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IRAN: Tudeh Party: a history of betrayal
Centre pages

NO TO



KHOMEINI'S ARMY!

Contrary to the impression given by the capitalist press and mass media, and carefully cultivated by the new Iranian regime, the massive revolution that toppled the Shah is not over: rather it is entering its most critical stage of development.

At stake now is whether the masses go forward to the seizure of power and the overthrow of capitalism in Iran, or a breathing space is given to the bourgeoisie to reconstruct the capitalist state apparatus and a new form of dictatorship imposed.

Every action of the Ayatollah Khomeini directs towards the latter course.

Proof

Scarcely had the smoke ceased to billow over ransacked army barracks and police headquarters in Tehran before appointed Prime Minister Bazargan was giving proof of the pro-capitalist nature of the new Iranian "Islamic Republic".

His first moves were to call for an end to the armed struggle through which the Iranian masses had toppled the Shah's colossal and seemingly invincible military machine, and for arms to be surrendered by ad-hoc militias to Ayatollah Khomeini's headquarters.

His second move was to call for an end to the tenacious strikes by oil industry workers, government employees and in the bazaar that had formed the backbone of the mass movement against the Shah and his puppet regime under Bakhtiar.

And to make it clear what this return to work means in practice, Bazargan hastened to reassure international imperialism including Japan and the USA that he hoped oil exports "to all parts of the world" would be quickly resumed. Bazargan went on to make a grovelling apology to the US



Iranian troops in action



Bazargan speaks at mass rally

BUILD WORKERS' MILITIAS!

administration for last week's raid on the American Embassy, in which ambassador William Sullivan and his staff—CIA agents and all—were saved from justice only by the intervention of forces loyal to Khomeini.

Executions

And following the execution of four of the Shah's generals last week he has taken steps to ensure that any further executions take place only at the hands of his government.

Both Bazargan and Khomeini are agreed above all on one thing: that the power in the new republic must be kept at all costs out of the hands of the workers and poor peasants whose courage, militancy and sacrifices brought the downfall of the Shah.

The four executions of pro-Shah generals that have so far occurred took place *not* on the decision of a people's court but on the instruction of the same shadowy "Islamic Revolutionary Council" which appointed wealthy bourgeois Bazargan to lead the new government.

In other words governmental control in Iran has so far only

been transferred from one self-appointed, non-elected pro-capitalist elite to another.

And as oil workers, factory workers and government employees return to work for the benefit of the same private capitalists and multinational syndicates; as the unemployed face an unchanged future of poverty; as Iranian women and national minorities remain denied the most basic democratic rights, the reality of this situation will trigger fresh rounds of struggle for the demands which first drove them en masse into struggle against the Shah.

Nominees

The danger facing such struggles is that after the removal of the most obvious hardline supporters of the Shah among the military top brass, Khomeini and Bazargan will simply install their own loyal nominees at the head of the reconstructed armed forces.

Already a new chief of staff of the armed forces has begun a selective purge.

And in the airforce Bazargan

has bowed to pressure from the ranks and sacked the man he appointed air force chief only five days ago, in favour of a more 'popular' choice. But what right has Bazargan to pick and choose commanders?

Is this not clear evidence that the armed forces will be reconstructed and strengthened?

Khomeini has so far made only vague noises about replacing the old armed forces with a "People's Army"—controlled by his Islamic ruling clique.

And even this, he has said, would "take time". Meanwhile he has called on his armed supporters to unite with the remaining army units.

But the heavy fighting last week in Tabriz between revolutionary guerrilla units and pro-Shah military forces should serve as a vivid reminder of the dangers if the huge Iranian armed forces are not disbanded.

Bazargan has threatened to "crush" any political opponent that "destabilises" the rule of Iranian capital.

Already the issue is being raised by Iranian workers them-

selves. Last week saw thousands on a demonstration held in defiance of Khomeini demanding the disbanding of the standing army and the removal of the Bazargan government.

The task must be undertaken now, when the power of the Iranian state machine is at its lowest ebb. The armed forces must be dismantled and replaced—not by Khomeini's own chosen forces, but by an armed workers' militia drawn from the factories and working class localities, under the control of elected committees.

If this is not done, the danger is that, in the hands of the new regime a reconstructed

army will be used to repress strikes; to end occupations of factories; to help enforce the continued oppression of women, and to uphold the private property of capitalists and wealthy merchants such as Bazargan and his appointed government.

As workers and peasants wait in vain for this "Islamic Republic" to offer measures to resolve their economic problems and guarantee their basic rights, the questions must arise again and again: *who* do Khomeini and Bazargan represent? To whom are they

Continued p.2 Col. 2



Oil worker



Crowds hoist head of Shah's father



INTERNATIONAL

PORTUGAL: REGIME CRACKS DOWN ON WORKING CLASS

The right wing non-elected government in Portugal unleashed a new wave of anti-working class policies last week.

The government, led by Mota Pinto—a former official under the Salazar dictatorship—sacked 18 of the leaders of the ten-day old telephone workers' strike.

Huge pressure had been put on the workers to return to work, including a propaganda campaign in the media accusing them of responsibility (by disrupting communications) for deaths, injuries and disruption caused by last week's floods.

But the workers held firm and so the government implemented its sacking threat.

Draft into army

It now proposes to sack hundreds more if the strike does not end, and to draft the rest of the strikers into the armed forces—an anti-strike measure much beloved of dictators Salazar and Franco.

Though the main union federation, the CGTP-Intersyndical, is supporting the strike, its Stalinist leadership have held back moves to spread the strike to other sectors in response to the sackings.

There is no doubt, however, that the government's provocative actions will greatly strengthen the growing political hostility to it in the working class.

And that hostility was further strengthened last week by the announcement by Finance Minister Nunes of the new International Monetary Fund-inspired budget.

This is a series of government spending cuts and consumer tax increases which will severely hit employment and working class living standards.

This is added to the wage control policies which the government is trying to enforce in the telephone workers strike.

Promise

Inflation in the last year has (officially) been 24%.

The telephone workers' claim is for a mere 19% against the official limit of 18%.

Nunes is trying to sell the 18% figure with the promise that inflation will fall to 18% in the next year. But the new tax increases already make that "promise" look very false indeed.

The budget is now due to be debated in the parliament and so the political survival of the government is once more at stake.

Mota Pinto was originally confirmed in office by a positive vote of the two parliamentary bourgeois parties—the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats.

A 'No' vote from the CP was given all the more decisively because of the Stalinists' knowledge that the Socialist Party would abstain and so allow the government to take office.

The SP leadership under Mario Soares has no objections to the policies of the government, which are to undo as much as possible the gains made by workers and peasants in the aftermath of the 1974 revolution.

Started policies

It was Soares' own government which started all the policies which Salazar's successors are now putting into action.

Soares was dropped by the bourgeoisie because it believed he was not moving fast enough—not through absence of will but because his party was still too subject to pressure from the working class for the liking of the Portuguese bourgeoisie.

And those pressures are now even greater as the socialist leadership approaches a general



Portuguese soldiers break up factory occupation in 1976

election (which must take place in the autumn of 1980 and may happen before) with rapidly declining chances of maintaining the vote which in 1976 made it the largest party in parliament.

The CP's opportunist opposition to the government is gaining it a good deal of the support which Soares is losing.

In addition the SP since 1974 has posed as the champion of parliamentary democracy against right wing and left wing totalitarianism.

It is becoming every day harder for the Socialists to retain this image without taking some stand against the present unelected government.

Especially when last week new moves were made which may result in the re-establishment of an independent secret political police "officially designed to control "the illegal activities of foreigners in Portugal"

IRAN: from front page

answerable? To whom should workers now turn with their demands?

