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Reconstruct the Fourth International CENTRE PAGES

F.I.S.T. review..... p.9
TUC conference p.5
Free jailed socialists..... Back page
Ex-soldiers on Ireland p.8

TOOLMAKERS HALT ELECTION



WSL lobby of the TUC

Few workers would be fooled by Prime Minister Callaghan's pretence that he never intended to call an October election.

His plan has been to go into an election with his Phase 4 wage-cutting strategy intact, and with no major class struggles under way, in order to secure reelection on a platform of permanent wage control.

He was confident that (as under Phase 3) verbal TUC opposition to the 5% ceiling would be combined with sabotage of any struggle to break the pay limits.

Callaghan had watched with enthusiasm the moves by TUC bureaucrats to control the unions by expelling, withdrawing credentials, or disciplining workers who seek to fight the employers.

Scheme upset

This is the essence of the AUEW executive decision to expel the striking toolmakers at SU Carburettors, the withdrawal of credentials from 51 AUEW stewards at Leyland's Bathgate plant, and the revival of TGWU disciplinary charges against leading members at Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant.

But Callaghan's scheme was upset when on Saturday September 2 Leyland's unofficial toolroom committee voted unanimously to strike if the SU toolmakers were expelled from the union—bringing the prospect of a shutdown throughout Leyland. And other sections, including Fords, declared support for the toolmakers' stand.

Completely changed

This meant that an October election could have taken place at the high point of a national stoppage in Leyland and a mass strike against the AUEW bureaucracy.

The election had to be postponed. Indefinitely.

The refusal by toolroom workers to allow the AUEW

executive to take away their right to strike has completely changed the class struggle in Britain.

Both Callaghan and Leyland well remember the last time the toolmakers were involved in strike action.

Hugh Scanlon was howled down by a mass meeting of 3,000 strikers. Car factories ground to a halt. A union-backed threat to sack all 3,000 toolmakers led to spontaneous moves towards national strike action throughout the AUEW.

A petrified toolroom committee backed down at the crucial moment, and a weakened Callaghan turned to a coalition with the Liberals for backing in forcing through Phase 3.

Decisive battle

But if the SU men are expelled on Tuesday and the toolmakers take the unprecedented step of a national strike against their union officials, a battle, decisive to the future of Phase 4, will be underway.

A victory for the toolmakers, forcing the reinstatement of the SU men would be a blow against the authority of every union bureaucracy, weakening their ability to preserve the 5% limit.

But a major problem in the fight is the weakness of the leadership of the toolroom committee, who will be under enormous pressure from all sides.

SU strike leader George Regan has already said he would settle for £83 plus the Phase 4 5%; and toolroom committee chairman Roy Fraser has not even put in a pay claim for his members in the November 1 pay review at Cowley.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

Fraser also last week argued strongly for AUEW stewards to remain in Leyland's participation set-up.

These leaders actually want the company-wide pay bargaining which Leyland has been struggling to impose, and insist that they are fighting only for differentials and not against the social contract.

But despite their search for a climbdown, the toolroom leaders, Leyland and the AUEW executive are in

great difficulty cooking up any answer to the toolmakers' demands.

If the £7 parity money was paid to the SU strikers, then other toolmakers would strike to equal it. And if the £83 was conceded including the 5%

It seems probable therefore that the strike will go ahead—a strike which will express all the frustration of millions of workers who have been forcibly held back by their leaders while their living standards have been slashed by wage control.

The Workers Socialist League has consistently pointed to the fact that wage controls have been upheld by growing attacks on trade union democracy.

This lesson has been drawn from our experience of the bureaucratic closure of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee at Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant, of the closure of the TGWU Cowley Automotive Group, the splitting of TGWU branches, the disaffiliation of Oxford Trades Council and the attacks on the Cowley 9.

We have fought at each stage against this, and for the independence of the working class on a programme in defence of jobs and wages. We have pointed to the necessity to take the fight back into the unions themselves, and in so doing reversed many of these attacks.

Now is the opportunity to defeat state control of wages and step up the fight in the Labour Party to drive out the Callaghan-Healey leadership.

Workers must take up the fight for a Labour Party conference to remove these architects of wage control, throw out their right wing election manifesto, and adopt a socialist programme to reverse the cuts, end pay restraint and end unemployment in preparation for the General

Callaghan switches Phase 4 tactics

Down with the Butcher Shah!

Every attempt by the Shah to stamp out the fires of revolution that have flared across Iran, has so far only sent the flames leaping even higher—and dangerously close to his own blood-stained Peacock Throne.

On Monday 4 September 200,000 demonstrators marched through Tehran in defiance of the new ban on all opposition mobilisations.

Large sections of the march called for the overthrow and death of the Shah.

But while ten people were killed in other towns by the repressive forces of the Shah's dictatorship, this main demonstration passed off peacefully.

The reactionary religious leaders, who claim the credit for this achievement, presented flowers to the massed troops who lined the route.

This gesture of 'peace' neatly symbolised the political intentions of these mullahs and ayawallahs.

They were not of course inciting sections of the army to join forces with workers and peasants in a revolution to overthrow imperialism in Iran.

These Islamic demagogues hope to gain their aims within the context of a 'democratised' dictatorship.

Four days later, a very different mobilisation gathered in the streets of Tehran.

Tens of thousands of workers, peasants and students, including many women, were led by youth in a demonstration of protest against the new measures of repression.

These included the imposition of martial law on 12 cities (including Tehran itself) and the threat of execution against any demonstrators.

This proved no idle threat. The final toll remains unclear, but it seems certain that 200 people were machine-gunned to death in Tehran alone last Friday.

Once again, the Shah's efforts to suppress the mass popular opposition to his regime has only provoked further expressions of open hostility.

In solidarity with the struggle of the Iranian workers and peasants, workers in Britain must fight in the trade unions and Labour Party for immediate action to end all military and economic supplies which the present Labour leaders have presented to



INTERNATIONAL

Leadership crisis holds back Nicaraguan struggle

The general strike which followed the hi-jacking of the Nicaraguan parliament by the Sandinist Liberation Front has now brought the economic life of the country almost to a complete halt.

Dictator Somoza has declared "a state of economic emergency". And government departments have been placed in a state of siege.

At the same time parts of Nicaragua are completely out of the control of the Somoza dictatorship.

Last week however the National Guard regained the cities of Matagalpa and Leon which had for a time been captured by the Sandinist Liberation Front and groups of armed youth.

Despite the mobilisation of virtually the whole population against him, Somoza has once again arrogantly reassured that he has no intention of resigning before his term of office ends in 1981.

Full-scale war

On the face of it, few statements could be more unconvincing.

Somoza now confronts not only a general strike, but also a full-scale war with the Sandinist guerrilla army.

The stage seems to be set for the final act in the 43 year-long dictatorship of the Somoza family.

But, while this is by far the most extreme of the many crises faced by Somoza in the last year, he has been able to survive situations which would almost certainly have toppled many other regimes.

This is partly the result of

the long established and firmly maintained policy of ruthless repression towards all opposition.

A number of strikers and demonstrators have been killed in recent clashes and 700 oppositionists have been arrested since the beginning of the latest crisis.

The second reason for the regime's ability to survive without visible means of support has been the continued backing of US imperialism.

Closest friend

Self-styled champion of "human rights" President Jimmy Carter is the closest political friend of this regime of gangsters and exploiters.

Carter even went so far a few weeks ago of congratulating Somoza on his recent human rights record!

Naturally the imperialists are worried that their old client has become so universally hated in his own country.

And they have been looking for a way of ditching him which would not at the same time provoke serious dangers for capitalism and imperialism in Nicaragua and the whole of Central America.

The reason why Somoza's many capitalist opponents have shrunk from replacing him up to now is that their allies in the American State Department have urged them to hold back.

This shows up clearly the third and main reason why Somoza is still in power—the failure of leadership in the opposition to him.

Although the success of the general strike so far has been due to the semi-spontaneous action of workers, no clear working class leadership for the



Somoza

strike has established itself.

It is the Nicaraguan capitalists who claim to be the leaders of the general strike!

And their aim in agreeing to close down their businesses (in many cases after the actions of the workers forced them to do so) is no more than to try to break the Somoza family's virtual monopoly of trade industry and capitalist agriculture in Nicaragua.

These "opposition" capitalists have no objection to dictatorship as such—only to one which reserves all the most lucrative and profitable parts of the economy to itself.

members are the group of lawyers, priests and capitalists known as "The Twelve" who were associated with the anti-Somoza newspaper editor Chamorro whose murder earlier this year sparked off the recent series of political crises.

This capitalist-dominated opposition fears to move before receiving the go-ahead from Carter.

By-pass

And it is terrified that any serious attack on the interests of Somoza, who is by far Nicaragua's largest capitalist, will uncontrollably spill over into a general attack on capitalism itself.

Nonetheless these opportunists and self-seekers face another danger—that the mass struggle against Somoza will completely by-pass the leadership they want to impose on it.

The events of the last few days pose this danger very sharply.

The Sandinist Liberation Front now generally recognised as the focus, if not always concretely the leadership of the mass struggle has moved away from its spectacular one-off guerrilla operations towards a more permanent state of war with Somoza's National Guard.

But the Sandinists have so far been unable to give even the clear and decisive political leadership necessary to get rid of Somoza.

And there is no possibility that this politically confused petty-bourgeois nationalist group can offer the leadership which the Nicaraguan masses require if the almost inevitable fall of Somoza is not to be followed by some new form of capitalist dictatorship.

Leadership

One faction of the Sandinists (the "terceristas") is close to, if not actually part of the FAO itself and can be expected to capitulate to its bourgeois component if Somoza falls.

Other Sandinist factions claim to be more radically anti imperialist.

If so, they have failed to take the concrete steps towards the political independence of the bourgeoisie which are necessary for a genuine anti imperialist struggle in Nicaragua.

Only in Peru at present is imperialism in greater danger.

But it will survive unless a Trotskyist leadership capable of directing the masses of workers and peasants towards political independence.

Camp David sell-out hatches

The highest level of possible betrayal of the Palestinian national struggle is being planned this week at the Camp David hideout of President Carter.

Amidst the diplomatic posturing, the much publicised security precautions and the censorship even of news photographs, the main function of the talks is clear.

The aim is to find agreement between the Zionist leaders and Arab bourgeoisie about a ghetto state for the Palestinians on the so-called 'occupied territories' of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip.



Sadat

At Camp David the method being proposed is either Zionist Begin's idea of running a West Bank state under the patronage of Jordan, or Sadat's view that the Palestinians could build their own bourgeois state.

The Zionists hope that their friend and ally King Hussein can be used once again to murder Palestinian liberation fighters who wish to continue their struggle.

Sadat, more intelligently, would like to rely on the Palestinian leadership to do this policing.

The great danger for the Palestinians remains that the loud words of denunciation of these talks from some of their leaders will be confused with opposition to the basic plan of a ghetto state.

The results of these talks are not clear as we go to press.

Whatever happens, however, the struggle against any ghetto state will go on, as will the fight for the destruction of the Zionist state by mass mobilisation and military struggle and not by imperialist diplomacy, however rarified.



SMITH HUFFS AND PUFFS

"I promised the leaders of the Patriotic Front skulking in Lusaka and elsewhere that they who seek to ride the wind will reap the whirlwind". So said Bill Irvine Joint Transport Minister in the Rhodesian Government.

But Prime Minister Smith's sound and fury in his Sunday broadcast appeared to signify nothing new.

Martial law

He declared limited martial law; he banned the recently legalised ZANU and ZAPU organisations (arresting a number of their leaders).



Mugabe

And he made some veiled threats that, despite the pleas of the imperialists, he might shortly launch reprisal attacks into Zambia in return for the downing by Nkomo's guerrilla forces of a Rhodesian aircraft last week.

