of Kuwait in the pages of *Newsline*.

Hundreds strike to back Bethnal Green work-in

Several hundred London hospital workers struck work on Friday 30 June to march in solidarity with their brothers and sisters at Bethnal Green hospital, where the casualty ward is threatened with closure.

At a rally in Whitechapel those fighting to defend the health service heard a reaffirmation of the hospital

workers' determination to continue working at their hospital.

The action being taken now amounts to occupation with an elected action committee to ensure defence.

Jubilant

The atmosphere at the rally was a jubilant one, with 'left' speeches from a Labour councillor about the need to 'stand up and fight' and from a representative of the Tower Hamlets Joint

Shop Stewards Committee.

None of those who spoke however drew attention to the out-and-out refusal of the trade union bureaucracy in the health service to mobilise the membership for the programme of total strike action and occupation necessary to fight the government's health service cuts.

Pride of place was reserved for local 'left' Labour MP Ian Mikardo, who affixed blame for the situation on... the

Regional Health Authority!

He diplomatically avoided mention of his own role, and that of fellow members of the parliamentary 'Tribune' group, in voting time and time again for the policies of Callaghan and his coalitionist friends—policies which have brought the health service to the brink of collapse.

'Unaware'

Indeed, Mikardo went further, saying that the Minister responsible, Ennals, had been 'unaware' of the situation, that the plans for imminent closure of the casualty department had been countermanded, and that he had arranged for a deputation to see Ennals personally.

Such cynical manoeuvres, coming from people who bear criminal responsibility for the attacks on the health service, should be treated with total mistrust by hospital workers, as should Ennals' temporary 'reprieves'.

Inquiry

The fight must be intensified against the trade union and Labour misleaders for strike action to impose a socialist policy to defend the health service against capitalism's attacks.

The action committee should take steps to launch an inquiry into the finances



PHOTO: Derek Speers, IFL

EGA supporters demonstration

Red Youth
First campaigns—racism, youth unemployment

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE LAUNCHED

OUT NOW!

The first edition of *Red Youth*, the monthly paper of the Socialist Youth League (in political sympathy with the WSL).

Available from SYL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London, NW5 1HR for 5p plus 7p p&p (for individual copies) or £1.44 for a year's subscription.

(Regular *Socialist Press* subscribers need only send 60p).



PHOTO: Mark Risher, IFL

January this year. Early days in the struggle to save Bethnal Green hospital.

of Bethnal Green hospital, demanding free access to the accounts, waiting lists and future plans of the Area Health Authority.

This will add further weight to the fight for the protection of the NHS against inflation through a sliding scale of spending, and for the nationalisation without compensation of the private suppliers and contractors who continue to siphon profits from the flagging health service.

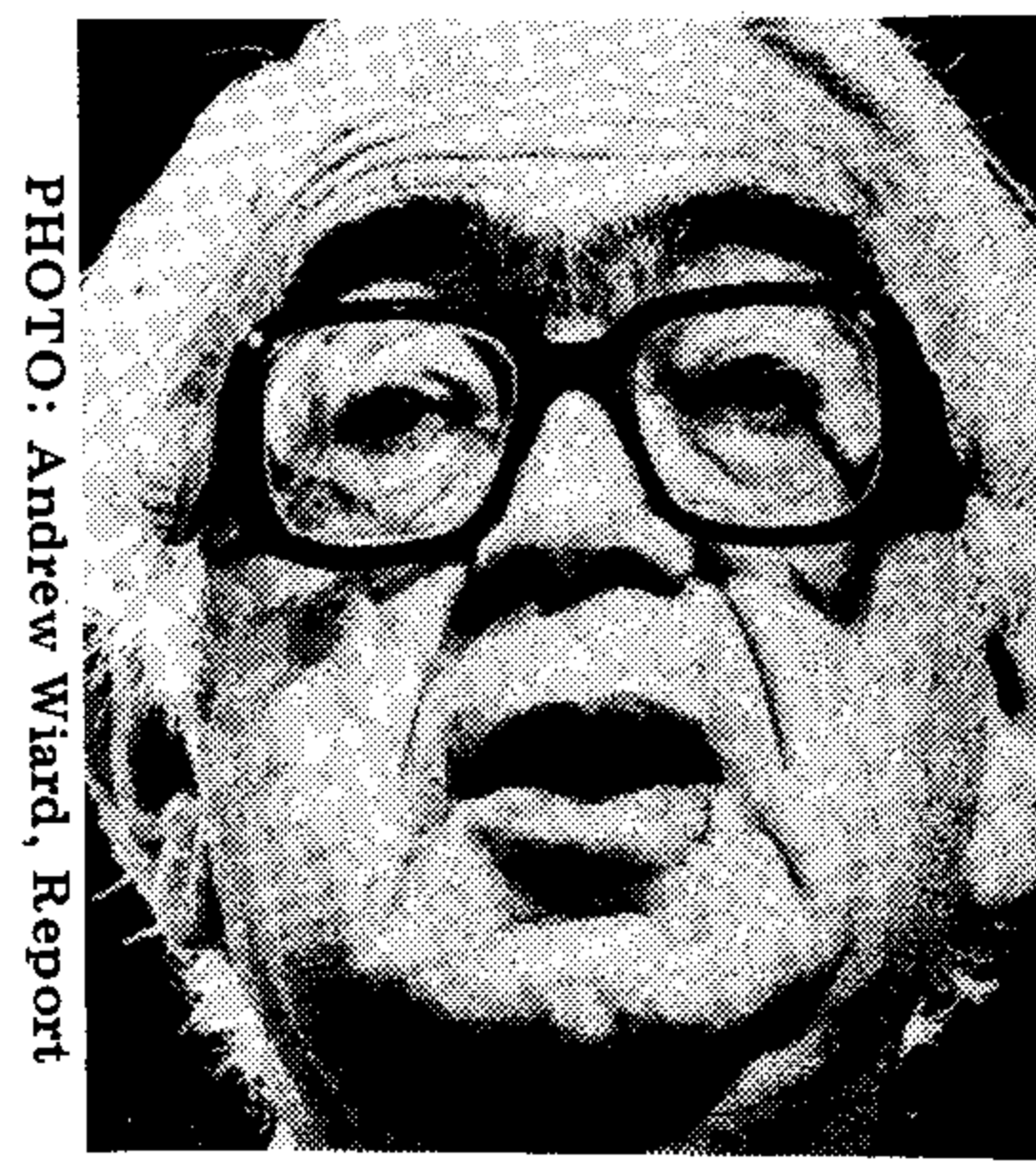


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Mikardo

Callaghan government leads trade war scramble US bosses clamour for import controls

Two events last week, both of them small enough in themselves, highlighted the way in which the existing capitalist world trade system could be toppled like a line of dominoes.

At the start of the week the Greek government announced that it was unilaterally going to restrict imports from Japan (Japanese exports to Greece are ten times as much as Greek exports to Japan).

Then at the end of the week the Greek capitalists were offered a forcible dose of their own medicine when the EEC Commission threatened to impose restrictions on Greek textile imports (especially of T shirts to Britain) unless Greece "voluntarily" limited them.

Such moves as these towards protectionism are occurring every day throughout the capitalist world.

The moves by the EEC against Greece (an associated territory of the EEC) were part of a series of protectionist measures which the EEC is now taking against the more backward capitalist states of Western Europe.

adopt a joint strategy of protection against imports from the "newly industrialised countries".

It is no doubt statements like this which led the representatives of 35 "developing" countries in the current round of world trade talks in Geneva to demand a special session of the talks to take account of their interests.

These talks, which have been going on for five years, have become known as the 'Tokyo round' of tariff negotiations.

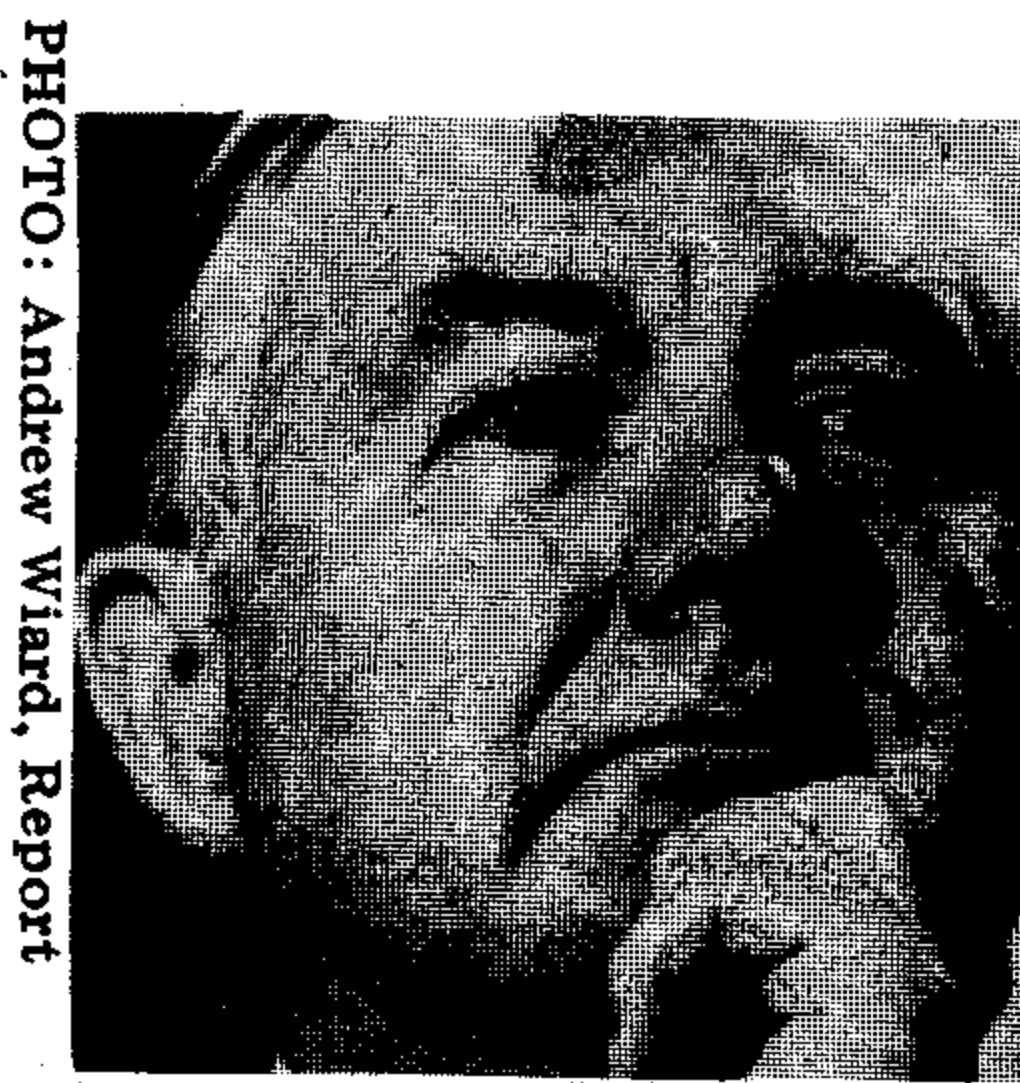
Their professed aim is to agree a programme of tariff reductions between the main industrialised capitalist countries to follow the reductions of the so-called 'Kennedy

round' five years ago.