The answer is clear. The new regime is unelected, answerable to no-one, and not subject to recall.

Under such conditions more and more workers will recognise the necessity to fight for a constituent assembly to be democratically elected by universal franchise, in which all political parties will appeal for support for their policies, and in which delegates are recallable at any time.

Such an assembly must be called upon to establish a legal framework within which democratic rights are guaranteed, and do not rest on the whims of Khomeini's "Revolutionary Council."

But insofar as such a body attempts itself to operate within the framework imposed by the need to preserve capitalism in Iran it will prove itself unable to satisfy the most elementary needs of the masses.

These needs can only be fulfilled through the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a planned socialist economy.

This is why, side by side with the struggle for a constitu-

ent assembly, Iranian workers need above all to consolidate and extend the organs of their own independent power—the factory committees and strike committees that emerged spontaneously during the struggles against the Shah.

In each locality the workers' organisations must send elected delegates to local soviets, which can coordinate and direct the struggle for both economic and political demands.

Already the Iranian workers have shown their capacity for independent struggle; high points have included the way in which central bank workers published details of the currency exported by top government and royal family figures, and of course the emergence of ad-hoc workers militias.

Mobilisation

The danger can only be overcome by the independent mobilisation of the working class to reject wage control and spending cuts, to demand the reinstatement of the sacked telephone workers, to impose a government of workers' parties to implement policies which answer the material and political needs of the working class and other oppressed classes.

The chief obstacle to such policies remain the opportunism and class collaboration of the Stalinist and reformist leaders. They periodically "oppose"

the right-wing government not on the basis of a principled fight for socialism but as part of the jockeying for position of rival bureaucracies.

What both of them avoid is anything which would bring them together in parliament or anywhere else against bourgeois government and parties.

They have both preferred to support or connive at the erosion of the gains of 1974

rather than make any move which would strengthen the unity or independence of the working class.

That unity and independence can only be consistently fought for and developed by the building of a revolutionary Trotskyist party to replace the treachery of leaders who have usurped the gains of the revolution of 1974 and 1975.

Friday's actions demonstrate the massive strength of the workers' movement under these attacks.

The state may well be forced to pull back at this moment but to win their fight, the steelworkers will need to go beyond opposition and protest to part forward their own independent programme.

Occupations will have to be developed around the demand of open the capitalist books in the fight for work sharing on full pay and for the full nationalisation of the steel industry under workers management.

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ICELAND CRISIS

Crisis has returned to the coalition government in Iceland, after only a brief period of relative calm.

Prime Minister Johannesson (leader of the radical Progressive Party of the small farmers) has proposed a series of anti-working class measures to drag Icelandic capitalism out of its economic mire.

Centrally the Progressive Party is arguing for huge cuts in the threshold payments at present made to workers.

The importance of these payments is obvious from the figures. Inflation in 1978 ran at 47%—well up to the record of recent years.

Johannesson's proposals have been supported by the Social Democrats within the three party coalition. But the People's Alliance have threatened to withdraw from the coalition and bring down the government if the Prime Minister tries to go ahead with his plans.

Formed in partial conflict with the Kremlin out of the wreck of the Communist Party, the People's Alliance is no more revolutionary and no less Stalinist than the more familiar strains of Eurocommunism in Italy, France or Spain.

Thus behind their fighting words lies the undoubted determination of Iceland's workers to resist attacks from the coalition designed to make them pay for the economic crisis of the capitalist class.

Bring down Bazargan

The struggle for each of these demands will show the necessity to bring down the Bazargan government and establish a workers' and peasants' government in Iran.

To carry through this fight a revolutionary Marxist party is needed; a party that understands the need for the working class to play the leading role in the next crucial stage of revolutionary struggle which alone can open the door to socialism in Iran and the resolution of the problems of both workers and peasants in the context of a planned, socialist economy.

*Down with the dictatorship of Bazargan! For a constituent assembly!

*Build workers' militia and soviets in every area!

*Expropriate the capitalist monopolies!

*For a workers and peasants government!

Steel jobs fight reaches new peak

A new climax was reached on Friday in the struggle against 21,000 redundancies proposed by the French government in the steel industry.

A general strike gripped the industry in the two main steel producing areas of Lorraine and Nord-Pas du Calais.

The steelworkers were joined by iron miners, carworkers, teachers, other trade unionists and even shopkeepers protesting against such a devastating economic blow to the regions.

The strikes were backed up by other methods with occupations of government buildings, road blocks and various protest gestures.

Longwy, near the Belgian border, was the centre of the highest militancy and the town was completely cut off by barricades of the roads and an occupation of the railway station.

Here sympathy action was also taken across the border by Belgian workers whose economic life is bound up with the French steel industry.

Belgian steel workers themselves face similar attacks in the name of "rationalising" the industry, from the Brussels government.

Friday's actions demonstrate the massive strength of the workers' movement under these attacks.

The state may well be forced to pull back at this moment but to win their fight, the steelworkers will need to go beyond opposition and protest to part forward their own independent programme.

Occupations will have to be developed around the demand of open the capitalist books in the fight for work sharing on full pay and for the full nationalisation of the steel industry under workers management.

Sadat steps in

The tremors from the revolution in Iran have spread through the whole world, and in Oman, across the Persian Gulf, they have already shaken the security of another tyranny.

Iranian troops have now been withdrawn from Oman where they fought in Dhofar, alongside British imperialist forces against the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman.

The Shah had sent troops there in his role as imperialism's policeman of the Gulf, to prop up the corrupt and dictatorial state of Sultan Qabus.

Now President Sadat of Egypt has sent in forces to replace the Shah's army. His rapid move is probably the sharpest example to date of Sadat's determination to operate as a client state of US imperialism in the area.

The speed of his action has been forced by the fear that the workers and peasants of Oman will be inspired by the Iranian revolution to rise up once more against their own oppressor.

Although only 200 troops are involved at this stage, Sadat has clearly staked his claim to take over where the Shah failed as imperialism's local policeman.

In the process he has provided the masses of the Middle East with another stark example of the true political character of bourgeois Arab nationalism.

INTERNATIONAL

Chad guerrillas score fresh successes

As we go to press, a further imperialist puppet ruler is on the point of defeat in Africa.

President Malloum of Chad is reported hiding out at the airport under the protection of French troops.

The latest collapse of his army is the culmination of 13 years of civil war which have been slowly pulling the immense central African republic apart.

Last week fighting broke out in the capital city of N'Djamena between forces supporting the prime minister and troops loyal to the president. The 'Government of National Reconciliation' was dissolved in blood, as its two leaders vied for supreme power.

But this violent quarrel between imperialism's puppet and its stooge, is little more than a side-product of the real civil war in Chad.

Chad is a massive territory—larger than France, Spain and Portugal put together. It is also one of the poorest countries in the world. Agricultural methods are primitive and the climate hostile. Natural resources are few and far between, while industry is virtually non-existent.

Material factors

The mass of Chad's 3½ million people live in conditions of total poverty and recurrent starvation, worsened by the periodic droughts which afflict the region.

It is these material factors which have caused the civil war; and driven increasing sections of the masses to support and fight within the FROLINAT.

The war began in 1965 against the corrupt and dictatorial regime of President Tombalbaye. Chad had gained formal political independence from French imperialism in 1960. But when the tricolour was hauled down from the flagposts, the French troops remained in Chad.

Exploitation

And there—with only one short break—they have remained to this day.

Under Tombalbaye's rule, the imperialists continued their profitable exploitation of Chad unhindered, and the masses found no lifting of their oppression.

Yet, because of the specific conditions within the country, the struggle which developed against imperialism took the form of inter-racial and even inter-religious strife.