Gross hypocrisy

All the propaganda surrounding the alleged slaughter of civilian survivors of the air-crash is gross hypocrisy on the part of the Smith government steeped as it is in the blood of the Zimbabwe masses.

If there are any raids against Zambia they will be designed to placate Smith's base, indicate the continued power of the racists, and force Zambia to intensify pressure on Nkomo to split the Patriotic Front and join the internal settlement.

Such a split is the only hope Smith has of keeping any influence in the future of Zimbabwe.

The reality of the situation is that it is only a matter of time before the Patriotic Front comes to power.

Door open

It was significant that Smith in his broadcast, despite a lot of bluster about "Marxist murderers", left the door wide open for more talks with Nkomo.

His sharpest hostility was reserved for President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania who he accused of trying to sabotage

his talks with Nkomo.

Smith, therefore, continues to go along with the imperialists' plan for a negotiated hand-over with, if possible, the squeezing out of Robert Mugabe who despite his personal willingness to negotiate, is still falling under pressure from within his own organisation, ZANU, to continue the war to victory.



Nyerere

Cuban troops out of Eritrea!

Refugees from the Eritrean capital of Asmara have confirmed reports of the treacherous role being played by Cuban troops in the struggles of the Eritrean people against Ethiopian imperialism.

Two workers and a student who fled from the occupied city last month have reported the presence of at least 2,000 Cuban troops in Asmara, engaged in the battle to break the siege imposed by the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front.

'Red terror'

These exiles also detailed the events of the 'red terror'

unleashed on Asmara by the agents of the Ethiopian military dictatorship and its allies in the Stalinist bureaucracies of Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Executed

200 youth were rounded up and executed after two members of the terror squads had been assassinated in June.

In a later incident, the thugs of the 'red terror' claimed that for every one of their members assassinated, they would 'liquidate a thousand' supporters of

the liberation fronts.

But while the Derg has subjected the workers of Asmara to the same atrocities it has practised on Addis Ababa and the towns of Ethiopia, its armies have been repelled in their attempt to regain Keren from the EPLF.

Despite their MiG fighters and Cuban advisers, the Ethiopian forces have been compelled to pull back after three frontal attacks had failed to break the defences of the Eritrean liberation fighters.

INTERNATIONAL

'Democratic' facade cast aside by Portugal military



Nobre da Costa

"Democratic" Portugal now has a cabinet without a single elected member.

And this new government of the bourgeoisie—which was appointed by military President Eanes, agreed to in advance by the main political leaders of the Portuguese armed forces, and headed by Nobre da Costa, ex-technocrat of the fascist government—has so far been allowed to take office by all four main parliamentary parties.

When Nobre da Costa introduced his government's reactionary programme to the Portuguese parliament last week he was greeted with complete silence.

But if the silence was meant to appear to be the piqued response of the "parliamentary democrats" to this intruder from the past, it was not very convincing.

Shame

The silence should have been a silence of shame.

Because every one of the four main parliamentary parties—and in particular the two parties which claim to lead the working class, the Socialist and Communist Parties—have created the conditions for this new reactionary "Presidential" government of the bourgeoisie to come to power.

The occasion of Nobre da Costa's speech was not the first time the National Assembly had heard these particular programmatic proposals—including wage cuts through wage controls, and savage cutting of government spending.

In its essentials it is the same as the programme of the previous class collaborationist coalition headed by Socialist Party leader Mario Soares.

But six weeks ago President

Eanes, acting for the Portuguese bourgeoisie, dismissed Soares as Premier after a dispute in the coalition over how fast nationalised land could be handed back to landowners.

The Soares leadership was devoted enough to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The Soares government succeeded in obtaining a large credit from the IMF, and the bourgeoisie is now anxious to see that this credit is not lost in supporting the state deficit and the losses of the nationalised industries but that it is decisively diverted into the

said clearly what they will do in this debate.

The right-wing bourgeois Social Democrat party has maintained an apparently sympathetic silence and is not expected to table a rejection motion.

The other main bourgeois

Costa.

The CP and the bureaucracy of the main trade union federation, the CGTP-Intersindical which it dominates, have urged (without complete success) the suspension of all ongoing labour disputes during the formation of the government.

In their speeches and press, the CP leaders have taken a consistently conciliatory approach to the government, urging their followers to "wait and see" what the government is like in practice.

Of course a last minute shift of the CP into "opposition" is quite possible if the Socialist Party's oppositional noises seem to be gaining them any popular support.

But what the SP and CP leaders both want to avoid at all costs is voting together against the new government and against the bourgeois parties.

Workers' parties.

Because that would immediately raise the question of a government consisting of the workers' parties alone.

For the Stalinist and reformist leaders this is the worst possibility, since it would bring them face to face with the class from which they parasitically derive their strength.

Both leaderships assiduously cultivate the idea that Portuguese politics is not a matter of one class against another but of "democratic" versus dictatorial forces.

That is the way they try to justify their treacherous class collaborationist alliances.

Parliament

But part of this deception is that politics all takes place inside parliament.

That is why the new non-

parliamentary government is an embarrassment to both the CP and SP leaders.

Foreshadowed

Even if they let it pass now, they will be looking for a new parliamentary regime.

Soares foreshadowed this approach last week when he said that a new parliamentary solution must be obtained within two or three months.

But these frightened leaders face another problem.

They are anxious to avoid turning the present political crisis into a situation in which new general elections would be held.

If that did happen they fear that the centre of political affairs would shift from parliament and that the masses would be able to re-enter the political arena as they did in 1974 and 1975.

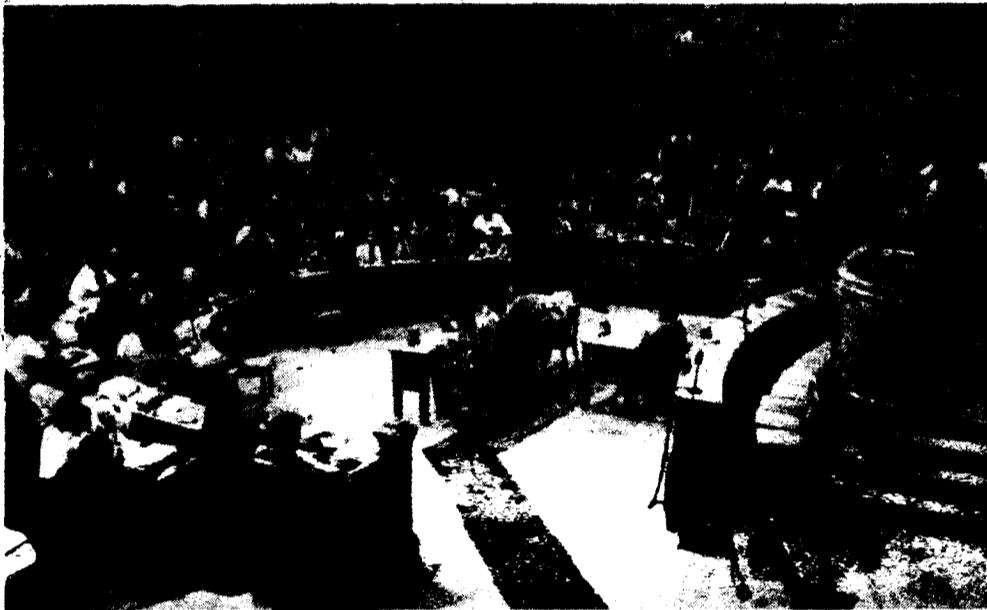
The workers' parties are both in their different ways, therefore, involved up to their necks in the bourgeoisie's plans to keep the Portuguese masses from regaining any political initiative.

Mobilisation

Workers must demand an end to all these manoeuvres and that their parties form a government and implement policies which meet the needs of the working class.

These are not parliamentary tasks.

They call for the mobilisation of the mass of workers and peasants to bring down the Nobre da Costa government and force the SP and CP to break their embrace with the bourgeoisie and form an independent government.



The Portuguese Assembly

But Portuguese capitalists decided they needed a government which could practically serve those interests more speedily than the "socialist" Soares.

Working class

His weakness, in their eyes, was that he was still forced to look over his shoulders occasionally at the working class and peasantry whose votes helped to make the Socialist Party by far the largest in the Assembly.

hands of the capitalists.

This week the new government must survive a parliamentary debate on its programme in order to stay in office.

But the government does not have to table a vote of confidence.

Under the Portuguese constitution there is only a vote if one of the parties puts down a motion of rejection of the government.

None of the parties have yet

party, however, the Social and Democratic Centre (Christian Democrats), has virulently attacked the Nobre da Costa government as being in alliance with the Portuguese Communist Party.

They name three ministers as CP sympathisers.

And the scandalous behaviour of the CP gives a good deal of credence to the view that its leaders have cooked up some kind of filthy backstairs deal with Eanes and Nobre da

Franco's heirs trapped by mounting economic crisis

The crisis in world trade generates not only protectionism, tariffs and the drive to trade war.

It produces in turn a crisis in the shipping industry, and so also in ship-building.

As shipping companies sell off their stock and fail to take up orders for new vessels, so the ship-building industry is faced with a massive slump in demand.

The crisis is world-wide. Two major Japanese ship-building firms, Mitsubishi and Ishikanajima Harime, recently announced a 40% reduction in their productive capacity, and this move follows on most other Japanese firms reducing their capacity by 35%. Inevitably huge redundancies are involved.

In Spain, the Suarez government has been forced to intervene directly, as with the similarly crisis-ridden steel industry. Lengthy negotiations with employers and union officials reached agreement last week on a new plan to 'save' the industry in terms of capitalist profitability.

Massive government loans will go alongside the destruction of over 17,000 jobs—40% of the total. The agreement claims that the bulk of this loss will be covered by 'natural wastage' early retirement, retraining schemes, etc.

The remaining 7,000 jobs will be 'dropped' through a scheme of 'rotational employment', whose details remain obscure.

Massive as this blow is, the deal clearly indicates the Francoist government's fear of the strength and determination of the working class, and also reflects the inability of the labour bureaucracy to move into open opposition to that strength at this stage.

The main shipyards are centred in Euskadi, an area of already high unemployment where workers have been in the vanguard of conflicts with the 'liberalising' regime.

A concession parallel to the 'rotational employment'

proposal has been made to agricultural workers in southern Andalusia. Faced with increasingly militant demands from the 16% of unemployed workers in this region, the government last month allocated over £13 million to a scheme of emergency public works.

Six weeks later, the fund was exhausted—70% had been spent on the materials required. A strike of all agricultural workers has now been called by the main unions in the Cadiz region, demanding further funds and an extension of the scheme to include unemployed youth.

But while the Suarez government faces mounting resistance from workers in its attempts to defend capitalism without directly confronting the power of the working class, these same compromises and half-measures have also antagonised the forces of the repressive state apparatus.

The Francoist heirs make liberal use of the army, riot

police and armed police, but are also forced on occasion to restrain their 'excesses' and criticise their over-enthusiastic defence of the regime.

Outraged by these slights to their repressive authority, leading members of the extreme right wing Police Association, which represents 85% of the armed police, declared last week that:

"As long as the government practices an indiscriminate policy of pardons and amnesties, and completely disdains the law, we cannot offer protection to citizens."

The two officers concerned were dismissed after this outright threat. But the moves within the armed forces towards a military coup show the precarious balance of the Suarez government.

The failure of the Francoists to contain the struggles of the working class increases that pressure.



Close collaboration between Suarez and SP leader Gonzales

every day. The threat of renewed military dictatorship in Spain will remain for as long as the mighty forward movement of

Spanish workers is held back from its revolutionary goal by a politically inadequate leadership staffed by accomplished traitors.

Basnett muzzles fight against 'secrets' show trial

As the Aubrey/Berry/Campbell "Secrets" trial got under way at the Old Bailey with extensive press coverage of the prosecution case, the TUC gave a calculated kick in the teeth to the NUJ and other forces fighting for the charges to be dropped. TUC chairman David Basnett ruled that a fairly tame NUJ motion—calling

on the TUC to "note with concern" the continuing prosecution, call on the Attorney-General to drop the charges, and call for the introduction of a Freedom of Information Act—should not be debated.