These talks have become a farce. While the capitalist negotiators sit in Geneva talking of freer trade, the governments they represent have been engaged in a more and more ferocious trade war in which tariffs and restrictions and "voluntary" export cuts have been growing.

It now seems quite impossible that the Tokyo Round of negotiations—due to conclude on July 15 before the "economic summit" of the main capitalist powers—can result in anything other than a few vacuous statements of principle.

It is possible that the talks may reach complete breakdown—in which case the trade war



Callaghan

and the economic slump which result from the capitalist crisis will take a new sharp turn for the worse.

Even if an apparent "agreement" is reached in Geneva in the next two weeks there is little chance that it will be ratified.

In the US Congress demands for more protectionism are growing every day.

And they are constantly backed up by propaganda from both capitalists and union bureaucrats.

Last week George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO and Murray Finlay, president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Union issued a joint statement with the bosses—the head of the Dupont company and the president of the American Textile Manufacturing Institute.

They joined forces to call for textiles to be excluded from



George Meany

the Geneva tariff reduction talks and for more protectionist measures to be applied against

imports to the USA.

This statement shows clearly that import controls, far from being a "socialist" policy as Tribunes and the Communist Party claim in Britain, are the age-old unprincipled policy of class-collaboration and chauvinism.

Work sharing

Jobs will be preserved and won not by the workers in each country joining a nationalist economic war on the same side as their bosses (which is what Meany, Tribune and the CP want) but through the fight against the capitalists in all countries for work sharing on full pay to save jobs, for public works programmes to create them and, wherever these measures are refused, for nationalisation of industry and banks without compensation under workers' management.

Lib-Lab coalition

The other main victims of these moves are Portugal and Spain.

And the main advocate in the EEC of a hard protectionist line against these countries is Callaghan's Lib-Lab coalition government.

Callaghan and Healey's customary rejection of import controls is thus shown to be nothing more than a facade.

Another coalition government, the Belgian Socialist-Social Christian alliance which nearly broke up three weeks ago, is also a virulent advocate of EEC protectionism against more backward capitalist countries.

Speaking in London last week, the Belgian Director-General of foreign trade, M. Jacques Groothaert, said that "Western" nations ought to



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Heffer

Heffer nearly fights!

"Left" Labour MP Eric Heffer has come up with a new plan to win votes at the next general election, on an issue that will rally the whole workers' movement—a ban on blood sports!

In a momentous discussion last week on this apparently vital principle of proletarian internationalism, 14 members of Labour's National Executive—who have gamely accepted wage controls, spending cuts, mass unemployment and the Lib-Lab coalition with scarcely a murmur—felt

obliged to get up and register their views.

Heffer, putting behind him for a moment his wretched record of cringing subservience on every key issue to the Callaghan-Healey leadership, was able to reveal that he had received letters from lifelong Tory voters living in the country who would vote

Labour if it was pledged to ban fox hunting.

He did not speculate whether these Tories would remain loyal to Labour if it actually adopted any socialist policies, or if it took steps to end an even more obscene institution, British imperialism's age-old bloody and brutal military occupation of Ireland.

While foxes may feel

confident that Heffer is waving his arms and shouting at the top of his voice on their behalf, workers should by now have shed any such illusions.

But, the foxes are not getting it all their own way: after a word from Callaghan Heffer's pet cause was shelved for a month by the NEC.

Labour's Ireland debate scrapped

There will be no Labour NEC report on Northern Ireland for this year's Labour Party Conference.

A 101-page report has been scrapped. *Labour Weekly*, the official journal of the Party, declares that this is:

"... because of fears that it would create misunderstandings in the province". (emphasis added)

One time 'left' Michael Foot proposed the report be referred back to the "Home Policy" and "Organisation" committees—meaning that it will not appear at Conference this year.

Collaboration

Every time the Labour bureaucrats mention Ireland their approach reeks of their age-old collaboration with British imperialism, and their refusal to side with the

struggle of the Irish people for self determination.

Whether it be referring to the north of Ireland as a "province", referring a report on it to the "Home Policy" Committee, or deciding that NEC disagreements mean that the Labour Conference should not discuss Ireland at all, these opportunist politicians can't help but show their arrogant contempt for the Irish liberation struggle.

Repression

The "left" dominated NEC has quite happily supported torture-master Roy Mason's bloody and violent repression as supervisor of the imperialist forces—but draws the line at allowing differing views to be discussed at the Party Conference.

There was not a hand raised against the decision to scrap the report and the discussion.



British soldier in Ireland

PRESS GANG

Sirs shows his mettle

For a moment there the steel union leaders really had them worried.

Threats of a complete shutdown of the steel industry put the boldness back into the headlines of the national capitalist papers and fire back into the stomachs of the industrial correspondents.

How long has it been since they were able to boldly declare that an all-out national strike of dramatic importance was going to be called by union leaders?

It was enough to bring back the nostalgia of days long gone.

The *Times* presented the news with a sense of history, declaring that the threatened strike over the closure of Bilston steelworks was the first national steel strike since 1926.

It was not of course that the union leaders could not swallow the loss of 2,400 jobs and another closure.

It was just that just after their successful closure of the Shelton works, the ISTC leaders had been publicly humiliated, thrown aside by the British Steel Corporation—as if the spirit of class collaboration was dead.

The *Times* pointed to the emotive scenes at the Scarborough delegate conference of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation.

"Most of the 140 delegates stood and cheered when he said: 'We have told the corporation that if this instruction has not been removed by then, the industry will stop.'

'If this industry does stop let me say clearly I will stop all steel moving in this country. There will not be an ounce of it moving'.

But as the battle lines were drawn up and the union leaders dusted off their battle gear it was left unusually to the *Daily Mirror* to put the angry outbursts into proportion.

Its editorial (Steel glove, ham fist) said:

"Any organisation with

as many enemies as the British Steel Corporation can ill afford to lose its friends.

"Three days ago Sir Charles Villiers, chairman of BSC publicly promised the steel workers that he would consult them about future plant closures.

"Yesterday without consultation BSC suddenly announced proposals to shut down the works at Bilston, Staffordshire, which actually made a profit last year.

Some 2,400 men will lose their jobs. And BSC will lose its best friends—the union leaders who have co-operated in the painful closure of so many steel-works'.

They said it, not us. But the *Mirror* can be confident that unless workers take determined steps now, the 'best friends' of the TUC and BSC will kiss and make up—in good time to close down the steelworks without a cross word on either side.

LESSONS FROM THE FRENCH POPULAR FRONT

Part two by Pru Chamberlayne

The first article in this series dealt with the conditions under which the French Trotskyists of the Ligue Communiste (LC) decided, on the prompting of Trotsky himself, to enter the centrist socialist party the SFIO.

In the 'French turn' of September 1934, the LC joined the SFIO as the Groupe Bolshhevik-Leniniste (GBL), maintaining their paper *La Verite* as an independent paper.

The 'French Turn' culminated at the SFIO Mulhouse Conference in June 1935. The demands they made included preparation for a general strike, for the arming of the people, for a united front of workers' parties to seize power from reaction and from the bourgeoisie, and for the constitution of a workers and peasants government, resting on democratic assemblies, to carry out the demands of the masses.

Trotskyist or Trotskyist-allied policies won one third of the vote and, not surprisingly, moves were now afoot to expel the youth section and soon the GBL itself.

Uproar

Rouse, one of the GBL members was elected to the executive committee (CAP) at the conference, and Naville, their leading spokesman, caused uproar by his attacks on the SFIO record in Parliament.

He tore them apart for participating in attempts to balance the budget when they should have been fighting for a workers' budget.

He took up their support for the Rome Agreement whereby France agreed to exchange parts of Libya and Somalia and its neutrality in Ethiopia, for the neutrality of Italy in Tunisia.

And he denounced the Popular Front with the Radicals as anti-working class and a betrayal of the socialist revolution.

Conciliatory line

Pivert and Bataille Socialiste took a much more conciliatory line towards the Popular Front, partly because of the immense support it seemed to evoke.

Pivert said that the Popular Front would be forced to develop a 'combative

character and he adopted 'for a combative Popular Front' as his main slogan.

This attitude, one which ignored class lines, was to become a source of deep confusion, not just between the GBL and centrist groups like the Bataille Socialiste, but within the ranks of the GBL itself. It remains a problem for British centrists in the ANL today.

Open letter

The decision of the GBL to leave the SFIO was based on a number of considerations.

One reason was that the further degeneration of Stalinism through the Popular Front gave an even greater urgency to the task of building a new revolutionary international, the Fourth International.

In May 1935 Trotsky published the Open Letter, inviting affiliation and it became essential for Trotskyists to be seen as an independent party under a separate banner from the Second and Third Internationals.



Thorez

It was also necessary to turn to other sections of workers, those in the Communist Party, in the trade unions and also the unorganised.

Trotsky reckoned that social patriotism had caused a significant change in the membership of the SFIO.

He described it as 'not only not a revolutionary party but not even a proletarian party'.

It was petty bourgeois not just in its politics but also in its composition.

By May 1936 he described it as the party of the new middle estate, of functionaries and civil servants.

Now that the Stalinists were:

"making common cause with the reformists on the basis of patriotism . . . We are the only representatives of the great tradition of revolutionary anti-patriotism of the French proletariat".

To remain in the SFIO meant arresting the development of the many centrist currents on the path of revolution.

There was now a new danger that militants in the SFIO might become schooled through Stalinism into the ways of the nationalist and conservative Soviet bureaucracy.

There was also a danger of any longer being associated with Pivert in the SFIO, since he was also rapidly moving rightwards under the pressures of social patriotism.

But the proposal to split from the SFIO met even more resistance than the original entry had done and from this point on the Trotskyist movement was to be severely hampered by internal conflicts.