Like the neighbouring Sudan, and some other African states, Chad is peopled in the north by Muslim Arabs and in the south by Christian and animist black Africans.

Tombalbaye's regime was drawn entirely from the south, and the war seemed at first to be a power-



struggle between two ethnic groups. Even today the bourgeoisie still presents the conflict in these misleading terms.

Skilful imperialist manipulation has certainly produced considerable racial antagonism. Yet this divisive rivalry has already come to take second place.

As the FROLINAT extended its control from the north, the black African masses flocked to join in the struggle against imperialism. The anti-imperialist content of the fight has ripped through the artificial barriers of racial conflict, and this development has brought far bigger problems for the imperialists and their agents.

French called back

Even the might of the French army could not keep Tombalbaye in power as he battled against the FROLINAT. The war took its toll in the south too, as massive military expenditure combined with catastrophic droughts to produce explosive social unrest.

In this dangerous situation, the army moved in quickly and toppled Tombalbaye in 1975. As General Felix Malloum made himself president, the French troops withdrew—but not for long.

Unable to end the war by military or diplomatic means, Malloum soon called the French army back, in larger numbers than before.

But all this armed might has not prevented the FROLINAT from advancing further to a position where it now controls more than half the country, and can launch damaging raids within the area controlled by Malloum.

It is extremely difficult in Britain to reach a political assessment of the FROLINAT. Organised in regional armies, it has been

FROLINAT guerrillas subjected to constant faction struggles which appear to be based on the conflicting ambitions of rival opportunists rather than on political divisions.

Territorial ambitions

The FROLINAT's main backer has been Gaddafi, the left dictator of Libya to the north. Gaddafi has supplied the movement with arms, and Libyan troops have moved in to the north of Chad.

However, this exercise has been dictated by Gaddafi's territorial ambitions and not primarily by any motive of giving concrete support to the rebellion.

Libyan forces have occupied and annexed the 'Aoun zone' along the border—a small fraction of Chad,

about the size of England. (Gaddafi bases his claim to this territory on a deal made in 1935 between the French premier Laval and Mussolini. Libya was then an Italian colony).

This move seems to have alienated the FROLINAT, and Gaddafi was last year unable to persuade them to participate in peace talks at Tripoli with Malloum.

Serious rival

Even without this setback, the Libyan demagogue had a serious rival in the race to become 'honest broker' of the Chad dispute.

President Numeiri of the Sudan long ago staked his claim to interfere in Chad, and recently his attentions have become more insistent.

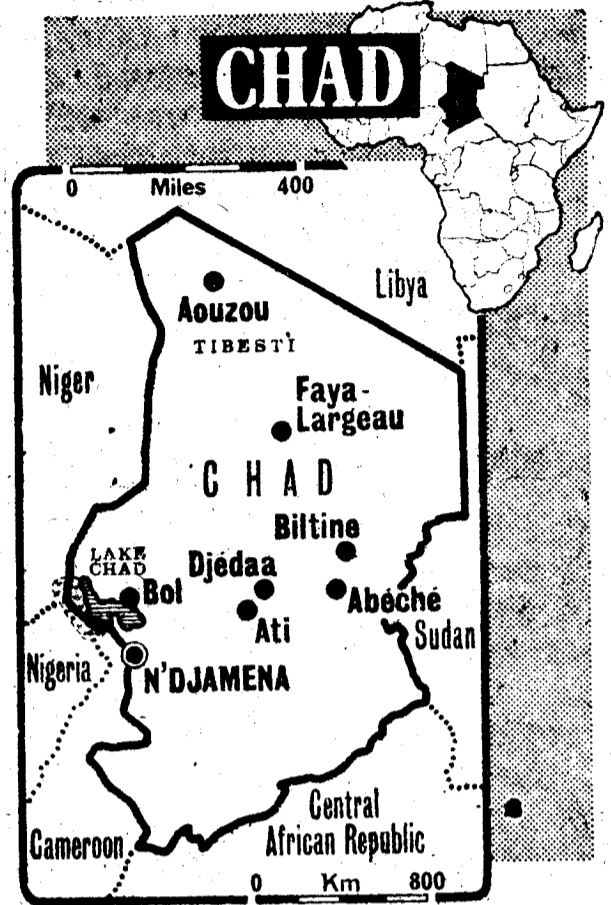
Numeiri has been using his year as president of the Organisation of African Unity to consolidate and promote the position of his government as a major diplomatic power within Africa.

These manoeuvres have led him to seek an agreement with the Ethiopian Derg for ending the war in Eritrea (the EPLF's supply lines are fed from within the Sudan). He is now forging ahead with plans to organise a conference of the states in north-east Africa to 'resolve' all the conflicts within the Horn of Africa.

Parallels

Numeiri's commitment to the anti-imperialist struggle was illustrated graphically last year when he declared his support for the French imperialist intervention in Zaire.

But Numeiri has concentrated much of his energy on neighbouring Chad. No doubt he has been driven on by the alarming parallels between the situation there and the history of the Sudan.



His own rule is based on an agreement of 1972 which gave limited autonomy to the south after years of bitter civil war between black African rebels and the Arab-dominated government in Khartoum.

only base of support—the 1,000 troops who formed his large entourage.

President and prime minister squabbled and sulked by turns. As the FROLINAT advanced, rumours of a coup by Habre chased one another round N'Djamena. Last week they were finally realised.

While their servants fight, the French imperialists are forced to stand aside and await the outcome. Numeiri's gambit has failed miserably—whichever side emerges victorious, will have been weakened, not strengthened, by the conflict.

Numeiri has already reaped the reward of offering the best assistance he can to rescue imperialism from perilous straits. The French government has now released funds for the economic 'development' of the Sudan—by French capitalists.

No comfort

But the situation in Chad offers the imperialists no comfort. The opportunities for the FROLINAT to seize power are growing daily. But French workers must not wait for the French imperialist army to be thrown out of Chad by the anti-imperialist forces.

The movement which arose last year as French troops were sent into Zaire must be taken up once more and developed further. The fight against capitalism cannot be waged within a single country.

It is an international struggle of class forces. To advance that revolutionary struggle, workers on the European homelands of capitalism must place themselves alongside the liberation struggles in Chad and throughout Africa, by organising their strength to demand the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist troops from Africa.



Numeiri

That fragile peace could easily be disrupted by the example of events in Chad, where the struggle against the central pro-imperialist government has taken on a far more advanced and threatening character.

With last year's Khartoum agreement, Numeiri aimed to strengthen Malloum's (southern) government by bringing in a northerner as prime minister.

Discredited

The man chosen for this part was Hissene Habre. A former leader of the FROLINAT, Habre is totally discredited with FROLINAT and with broader layers of the Chad masses for his willingness to compromise with Malloum.

When he finally arrived in N'Djamena in August, Habre brought with him his



Malloum

GAMDEN CRACKS: NOW PRESS FOR FULL CLAIM!

The second week of the indefinite strike action by Camden General NUPE workers has seen a major breakthrough with the Labour-controlled Council.

On Wednesday February 14 the news hit the pages of the national press that following a lobby of the Camden labour group the previous night, a policy was to be put to next full council meeting conceding the full NUPE claim for a £60 minimum wage and 35 hour week, with an almost certain chance of being adopted as council policy.

Apoplexy

The London *Evening Standard* under an editorial 'Red Camden Caves in', went into a fit of apoplexy denouncing those who had supported the decision as 'white collared friends of the state, mostly employed by the state, who indulge their collectivist fantasies at the expense of Camden's rate payers'.

Two things are clear from the events of last week.

First, that by no means is the offer put by the Labour group the total concession it's being portrayed as.