Legal advice

He claimed that this was the outcome of legal advice on the problems of discussing a matter currently before the courts.

An NUJ attempt to challenge this ruling failed to win support—though delegates from the Society of Civil and Public Servants and the Civil and Public Services Association (whose members have to contend each day with the Official Secrets Act) voted with the

NUJ.

In protest at this muzzling of the resolution, NUJ delegates walked out of the hall, and subsequently circulated copies of the speech that would have been given by union President Dennis McShane.

No infringement

The text made it clear that there was never any question of McShane's speech infringing the sub-judice regulations—but that it did contain a damning indictment of the record of the Labour Government in imposing restrictions on the freedom of the press—including references to the deportation of journalists Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball, and to censorship and distortion of news from Northern Ireland.

The speech also attacked the government's abandonment of its manifesto pledge to repeal the Official Secrets Act.

Basnett's decision to silence such a speech seems far more related to a reluctance to embarrass Labour on the eve of an expected election than any genuine worries about the sub-judice rules.

The urgency of the NUJ



Basnett

and the ABC Defence Campaign calling a national labour movement conference to build support for the three defendants is now greater than ever.

200 join picket

A picket of some 200 trade unionists and Defence Campaign supporters demanding the dropping of the charges assembled outside the Old Bailey last Tuesday as the 'ABC' trial opened.

The three defendants face a

total of nine charges under the Official Secrets Act of 1911 and 1920, all of which relate to the alleged disclosure of information on the hugely expensive and secret SIGINT surveillance network.

Journalist Crispin Aubrey is charged with arranging a discussion between all three defendants and abetting Campbell.

Information

John Berry—who, seven years earlier, had held a corporal's rank in SIGINT—is charged with communicating information to Campbell.

And journalist Duncan Campbell is charged with obtaining information from Berry and collecting information on defence communications.

Already the prosecution has declared that a portion of the trial will be held 'in camera'.

This is despite the statement by prosecuting QC John Leonard that the case is "not a spying case" and that if there was a conviction under the Official Secrets Act, the offences would be regarded as being at the lowest end of the scale.

Stepped up

Trade unionists should not fall for this attempt to minimise the importance of the case. The campaign in defence of these three victims must be stepped up.

Pickets will assemble outside the Old Bailey every Tuesday from 12.30 p.m.—2.30 p.m.



PHOTO: Andrew Wiatard, Report

Agee and Hosenball deportations were an earlier attack by Home Secretary Rees

Nationalise these catering giants!

Ever eaten a good meal in a motorway cafe?

The question is so ridiculous that it took a top employers' spokesman nine months to screw up the nerve to go on television and into print to assert that the whole system is not a monumental rip-off.

Cider boss

Of course right wing Transport Secretary William Rodgers had chosen a reliable figurehead for the expensive "committee of inquiry"—Peter Prior, chairman of the Bulmers cider firm.

As expected, Prior refused point blank to criticise his bosom pals in the Trust Houses Forte, Ross and Granada catering monopolies who run the motorway service areas.

Their "inflation adjust-



The catering firms are also viciously anti union: our picture shows a THF service area blacked by union action last year

ed" profits fell between 1973 and 1977 from 10.3% to 2.5%, he claimed.

But the luckless motorist's "inflation adjusted" meal has gone from expensive to astronomical in price, while petrol remains a stubborn 8p per gallon extra.

Prior proposes the

government make additional hand-outs to these latter-day highway robbers, to boost their profits further.

We propose that the reactionary, anti-union catering agents, the breweries, and Mr. Prior's own cider giant be nationalised without compensation under workers' management.

PRESS GANG POLL-AXED

The press does not like to be wrong.

Political correspondents had been recalled from their holidays, executives had been preparing lists to follow party leaders about the country and leader writers had been rehearsing their arguments on the need for 'firm' government.

All in all the press was as geared up for an election as were MPs, Labour bureaucrats and political parties.

In thrashing around for an explanation for no election the press has come up with an almost infinite variety of conclusions.

Some papers portrayed Callaghan as a scheming master of suspense, deliberately building up to a crescendo of nothingness.

Others screamed with frustrated anger (The Sun announced the news under the one-word headline—'Chicken!').

But in all the headlines and thousands of words written on the subject there has not been one single reference to the SU Carbuettors strike!

Had the election gone ahead under conditions of a national shutdown of

British Leyland, Callaghan and Healey could have faced as big a challenge from the working class in action as did Heath in 1974.

This fact did not rate one line of coverage—either in the immediate reaction stories or in the 'serious' think pieces in the Sundays. Instead the press presented the decision as being based on 'private polls', predictions about the future or plain cowardice.

The Sunday Telegraph underscored the fact that the capitalists required an election—whichever way it went.

"If the Government had won an election, its mandate for a five per cent limit would have been vastly strengthened.

On the other hand if the Conservatives had won, the new Government under Mrs. Thatcher would have begun implementing policies—notably cuts in taxes and public expenditure—which would have transformed the prospects for industrial expansion.

As it is the country is saddled with a lame duck Government."



Callaghan

Both the Sunday Times and Observer devoted long articles each of several thousand words to the minutiae of the decision, without mentioning its central plank.

Callaghan is too bland and avuncular a figure to be raw material for the cult of the personality.

But the press chose to endow him with the gift of personal caprice to obscure the most gigantic and obvious obstacle to a general election.

The working class in action.

PHOTO: Andrew Wiatard, Report

OUT NOW! WRP JUNKS THE OLD TROTSKYISM



This pamphlet brings together two articles recently published in Socialist Press, dealing with the policies of the self-styled 'Trotskyists' of the Workers Revolutionary Party in relation to the Middle East. The second article in particular exposes the way in which almost every aspect of the WRP's current international orientation represents the polar opposite of the principles historically defended by the WRP and its forerunner the Socialist Labour League. The remainder of the pamphlet consists of documentary material to demonstrate the full extent of this volte face.

Price 45p plus 10p p&p from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

TUC 1978 THE GREAT COVER-UP



During a short break in the lobbying, on the Wednesday lunch-time about 70 or 80 Right to Work marchers brought along a van to empty out tables and food for their lunch, on the wide pavement outside the hall.

The police took violent objection to this. First, they tried to prevent the van from unloading at all, though it was not obstructing the road. Some Right to Work marchers then sat down in a rather futile protest.

Suddenly police horses appeared and ran straight into the marchers, injuring a number of them and forcing marchers off the road and the van away.

The arrogance and viciousness of the police was no doubt helped along by the compliance of the bureaucrats.

WHETHER IT was noting with "gravest concern" the prospect of a jobs massacre in the newly taken-over Chrysler factories; wriggling out of criticism from the Fire Brigades Union over the betrayal of their 10-week pay battle; greasing up to wage-cutter Callaghan by adopting a meaningless form of words on pay; lobbying off lobbyists of the unemployed, low paid and old age pensioners; or dropping even the call for socialism from its objectives, the 1978 TUC successfully avoided advancing any struggles of the working class.

Tory-bashing came the real unchanged essence of TUC policy: total, grovelling subservience to the reactionary Labour leadership and its defence of British capitalism.

element that the TUC bureaucracy, for all their mighty labours, have still not managed to contain.

The rank and file of the working class, defiant and hostile, continued to reveal its strength.

In Bathgate and in SU Carburettors, workers stand solid against bureaucratic dictatorship, threatening to precipitate further huge struggles in British Leyland.

This harsh reality which was scarcely referred to during the hullabaloo of the TUC, marred the scene.

A prompt decision was taken to throw the election bandwagon into reverse—leaving craven TUC officials bemused.

Even the Labour Party's official journal *Labour Weekly*, was left stranded high and dry by Callaghan's switch.

The elaborately orchestrated overture had turned out to be a discordant and confused finale.

NUPE leader Alan Fisher arrived to propose yet another target for a "minimum wage", knowing full well that previous such targets have been buried without trace as soon as pay talks began.

And a UPW bureaucrat rose to the rostrum to plead for Callaghan to legislate postal workers the 'right to strike' which, until last year's squalid UPW surrenders over Grunwick blacking, everybody had thought they already had.

In between the double talk, by 'left' and right alike yet another farewell to the treacherous twins Jones and Scanlon, and the ritual

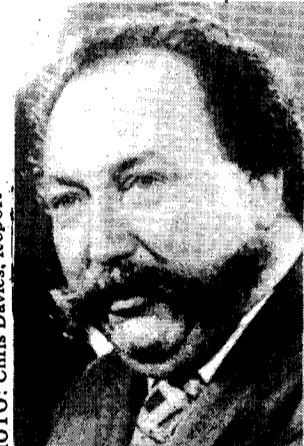
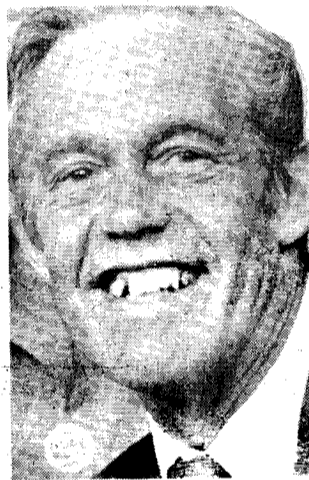


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

UPW leader Jackson

The whole scene was set for Callaghan to hoist the curtain of a General Election—except for one



Fisher: new target

No answer to police interference

After a year in which Labour Ministers have supervised brutal attacks on Grunwick pickets, bans on Labour movements, the 'ABC' prosecution and the establishment of a new police computer with files on political suspects, the issue of state interference in the Labour movement has become a major question.

But while TUC delegates rehearsed their endorsements for the expected imminent Labour election campaign they were careful not to spell out the full extent of Labour complicity in the attacks, or offer any real answer.

Government

Tobacco Workers Union General Secretary Doug Grieve moved a resolution calling for the Government to launch an "independent inquiry" into the functions and activities of the Special Branch and the Special Patrol Group.

Such a call is worse than useless.

It creates the illusion that a government-run

committee could actually carry out an independent role.

And it suggests that Labour leaders—who have time and again revealed their dedication to the strengthening of the capitalist state apparatus—could be prepared to assist in such an inquiry.



Sapper

At the same time in singling out two specialist sections of the police, the resolution steers well clear of any attempt to expose the police as a whole, in their defence of fascists, their attacks on pickets, their harassment of

black workers and youth.

Len Murray, supporting the motion, expressly stated that it should not be seen as an attack on the whole force, "nor on the men and women who work for it!"

Speaking on the main resolution, Grieve pointed to the compiling of files on militants and union officials by the Special Branch; to phone tapping and the interception of mail; and to attempts to lure students into working as agents.

ACTT leader Alan Sapper, who moved an amendment, referred to the brutality of the Special Patrol Group against pickets at Grunwick:

Protection

"We want protecting, not brutalising" he said. The police force, he added "must protect us, not beat us up".

But those expressions of anguish and horror are also expressions of complete confusion.

The police are part of the armed repressive force maintained by the capitalist state to preserve capitalist exploitation. They will never act in response to the "democratic" wishes of the majority of the population, who are exploited by capi-



Murray

talism, and whose interests demand the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The only way a police force responsive to the workers movement can be established is through revolutionary struggle for a socialist planned economy, the dissolution of the police and the standing army, and the establishment in their place of workers' militia organised through the trade unions.

But such a course means a fight not simply against the police and their Labour Cabinet allies, but also against Grieve, Sapper and the TUC bureaucracy.



Evans plays the protestors' tune

The mobilisation of a lobby of some 400 'Right to Work' marchers and supporters of the 'Campaign Against Youth Unemployment' outside the TUC on Tuesday offered TGWU General Secretary Moss Evans and a string of other bureaucrats a chance to shine as spokesmen of the 'left'.