Trotsky's writings in *Crisis in the French Section* deal with this situation from July 1935-July 1936.

Centrist tendencies were already becoming clear in the GBL proposal to launch a 'mass paper' entitled *La Commune*.

Trotsky adamantly opposed any dilution of the political line of *La Verite*. The proposal dominated the September GBL conference and was only narrowly rejected.

Opportunity

Centrist tendencies also came out in the response by the GBL leadership to the

CHRONOLOGY

- 1930: Economic crisis sets in.
 Spring 1931: Huge miners and textile workers strikes over pay.
 May 1932: Elections: government of Radicals and Centre. Fascist activity developing.
 Feb. 1934: Right wing coup: Dumergue installed. Massive working class demonstrations.
 May 1934: Socialist Party and Communist Party form a united front.
 Sept 1934: Ligue Communiste (Trotskyists) enter SFIO. Big gains in Seine Federation and youth section.
 May 1935: Franco-Soviet mutual assistance pact.
 June 1935: Mulhouse conference of the SFIO.
 July 1935: People's Front formed. Youth expelled from SFIO.
 August 1935: Riots and mutinies in Brest and Toulon; further uprisings.
 Nov. 1935: GBL finally expelled from SFIO. Molinier announces his paper *La Commune*.
 Jan 1936: President Laval resigns. Replaced by Sarraut and then Daladier.
 Feb. 1936: Fascist attack on Blum. Giant demonstration called by Popular Front. Equal numbers of tricolor and red flags.
 March 1936: German occupation of the Ruhr. CGT and CGTU unite on virtual Popular Front programme.
 May 1936: Elections: Popular Front government returned. Blum as Socialist President. General strike—broken by Stalinists and Social Democrats. Blum refuses to intervene in Spain.
 Sept. 1936: Hitler overtures to Blum.
 1937: Popular Front struggling to assert control over the working class. Fusillade at Clichy; massacre of Tunisian miners. Attempts to introduce 'work statute'.
 Aut. 1937: Blum resigns in favour of radical Chautemps.
 March 1938: Big strike at Renault/Citroen ended by Stalinists.
 June 1938: Pivert leaves SFIO and forms PSOP.
 Dec. 1938: Franco-German pact.
 Aug. 1939: Hitler-Stalin pact.
 June 1940: France invaded.

expulsion moves.

Trotsky welcomed them: "By this very act of expulsion the traitors have given us an excellent opportunity", he wrote.

But instead of seizing this opportunity, the GBL leadership wrote a statement of loyalty which was in any case rejected by the SFIO and which comprised their positions.

To confuse matters more, Pivert now formed a new centrist group called *Gauche Revolutionnaire*, which would 'dissipate electoral illusions and take the masses towards direct extra-parliamentary action'. This severely undercut the fight by the GBL against their expulsion.

Trotsky regarded Pivert as the extremely dangerous

left arm of social patriotism who must be mercilessly exposed.

Pivert, for instance, blamed the expulsion of the youth section on their insistence on calling themselves Bolshhevik-Leninists on the grounds that since the Bolshhevik party itself denied internal democracy, this provided the SFIO with a weapon against them.

'Unity'

This was just one example of Pivert's idealising of the 'hypocritical and fraudulent' democracy of the SFIO.

Another was the appeal for 'organisational unity' and his orientation to the reformist apparatus instead of seeing the need to liquid-

ate that leadership.

By contrast Trotsky called for committees of action as 'the only means of breaking the anti-revolutionary opposition of party and trade union apparatus.

These committees which he also called 'revolutionary parliaments' must be born in struggle and meet the requirements of the moment.

They would not be formally elected to give formal democratic representation to all and any masses but would give revolutionary representation to the struggling masses.

Umbilical cord

They must be built around any and every possible struggle and should have been set up around the sailors' rebellion at Toulon and Brest and the disturbances in the barracks over the extension of military service.

Only thus could the ground be prepared for the arming of the masses, general strike and workers' militias.

And only thus would the reformist leadership of the workers' movement with its ties to the Radicals be made to crumble.

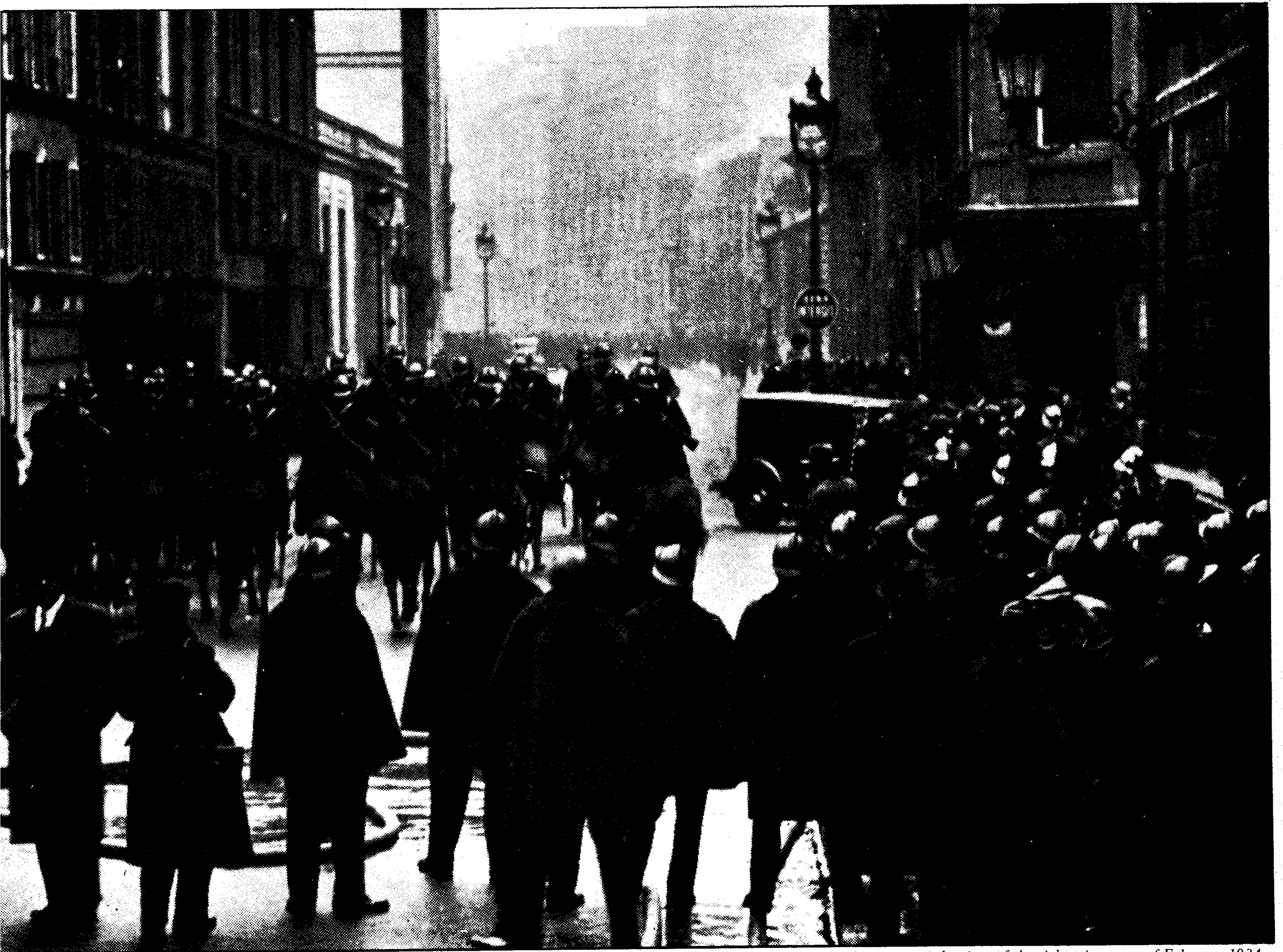
But Pivert could not cut the umbilical cord with Stalinist leader Leon Blum:

"Pivert clutches Zyromsky, who clutches Blum, who in turn together with Thorez clutches Herriot, who clutches Laval".

Pivert substituted 'unity' for programme and neglected the need for an independent party.

"Committees of action the revolutionary party and the Fourth International





Troops on the streets at the time of the right wing coup of February 1934

this is where an adequate programme for the moment must begin . . . Workers' militias and revolutionary defeatism does not constitute a programme".

"We must teach workers to hate Blum, Thorez, Jouhaux etc., as the worst enemies in the ranks of the workers, and at the same time we must open up to them the perspective of the new party and the new international".

Unfortunately sections of the GBL itself found Pivert beguiling.

La Verite refused to criticise him and the GBL refused to publish Trotsky's introduction to Fred Zeller's pamphlet because of its attack on Pivert.

But worse was to come. For in November, Molinier, a leading, if maverick, GBL member, announced his decision to publish a mass paper *La Commune* unilaterally, and to form *La Groupe d'Action Revolutionnaire* together with Pivert's GR and other left sections in the SFIO.

Expelled

He thus defied the discipline of the party outright and was expelled.

But the weakness in the GBL lay not only in Molinier, but in the leadership's inadequate fight with him politically, particularly on his lack of programme, the need to build the revolutionary party and the Fourth International.

The conflicts continued. In January 1936 Molinier applied to sign the Open Letter for affiliation to the Fourth International.

Trotsky was quite willing to accept this—if Molinier would undertake the neces-

sary political reappraisal. In March the two groups united as the Parti Ouvrier International (POI) although they stood separate candidates in the April-May elections.

In July they split again, the old GBL as the POI publishing *Lutte Ouvriere* (Workers' Fight), the Molinierist groups as the Parti Communiste International (PCI) publishing *La Commune*.

Divided

Thus over a very critical period in the class struggle in France, the 1936 election period and the ensuing 'revolutionary' period of general strike the Trotskyist movement was divided and only publishing its newspapers irregularly.

No wonder Trotsky urged them to spend only one tenth of their time on internal politics, nine-tenths on class struggle!

Nevertheless their membership was still five times the size it had been when they entered the SFIO.

The 1936 elections returned the Popular Front to power with Blum as the first Socialist President.

The election results were to unleash the largest strike wave France had ever experienced, lasting throughout the summer and autumn.

The height of it, in June, Trotsky likened to the February revolution in Russia in 1917.

Puzzling

The working class was poised for power, but faced with all sorts of counter-revolutionary dangers and itself lacking experience and leadership of the necessary type.