The Strike Committee know full well that the strings attached present a threat to the conditions of its members.

Secondly, despite these drawbacks, the Labour Council's offer represents a massive concession to the claim, going way beyond the miserable 9% deal that Fisher is now trying to cobble together with Callaghan.

Focus

If the eyes of workers in London were turning towards Camden's all-out strike before this breakthrough, the actions of the Camden General Strike Committee are now increasingly becoming a focus for the struggle nationally.

Our comrades and supporters fighting in the labour movement bodies in the borough have played a central role in the development of indefinite strike action, the attempts to set up an organised opposition to Fisher, and the political turn into the fight to force the Labour Council to concede the claim.

As John Seymour says, the struggle in Camden is on a much higher political level now.

After rejecting a major concession from the first council in

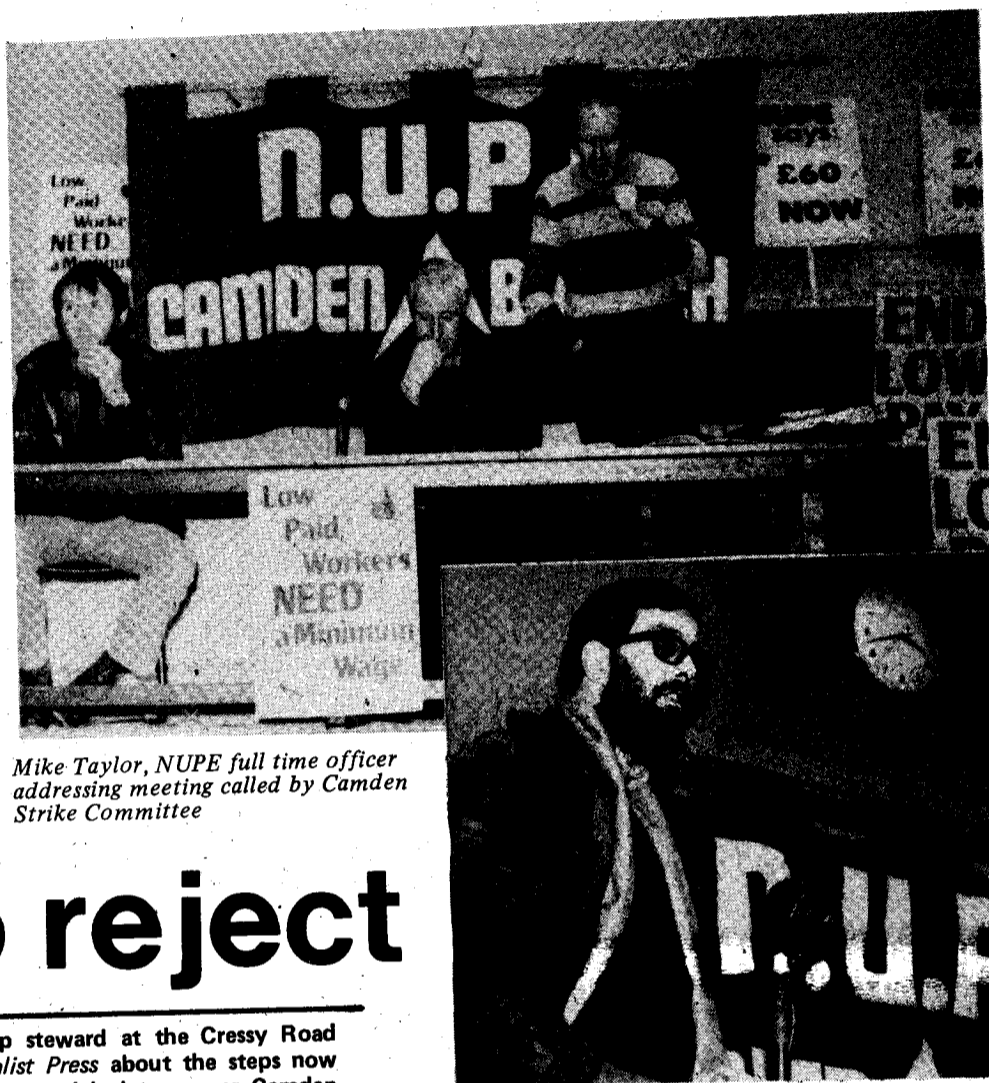
the country to break from the national negotiations, the Strike Committee must escalate the action by forming a joint Strike Committee with the several major hospitals and ambulance stations in the borough with an aim to get concerted indefinite strike action amongst all NUPE branches in the borough.

Following the example of Cressy Road dustmen the indefinite strike action has to be spread into other boroughs. The Council of Action which is the policy of Camden General NUPE and Labour Party wards has to be built to control supplies and extend strike action. Camden's success must be the model for national indefinite strike action of all NUPE members.

No acceptance

There must be no acceptance of any sell out offer which rather than giving a real increase in wages and conditions merely consolidates bonuses already being paid.

A victory in Camden on this basis could provide the political way forward for independent action for all public sector workers coming into struggle against low pay.



Mike Taylor, NUPE full time officer addressing meeting called by Camden Strike Committee

Dustmen vote to reject new offer

John Seymour, NUPE shop steward at the Cressy Road refuse depot talks to *Socialist Press* about the steps now necessary to press home the partial victory over Camden Council in the public sector pay dispute.

How did the new offer come about?

As I have said in *Socialist Press* over the last two weeks, the fact that our strike is an INDEFINITE action, of all the major sections has led to the Borough of Camden gradually grinding to a halt.

This has put a tremendous pressure on the Council employers, a pressure completely missing if you only take SELECTED action.

The second major factor in forcing this concession from the ruling labour group is that the Strike Committee has not only consolidated all out strike

action, but has turned to putting demands on these labour councillors who claim to be sympathetic to our fight.

For example, it has been the policy of the St Pancras South Labour Party GMC to support our claim since last November.

Many of the well known 'lefts' on the Council such as Ken Livingstone, Phil Turner, have verbally supported our claim.

We turned the pressure of all out strike on them and demanded they put their money where their mouths were.

What happened last Tuesday then?

Well the Camden Strike Committee organised a lobby of the Labour Group as they went into their meeting.

I was included in a delegation that then went in to demand that the Labour Group support our claim.

As I understand it, after we left Council leader Roy Shaw put a motion to stick with national negotiations—which was rejected 14-13.

Then Ken Livingstone put a resolution calling on the group to concede the full claim and to go ahead and settle locally even if it meant standing against the Labour Government.

This last part, "going against the Labour Government" was deleted and the final resolution accepted by 15 votes to 9 was as follows:

"This group agrees the NUPE claim for a basic wage of £60 for a 35 hour week and resolves to open local negotiations to implement this decision.

This new basic wage to include the consolidation of awards under earlier phases of the Government's pay policy and also the existing guaranteed bonus schemes.

We accept that this policy will reduce differentials and resolve that the reduction in basic hours should lead to an increase in employment rather than overtime."

What was the response of your members?

Well as you can imagine they were triumphant. The London evening papers, the television were claiming that the Council had given in.

After the news broke on the *Evening News*, my phone never stopped ringing asking whether it was all over.

Next day some of our blokes turned up expecting to go to

work because we had won.

Is it a victory?

NO. It is of course a crucial breakthrough for us and all public sector workers. And this Council cracking is an example of what can be done for all other public sector workers in struggle if they take indefinite strike action.

However if you look closely at the Labour Group resolution you can see that it doesn't give everyone a 40% pay rise.

In what ways?

Well we thought they had conceded everything and it was a matter of getting it through the full Council meeting.

My first worries were that the right wing Labour councillors would vote with the Tories to prevent the claim going through.