Boldly—in the knowledge that he was committing himself to nothing and diverting from a confrontation with the 5% Phase 4 limit—Evans strode to the platform to move a resolution that echoed the central slogan of the lobbyists, calling for a 35 hour week to cut unemployment.

Out came all the thread-



Evans

bare old clichés about unemployment in the 1930s. Out came the usual spurious estimates of how many "extra" jobs would be "created" by the 35-hour week.

Left out

But of course, as did the 'Anger on the Road' march and the various categories of campaigns against youth unemployment, Evans left out one vital point: unemployment is rising because TUC leaders are collaborating with employers in speeding-up production and cutting manning levels.

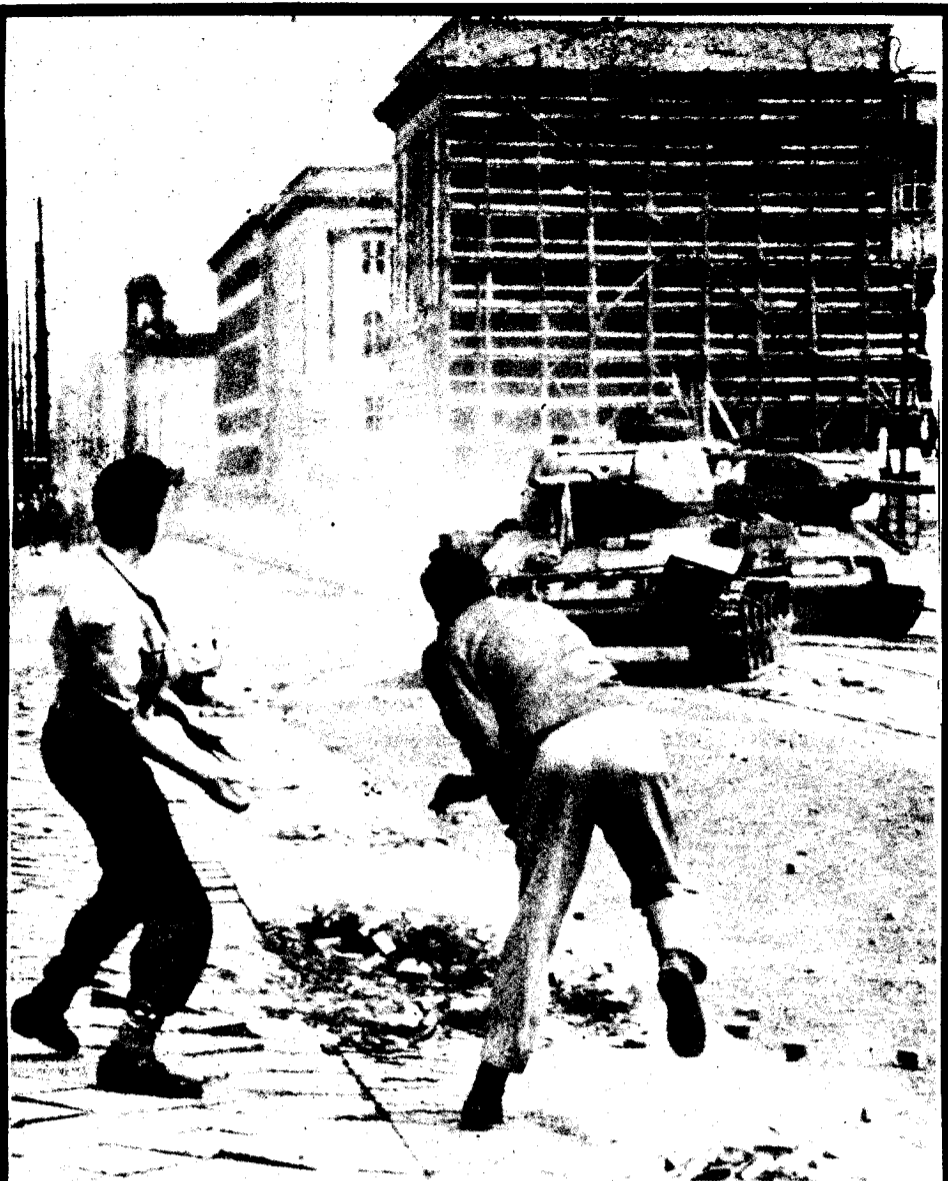
As long as this continues a cut in working hours—even if achieved—would bring no new jobs at all!

Dole queues are growing because of brazen betrayals such as the sell out at British Leyland's Speke plant, where 3,000 workers lost their jobs through a refusal of union officials, stewards or even "right to work" campaigners to fight for a policy of plant occupation, opening Leyland's books, and the fight for a nationalised motor and components industry.

Connivance

And unemployment will not be ended until TUC leaders are forced to break from their connivance at Healey's public spending cuts and to fight a programme of public works paid at union rates under workers' control.

RECONSTRUCTING THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL



1953:

East Berlin workers defy Stalinist tanks

The perspective outlined from 1950 onwards by FI leader Michel Pablo — that Stalinist parties were moving towards centrism and even a "revolutionary orientation" under mass pressure from their membership — was rudely shattered by events in the class struggle.

East German workers rose in political revolt against the Stalinist bureaucracy, only to be crushed by Soviet tanks. Stalin's death in the USSR found Pablo and his co-thinkers without any programme for political revolution, casting around for 'left' sections of the Kremlin bureaucracy. And in France a General Strike was brazenly sold out by the supposedly leftward-moving mass Communist Party, while the Pabloites refused to criticise the Stalinists.

Pablo, meanwhile, was caught in underhand factional manoeuvres within other parties of the International. Under James P. Cannon, the US Socialist Workers Party finally issued the famous 'Open Letter' of 1953 declaring a public faction with Pablo and seeking to defend 'orthodox Trotskyism'. The signatories of this letter formed the International Committee. Pablo's followers remained in the International Secretariat.

1. Daily confirmation that this is the epoch of imperialist decay is to be found in the profound political and economic crises convulsing the capitalist states, the colonial and ex-colonial regimes, and the degenerate workers' states of Europe and Asia.

In this period the betrayals of both Stalinist and Social Democratic parties internationally—each finding new depths of class collaboration in the face of the growing movement of workers and peasants against imperialism—highlights the vital necessity for the reconstruction of the Fourth International as the organising centre of the world party of the socialist revolution.

2. Founded forty years ago in 1938 on the inseparable principles of proletarian internationalism and the defence of the political independence of the work-

ing class from the bourgeoisie and all its agencies within the workers' movement, the task of the Fourth International was and remains that of preparing the human, material and political resources necessary to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership in the international struggle for socialism.

But the International was from the beginning faced by huge objective and internal difficulties. The Trotskyist movement today confronts a crisis in which its whole post-war history must be re-examined in order to probe the political reasons behind its prolonged disorientation. Only from such a basis can a principled way forward be found for its reconstruction.

3. Trotskyism, the present day continuity of revolutionary Marxism, stands alone in seeing the need for the working class to take the lead in the struggle for social revolu-

tion. For this reason it is only Trotskyists who reject on principle political blocs or partnerships with other classes in which the revolutionary strength of the working class is subordinated to the interests of the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, 'progressive' military juntas, or sections of the bureaucracy parasitic upon the workers' movement itself.

Because of the fundamental importance of this principle we are convinced it is necessary to re-examine those episodes in the post-war history of Trotskyism in which that position was abandoned in practice, and the method on which it rests was thrown into question.

In particular it is necessary to analyse anew and break from the method involved in the orientation of the movement towards Stalinism under the leadership of Michel Pablo—both prior to and after the 1953 split. It is essential to link this to an examination of the orientation of Trotskyist tendencies towards the Castroite leadership in Cuba and to petty bourgeois nationalist forces in Latin America and Algeria in the years following 1959, and to an analysis of present attitudes to the latest changes in post-war Stalinism—so-called 'Eurocommunism' in the capitalist states, and the nature of the Vietnamese Communist Party.

And such an analysis must also involve a searching examination of the attitude of the various tendencies of the world Trotskyist movement to 'progressive' military juntas such as the post-1974 AFM

Can yesterday's blunderer and miracle-man become tomorrow's Marxist?

The answer is in some instances 'yes'.

Can this be done without examining the harsh lessons of the past, without breaking from the false positions of the past, without a struggle to change and to grasp the essence of Marxism?

The answer must be 'no'. So how can the blunderer or his followers be forced to make such a break?

This is the problem confronting those forces internationally who see the need to fight on an international basis for the programme and the method of Trotskyism, but find themselves up against three main groupings (and a number of smaller ones) each laying claim to represent the continuity of the Fourth International.

The largest of these groupings, the 'United' Secretariat, (USFI) remains wracked by a

profound internal crisis, and is composed of the most heterogeneous forces drawn together on an opportunist basis over the last 25 years since the 1953 split.

The rival "International Committee", led by Gerry Healy, is based around the British Workers Revolutionary Party. Its policies are a bizarre mixture of wooden, formal, Trotskyist "orthodoxy", ultra-leftism, propagandist abstention from the day-to-day class struggle, and gross opportunist adaptation to the petty bourgeois nationalist forces in the Middle East and Africa.

And the Organising Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI), headed by French OCI leader Pierre Lambert, combines an opportunist approach to the fight for the demands of the Trotskyist Transitional Programme with thoroughgoing liquidation of its forces into social democratic parties in a number of countries.

Looked at in themselves, none of these groupings can

claim either in their practical record or in their theoretical positions, to represent the continuity of Trotskyism.

Nor would anything be improved by simply fusing these three inadequate groupings together.

The very history of the post-war Fourth International is sufficient to prove that neither ill-prepared and hasty splits, nor opportunist "reunifications" can in themselves resolve political problems.

The reconstruction of the Fourth International as the organising centre of the world party of socialist revolution requires not the formulation of a suitably diplomatic verbal declaration agreeable to all parties, not a mutual hiding of sins.

It requires a return to examine the programme, the principles and the method on which the Fourth International was founded 40 years ago, to see in what way those principles have been challenged in the post-war International, and to demonstrate the importance of

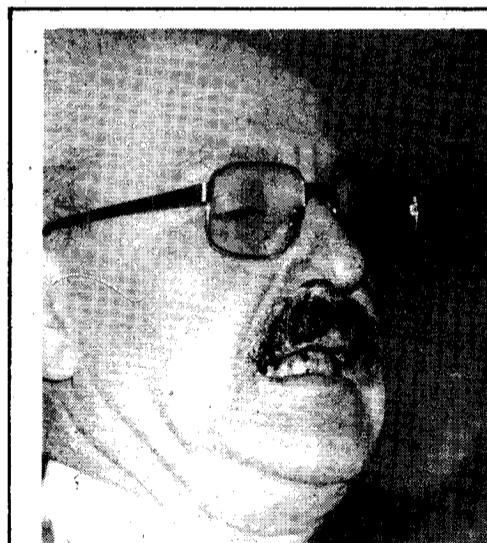
regime in Portugal and 'progressive' bonapartist regimes such as that of Gaddafi's in Libya.

Above all we must establish the basis to positively re-affirm both in our current programme and in the practice of each section, as well as by drawing the lessons of the past, the basic starting point of revolutionary Marxism: that the proletariat, the propertyless class, exploited by the bourgeoisie as the living instrument of capitalist production and the source of value, is the only consistently revolutionary class in society.

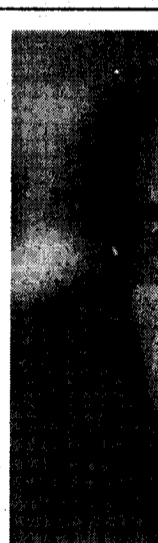
4. Yet in capitalist or colonial countries where peasants and small farmers represent a sizeable section of the population—even its majority—it is necessary for the workers to be equipped with a programme around which an alliance can be made with those oppressed small property-holders against the bourgeoisie and the big landowners.