Many of the events seemed very puzzling. Why, when the Communist Party was promoting such blatantly counter-revolutionary policies did it gain so enormously in support?

Did its increase in support mean approval of its class collaborationist policies, or was the content different?

To what extent were the workers parties really tied by the bourgeois radicals in the Popular Front?

These were some of the questions Trotsky set about answering in his writings of the period.

The build-up to the elections was dramatic. In February the fascists held an anniversary rally to celebrate the events of the previous year.



Blum

At the last minute the CP, after months of demobilising the active fight called for a counter-demonstration and this was massively attended.

In March Blum, leader of the Socialists, was himself attacked by fascists.

The Popular Front alliance called a demonstration, at which the CP agreed to Radical Daladier's demand that an equal number of tricolor as red flags be displayed, and 100,000 turned out.

Reformist programme

The CP launched a massive election campaign. Their reformist programme was oriented heavily towards the peasantry and middle classes on the grounds that what was needed to defeat fascism was a defensive alliance between the proletariat and middle classes.

They promised a 'free, strong and happy France'.

Their completely reformist programme included a 40 hour week, collective contracts, paid vacations, subsidies for peasants' agriculture, easy credit terms for small businessmen, and progressive taxation.

The only nationalisation they called for was of the armaments industry.

They again made an agreement with the Socialists and Radicals, as they had at the municipal elections the previous year, that each party would stand down in the second round for the best placed candidate.

The election results showed the CP doubling their vote to 1.5 million compared with the 1932 election, gaining 15% of the total votes.

The Socialists maintained their position with 1.9 million and 20% of the vote.

Underestimate

And the Radicals lost 200,000 votes, leaving them with 19.5% of the overall

vote. This may well have been an underestimate of the CP vote.

A by-election in a rural area the previous autumn had shown that half those who voted for the CP in the first round failed to vote for the Radicals, for whom the CP stood down, in the second round.

CP membership had risen dramatically from 45,000 in 1933 to 74,400 in 1936.

It continued to do so over the summer, reaching 187,000 on July 11 and 225,000 by August 6.

That this 'support' was *not* support for the Popular Front as such was made immediately clear after the elections with the outbreak of strikes.

Economic reforms

Ironically these were sparked off by the CP itself, which then found itself in the position of having to 'rehabilitate' the situation.

The contradictory position the CP found itself in in 1936 amounted to the following: it was still obliged to maintain quiescence in the working class in order to preserve the Franco-Soviet pact, demanded by the Comintern in a bureaucratic bid to 'defend' the Soviet Union against Hitler's war-mongering.

On the other hand the Socialists were gaining ground among the proletariat and also leaning dangerously towards appeasement with Germany.

The CP, therefore, in order to gain the upper hand, decided to strengthen its support among the proletariat by campaigning for economic reforms.

It also refused to take

any seats in the government despite its close association with Popular Front ministers, in order to maintain an image of independence.

So the first strikes were called by the CP in support of limited economic demands in the aircraft and vehicle industry.

Demands met

Soon 100,000 were on strike, and the demands were quickly met, partly because 1936 was a year of relative upturn and full employment and partly because of the importance of the armaments industry.

The strike quickly spread to Paris with demands for salary increases, union recognition, paid vacations and industry-wide collective contracts.

Now the employers demanded the evacuation of the factories before making agreements and promptly staged a lockout.

Hand in hand

By June 2 more sections of the engineering industry were out, in chemicals, textiles, wholesale foods, mines and warehouses.

Having started the strikes, the Stalinists were now faced with the task of ending them, which they set about doing, hand in hand with President Blum, on behalf of the bourgeoisie.

NEXT WEEK
The Spanish Civil War and the French Popular Front

Better red than dread

Rastafarianism is the most powerful cultural force in Jamaica today.

Through the medium of reggae music, the ideas of Rastafarianism are spread amongst the youth of Jamaica where 53% of the population is under 19.

In Britain, too, largely through reggae music, many black youth identify to a greater or lesser extent with the Rastafarian movement.

Since Rastafarianism is identified in the minds of many with progressive—even revolutionary—politics, it is important for Marxists to have some knowledge of the history and ideas of the movement if its influence is to be successfully combated in the fight to win black youth to Marxism and the task of building a revolutionary party.

The ideas of the Rastafarian movement draw very heavily on religious and religious/political movements that preceded them. These include the early black Christian churches and the 'Back to Africa' movement of Marcus Garvey.

Ethiopia

This becomes immediately apparent if we look at their concept of Ethiopia.

As the 18th century slave-owners forced the Christian religion onto their slaves these slaves were able to discover from the Bible—which referred to Egypt and Ethiopia as Africa—that the blacks in Biblical times had made an important contribution to the development of culture.

(The word Ethiopia is a Greek equivalent of the Hebrew word for black and the whole North East area had been populated by blacks until 814 BC).

As the black man's memory of Africa became obliterated in the course of time, all that remained were Biblical references to Ethiopia.

Ethiopia, i.e. Africa, was seen as a homeland to return to in the same way that many Jews saw Israel as a homeland to which they would return.

The effects of this discovery by blacks of an ancient African civilisation subsequently played an important role as a focal point of opposition to white-based mythology as to the inferior nature of the blacks.

While the first Ethiopian Church in Jamaica was founded in 1784, it was the Back to Africa movement of Marcus Garvey at the beginning of the twentieth century that embodied in its highest form the

The Rastafarian movement has a large following amongst black youth both in Jamaica and Britain.

In this, the first of two articles, Winston Smart points to some of the movements from which the Rastafarians took many of their basic ideas.

Next week he discusses the history of Rastafarianism and looks at the beliefs, rituals and social significance of the movement in Jamaica today.

concept of Ethiopianism prior to the Rastafarians.

According to Garvey, God would now be worshipped through the spectacles of Ethiopia and he made frequent references to the superiority of the black race—one of many ideas that the Rastafarians were to take from the Garvey movement.

Disarray

Biblical sources were used to "prove" that whites and other races were corrupt. The will of God would come through Africans and, according to Garvey, the task was to restructure a fallen race.

"The power and sway we once held passed away but now in the twentieth century, we are about to see the return of it in the rebuilding of Africa; yes a new civilisation, a new culture shall spring up from among our people".

With Garvey, Ethiopianism was transformed from an ideology to a movement with its leader being designated Provisional President of Africa and its "anthem of the Negro race" beginning with the words: "Ethiopia, Thou Land of Our Fathers".

When Garvey left for America in 1916, the Jamaican movement fell into disarray. Many small Garvey movements emerged and continued in existence until 1930.

In that year the Prince Ras Tafari was crowned Negus of Ethiopia.

"Redeemer"

He took the name Haile Selassie (Might of the Trinity) to which he added "King of Kings, Lord of Lords and Lion of the Tribe of Judah". He also claimed direct descent from Solomon.

Marcus Garvey, on his departure for the United States, was supposed to have said: "Look to Africa for the crowning of a Black King; he shall be the Redeemer".

For four men—Leonard Howell, Joseph Hibbert, Archibald Dunkley and Robert Hinds—the crowning of Ras Tafari, which they read about in the *Daily Gleaner*, was the fulfillment of Marcus Garvey's "prophecy", and they launched the Rastafarian movement shortly after the coronation ceremonies had taken place in Addis Ababa.



Early Rasta holding portrait of Haile Selassie

MAY-JUNE 1968

Left Press fails to grasp the role of Stalinism

By Di Parkin

Most of the left press has recently carried articles looking back ten years to the events of May-June 1968 in Paris.

These times were quite a litmus paper for the European left.

At points of social explosion and crisis the policies and practices of various political tendencies become most clearly revealed.

It is important for us to examine the turning points of history, therefore, in order to see where the method of different tendencies leads or misleads their followers.

1968 was a year when the crisis of revolutionary leadership was sharply and dramatically posed.

Dual power

It was a year which began with the Tet offensive in Vietnam; an offensive which marked the beginnings of the defeat of US imperialism in Indo-China.

In August there was the invasion of Czechoslovakia by Russian troops and the whole crisis of the Stalinist bureaucracy was brought sharply into the open.

In between these events fell the May-June events in France.

During this period 10 million workers were on strike, factories were occupied; students held the Latin Quarter in Paris; colleges and schools were under the control of their students; the force of the state was paralysed.

The De Gaulle government was for a period unable to govern—De Gaulle himself had to leave Paris for hasty consultations with the heads of the armed forces—and the situation verged on dual power, with all the possibilities of the revolutionary seizure of power.

Conscious steps

How then did De Gaulle survive? It might seem that by conceding massive wage increases and turning to the ballot boxes he managed, with a simple electoral victory, to reestablish capitalist stability.

Yet the real answer to this question does not lie simply with the actions of the bourgeoisie.

It was the mass French Communist Party which in those crucial days took conscious steps to prevent the situation developing to the point where the question of power would be posed.

As Trotskyists we are

used to this being the role of world Stalinism.

In 1968, however, this fact was clearly revealed to all—and the stakes were so high that the Communist Party had to act in the most blatant way in order to block the struggle.

The major lesson of May 1968 is the counter-revolutionary role of Stalinism.