But then they began arguing that all they would do was to top up the deficit after existing bonuses had been consolidated into basic pay.

So if your basic pay added to your bonus is already over £60 you will only receive the nationally negotiated settlement of say, 9%.

What was the Strike Committee reaction to this new interpretation by the Labour group?

Well we were angry, it was a clear attempt to split the workforce and make the so-called 'higher paid' (like dustmen who are on the highest bonus) finance the increase for the lowest paid workers.

We rejected the Councillors' call for a return to work and are starting a new round of talks on Monday.

I have been elected on to the negotiating team and I can assure you I will fight against the offer as it stands.

How do you think the strike will go in the next week?

Well as I have said, although the offer as it stands is still

inadequate it does represent a massive concession, a concession which would give the full claim to some workers.

When your employer shifts like that it is time to escalate the action to win the full claim for everyone. That means protecting existing bonus arrangements.

Because we have effectively sewn up Camden the important next step in winning this claim is to spread the action to other branches in the borough, such as the health service, and ambulancemen as well as to other boroughs.

We have to intensify the pressure on the Labour councillors by this method and

Right wing Labour councillor Bethal

mount a strong lobby of Monday's meeting with the councillors.

As well as giving us a weapon to force the claim onto the council this will give us a weapon to point to the NUPE bureaucrats who are busily carrying out Fisher's policy of isolating strikes and demoralising workers who are only too ready to fight.

An organised opposition has to be built following Camden's example if this claim is to be won.

The tasks remain as great, but we are on a much higher political level now.



Pickets at Brent transfer station

Red Youth

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Red Youth

KICK OUT SCAB CALLAGHAN!

IRAN: BREAK WITH THE AYATOLLAH!

RALLY

Saturday 24 February, at 3.00 p.m. Caxton House, St. John's Way, Archway, London N19. Followed by film "State of Siege" and disco. Tickets (50p provinces, £1 London) and details of transport from SYL National Secretary, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

Putting the Labour 'left wing' on the spot

Sandra Plummer, a member of Holborn and St. Pancras South Constituency Labour Party tells *Socialist Press* how she fought for support for the NUPE claim in her local Labour Party branch.



How did you take up the fight on the NUPE claim?

I put a resolution through my branch calling urgently for a Council of Action to coordinate strike action for the claim and saying it should include delegates from the Trades Council, local Labour Parties and NUPE.

Then I put another challenging Camden Council to meet the claim even if it evokes defiance of the present Labour Government.

The first was passed unopposed, the second unanimously. The GMC was already committed to support for the £60/35 hour claim.

But the next GMC was the AGM and the whole time was taken up with elections and the Parliamentary Report. There we were with the most burning issue of the day in Camden if not in the whole country, with the whole of Camden manual workers out on strike against a Labour-controlled council and we weren't even able to have a report from the councillors or discuss the two motions on the agenda.

What did MP Lena Jeger have to say?

She spoke on the concordat. She said if the Labour Party didn't build on it the party would split and the Tories would come to power. The concordat was the only chance, she said.

She said she lives in the constituency and what she hears

from ordinary people at the bus stop is that they are going to vote Tory, because they're 'fed

up with strikes,' and with their parents dying and not being buried, their children not going

to school.

She went on about the latest Gallup Poll 'proving' that most workers want secret ballots.

But she had the agenda calling for a Council of Action and demanding that Camden Council pay up—both passed with only one vote against.

She knows whole sections are on strike who've not been out for years.

It shows how completely out of step she is, and the nonsense of the old argument about the importance of uniting the

Labour Party to 'win the election.'

The next step inside the Labour Party is to call for an emergency conference to draw up a socialist manifesto for the next election on which the Government must be mandated. MP's whether 'left' or right who won't comply should be thrown

out—along with the Callaghan cabinet.

The direction that the Camden Strike Committee has taken of putting demands on councillors to give in to the claim is crucial. They must go further and demand active support of MP's to kick out Callaghan.



Strikers demonstrate on 22 January Day of Action



Pickets on the Cressy Road refuse depot

GMWU: no way to call branch meeting

Strike action by GMWU workers closed North East London Polytechnic for an entire week from February 12.

It was planned by the union leadership as part of the programme of selective strikes and has been controlled by the full timers.

But many strikers have begun to feel the need for a democratically elected strike committee.

Many of them would like to stay out indefinitely and to make links with other disputes in the area such as East Memorial Hospital, the school caretakers and the refuse tip workers.

A major obstacle is that there is no procedure in the GMWU rules for calling an emergency branch meeting, and many of the strikers have little experience of fighting their union officials.

Socialist Press interviewed Vera Cooper, refectory worker.

The strike has been very strong indeed. How has this developed?

We started off in a bit of confusion at the beginning of the week because many of us have never been on strike before.

We didn't know about it until we reached work on Monday morning. In different precincts we had to organise a

rota for picketing.

By the end of the week we had all the precincts closed. Greengate House had been open at first, but that was closed down.

And Waltham Forest—Ron Dalgarno, the shop steward, and Dave Harrington, the official, went over there early, about 5 a.m. and got that closed down on Thursday.

Yesterday we closed the public library next to West Ham because the heating is connected up.

We've had great cooperation from other unions—NATFHE, NALGO, ASTMS and the student union. I was amazed by the solidarity.

What has been the response from women members on strike for the first time?

We have found it a bit of an ordeal. But there's been a lot of support and they've turned up regularly for the picket.

We followed exactly what our full timer Dave Harrington said. We had a meeting before and had it explained and we all voted.

Have you discussed all-out strike action and linking up with other disputes?

I'm not sure what will happen till we go to work on Monday. We won't have a meeting till next week.

I think it's a good idea for all the unions to act together, the big four.

We haven't had any meetings with other unions. I would have gone if I'd heard of one.

How do you think the strike will be won?

It's so difficult when you've never been on strike before. In our refectory we have good relations with our manageress.

But this dispute is not just

even in the canteen. It's against the management right up to the government.

Speaking personally I don't think we should go back. I think that now we've got this far we should stay out.

I think it would be a good idea to have a strike committee next time we come out and I would put that idea to our official.

But I'd be guided by what he says. I don't know the procedures.

In general it is difficult to find people to be active. We're all married women with families.

The meetings are in the evenings at Barking. I don't even know how to get there.

We don't have minutes or anything. We do in our tenant's association which I'm active in.

It's difficult because we're so dispersed. There are six sites just round here so we never see the others.



Basnett

PHOTO: Laurence Spahman, IFL

PRESS GANG



If there was ever a time when the British army needed a hero it is now in the six counties of Ireland.

Shooting a 16-year old unarmed youth in the back in a graveyard—the latest victim of army murderers—is hardly the way to win friends and influence people.

(When the youth had been responsible for telling the army where arms were hidden, then there is bound to be a little adverse comment even in the servile British press).

Opportune moment

Robert Nairac's election to the ranks of official hero came therefore at an opportune moment and the army must have been gratified by the response.

He was awarded the George Cross for bravery—the highest award the state can make in 'peacetime'.

Had there been a war in Northern Ireland then Nairac would have qualified for the VC.

But since the army is merely

"keeping the peace" in Northern Ireland and since the unfortunate amount of dead Irish people and British soldiers are merely the result of strenuous peace keeping efforts and not the result of war then Nairac must rest content with the George Cross.

He is not actually alive to receive this honour but no doubt there is one hell of a celebration going on wherever dead SAS assassins go.

The press fell on the award with delight. Nairac was dubbed Captain Courageous. His life and death were generally held up as epitomising all that is right with British character, an example for young men of the right sort.

TV interviews with his parents stressed how humble they were and how proud of their son. The ancestral home of the Nairacs swelled with pride.