Such a programme, basing itself on the theoretical gains embodied in Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, must contain a system of transitional demands in combination where appropriate with democratic demands, capable of mobilising the broadest layers of mass support in struggle against feudal relations, national oppression, Bonapartist or fascist dictatorship and leading over to the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

Such a programme is the indispensable basis for common struggle, and the bridge between the democratic and the socialist revolution, ensuring that the reactionary separation of these



OCI leader Lambert



SLL leader Healy

Disagreements between the remaining parties of the International Secretariat and the French OCI—continued unresolved. Opposed assessments of the French General Strike of 1968 and of the Middle East War of 1967, led to the formation of an 'international' which never attempted to achieve democratic centrism.

Finally, in 1971, on the pretext of criticism of the OCI's role in the cover of specious arguments on philosophy and the Transitional Programme, the OCI went on to form the OCRFI.

struggles, advocated by the Mensheviks and now adopted by all sections of Stalinists, is opposed and defeated in practice.

5. In the struggle to mobilise the working class itself, the key is likewise a programme of transitional demands which can form a bridge between the daily spontaneous and trade union struggle carried on by the working class, and the necessary conscious struggle for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The fight in practice for such a programme to form the basis of the actions of the working class is the material way in which Marxists must today undertake the task described by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*:

"... to combat spontaneity, to divert the working class movement from this spontaneous, trade unionist striving to come under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social Democracy... all worship of the spontaneity of the working class movement, all belittling of the role of the 'conscious element', of the role of Social Democracy, means, quite independently of whether he who belittles that role desires it or not, a strengthening of the influence of bourgeois ideology upon the workers".

For this reason, also, therefore, any abstention from this fight for leadership within the working class movement is a retreat from the task of Marxists today. It is a matter of principle therefore for Trotskyists to undertake



The Portuguese AFM regime

RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

reaffirming the correctness of those principles in today's struggles.

And above all it demands a rigorous scrutiny of the past and present *practical work* of those parties that lay claim to be Trotskyist parties, to ensure that a reconstructed Fourth International can operate firmly on the basis of democratic centralism.

The Workers Socialist League, which is not a part of any of these three main groupings, has since its foundation, consistently argued for such a perspective.

We have pointed out that while moves to reconstruct the Fourth International must almost inevitably begin with discussion on the roots of the present divisions and crisis within the "world Trotskyist movement", that its *objective* must be to lay a principled basis of programmatic and methodological agreement on which a fighting International can be built, capable of giving leadership to today's struggles of the international proletariat.

But this objective is casually brushed aside by the leaders of the USFI, IC and OCRFI.

They would sooner see a continuation of the present confusion than any attempt to cut through the tissue of lies, evasions and half truths with which they have attempted to conceal the history of the movement.

The WSL has been repeatedly attacked for its determination to fight for an understanding of the political issues underlying the post-war splits in the Trotskyist movement in 1953 and 1963.

But our position is based not on academic interest in 'history' for its own sake.

On the contrary, the political problems central to those splits—the problem of understanding the contradictory post-war role of Stalinism, and the difficulty of orientating towards petty bourgeois nationalist forces in colonial liberation struggles—live on as problems

facing today's working class.

The abject confusion of the USFI leadership on "Eurocommunism" (which they regard as a 'progressive' phenomenon reflecting anti-bureaucratic feeling in the working class) and the grovelling of the International Committee leadership to petty bourgeois nationalists in the Middle East, amply demonstrate that these "historical" questions are in fact questions about today.

We remain convinced that there is no shortcut to the reconstruction of the Fourth International. It is not possible simply to piece together the existing splintered fragments of the post-war Trotskyist movement.

It is necessary to reaffirm both in theory and in practice the principles on which the Fourth International was founded.

We see practical and theoretical agreement on the nine points listed below as a principled basis for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.



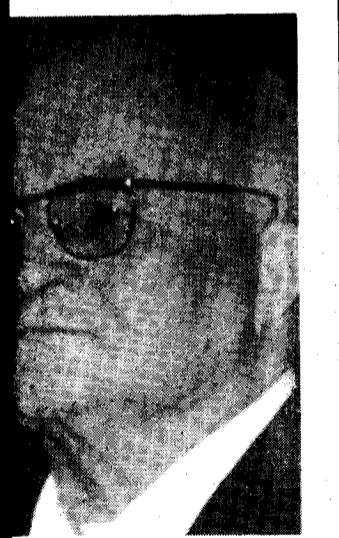
1963:

Despite the Hungarian events of 1956, the SWP leadership began to move closer to the Pabloite view that the Kremlin bureaucracy was being pressured into self-reform, and increasingly accepted the Pabloite emphasis on petty-bourgeois-led colonial liberation struggles in place of the fight to train a vanguard party in the proletariat and in the advanced capitalist countries.

The high point of this emerged in the wake of the 1959 Cuban revolution. Castro, under combined military threat and economic blockade from US imperialism, turned towards the Kremlin for support. Under Soviet military protection, and in an increasingly close relationship with the Cuban Stalinist party, Castro pressed ahead with nationalisations and the replacement of the old bourgeois state apparatus with the apparatus of a deformed workers state.

The SWP joined the Pabloites in regarding Castro as a 'natural Marxist', seeing the Cuban revolution as the 'model' for future revolutions in the colonial countries, and seeking to 'fuse' the Trotskyist movement with Castroite forces.

Fought by the British Socialist Labour League (who wrongly insisted that Cuba remained a capitalist state, but defended it against imperialist attack) the SWP broke its political sympathy for the International Committee and declared in favour of a 'reunification' with the International Secretariat. This took place, on a Pabloite programme and without prior discussion on the split of 1953. The result was the present 'United' Secretariat.



International Committee — the British... of the history of the FI, of 1967 were scarcely discussed in... in events in Bolivia, and under... programme, the SLL split from



Trotsky

systematic and serious work, propagandising and agitating for the demands of the transitional programme, within the labour movement and the mass organisations of the working class as a whole. Without taking the fight into this arena, the programme becomes simply words.

6. In the ideological arming of the working class and the intervention of Marxists into the labour movement is enshrined also the need for parties and a reconstructed International constructed on the Bolshevik pattern, on the political and organisational principle of democratic centralism—democratic democracy within the movement in arriving at decisions combined with discipline by all members of the movement.

in carrying out the decisions of the majority.

The fight for this internal regime brings to a high point the fight against the petty bourgeois tendencies to individualism, propagandism, opportunism and careerism which beset the bankrupt ranks and leading echelons of the reformist, Stalinist and centrist movements. At the same time it challenges syndicalist positions brought into the movement by trade union comrades.

And by bringing the practice of the movement into open discussion enabling the theoretically established perspectives and the daily developing practice of the party to be brought into sharp conflict, democratic centralism plays a crucial role in the fight against schematism and dogmatism, together with all forms of idealist retreat

from the Marxist method of dialectical materialism.

Similarly on an international level democratic centralism must be upheld as the essential organisational principle of the reconstructed Fourth International. The Workers Socialist League will not be a party to any repetition of the "moratoria" and unspoken "non-aggression pacts" that have characterised the opportunist organisational relationships within the IS, the USFI, the IC and the OCRFI.

We are fundamentally opposed to the concept of an "International" in which the discipline is so loose and the programmatic agreement so weak that public warfare can take place between its factions in different countries around the world. We insist on the

fullest internal discussion and examination of the practice of the sections, combined with a strict adherence by all sections to the line of the majority.

7. The Trotskyist Fourth International traces its independent origins and its reason for existence from the pronouncement by Trotsky and the Left Opposition in 1933 that the Comintern, totally dominated by the Stalinist bureaucracy, was dead for the purposes of revolution and a thoroughly counter-revolutionary force within the international workers' movement. At the same time Stalinism was seen as a fundamentally unstable Bonapartist form of rule, balancing between the nationalised property relations established in the October revolution and the international pressures of imperialism. Trotsky established a clear position of unconditional defence of the Soviet Union as a workers' state against imperialism, coupled to the fight to prepare political revolution for the conscious overthrow of the bureaucracy and restoration of soviet power.

This analysis still has to be defended both against tendencies that have attempted to see the Stalinist bureaucracy as a permanent and progressive force in the workers' movement (pre-war centrists, and Pablo in the post-war period) or as a permanent, reactionary force—a new ruling class in the Soviet Union (Schachtmanites and state capitalists today).

In defending the Trotskyist perspective, the most important starting point is the question of the

political independence of the working class from the Stalinist bureaucracy in the struggle for state power. It is this, along with an analysis of the counter-revolutionary world strategy of Stalinism in the post-war period which most clearly refutes the Pabloite notion of a 'left centrist' evolution of Stalinism in the Eastern European buffer zone or in Asia, and which shows most clearly the reactionary nature of 'Eurocommunist' criticism of the regimes in Eastern Europe. It is this position also that confirms the need for the building of Trotskyist parties for political revolution in Cuba, Vietnam, China and Yugoslavia as well as the USSR and Eastern Europe.

It is necessary for the world Trotskyist movement to re-examine these issues bearing on the post war role of Stalinism in order to clarify and correct the wrong positions that have been adopted. For this purpose the USFI, IC and OCRFI leadership and sections—for all their false positions—cannot be regarded in advance as having placed themselves outside the world Trotskyist movement.

8. It is impossible to reconstruct the Fourth International without a conscious break from the method of impressionism and empiricism taking up a struggle for the dialectical method as fought for by Trotsky in *In Defence of Marxism*. Such a break means also a break from attempts to substitute petty bourgeois propaganda groupings for serious Marxist cadres developed in the mass organisations of

the working class. Only when such a change is made can the fight for the transitional programme on an international scale take on real meaning and life at the centre of the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

9. Should agreement be reached on these general political principles, the way would be opened up for steps to organisationally reconstruct the Fourth International.

The WSL is flexible in regard to the organisational aspects of discussions towards this reconstruction. We insist only that these must involve parity arrangements acceptable to all parties, and that both the history of the movement as a whole and the present practice of each part of it must be open to examination.



USFI leader Mandel

Speaking out about Britain's longest- running war

British Soldiers Speak Out On Ireland has been produced by ex-British soldiers who are opposed to the British war in Ireland.

It highlights the historic liberation struggle in Ireland and elsewhere while showing the repressive nature of the British Army, with statements from British soldiers involved in that repression.

The first few pages give a competent account of the role of the British army in Ireland (1169;1922) and of the Irish people's continuing resistance to these conquests.

They show the increasingly brutal attempts by Britain to crush this resistance.

A weakness of this section is that a lack of class analysis means that there is no explanation of why it was that partition was accepted by one section of the Irish population.

Weakness

Another weakness is that there is no similar account of the period from the 1920s onwards.

After giving an account of the wars fought by Britain against the Irish, the pamphlet shows how repression in Ireland was linked to the maintenance of the army as a force of the ruling class.

It shows how the raising of the first regular army (in the seventeenth century) was coupled by the ruling class "with suppression of the Irish and defence of the protestant religion".

An account of Cromwell's campaign against the Irish rebels is given but the pamphlet also points out that a number of regiments, influenced by the Levellers, refused to fight in Ireland.

Pamphlet

A quote is given from a pamphlet of the time:

"Fellow soldiers. Oh! the ocean of blood that we are guilty of! Oh! how those deadly sins of ours do torment our consciences! What have we to do in Ireland, to fight and murder a people and a nation which have done us no harm? We have waded too far in that crimson stream already of innocent and Christian blood."

Despite these protests the war continued with terrible suffering for the Irish people, but Ireland was never fully pacified.

There were risings in 1798, 1802, 1848 and 1867 but as Engels pointed out, these were futile against England with her naval fleets, her army, her police and spy system.

Training ground

The pamphlet shows the importance of Ireland as a training ground in repression for the army.

During the late eighteenth century the army was given its first internal role in Britain, against the working class, setting up

military barracks in and near working class towns.