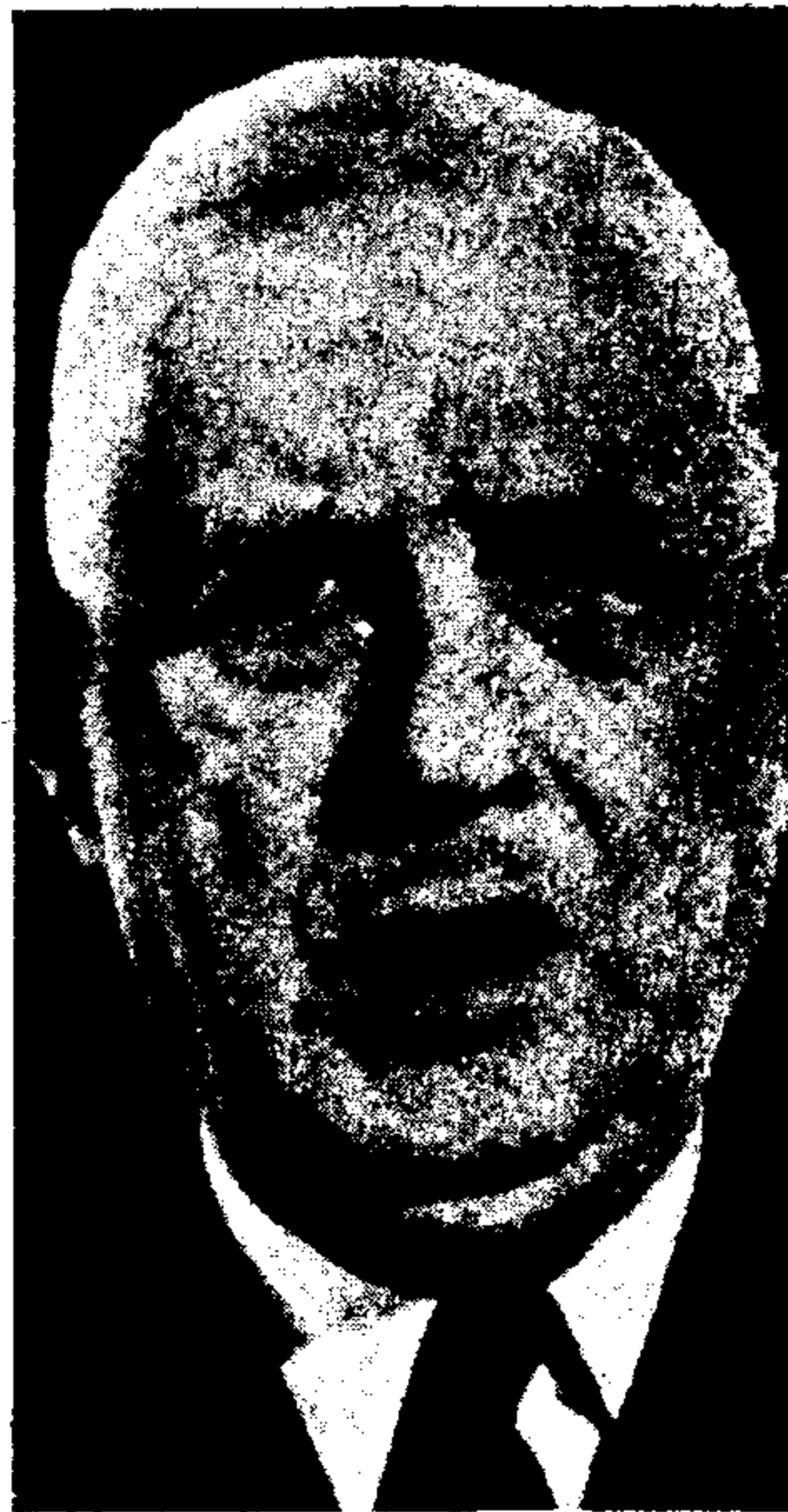
Student milieu

1968 also marked the opening hour of a whole mode of politics rooted in the student milieu.

"Flower power", "student power", hippiedom and gestural protests were attempts to find substitutes for action by the mass organisations of the working class.

For Tariq Ali in *1968 and After*, "revolutionary socialism was reborn in 1968".

For others of us it had never died. Ali's conception is based on the notion that the working class, and patient, consistent struggle within its organisations and against its leadership for the construction of a revolutionary party is not the road to power.



De Gaulle

In 1968 French capitalism like its rivals stood at the end of the long boom, beginning to feel the impact of the impending economic crisis.

There were half a million unemployed and workers were demanding an end to the wage freeze.

French capitalism had inherited from its past many weaknesses which rapid technological change and increasing foreign competition had worsened.

France was also suffering a crisis consequent on its demise as an imperialist power with the defeats it suffered in Algeria and

Vietnam.

In this situation there was growing unrest within the universities.

This unrest and revolt was to be the spark which lit the struggles of May.

However, while a spark can light a nearby explosive it cannot *itself* even threaten to explode the might of the bourgeois order.

There had been a massive increase in student numbers—from 200,000 in 1961 to 500,000 in 1968.

French schools and universities were overcrowded, authoritarian institutions which gave students no room to criticise and develop.

Student protests began to develop particularly at Nanterre, just outside Paris.

Nanterre strike

In November 1967 there was a strike at Nanterre and numerous incidents followed indicating the students' frustration with their lack of control over the university and the role in society they were being prepared for.

In March 1968 five students were arrested as a result of anti-Vietnam war activities.

A protest meeting was called in Nanterre on March 22 and gave its name to one of the most important of the student groupings—the Movement of 22 March.

The most significant figure in this group was the anarchist Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

Rejecting the need for a revolutionary party, this group put forward demands for a 'critical university' and a permanent challenge to authority.

Spontaneity

The stress on spontaneity rather than leadership held by this group was echoed by the "Trotskyists" of the Jeunesse Communiste Revolutionnaire (French youth section of the USFI) who scarcely differentiated themselves from the anarchist policies of the Movement of 22 March.

As a commentator from the period remarked:

"The JCR was the first political faction to recognise Cohn-Bendit's potential for revolutionary struggle and to join forces with him... The JCR won the confidence of Cohn-Bendit and his friends by not seeking to take over the movement, or manipulate it to its own exclusive ends; instead it gave the Movement of 22 March unconditional support".

(*French Revolution 1968*, Seale and McConville).

In May the focus of the struggles moved from Nanterre to the Latin Quarter in Paris.

Sorbonne closed

On May 3 a demonstration took place against the closure of the Faculty of Letters in Nanterre.

The demonstration was within the courtyard of the university building of the Sorbonne when the police were called in.

Calling in the police was a question of the arrival of an armed force, the dreaded CRS, with teargas and baton attacks.

Barricades went up and the students took to the streets.

Thus began many nights of ferocious street battles. The Sorbonne was closed, and by May 10 35,000 students were marching through Paris.

Their slogans were vivid—they introduced a sharpness of phrase, an assault on bourgeois values in their graffiti and slogans.

"Nous sommes tous un groupuscule" (We are all a tiny group), they cried, marching in the streets.

Challenge to CP

This was a challenge to the attitude of the Communist Party which had felt able to dismiss the students and the Trotskyists as "tiny groups".

The Communist Party's attitude to the student demonstrations and the students' nightly—and frequently heroic—battles with the state was first one of indifference.

However, the growing outrage within the workers movement and indeed the passers-by and Metro travellers whose eyes stung with teargas from the police attacks and who were themselves also mercilessly clubbed if caught in the wrong place—convinced the CP of the need to take a position and to attempt to capture such a movement before it got quite out of its control.

Night of barricades

The battle of the students continued with the 'night of the barricades'—May 12—when 367 people were wounded and 460 arrested.

"Libérez nos camarades" (free our comrades) was then the cry.

On 13 May the Communist-led union, the CGT (Confédération Générale de Travail) and the other



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

VIOLENCE FLARES AS BOSSES GET DESPERATE

The implications of Les Shorter's treacherous statement on picketing to the Garners recall conference (See *Socialist Press* 106), was soon realised with a series of vicious attacks on picketers and supporters in the 22nd week of the strike.

At the conference, Shorter, the new TGWU Region 1 organiser—whilst engaging in a wholesale attack on strike committee policy, denied the need for mass pickets, claiming that picket lines of one person (sic) were sufficient to win the strike.

His open invitation to harrassment was gratefully accepted by the scabs on Saturday June 24.

There were violent attacks on three picket lines culminating in the most serious outbreak of violence so far when scabs at the Haymarket lashed out at the picket line armed with wooden poles.

This important development in the strike, reflecting the desperation of management, has to be met by a reaffirmation of strike committee policy on mass



Shorter—"one picket may be better than many"

picketing and the mobilisation of the TGWU membership in Region 1 onto the picket lines in regular delegations.

A press statement issued

by the strike committee on Wednesday 28 June condemning the violence and calling for the construction of stronger picket lines is a step in the right



direction but like the policy document presented to the conference this will remain merely words on paper unless there is a conscious fight by the strike committee against the regional bureaucracy who continue to act as a roadblock in mobilising the Region 1 membership to win the strike.

Assurances given by Shorter and Staden, (the new Regional Secretary) at Friday's meeting with the strike committee that the regional bureaucracy would circulate the membership with strike committee policy and "do their best" to organise delegations to the picket line, a voluntary levy of members and enforce secondary blacking must not be taken at face value.

Broken pledges

Such assurances have been made in the past and broken, by the likes of Nicholson and Todd who disappeared from the strike

after sabotaging all attempts to get such support.

That these bureaucrats are no different is demonstrated by Shorter's meeting with the police last Monday.

Rather than turn to the strength of the working class in defending the picket line he resorted to pathetic appeals for "more" police protection.

Strength

The strength of contributions from strike committee members from the floor of last Thursday's conference demonstrate clearly that the fight to win this strike on the basis of the policies of the strike committee will continue.

*Enforce secondary blacking now!

*For a regional levy of TGWU members to finance the strike.

*No reliance on the 'protection' of the police. Build the mass picket to win the strike and protect the strikers from scab violence.

GLC operators hold the line

Twelve telephone operators at the GLC are now in the fifth week of official strike action.

They are demanding inclusion in a productivity bonus scheme from which they have been excluded despite repeated claims dating back to 1974.

The dispute presents the GLC management with a complex problem. The operators are all NALGO members, but the GLC Whitley Council is controlled by the GLC Staff Association, a typical example of a management-dominated 'house union'.

Intense rivalry between NALGO and the GLCSA has led to the position where the GLCSA systematically blocks claims from NALGO members.

The function of a house union is to police the workers on behalf of management.

It is increasingly clear that the GLCSA is unable to perform this function at County Hall, where the Tory administration's cuts policy is generating a more militant atmosphere.

If management refuses to agree the telephonists' claim they will expose the role of the GLCSA as a police body.

On the other hand, if they recognise the claim they will expose the GLCSA as unable to win benefits for its members, provoking a turn to NALGO in either case.

GLC management has grown used to the position that NALGO presents the left face of GLC workers, and has no faith in the NALGO bureaucracy and its ability to hold back the membership.

In an attempt to sell out their abilities to GLC management as a more effective police force, NALGO district officials are attempting to persuade the telephonists back to work.

After four weeks of struggle the telephonists are determined not to go back without guarantees of money this year.



Workers Socialist League

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to construct a principled revolutionary leadership in the working class in Britain and internationally and for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International on the basis of the Transitional Programme.

The WSL fights at every step against the existing leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party—now firmly harnessed to the bourgeois politicians of the Liberal Party in an unspoken coalition arrangement.

Against their policies of class collaboration we put forward instead a programme which points to the independent class interests of the working class, its need to organise independently to overthrow capitalism, destroy its repressive state machinery and establish a socialist planned economy.

Only in this way can workers resolve today's problems of tumbling living standards, mass unemployment, slashed social services, racial, national and sexual oppression.