Secret agent

Nairac was a product of the English upper classes. He had been a uniformed officer less than six miles from where he died.

He had been well known in

the area for his operations against the IRA. He would merge as easily into a republic pub background as one of those 1950's flat foot plain clothes police inspectors would merge into a London East End pub.

That is to say that every fibre of his body, bearing and manner would have proclaimed to the world that he was a secret agent.

Nairac went one better in his undercover work. To complete his disguise he led the singing of Republican songs (no doubt shouting 'Begorrah' between verses).

In this way he cunningly collected information. And in this way he was taken away and shot. (And if ever that favourite verdict of the British inquests 'justifiable homicide' had a fitting use—this would be it.)

There is little opportunity perhaps for admirers of Nairac's art to put their devotion to the test.

To find the right blend of brutality and stupidity; to give it the opportunity to serve imperialism; to bring it to a suitable tragi-comic conclusion. Such stuff are heroes made of.



Millions on the streets of Tehran: but without a Marxist leadership they could still face the prospect of defeat

STALINIST THREAT TO IRANIAN REVOLUTION

Since the 1940s Iranian Stalinism has taken the form of the Tudeh Party.

In its very formation and title is embodied the Stalinist policy of class collaboration and betrayal of the independence of the working class.

Tudeh means 'mass or peoples party—a name selected by the Stalinists to avoid any specific identification with the working class or with communism and to attract non-proletarian liberal bourgeois membership and support.

The Tudeh in practice, therefore, was not even a degenerated workers' party: it was established from the beginning on the principles of a popular front embracing forces alien to the working class.

The more classic kind of popular front—an alliance of the CP with bourgeois parties was not feasible in Iran because at the height of Stalin's popular front period, the CP did not exist.

Dynasty founded

Or rather it had been destroyed. A Communist Party was first formed in Iran in 1920.

This was only one year before Reza Khan, a tsarist Cossack-trained military officer (the father of the recently deposed Shah) seized power with the help of the British imperialists and then in 1925 founded the Pahlavi dynasty.

Reza Khan's seizure of power brought to an end a period of huge social upheavals whose height was the revolutionary soviet republic of Gilan in northern Persia.

This republic lasted a few

weeks under the leadership of Communists and the radical Panjabi party.

In 1920 the soviet state was brutally crushed by a military column from Tehran headed by Reza Khan.

Compromise

Within a year the government in the USSR, threatened by civil war and severe economic problems and anxious to protect its borders, had made a compromise with the Persian government, signing a friendship treaty and withdrawing a section of the Red Army from the north of the country.

Reza Khan's power meant increasing repression for the young Communist Party.

In 1921 when it went underground its member-

ship was 4,500. This had fallen to 1000 by 1922 and only 600 by 1924.

In the mid-1920s the Persian CP, like other Comintern parties under the growing destructive influence of Stalin, took an increasingly ambiguous position towards its own oppressor, Reza Shah.

But in 1927, the Party's Second Congress saw a shift to vocal opposition to Reza Shah in line with the Comintern's left turn with which it initiated the 'Third Period'.

The CP's new policy was one of "united front for a toilers' government".

'Left' rhetoric

It called for the end of the monarchy, free elections and other democratic demands, a minimum wage, nationalisation of capitalists

and confiscation and redistribution of the land.

But despite this 'left' rhetoric it was still the declared aim of the CP to build an alliance with bourgeois nationalists against Reza Shah and his British allies.

The new programme slightly increased the strength of the CP again, but not enough for it to be able to breakthrough the barrier imposed on it by Reza Shah's repression.

In 1931 this repression was stepped up very sharply and it became illegal even to profess "collectivist" opinions.

Under this extreme repression the CP was virtually eliminated from the political scene.

Leaders not persecuted by Tehran were persecuted by Moscow and Stalin had a number of them murdered during the Moscow Trials.

But before it disappeared the Persian CP had another opportunity to demonstrate its political degeneration as part of the Stalinist Comintern.

Journal

In 1932 it came out strongly in support of the butcher of the masses and the CP's own oppressor by supporting his revoking of an oil concession to the imperialists.

The last phase of this period in the history of Iranian Stalinism began in 1935 when a group of Stalinist intellectuals began to publish a theoretical journal.

This was suppressed and in 1937 52 of its leading supporters were jailed.

The new epoch opened in 1941 when, after the



Angry crowds haul down statue of Reza Shah.

Nazi invasion of the USSR, Stalin and his new imperialist allies occupied Persia and deposed Reza Shah, who had sided with Hitler.

Though the 1931 anti-communist law was never lifted, the new occupation proved extremely favourable for the development of a new mass Stalinist party.

The initial nucleus of the Tudeh party was the intellectuals whom Reza Shah had imprisoned.

But it soon grew into a mass workers' party, alongside an equally fast-growing trade union movement.

By 1944 the Tudeh had 25 000 members and two years later the Tudeh-dominated United Council of Persian Trade Unions had 400 000 members.

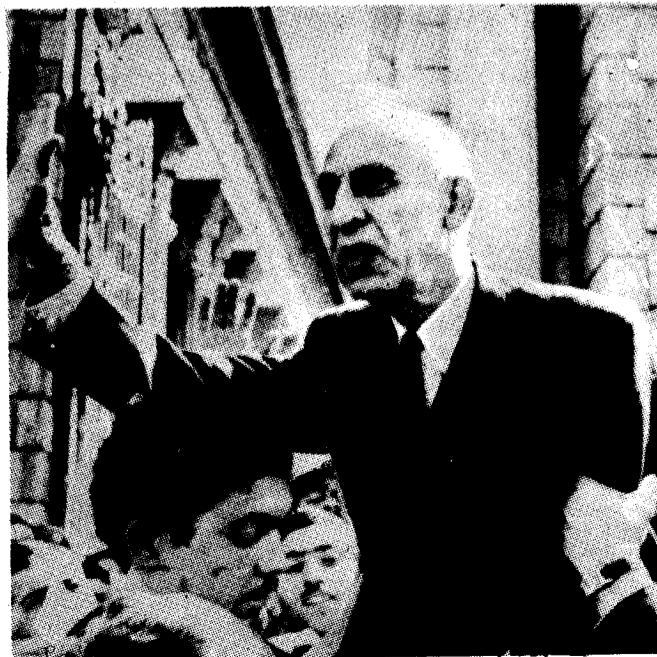
The Russian occupation led to massive strides forward in organisation and militancy of the working class now appearing as the leading force in Persian politics.

The Tudeh party developed an immense popular following.

One-fifth

In the elections to the Majlis (parliament) which took place in 1944 the Tudeh candidates received one fifth of the votes (200 000 out of 1 million) in the whole country and three-quarters of those cast in the northern province of Isfahan.

But the Tudeh did not use its strength to develop the political independence



Mossadeq



Stalin



Troops join demonstrators



The Iranian Minister of Rural Affairs signing a trade pact in Sofia with Bulgarian Stalinist minister Yobov.

of the working class.

Quite the opposite. Its strategic line was to form a "Freedom Front" with the parties of the national bourgeoisie.

This front was never formed in the shape that the Tudeh wanted but, nevertheless, from 1945 it began to give its parliamentary support to bourgeois governments.

The first of these was that of Bayat in early 1945.

Mouthpiece

The Tudeh's support was in accordance with directions from Moscow—since Bayat was prepared to concede to Stalin's demand for an oil concession.

The Tudeh in fact now began to operate increasingly as nothing more than Stalin's diplomatic mouthpiece.

It was a stance that began to lose them support, especially to the more radical wing of bourgeois nationalism under Mossadeq who was opposed to all concessions to foreign powers.

Bayat's government fell in April 1945 and was replaced by an openly anti-Soviet one.