To quote Tory Prime Minister Pitt:

"The circumstances of the country, coupled with the general state of affairs, rendered it advisable to provide barracks in other parts of the kingdom. A spirit had appeared in some of the manufacturing towns which made it necessary that troops be kept near them."

Luddites

This new use of troops against the working class is emphasised by E.P. Thompson in *The Making of the English Working Class* where he mentions the Luddites:

"For weeks whole districts were virtually under martial law. And one military command, in particular, established a reign of terror with arbitrary arrests, searches, brutal questionings and threats, for which we must turn to Irish history in search of comparison."

This use of the army against the British working class, which is far from ruled out in today's struggles is inseparably linked with the struggle in Ireland.

Propaganda

The pamphlet draws out the propaganda techniques used by the army on its own forces.

For example, in an army booklet 'Notes on N. Ireland' (which purported to give the troops some background to the current situation) a so-called "IRA oath" was reproduced.

The oath dwelt heavily on blood and vengeance—giving the impression of the Republicans as violent fanatics.

The oath itself, however, was a fake dreamt up in 1918 by Ulster Loyalists trying to discredit those fighting for national independence.

In other publications such as *Soldier*, an official army magazine, the Unionist population is painted in generally more favourable terms than the Catholics.

Role in Aden

Using statements from soldiers involved in repression around the world, the pamphlet shows a link between the army's role in, for example, Aden and Malaya with that in Ireland.

Vivid descriptions are given of the violence meted out by these "guardians of law and order":

"In 1971 I was posted with my unit, the first battalion Royal Green-jackets, to Belfast Mulhouse barracks.

My first encounter with army brutality was when a mobile patrol came under nail bomb attack, and the patrol lifted a man who

they though might have been the thrower.

I was watching the company TV when he was dragged into the camp. He was shown to all the others in the TV room.

He was then taken into the passageway and was repeatedly hit in the stomach and balls with rifle butts. Then the rest of the soldiers joined in with their fists and boots.

He then had his fingers broken by a corporal who jumped on them while two others held his arms out. All this happened within about ten minutes of him being dragged in."

Emphasis is placed in the pamphlet on the lies and promises which draw the young unemployed into the army.

'Death of a soldier'

A republican prisoner in the Long Kesh concentration camp wrote a fictional account—factually

we were being used for night foot patrols while the whites would do the cushy vehicle patrols."

He goes on to draw a parallel between the oppression of blacks and that of the Irish. His article finishes:

"We must no longer be part of a murdering army of Britain that itself has brutalised our race and plundered Africa and the West Indies."

"One day the British army is going to be used against us in Britain when we declare war on racism, unemployment and police harassment. So brothers and sisters don't help them win that war."

The pamphlet touches on desertions and suicides by British soldiers serving in Ireland—but it would have been useful to give some concrete figures of these cases.

Imaginative use of pictures, cartoons, poems and songs fill out a pamphlet full of useful



Tory spokesman Whitelaw congratulates imperialist troops

INFORMATION ON IRELAND No. 1

Edited by Alistair Renwick

Written and produced by British ex-soldiers

Available from Information on Ireland, 1 North End Road, London W.14.

Price 30p plus p&p

UNITED TROOPS OUT MOVEMENT

Demonstration against British imperialism in Ireland

Saturday 7 October at 1 p.m.

Barnsley (constituency of Roy Mason)

quite typical—entitled 'Death of a Soldier' which sketches the life of a British soldier from his origins in the Glasgow slums to his death on the streets of Belfast.

Lloyd Hayes, black, and a former soldier, gives an account of the attitude of the army to its black troops.

"We were always on show, on camp open days and when civilian and military personnel from Black African countries visited."

He describes the racial prejudice within the army:

"The NCO always seemed biased against us, we were always more severely punished than the others."

"Black soldiers refused to go out on patrols because

information for those fighting for the removal of imperialist troops from Ireland.

Although the authors' sympathies scream from the pages of this pamphlet, its weakness is the lack of even a brief statement of policy on the Irish struggle.

This is despite the fact that Editor Alistair Renwick has a long history in the campaign to bring the truth about the role of British troops out into the open and the struggle for the removal of those troops from Irish soil.

Alongside a clear programme of solidarity by British socialists this pamphlet can be used to help end Britain's first and longest running colonial war.

Taking a swing at the fight for unions

MARK HYDE reviews the film F.I.S.T., starring Sylvester Stallone, soon to go on general release.

The Leicester Square preview of F.I.S.T. has already attracted considerable publicity.

The promoters of this relatively lavish Hollywood production are clearly hoping for a big box-office success.

Socialist Press readers will welcome a film which deals seriously with American trade unionism and the corruption of the union bureaucracy.

However, they will not find this in F.I.S.T.

The film is loosely based on the history of James Hoffa, President of the giant Teamsters' Union, who was jailed for his criminal activities (later to be freed by another criminal—President Nixon—kidnapped by unknown opponents and to disappear without trace).

'Rocky' star

Johnny Kovak (played by 'Rocky' star Sylvester Stallone) represents Hoffa.

The Teamsters Union becomes F.I.S.T. (Federation of Interstate Truckers).

The audience is taken across three decades, from the fight to build F.I.S.T. in the 1930s to the point of Kovak's downfall.

The battle to build the Teamsters, forty years ago, provided an unforgettable page of struggle in the history of the US working class movement.

And the development of a thoroughly corrupt leader-

ship in the Teamsters holds important object lessons for every thinking worker.

But for the makers of F.I.S.T. this is all a closed book.

It may be hard to believe that a film on this subject matter could leave out the working class—but F.I.S.T. manages just that.

The union (according to this film) was built by the actions and manipulations of (implausible) individual figures.

Of course there are 'workers' in the film. It's just that they don't seem to think, speak or show the slightest trace of independence.

Grunts

As substitutes for these attributes they grunt, listen to Kovak and respond with a chant of F.I.S.T.! F.I.S.T.! F.I.S.T.! to his demagoguery.

Hollywood has depicted more perception and class consciousness in its portrayals of the 8th Cavalry in Westerns.

The violence, intimidation and scab thuggery of the employers against trade unionism in the 1930s is shown up by the film (in fact the plot of strike scenes seems completely subordinated to the need for liberal helpings of violence obligatory for the box-office ratings). But everything else is pure fantasy.

'F.I.S.T.' rests on a mon-

strous and slanderous deception—that the Teamsters' Union was built not by the workers but by . . . the Mafia.

Kovak is portrayed as incapable of winning the battle to organise the union (despite the apparent readiness of strikers to organise workers' defence guards against scabs and cops) without enlisting the assistance of mobsters.

It is the hoods' Molotov cocktails that win the day as the workers take a back-seat.

From then on the plot is simple, and tediously predictable.

Kovak (despite the bill board claim that 'He loved his men . . .') can't get the Mafia leader Milano off his back.

The union uses traditional Mafia methods against workers and becomes a field of operations for organised crime.

At last we reach modern times with Rod Steiger as a crusading and fair-minded bourgeois Senator rooting out the gruesome history of corruption.

Still the dumb workers follow Kovak to his violent end.

The message is simple—the union could not be built without corruption. The rise of the bureaucracy was inseparable from it.

In fact, as *Socialist Press* has shown in features on the period in question, the

Teamsters Union was built on a powerful mobilisation and radicalisation of the American working class.

Further, central to this development was not the Mafia, but the *Trotskyists*.

Members of the (then-revolutionary) Socialist Workers Party such as Vincent R. Dunne and Farrell Dobbs stood at the head of the movement.

It is a well documented history but one which Hollywood can never tell—for it is a milestone not simply in trade unionism, but in the experience of the struggle for Marxism in the American working class.

Perhaps the most ironic line in the film comes, when, during the strike, a union leader warns the strikers against listening to 'Bolsheviks'.

Bolsheviks

Kovak asks his sidekick 'Have you seen any Bolsheviks?' The real story would have been the Bolsheviks asking 'Have you seen any Kovaks?'

In conclusion, those who cannot believe just how bloated and corrupt the union bureaucracy is may learn something from this film.

But anyone who wants to know why that bureaucracy grew up, and the real working class struggle behind the Teamsters should give 'F.I.S.T.' a miss.



Kovack (Stallone) marching with Truckers

WSL Writings on the Fourth International



Fourth International: Problems and Tasks:

The first WSL document attempting to draw an objective balance sheet of the post-war history of the Trotskyist International, and analyse the roots of its current crisis. Adopted by the Founding Conference of the WSL, in late 1975. Published as three supplements to *Socialist Press*. Price 15p plus 10p p&p.



Aspects of the History of the FI:

Based on a lecture by John Lister to the WSL 1977 Summer School, this article attempts to examine in more detail the departure from the Marxist method carried out by Michel Pablo and the majority of the International Secretariat of the FI in the period following the Yugoslavian 'break' with Stalin in 1948. The article shows the methodological connection between the positions which led to the 1953 split in the International, and those which opened the door for the opportunist 'reunification' of 1963. Published in *Trotskyism Today* No 2, march 1978. Price 50p plus 15p p&p.



The Poisoned Well:

The document drafted by the Workers Socialist League for submission to the pre-conference discussion of the USFI XIth World Congress — exposing the political bankruptcy and opportunism of both of the previous main factions within the USFI. Pointing out that the common factor of each of the self-styled 'Fourth Internationals' is their departure from the method and principles on which the FI was founded, this article calls for serious steps towards the reconstruction of the International. Published in *Trotskyism Today* No 3, July 1978. Price 60p plus 15p p&p.



Jimmy Hoffa in 1946

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Mikardo grilled on Bethnal Green

Local MP Ian Mikardo was the 'star' speaker at a meeting called on Thursday September 7 by the Save Bethnal Green Hospital Campaign.

But his attempt to present himself as hero of the people battling to save the hospital was a sorry spectacle.

He had, he said, gone over the strategic plan with a tooth-comb and discovered that the closure decision was based on extremely faulty statistics.

He himself had been refused a hearing by the Area Health Authority, had had nine meetings with Minister Roland Moyle in the past ten months and had a stack of correspondence and notes of telegrams sent on the matter.



Mikardo

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

She challenged him with being completely disingenuous in pretending that the figures on Bethnal Green made it an exception to the other 100-plus hospitals which face the axe in London.

She also challenged his pretence that he did not know what policies were necessary to win the campaign.

She challenged him to deny that the EGA closure had only been postponed because the surrounding hospitals had been poised for strike action and because the Emergency Bed Service were defying management and continuing to refer patients there.

Didn't all this dangerously threaten the trade union bureaucrats' strategy of avoiding all-out direct confrontation on the cuts? she demanded.

She called on him to use his influence to directly encourage such action in Bethnal Green and to help the Joint Shop Stewards Committee.

The action already being taken by the occupation of physically prevent the change of use from surgical to geriatric beds was actually assisting the



PHOTO: Mark Fisher, IFL

cuts, she said, and widespread strike action would be necessary to restore the services.

Why, if Mikardo really had voted against every cut in Parliament, as he claimed, had nobody heard about it, she continued.

Finally she challenged him to conduct that campaign in such a way that it hit the headlines and to include in it the fight to kick out Callaghan and Healey who are responsible for the cuts.

Mikardo's attempt to fob off this attack as 'politically motivated' was shouted down and he was forced to agree that industrial action had been the key to the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital.

Unfortunately not that much support from surrounding hospitals had been forthcoming at Bethnal Green, he said.

And as a politician, and conveniently forgetting the social contract, he could not of course interfere in the affairs of

unions, he lamented.

Myrna Shore, one of the more militant members of the support campaign agreed wholeheartedly with what the WSL speaker had said and went on to demand that the local health unions and also the Trades Council take very much more decisive action.

Another WSL speaker called for a London-wide committee of health service stewards and also took up Dan Jones, secretary of Stepney and Bethnal Green Trades Council for his failure to organise sufficient picketing and to call the necessary action.