For more details on the WSL and its work, fill in the form below.

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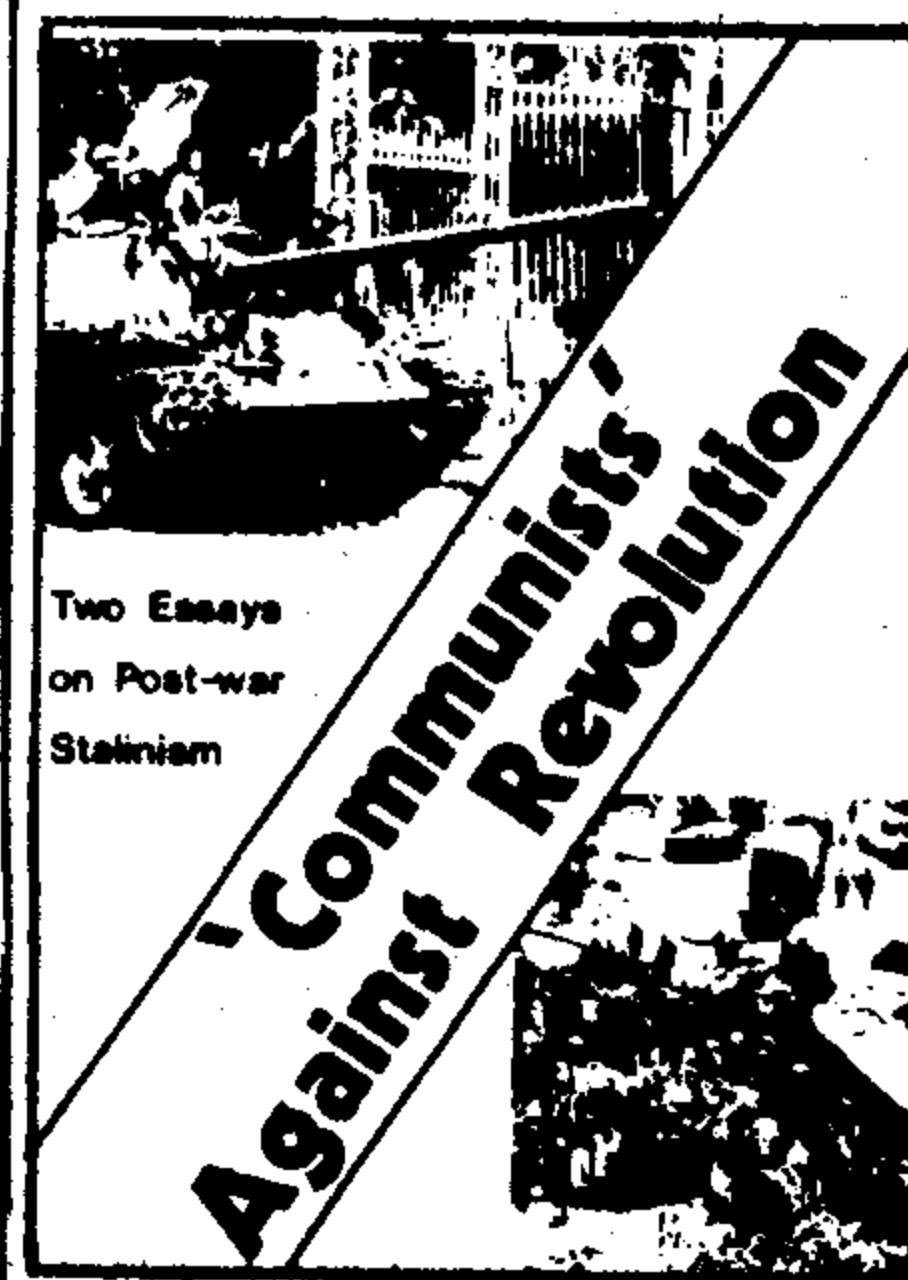
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Singer workers reject sackings

The determination and militancy of the working class was again shown last Tuesday when the 5,000 workers at Singer's Clydebank factory voted at a mass meeting to reject the company's plan for mass cut-backs and mass redundancies.

Yet again the problems of leadership in the fight to defend jobs were clear, in the stewards' alternative proposal—the maintenance of industrial sewing machine production and a large-scale investment programme.

AUEW convenor John McFadyen had correctly said the company wanted the union to help them implement the plan.

But his only reply is to put forward an alternative capitalist plan, thus telling workers that they have a joint interest with the employers.

On the contrary, the policy needed is to prepare for an occupation of the plant the moment the first of the proposed 2,800 redundancies is declared.

The central demands of the occupation should be work-sharing on full pay, opening the books of Singers and other demands that lead to the nationalisation of the whole industry under workers management.

This policy should be put before an immediate mass meeting. Singer workers must learn the lessons of the betrayal of Speke. Lack of leadership leads to defeat.

Joint Committee stabs steward

Behind the decision of Rover transport drivers to accept the sacking of shop steward Tony Tombes are issues of far-reaching implications for BL workers.

Tombes was convicted in court of using a tax disc from a car formerly owned by British Leyland on his own private car.

Lost nothing

But despite the fact that Leyland itself had lost nothing, Tombes himself recommended the return to work, thus accepting the management's action.

The importance of the incident is that it once again emphasises the offensive now being conducted by Leyland management against the shop stewards movement.

Sinister

And there is a new, sinister development. Prior to his appearance in court, Tombes appeared before a joint union-management disciplinary committee. He was found 'guilty' by them.

This is the same type of committee which has been established at Longbridge to "investigate" two shop

stewards accused of organising an unofficial strike.

Such joint committees, arising out of the 'participation' set-up, mean that once a steward is condemned as 'guilty', there is no remaining line of defence, since the union is already a party to disciplinary action.

Stewards must take steps to break up this structure which has become an important arm of management.

Abolished

The joint committees must be abolished and the trade unions must withdraw from 'participation' and take up their legitimate role: defending the working class from management.

Airport workers offer bosses advice

Rival sections of the union bureaucracy are still at loggerheads as to which planes British Airways should buy.

Following the clash two months ago between Hugh "buy Boeing with British engines" Scanlon and CP member Ken "Buy all British" Gill, London Airport staff have decided to get involved.

Lay representatives and officials on British Airways' trade union council have come out in opposition to the line taken by stewards at the British Aircraft Corporation, who had argued for a "buy British" policy.

BA workers decided that a number of Boeings should be ordered, as well as a significant number of BAC 1-11s.

While these stewards and officials are drawn deeper into advising the capitalist state how to run its airline, none of them have put forward a socialist approach to defence of jobs and wages.

As long as the component firms, the catering firms, the travel firms, and many other aspects of the airways remain privately owned, and while the 'nationalised' sector is administered by the capitalist state in the interests of profitability—in short, while air travel remains part of the capitalist economy—workers should concentrate on fighting for their own interests, not advising employers on which equipment to buy.

TGWU must save dock jobs!

300 workers from Newham's docklands gathered at East Ham Town Hall on Thursday 28 June to discuss the Port of London Authority decision to close London's upper docks.

The closure will destroy 4,250 jobs in the docks with massive repercussions throughout the East End which may account for as many as 30,000 more jobs.

The 'Newham Forum' group, representing the 'community as a whole', did nothing to build a fight which can defeat the planned closures.

They based their approach on a call for more subsidies from the government to make the upper docks more attractive to the employers.

Cabinet

This theme was taken up and amplified by Jack Hart, leader of Newham Council, and Nigel Spearing, MP for Newham South, both of whom argued that 'the real decisions' would be made by the Cabinet. Any thought of industrial action to save jobs should be banished, they said.

What is needed is a "new marketing strategy for the docks" based on more government money.

The precedent of British Leyland was quoted.

TGWU leaders from the docks predictably failed to reply to this by explaining the effects of government money on BL, with "worker participation" aiding the closure of Speke and a wholesale drive towards speed-up on the shop floor, with 12,500 jobs to be abolished.

Not good enough

The barrage of heckling, however, made it clear that the dockers did not think their leaders' position was good enough.

However, no policies were proposed on which a fight could be based.

There will be a series of meetings of this kind throughout East London in the next few weeks, with a major rally on 15 July, planned to show the strength of the campaign.

It is clear that the reformists and Stalinists have nothing to say in this situation.

It is up to revolutionaries to spell out a clear programme of demands—starting from the fight to open the books of the PLA and the National Ports Council to elected trade union committees.

Nationalisation

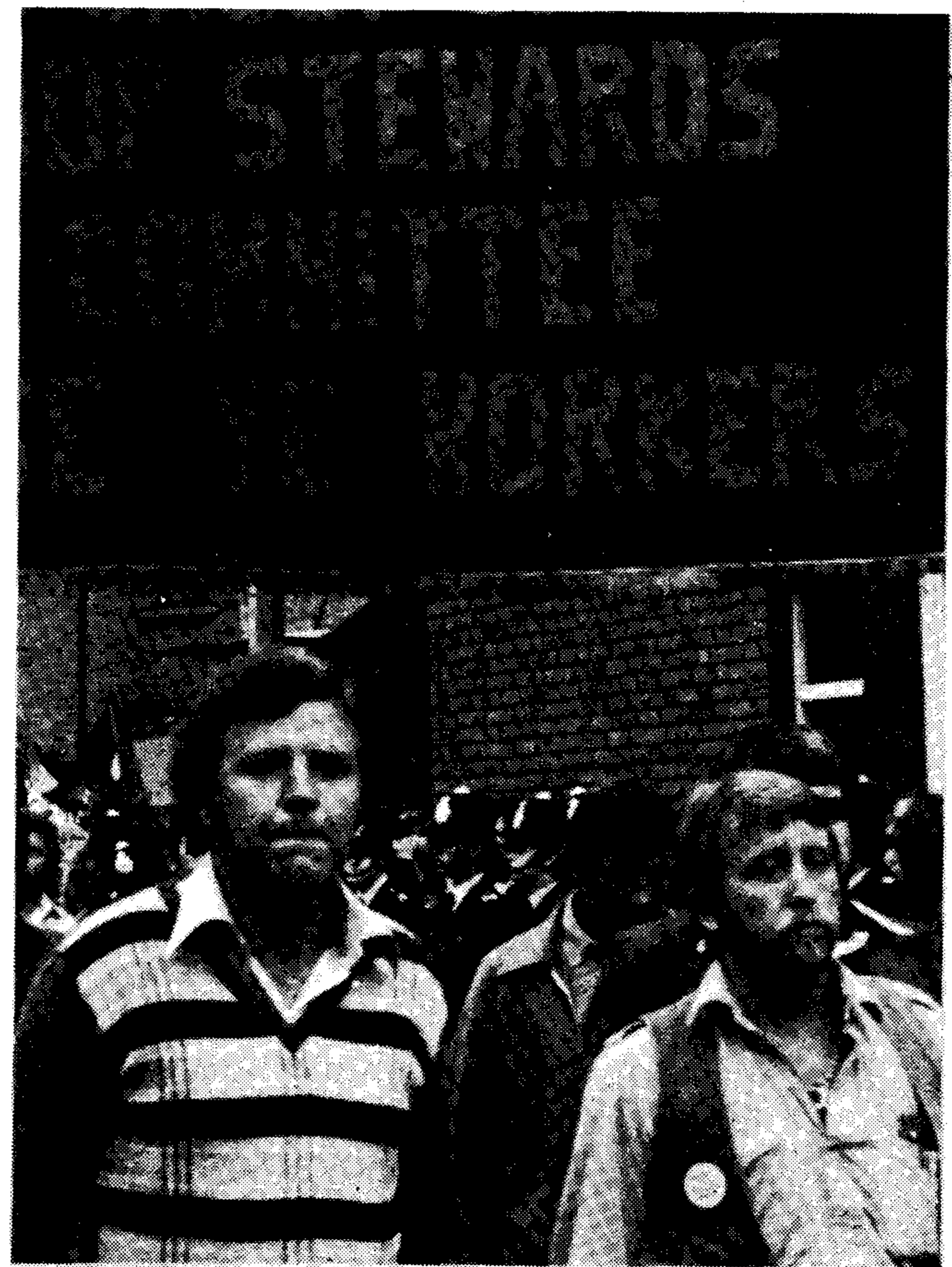
Such an exposure would reveal the clear case for the nationalisation without compensation of the docks as a whole and a planned