The Stalinists responded by indulging in a sudden left turn and started to advocate armed struggle and autonomy in Azibijan and later in Persian Kurdistan.

In the autumn of 1945 the Azibijan autonomous republic and a few months later the Kurdistan republic were established.

Ended strike

They were led respectively by the Azibijan Democratic Party and the Kumeleh Party—each dominated by the Stalinists of the Tudeh.

The Persian bourgeoisie responded to the sudden turn by putting in power another pro-Soviet government under Ghavam which the Tudeh supported.

From August to October of 1946 Ghavam brought three Tudeh ministers into his cabinet.

The purpose of this was to try to head off the radicalising effect which the new national republics were having on the masses in the rest of Persia.

The Tudeh did their duty and sent their leaders to Abadan on the Gulf in August 1946 to end a major oil-workers strike against the Anglo-Persian Oil Company.

In government the Tudeh also helped to introduce a nationwide system of joint union management "participation" committees.

By now the days of the autonomous republics were numbered.

Ghavam had persuaded the USSR to withdraw its troops in exchange for an oil concession (which was summarily withdrawn by a later government).

With this accomplished Ghavam felt strong enough to drop the Tudeh (which he did in October 1946) and then (in December) to march on Azibijan.

The Tudeh and the Azibijan Democratic Party decided to concede defeat and the republics virtually fell without a fight.

This betrayal was defended by the Tudeh as a bold "tactical retreat" in accordance with "revolutionary logic".

Repression

A tide had now turned for the mass movement and for the Tudeh, which in helping to crush the mass movement once again helped to crush itself.

New anti-communist repression was unleashed and party membership fell rapidly.

The leadership kept calling for elections which the imperialist-backed bourgeoisie had cleverly staved off as long as there was any danger of the Tudeh winning.

And they still coveted a front with the bourgeois parties—especially that of Ghavam, the man who had so successfully outmanoeuvred the Tudeh.

As part of the new pro-imperialist government's offensive it declared a liberalisation of the labour code and set up a new official trade union known as ESKI which in 1949 was affiliated to the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Illegal

All this was designed to cut the ground from under the feet of the Tudeh.

In 1949 an assassination attempt on the Shah was used as a pretext to declare the Tudeh illegal.

The party as a result called for a boycott of the proposed 1949 parliamentary elections.

The party's opportunism and weakness had produced many internal splits and

thousands of defections.

But the new rise in the tide of mass struggle from 1951 to 1953 still allowed the party to become quite sizeable again.

It probably rose to a peak of about 20,000 members.

But it remained overshadowed by the "left" nationalists of the National Front under Mossadeq.

Last 'left' turn

The Front beat the Tudeh in every constituency in the 1952 elections.

Adapting to the new mass upsurge, the Tudeh Party suddenly made what was to be its last "left" turn.

It now denounced the constitution (including the monarch) it had previously supported.

The turn, however, was all hot air. The party refused to do anything to prepare the mass movement even for the defence of existing gains let alone for the seizure of power.

It ended up in the 1953 crisis, in which the Shah was installed as dictator by US imperialism, doing no more than weakly tail-ending the Mossadeq nationalists.

These events were the end of the Tudeh Party as a mass movement.

Its leaders went into exile and the Shah's repression took increasing toll of the party's organisation and membership.

Many former members, however, became functionaries in the Shah's "White Revolution", a few of them ending up as Cabinet Ministers.

The leaders took stock and made a self-criticism—accusing themselves not of



Demonstrators run from tear gas and bullets

opportunism but of sectarianism!

Their mistake was, they argued, not to have allied enough with "progressive" sections of the bourgeoisie!

So for the Tudeh Party the last 25 years has been an unending search for alliances with bourgeois forces—with the National Front (the political block which nurtured Mossadeq, Bakhtiar Bazargan and Sanjabi), with the hierarchy of the Shi'ite Moslems and even with such characters as General Bahktiar—an ex-head of the SAVAK (secret police) who was dismissed by the Shah in the early 1960s.

The definitive statement of the party's programme issued in 1960 has become typical of all its class collaborationist statements since then:

"The main task of the revolution in the present stage must be the transference of political power from landlords and capitalists to a regime of national democracy representing the united, independence-seeking, patriotic and freedom-loving forces, i.e. workers,

peasants, the petty bourgeoisie (tradesmen, shopkeepers) intellectuals, civil servants and the national capitalists whether merchants or owners of industries."

Later versions of this have looked also to the clergy and to the army in the search for allies of freedom and patriotism.

Feted in Moscow

After its proposed "United Front" of the 1930s, the "Freedom Front" of the 1940s and other similar class-collaborationist fronts since then, the Tudeh now puts out a new call (see the extracts from its statement) for a "United National Liberation Front of Iran" with the forces that comprise the new central government.

During this whole history of denial of the political independence of the working class, the Shah himself is one of the very few Iranian bourgeois leaders who has not been included in the ranks of the "patriotic" and "freedom-loving".

Sometimes, however—to the embarrassment of the Tudeh Party in relation to the Iranian opposition—the Soviet bureaucracy decided that the Shah should be included as well.

In 1956, only three years after his bloody coup, the Shah and his Empress were being feted as honoured guests in Moscow.

Arms supplies

In 1961 Moscow supported his "reforms" and the fake referendum which backed them up.

The Tudeh also declared the reforms "a retreat of world imperialism in the face of the advancing socialist camp". But they tactfully didn't repeat Moscow's personal support

of the Shah.

In 1967 the USSR began its arms supplies to the tyrant, whom they continued to support politically until only a few months ago.

The Kremlin evidently decided that after 1953 the Tudeh Party had been effectively destroyed and its remnants could therefore be sacrificed completely to Soviet diplomacy.

In 1976, the Tudeh's opposition radio station in Bulgaria was closed down because the Bulgarian bureaucracy wanted to make a trade agreement with the Shah.

The Tudeh, however, realised that unless it identified with opposition to the Shah's dictatorship it could never hope to grow again with the upsurge of the mass movement.

Its connections with known supporters of the Shah have already made this difficult.

Despite the Tudeh's unbelievable bragging in recent days that it is in complete control of the oil workers and, therefore, was the major force which brought down the Shah, the Tudeh has not grown very fast during the events leading to last week's revolution.

Its lack of strength in the mass movement is almost certainly reflected in the especially unctuous tone of its present position (outlined in the extracts elsewhere on page 8) of uncritical support for the Ayatollah Khomeini and the anti-socialist "Islamic Republic".

In the absence of an independent revolutionary leadership however, the danger is that the Tudeh Party may be able to grow once again in the new situation.

Khomeini and the national bourgeoisie may well help them since in stabilising capitalist rule they will need more reliable agents in the workers' movement than they have at present.



The Shah

The Tudeh Party has played such a counter-revolutionary role before and now, clearly stands ready to use its experience to do so again.

Counter-revolutionary

So in the immediate aftermath of the armed rising of the masses to overthrow the imperialist dictatorship in Iran, we stress the importance of a historical understanding of the Tudeh Party and some extracts from its present programme will serve as a reminder of its consistently counter-revolutionary role and a warning of its potentially counter-revolutionary future.

Long live the Iranian revolution!

Down the the Bazargan government!

Free elections to a Constituent Assembly!

For socialism in Iran.

Form workers', peasants, and soldiers' committees and militias!

For a workers' and peasants' government!

IRAN

What others say



Stalinist-in-chief Brezhnev

Stalinists call for a Popular Front

The Stalinist Tudeh Party of Iran has responded to the revolutionary situation not with any call for socialist revolution, but with renewed efforts to form an alliance with 'patriotic' and 'anti-imperialist' capitalists, along with Khomeini and the mullahs!