The bankrupt character of the Socialist Workers Party and their inability to put forward any meaningful policies was very clear.

They had considerable forces at the meeting including Dave Widgery, a local GP and chairman of the campaign committee.

All he or their other speakers

could do was call attention to the danger towards jobs and the importance of the Right to Work Campaign, and like the speaker from the Militant group, make a plea for 'socialism'.

Fight in NUPE

A local councillor, himself a NUPE member, called for a fight in NUPE to withdraw the sponsorship of Roland Moyle, David Ennals right hand man in the health cuts.

The audience which included many local hospital workers and other campaign supporters was fully aware of the need for such concrete policies against the wishes of the bureaucracy and most particularly for all out strike action.

The delegate conference called for next week by the Joint Shop Stewards Committee must ensure that local and national leaders are forced to prepare for this and to carry it out.

Criticism

Can anyone tell me what more I can do?, he said.

There was no shortage of criticism from the 200-strong audience of his failure to admit that the responsibility for the cuts falls on the Labour govern-

ment. Chairman John Snooks made repeated appeals to speakers to 'keep politics out of it' and to restrict themselves to Bethnal Green, but in vain.

But the contribution which most flustered Mikardo and which brought much the strongest applause came from a WSL member.

WSL

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation which fights to build a revolutionary leadership that can politically prepare and mobilise the working class for the taking of state power and the construction of a socialist society.

The fight of the Workers Socialist League in Britain is a part of the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, the World Party of Socialist Revolution, founded in 1938 under the leadership of Leon Trotsky. The basis of this fight is the theory and practice of the Transitional Programme of the Fourth International.

The Workers Socialist League puts forward a programme to defend the interests of the working class today against the attacks of capitalism in crisis. The aim of the programme is the independent political mobilisation of the working class towards the overthrow of capitalism and its state machine in the capitalist countries.

In the workers states which must be defended against imperialism the task is the political revolution to overthrow the parasitic bureaucracies which repress the working class and endanger the gains that have been made.

The fight for socialism is impossible without the fight to expose at every step the misleaders of the working class: the Labour and trade union leaders (both 'right' and 'left'), the Communist Party Stalinists (both 'Eurocommunist' and 'pro-Moscow'), the petty bourgeois nationalists who derail anti-imperialist struggles in the underdeveloped countries and those groupings which pay lip service to Trotskyism whilst rejecting its basic methods and programme.

Only through such a struggle can the working class find a road out of the capitalist crisis—falling living standards, unemployment, denial of basic rights, colonial repression as in Ireland, and the threats of fascism and war.

For more details of the policies, programme and work of the Workers Socialist League, fill in the form below.

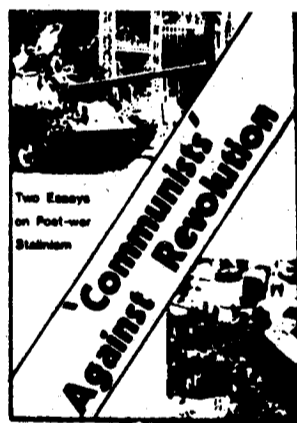
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'Communists' Against Revolution, containing the important essay 'The Theory of Structural Assimilation' by Tim Wohlforth is the book on post-war Stalinism that Mandel and Healy would not discuss. Make sure you get your copy—available at £1.75 plus 20p p&p from: WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR



Public meetings

OXFORD

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public Meeting

"British Leyland and the Crisis in the Motor Industry"

Friday 15 September 8.00 p.m.

at East Oxford Community Centre Princes St.

LEEDS

WSL Social Work Group

Public meeting

"Regrading"

Thursday 14 September at 7.30 p.m.

Leeds Trades Club Saville Mount Off Chapeltown Rd.



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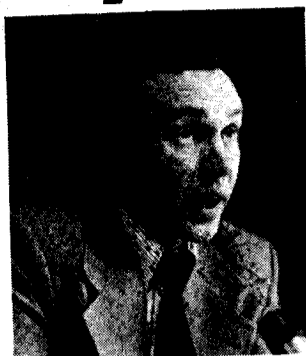
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Subscribe!

Lively meeting SANDERSONS VICTORY ONLY on St Mary's

fight

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report.



Colin Kenny

The building of London-wide strike action in the hospitals and the occupation of St. Marys Hospital, Harrow Road were two of the policies put forward at the recent WSL meeting on the fight to keep the hospital open.

Though it was not a large meeting, a lively discussion followed the platform speakers, particularly bringing in the experience of the struggle at the EGA, Bethnal Green and Hounslow.

Colin Kenny from the District Joint Shop Stewards Committee (in a personal capacity) outlined the plans of the Area Health Authority to run down the hospital with its closure in 1986.

A new hospital is promised, but clearly, with the continuing cutbacks proposed by this and any subsequent government, no promise of a future hospital can be taken as good coin.

The AHA plan, issued on the 29 June, also planned a £2½ million "saving" over the next few years.

They have called for a consultation period on the plan until the end of November.

This so-called consultation is nothing but a phoney attempt to draw in sections of workers and tenants into agreement with the closure.

Colin Kenny stressed that the WSL starts from the defence

Nearly a year and a half after being sacked for organising a trade union, the Sandersons Forklift strikers have yet to win their demands for reinstatement and union recognition.

The question everyone must be asking is, why is it, after all this time, they are still denied the most elementary democratic right?

And why is it that a union

like the TGWU with its enormous membership and resources has proved incapable of crushing resistance from this tin-pot employer?

Determination

The reality is that the strikers have to contend with not only the increasing determination of smaller employers to prevent the growth of union membership but also the trade union leadership backing to the

hilt a Labour government forcing through year after year of wage controls, and cuts in public spending.

This has meant that, far from being able to defend even the right of people to join a union, the union leaders like the AUEW at SU Carburettors and the TGWU at Leyland's Cowley Plant, are actually threatening to *expel* those who stand out against their collaboration as they prepare to impose Phase 4.

So, just as at Grunwicks, where every shade of union bureaucrat, including the most 'left' like Arthur Scargill, and the TGWU's Ron Todd—now responsible for the Sandersons strike—proved incapable of smashing a similar employer, the lessons are clear.

When the chips are down, you cannot defend yourself against the bosses unless you are prepared at the same time to challenge all those who defend them.

GARNERS: challenge betrayals on Oct. 7

All labour movement bodies should send large delegations to the Day of Action called on 7th October by the Garners Strike Committee.

A massive turnout would give a real boost to chances of winning this seven-month strike for reinstatement and union recognition, in which the country's biggest union has been consciously held back from victory by its own officials.

Garners strikers are in fact up against an unholy alliance of Garners boss Margolis, the police and top

TGWU bureaucrats.

Margolis already stands at the brink of financial ruin, as strengthened picket lines have hit trade at additional restaurants. Delegations from UCATT and the GLATC liaison committee have been among the new supporters.

The intensified picketing has brought renewed squabbles among the scabs who last week held a 1 a.m. crisis meeting with scab managers threatening to resign over a proposed new service charge.

Whipped into a frenzy, scabs have continued their violent attacks on pickets, with management at Whitcombe Street, protected by police, particularly vicious.

Meanwhile, with the secret agreement of the TGWU Region 1 Committee—including Communist Party members Peter Cavanagh and Staden (Regional Secretary)—police continue to restrict picket lines to six strong.

The October 7 mass picket must challenge this state attack and TGWU betrayal.

Speakers on the Day of Action will include Regional and National TGWU bureaucrats, along with speakers from the Grunwick Strike Committee, the Sandersons Strike Committee and the Garners Strike Committee.

Challenge

Meanwhile Ron Todd, who as Region 1 Secretary played such a role in isolating and holding back the Garners strike is now, as National Organiser, the man in charge of holding back the Sanderson's strike.

Come and challenge these bureaucrats on 7th October! Join with us in demanding:

- *TGWU Region 1 must support Strike Committee policy!
- *Regular daily TGWU delegations to picket all Garners restaurants.
- *Black Garners suppliers! £36 per week strike pay financed if necessary by a Regional levy.
- *No deals with the police on picketing! Condemn Region 1 collaboration!



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

Todd

There is no doubt whatsoever. This strike can still be won.

The responsibility for it not yet being victorious must be placed squarely at the door of the TGWU national, regional and local leadership.

A new leadership must be built in the fight to force the bureaucracy to implement the following policies.

- Organise mass pickets with regular union delegations!
- Cut off essential services, black all suppliers!
- Implement a regional TGWU financial levy on members to support the strike!

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

HULL

Public Meeting

Sandersons and Garners the fight for unionisation

Friday 22 September

7.30 p.m.

Blackboy Hotel High Street Speaker from Garners Strike Committee and Sandersons Strike Committee (invited)

POEU SELL-OUT

Post Office engineers have been invited by their union executive to take part in the burial service of their claim for a 35 hour week, at a Special Conference in Birmingham on Saturday. (September 16).

Leaders of the Post Office Engineering Union accepted a sell out deal on the engineers' claim for a 35 hour week, despite the fact that any proposed settlement was supposed to go to a conference.

Now with the action long called off those who sabotaged a winnable claim can expect to have the best conditions to force it through as a fait accompli.

The combination of overtime bags and work to rules, which, though inadequate had built up an enormous head of pressure, had been the result of frustration over seven years of claiming a shorter working week.

The leaders of the POEU at a Special Conference in January while rejecting the Post Office

proposals for self financing productivity deals (in other words, selling jobs) told their members that they must "seek a productivity agreement in the context of this claim because it was the only way in which it was possible to achieve shorter hours without coming into direct conflict with Government policy".

The union leaders also quoted the 12 month rule as an obstacle to the claim.

Insisted on

The Special Conference threw out this blatant collaboration but failed to escalate industrial action.

It was not until the Annual Conference in June that the overtime ban, work to rule and selective stoppages were insisted on by the membership.

The action taken by the Post Office against the engineers which led to complete stoppages in some areas was ordered by Post Office National Board and the Regional Boards—all of which are participation bodies

containing union members.

This 'experiment' in 'industrial democracy' produces a consensus opinion without even recording opposition if any.

Clearly a fight must be taken up at the Conference in Birmingham this Saturday to reject the deal, which ties a shorter week, (but not 35 hours) to a two stage deal and the introduction of new technology which will massacre engineers' jobs.

The American equivalent of System X (which the Post Office is in an advanced stage of developing in Britain) cut the manufacturing workers of Western Electric from 39,000 in 1970 to 19,000 in 1976.

It has brought an estimated 75% cutback in labour for faultfinding, maintenance, repair and installation.