development of these facilities under workers' management, in which available work would be shared, without loss of pay or jobs, between the whole workforce.

In the preparation for this fight the massive indus-

trial power of the Transport and General Workers Union to be put in a state of readiness to defend every job on the docks.

Those officials and stewards that obstruct such a course must be removed.



Royal docks banner at Grunwick picket

TUNNEL MINERS ON TRIAL

A contingent of members of the TGWU Tunnel Miners branch picketed the Old Bailey on Monday on the first day of the trial of tunnel miners. They face charges arising from their sit-in strike at Finsbury Park last year.

Journalists strike to save jobs

45 journalists employed by the Trident Group in West London are on official strike against management plans to axe jobs on the Richmond Herald by closing down the existing paper and replacing it with an advertising 'free sheet'.

Richmond Herald journalists have been backed by NUJ members of sister papers, the Surrey Comet and the Middlesex Chronicle.

Other NUJ members from Romford, Kilburn, Highgate, Uxbridge and Clapham and many local trade unionists have assisted the picketing of Trident premises in Church Street, Kingston on Thames.

Printworkers of both SOGAT and NGA, however, have used the pretext of a lack

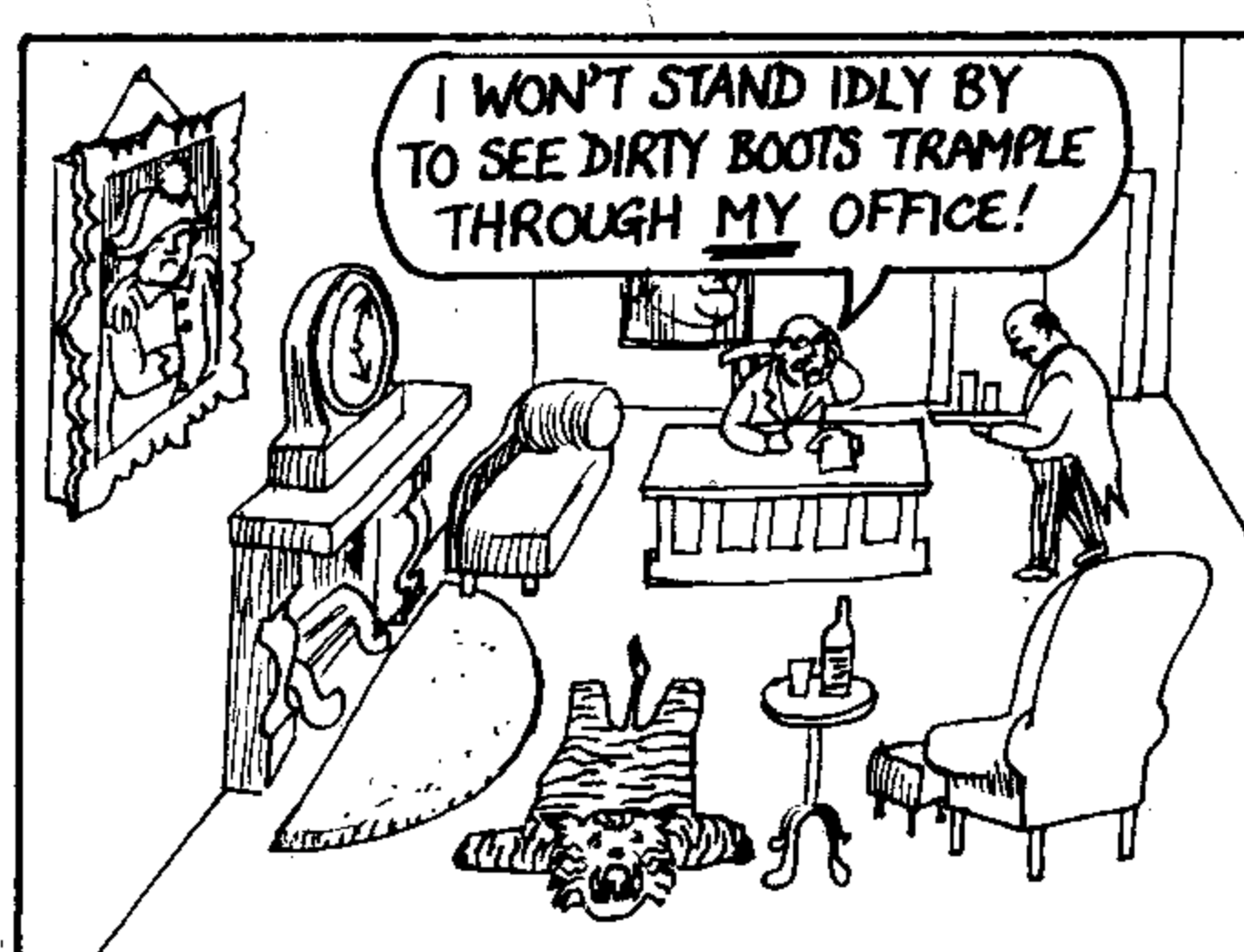
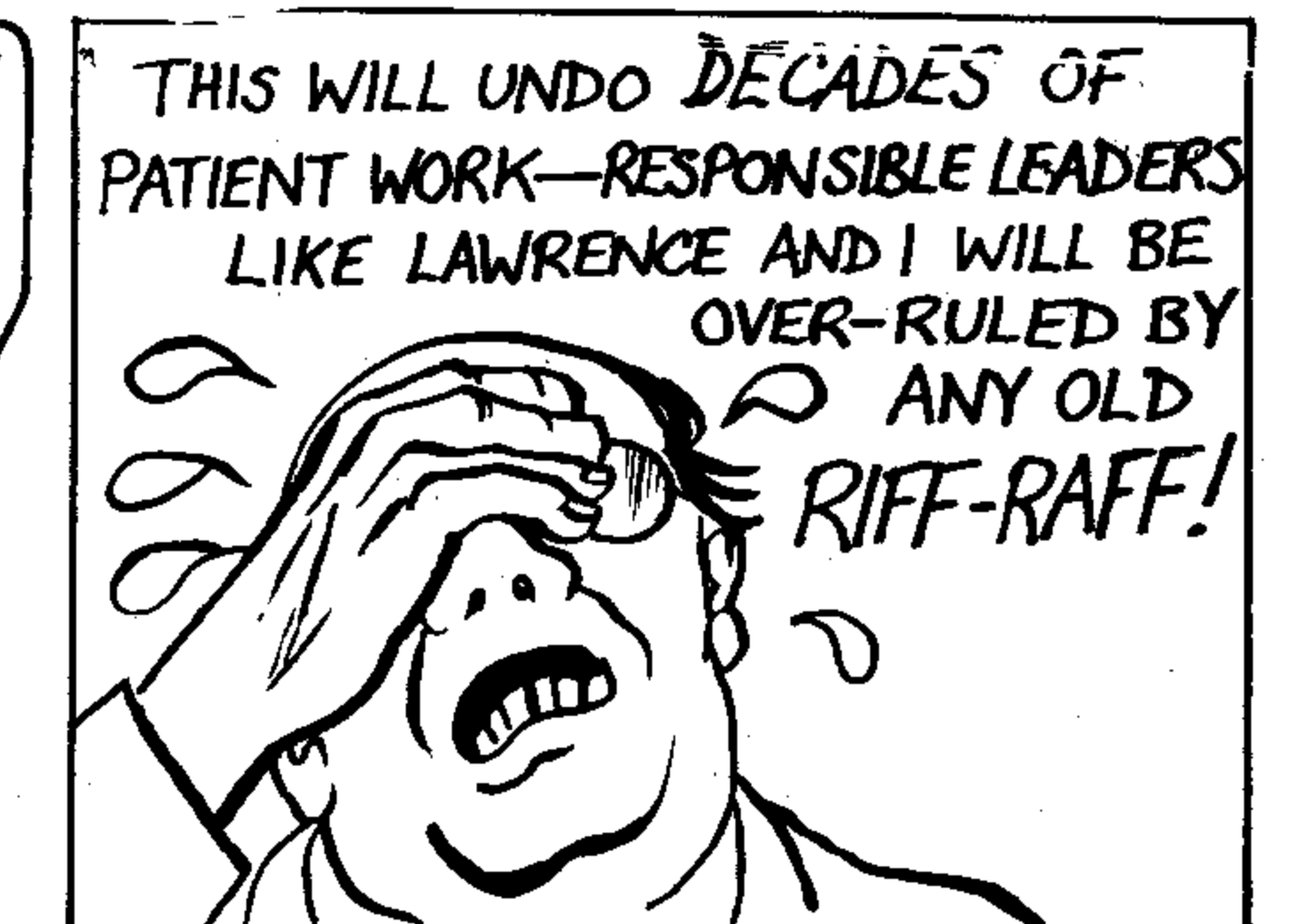
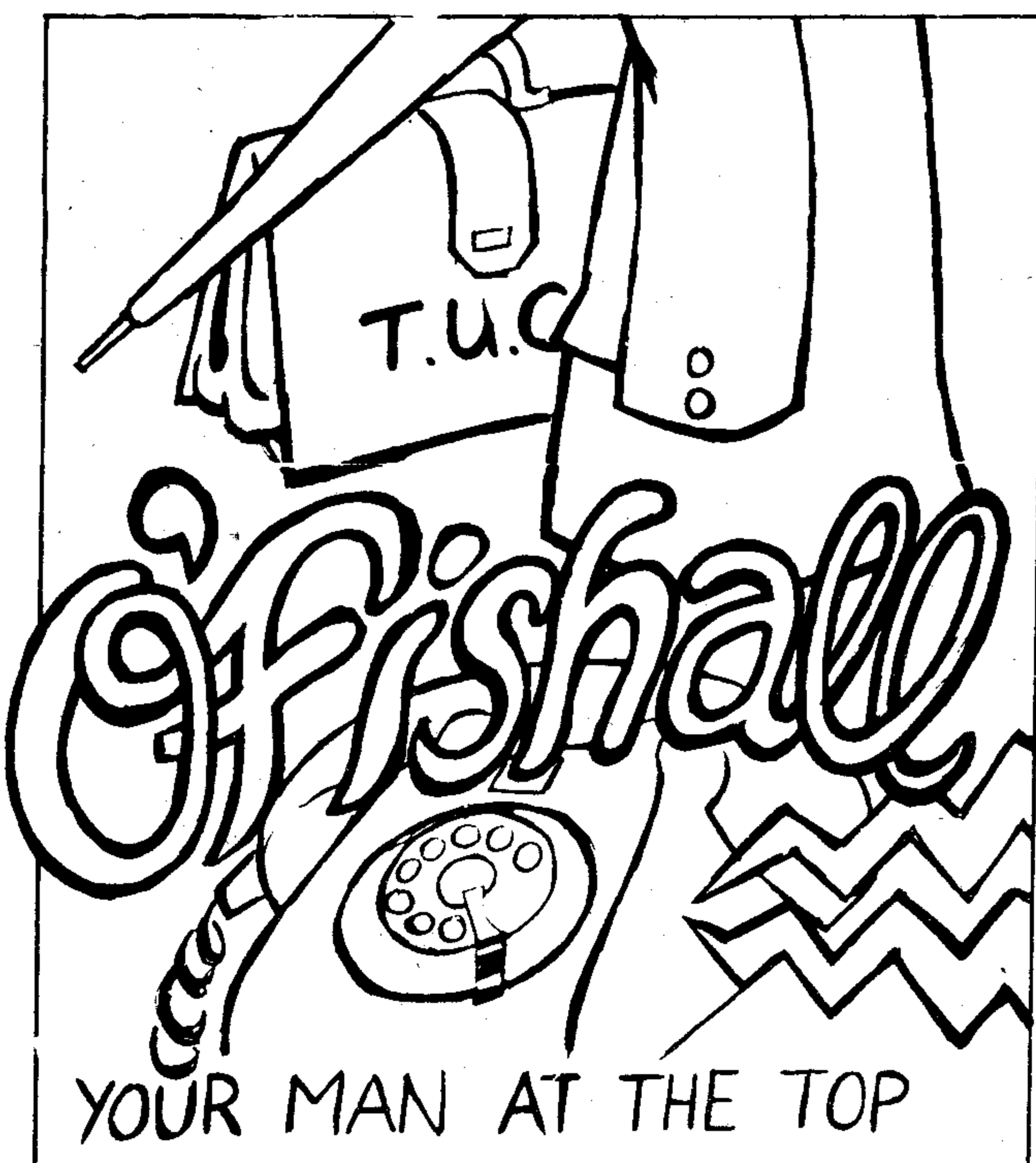
of head office instruction in order to consistently cross the picket and keep the presses going using scab copy by non-union management.