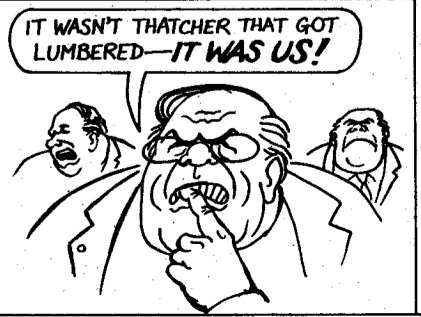
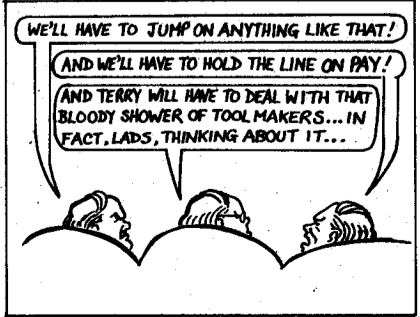
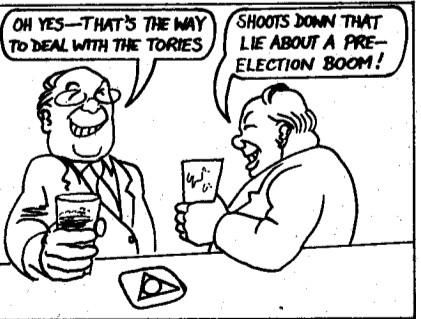
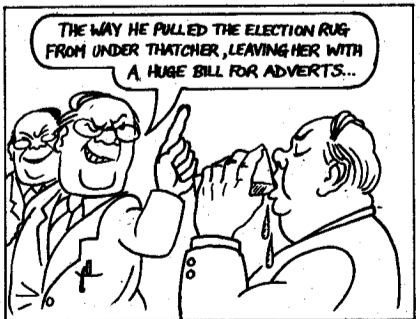
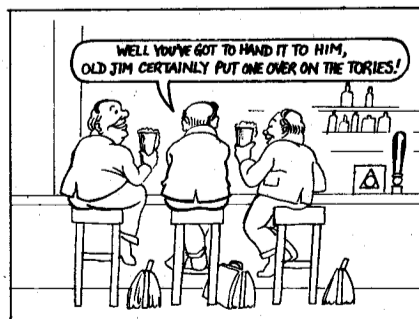
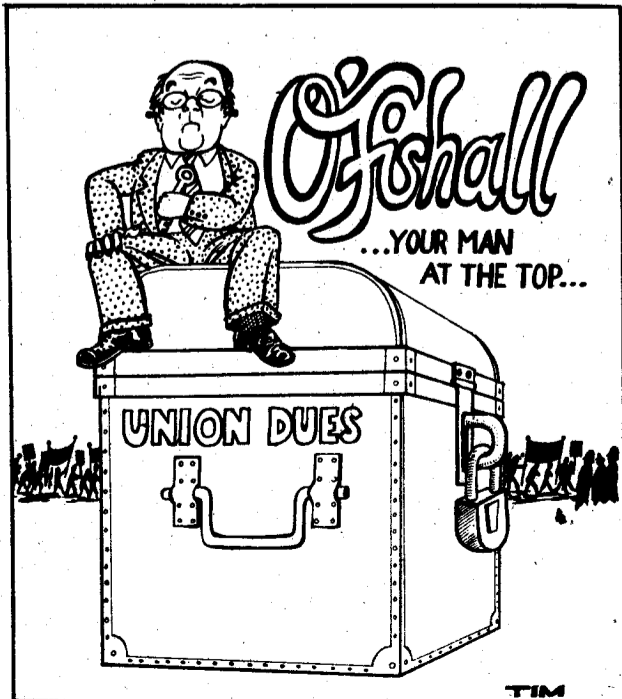
There will be opposition at the Conference—but if it is to be successful, it must have a political understanding of the reasons for the sell out, and a perspective of building a new revolutionary leadership inside the POEU.

A leaflet from the Central London branches of the union into the TUC shows the wrong way to fight.

This 'applauded' the hypocritical speeches of TUC leaders in favour of the 35 hour week and said that support for Basnett's shorter working week motion was vital.

Without both realising and proclaiming that TUC leaders—Basnett foremost among them—have no intention of permitting any struggles on the 35 hour week or any other gains for the working class, the sell out will undoubtedly be pushed through.

The central London branches—which point to the massive loss of 80,000 engineers jobs to new technology—must take up a fight within the union around the policy of work sharing on full pay—fighting for the retention of all jobs, with the work shared among membership without any loss of pay.



SOCIALIST PRESS



FREE THESE JAILED SOCIALISTS!

Oil firms still backing Smith

The sanctions busting of the Rhodesian oil embargo by Shell and BP aided and abetted by various Labour ministers is the reality behind the Anglo-American proposals on Zimbabwe.

Just as David Owen and Andrew Young are trying to find some way of keeping capitalism alive, whatever the colour of the government, so the oil companies kept both their profits and the Rhodesian government alive.

It is now no longer possible to believe one single word that any Labour politician has to say on the subject.

From 1968, when the oil embargo was introduced, BP and Shell continued to supply Smith with the vital oil to keep his police state on its feet.

Cabinet informed

The French owned company—Total—physically sent the oil, but was supplied with the oil in the first place by Shell and BP.

Commonwealth Secretary Geoge Thomson (now made a Lord for his services to capitalism) was told about the arrangement.

He says that he kept the Cabinet informed—in particular Harold Wilson.

Wilson says that the whole Cabinet heard the reports, including George Brown, Marsh, (now openly a Tory) and Callaghan himself.

Marsh, who now has no need of socialist posturing, has issued an enigmatic statement more or less admitting that the entire Cabinet knew what was going on.

'Did not know'

Callaghan had his political advisers 'brief' friendly newspapers to say that he did not know what was happening.

The fact remains that the only way it was possible for a Cabinet Minister not to know that the government was permitting oil to reach the racist regime of Smith was if he or she deliberately chose not to know.

This truth applies to 'lefts' like Benn and Shore as much as the open right wingers.

The sanction busting has not come to an end.

The *Sunday Times* has revealed that a similar arrangement is to this day in operation using the South African company Sasol instead of Total.

Again Sasol provides the oil, and BP and Shell replace it.

The link between multi-

national capitalists and social democracy is clearly shown by this charade.

It is certain that not only were French capitalists involved but that some of the black African governments, notably Zambia, must also aid and abet the supply lines to Smith.

No official inquiry would dare to reveal the truth of who knew what.

Already the paper shredders are pulping the evidence and a clean-up of company and government records is in full swing.

Workers inquiry

But a workers' inquiry launched by the workers inside the oil companies in solidarity with the black African masses would undoubtedly discover the full truth.

Such an inquiry should be launched and pursued internationally.

It will not, of course, be called by trade union leaders who remain in the pocket of the very Labour leaders who have already shown themselves to be against the African workers and on the side of the imperialists.

The sanctions-busting demonstrates the need for nationalisation of the oil companies, under the control of the workers, and without compensation.

The fight must be taken up in the Labour Party to expel all those implicated in the sanctions busting and to replace them with leaders who will nationalise the oil companies in this way.

Above all it demonstrates to the African workers of Zimbabwe and South Africa that when their leaders negotiate with Owen, they are negotiating with a representative of a government which aids and abets the oil companies supplying Smith—in other words an agent of international capitalism.

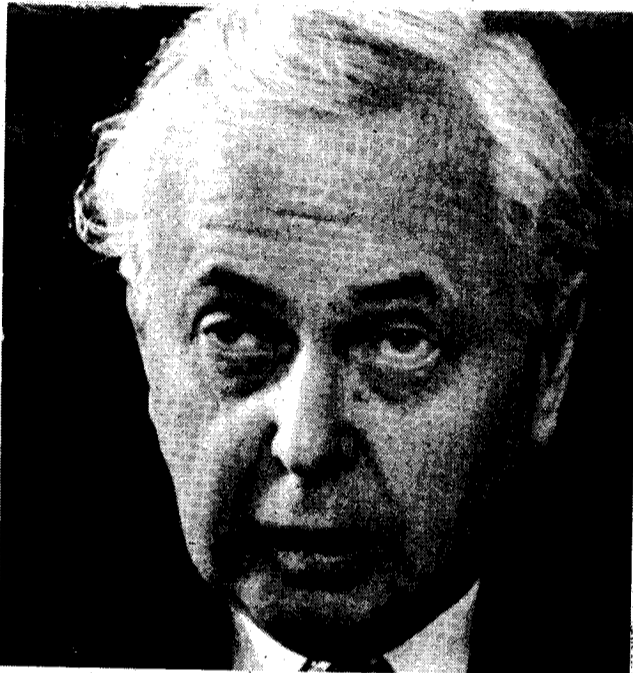


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

Wilson

Cowley 9 charges revived

In a dramatic about-turn the Oxford TGWU District Committee last week decided to proceed with the disciplinary charges against the 'Cowley 9'.

The charges—which relate to such "crimes" as disagreeing with the TGWU Executive over wage control, campaigning against unelected officers of the union, and revealing the size of the branch secretary's commission to his members—were first taken up nearly a year ago.

They have been the subject of repeated District and Regional level kangaroo court-style "hearings" and "inquiries", and in July were referred by the Regional Committee back to the District Committee in a move that seemed to suggest that they were being dropped.

But as the AUEW officials crack the whip at SU Carburettors and at Leyland's Bathgate plant, the witch-hunting right-wingers on the Oxford District Committee are determined to see their recommended sentences, including expulsion from the union and life bans on holding union office, imposed on the Cowley 9, among whom are the elected leadership of Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant.

Senior steward Bob

Twenty five leaders of workers' organisations were arrested in Brazil on August 22 by the DOPS, the repressive secret police of the Geisel dictatorship.

Twenty-one of these were members of the Brazilian movement "Convergencia Socialista" (Socialist Convergence).

Two were members of the Argentinian organisation the PST, (Socialist Workers Party), a sympathising section of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International.

One of them was Hugo Bressano, better known as Nahuel Moreno, who is an internationally known leading member of the PST.

Also imprisoned was Antonio Sa Leal, the general secretary of the Portuguese PRT (Workers Revolutionary Party), also a section of the USFI.

In July six other members of the Socialist Convergence were arrested and tortured in Brasilia and are still being held.

Also on August 23 another Socialist Convergence member was kidnapped by the police along with a high-school student Ronaldo de Almeida, whose whereabouts the police refuse to divulge.

Although Sa Leal and some of the Brazilian detainees have now been released, nine members of the Socialist Convergence and the two PST leaders are still being held, and there is talk of possible charges against Moreno.

These detentions are part of a broader wave of arrests which

coincide with a renewal of workers' struggles in the last few months in Brazil after a long period of successful repression by the dictatorship.

This dictatorship has been responsible since it seized power in 1964 for holding thousands of political prisoners without trial.

Many of these have been brutally tortured, in some cases until they have died.

And prisoners from other countries have sometimes been repatriated.

That is the threat which now hangs over the arrested members of the Argentinian PST, who could be handed over to the murderous Videla regime.

Already in Brazil, Portugal, the United States and elsewhere protests have been made over this latest series of arrests.

Socialist Press demands the immediate release in good health of all those arrested and the dropping of all charges against them.

Labour MPs, union officials and labour movement bodies must be called upon to support the international campaign for their release.

A picket of the Brazilian Embassy demanding the immediate release of these prisoners has been jointly called by the Workers Socialist League and the International Marxist Group.

We call on all labour movement bodies to support this picket.

Monday 18 September
6 p.m.
Brazilian Embassy
32, Green St., London W1



TGWU leader Moss Evans being lobbied by Cowley workers at the TUC.

Fryer faces charges, as do three elected deputy convenors, one of whom—Alan Thornett—is recommended for expulsion from the union.

As the charges have become known widely within the TGWU an ad-hoc 'Cowley 9 Defence Campaign' has won the endorsement of hundreds of TGWU shop stewards and branch officers throughout the country.

The latest moves by the Oxford District Committee show that though the threat of action seemed to have receded, TGWU leaders were playing for time, hoping that this counter-offensive would lose momentum.

The fight must now be stepped up throughout the TGWU for resolutions to the October meeting of the Region 5 Committee in West Bromwich calling for the immediate dropping of these trumped up charges.

Copies of such resolutions should also be forwarded to General Secretary Moss Evans, who, despite his bland statements to Cowley lobbyists at the TUC last week, has clearly decided to mark his arrival in the TGWU top job by endorsing an almost unprecedented witch-hunt against militants within the union.

STILL AVAILABLE

THE TOOLROOM STRIKE AND THE FIGHT TO END WAGE CONTROL

A Workers Socialist League pamphlet drawing out the political lessons of the national strike by Leyland toolmakers in March 1977 which brought the downfall of the Labour government and the emergence of the wage-cutting Lib-Lab coalition deal.

Available, price 25p plus 10p p&p, from:
WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR

FUND

With eleven days of September now behind us, we have received £176.20 towards our target of £600. With a disappointing month in August we cannot afford to fall behind in September. This means that every effort must be made to get us back on target by next week.

All donations should be sent to:

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