Strikers, however, have pointed to the danger that the possible takeover of Trident by a Mr. Remo Dipre of Starwest Investments could quickly lead to the closure of the Kingston print shop and the loss of 250 print jobs.

The struggle clearly calls for a fight to force the opening of Trident's books to an elected committee of trade unionists, to expose the dangers to the jobs of journalists and print workers alike as long as the firm remains in private hands.

Resolutions of support should be forwarded to Strike HQ, 162, London Road, Kingston on Thames.

Pickets are also welcome outside 20, Church Street, Kingston.



SOCIALIST PRESS



STEEL CRISIS WORLD WIDE

BRITISH WORKERS MUST REMOVE

LABOUR'S TORTURE CHIEFS!

The 9 July demonstration called by the Prisoners Aid Committee against the British army's torture of Irish republican prisoners of war seems certain to be the biggest mobilisation against the role of British imperialism in Ireland for several years.

Trade union and labour movement bodies from as far away as Edinburgh have resolved to send contingents on the demonstration, which will assemble at Speakers Corner, Marble Arch at 2.30 pm.

This level of support indicates a growing awareness within the British labour movement of the savagery and brutality being carried out by the British army of occupation in Northern Ireland under the watchful eye of Labour ministers.

Driven out

These willing servants of British and international capitalism recognise all too clearly that should the republican and socialist militants in the North succeed in driving out the armed forces that preserve British rule, the struggle would not stop there.

Both North and South of the imperialist-drawn 'border', Irish workers face chronic unemployment, ruthless exploitation by Irish and foreign capital, and state attacks on the independent strength of working class organisations—problems which can only be resolved through the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a workers' republic.

A blow administered to British imperialism in forcing the withdrawal of troops from the North would disrupt the precarious structure of capitalism in the island as a whole.



Long Kesh concentration camp

The age-old Irish liberation struggle is therefore vital not only in terms of securing the legitimate right of the Irish people to self-determination and in weakening British imperialism but as an integral part of the struggle for social revolution in Ireland.

Irish capitalist Prime Minister Lynch recognises this clearly when he carefully combines face-saving talk of a possible 'united Ireland' with repressive laws and military action against republican forces and against the Irish labour movement.

And the British Labour leaders, who have repeatedly shown their dedication to the preservation of British imperialism in Africa and Asia, have not shrunk from implementing the most barbaric methods in their efforts to intimidate and crush republican and socialist forces in Ireland.

It was Labour leader Wilson who sent in the British army in 1969 to forestall any prospect of the 'civil rights' agitation by the Catholics flowing over into more generalised demands by workers in Northern Ireland.

It was the next Labour

government that used the pretext of a conveniently timed bombing to rush through the so-called 'Prevention of Terrorism' Act for the harassment of Irish people in Britain.

And it was the Labour leaders who deprived those republican prisoners who were jailed for their legitimate struggle against imperialism of their status as political prisoners theoretically guaranteed by the Geneva Convention.

And now under Labour minister Roy Mason, the torture of these prisoners has reached such a level that even the

European Commission for Human Rights and Amnesty International have been forced to draw attention to the brutality used.

The torture begins as soon as a 'suspect' is picked up.

Only recently, trade union activist Brian McGuire was allegedly found 'hanging in his cell' at the notorious Castlereagh RUC station after a prolonged interrogation.

A 195-page book *The Castlereagh File* has recently been compiled detailing the gruesome treatment meted out to men and women 'suspects' by the Special Branch in the torture chamber, in pursuit of forced 'confessions'.

POW status

Meanwhile in the Long Kesh concentration camp at Lisburn over 300 convicted republican and socialist men are undergoing torture as a result of their determined fight for Prisoner of War status.

Since they refuse to wear prison clothing or do prison work, both of which reflect criminal status, they are clad only in a blanket; they are kept under continuous bright lights in permanent solitary confinement in cells overflowing from urine and excreta; they are denied food parcels, cigarettes, access to news or TV; they receive no proper medical treatment, no exercise; and they suffer repeated beatings by warders.

Labour leaders

This vicious, barbaric treatment must be fought throughout the British labour movement; it is Labour leaders who are inflicting this punishment on the opponents of imperialism in Ireland.

Mason acts as part of the Callaghan cabinet—which in turn is preserved and protected by the TUC bureaucracy.

Those few 'left' Labour MPs who have voiced timid liberal protests against repression in Ireland have lifted not a finger to remove this gang of torture-masters from the Labour leadership.

Every union branch Labour Party ward and GMC must be mobilised in solidarity with the Irish socialist and republican prisoners and for the removal of the coalitionist Callaghan-Healey leadership.

Scargill

The Yorkshire NUM in particular, whose 'left' President Arthur Scargill allows butcher Roy Mason to stand as Labour MP for Barnsley must be called upon to act.

And all those opposed to British imperialism in Ireland should join the PAC demonstration on 9 July.

We call for:
*P.O.W. status for political prisoners as guaranteed by the Geneva Convention.

*Support for the war of liberation in Ireland. Self-determination for the Irish people!

*Troops out now! An amnesty for all political prisoners!

*Kick out Mason and the coalition cabinet!

COWLEY 9: July crunch

The Midlands Regional Committee of the TGWU which is attempting to ignore the Alan Law ballot-rigging scandal and press disciplinary charges against nine members at Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant, meets on July 12 to consider the results of its inquiry.

Holidays

If that committee meeting decides to act in line with recommendations made by the Oxford District Finance and General Purposes Committee then the nine Cowley workers could find themselves victimised by union officials—barred from office or even expelled from the union—



Regional Secretary Mathers

only two days before the annual holiday shutdown.

Among those accused of such ridiculous charges as walking out of a TGWU District Committee meeting and revealing the size of the



Thornett

branch secretary's commission are the Assembly Plant convenor and three deputy convenors only recently elected by shop floor ballot.

A full meeting of all 170 TGWU stewards on the

plant recently registered a near-unanimous vote to support the Cowley 9, demand the dropping of the charges by the Regional Committee and call for TGWU national officials to act to procure company recognition of elected deputy convenor Alan Thornett.

Thornett faces the threat of expulsion from the union at the hands of the Regional inquiry.

As a precaution against the prospect of a sudden attack by the TGWU bureaucracy, the Cowley 9 Defence Campaign—which has rallied the support of hundreds of leading TGWU members for the victims—has called a meeting of campaign supporters on the evening of the Regional Committee meeting—Wednesday July 12, 7.30pm at the Digbeth Institute, Birmingham.