It is only by uniting all the sincere anti-regime and anti-imperialist forces in one united front that such an offensive struggle can be organised, and the final victory realised.

The Tudeh Party of Iran, feeling its historical responsibility, invites all the opposition forces to set aside all the political, ideological, and philosophical differences and come together in one united front in order that the masses of opposition against one common enemy can be armed and organised.

The aim of the Front, in our view should be to bring about the realisation of all the urgent demands of the people, which have vividly manifested themselves in the course of the demonstrations and strikes of the past few months.

These demands could be summarised in two groups as follows:

1) The overthrow of the abhorrent monarchical regime the establishment of a People's Republic based on the will of the people; abolition of all the repressive organs of the regime, at the head of them, the SAVAK; the trial and punishment of all the traitors, criminals, and corrupt officials—

beginning with the Shah and his family and allies in the country, down to the criminal agents of the Savak and others responsible for the massacres of the past; securing of the individual and social rights and freedoms according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; unconditional freedom of all the political prisoners; the return of all the political exiles; setting up of a Constituent Assembly; drawing up of a new Constitution; and finally establishing a Government which would embark on a programme of total national independence and the country's integrity and provide democratic freedoms for the peoples; a Government which would recover the plundered wealth of the country; which would put an end to the plunder of our national wealth; which would abrogate treaties of arms-purchase from the imperialists; and could use all this wealth for the improvement of national economy and welfare of the working people.

2) Eradication of the imperialist domination of the country by abrogating the oil treaty with the Consortium; the independent management of all the

undertakings in oil exploration production, refinement, and sale; a total ban on the sale of oil to the Zionist regime in Israel and the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia; expulsion of all the American and British Intelligence agents (the so-called "advisers") from the Army and from all the economic and Government Institutions; abrogation of the bilateral Iran-American Military Treaty; leaving the imperialist Military Organisation (CENTO); joining the ranks of the world's non-aligned countries and adopting a policy of friendship with all the countries which are prepared to respect the country's sovereignty and integrity; abrogation of all the economic treaties imposed upon the country by imperialists; and, finally, supporting all the true national liberation movements particularly that of the heroic people of Palestine against imperialism and Zionism.

The Tudeh Party of Iran believes that, under the present conditions, whereby our people are faced with the armed onslaught of the regime and imperialism preparation for armed struggle has become one of the most urgent tasks of all



Sanjabi

the forces opposed to the regime and imperialism. Therefore, feeling the heaviest historical responsibility:

The Central Committee of the Tudeh Party of Iran invites all the leaders of the national liberation movement, particularly Ayatollah Khomeini, Ayatollah Taighani Dr. Karim Sanjabi, and all the other leaders of religious and political organisations, who have intimately felt the crimes of the regime in their body and soul to use all their power influence and authority to organise a "United National Liberation Front of Iran"; a Front which would include all the true national forces opposed to the regime and imperialism.

Such a Front would have the duty of leading the struggles of the peoples against the regime and imperialism; and, while it would make use of all the ordinary ways of struggle, it would, at the same time, undertake to organise the preparation and leadership of armed struggle against the armed forces of the regime.

CC Statement Jan. 13 1979.

This position, echoing the disastrous Popular Front line of seeking alliances with 'progressive sections of the bourgeoisie' as in Spain 1936 and Chile 1973 is aped by the Morning Star which on Feb. 14 published the following Tudeh statement:

The revolutionary movement that has brought about the latest events in Iran has united various classes and strata ranging from the working class to patriotic capitalists not enmeshed with imperialism.

We stress the need to maintain this unity in this critical situation, which is not yet secure, and to advance to the building of a new society.

The movement is deeply anti-imperialist and democratic. It is against the imperialist-backed monarchy against one of history's most savage dictatorships, and against all imperialists—especially the Americans.

The Americans plundered our country, they stood behind all the atrocities in Iran. So long as there are American experts in Iran the revolution is in danger. We do not intend to become another Chile...

We support the Ayatollah because of his programme which is anti-imperialist anti-monarchist and, in the present context democratic. I would like to stress the integrity of Ayatollah Khomeini.

As to the efforts to scare Western opinion by absurdities about Islamic law, I can only say that Iran is a sophisticated society. Khomeini has stressed that women are free and must have equal rights with men.

The Ayatollah has also said that it will not model itself on any other Islamic societies.

On the question of our return to Iran, the Tudeh Party was illegally outlawed in 1948. Members of our party played no little part in recent events. We hope to be able to act freely—within a short time.

CRTURI: Build workplace councils

Unlike the Stalinists, the Campaign for the Restoration of Trade Union Rights in Iran sketches out a working class line — though failing to call for the 'workplace councils' to link together to form local soviets.

Let us ask who is struggling against whom in Iran? It is the imperialist powers through their control of the oil and other industries, and the working class. And what is the present state of this struggle?

The working class has shown that by using the strike weapon they can defeat the imperialists even when the latter are backed

by an army which has the most up-to-date weapons of any country in the Middle East.

There is a third force, those who sincerely talk about "injustice" and "oppression" but are incapable of seeing that "injustice" and "oppression" cannot be wiped out without the destruction of the rule of international capital and its replacement with that of the working class internationally.

These people look to an "Islamic solution" to Iran's problems without being able to spell out in concrete terms what this would mean.

(...)

At the same time we have to recognise that although the working class does not yet have a unified leadership it has still managed to lay some fundamental pillars for its own rule, in other words, the workplace councils.

These councils are the foundation for the establishment of

the rule of the working people and for the practice of genuine democracy.

Therefore the most important task, and the most urgent one, for all Iranian revolutionary socialists is to give all possible support to these councils and to their strengthening.

This means that all Iranian socialists living outside Iran should return to their country as soon as possible so that they can participate in the work of building these councils.

But it must also be emphasised that these workplace councils are not enough: the working people need a strong unified leadership which can only come through the formation of a revolutionary working class party.

Building such a party needs several prerequisites, one of them being organic relations with the working people; and the workplace council is one of the most indispensable cornerstones for building such a party.

Pabloites' editorial: no call to break from Khomeini

The new Iranian paper of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International carried on Jan. 20 an editorial concluding with the passage below — making no call for a political break from Khomeini or for the building of soviets and workers' militia.

In order to ensure the success of this plan, they even threaten the mass movement with a bloody coup: either the Bakhtiar government or military rule! This is the ruling classes' answer.

But the oppressed masses will not be fooled by such threats. They haven't given thousands of lives to keep the same regime in power, to have the same imperialist army "maintaining law and order", to leave the possessing classes in their place.

They will continue until the complete overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a government of workers, peasants and other toilers. This is the only solution to Iran's present political and social

crisis.

The most important task of revolutionary socialists is to help bring about such a solution. We must ensure that the overthrow of the Pahlavi dictatorship is linked to an attack on the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

Our most immediate task in this direction is to fight for the complete overthrow of the monarchy and all the social and political foundations on which its power is based.

We—a number of different revolutionary socialist groups formed inside and outside Iran and now in the process of fusion—have come together to give a response to this important need. This publication is the result of our cooperation.

We have talked about the establishment and strengthening of workplace councils—but we should go further, and realise the importance of building such councils amongst soldiers and airmen and the lower ranks of officers.

The purpose of this would be to turn the armed forces into the defenders of democracy instead of imperialism, as they are now.

Those of us who are returning to Iran to carry on our fight for democracy and socialism within that country, appeal to the British working class to continue its sympathetic interest in, and assistance for, our struggle.

We would point out, however, that any solidarity campaign formed for this purpose, if it truly has the interests of Iranian workers at its heart, will clearly spell out where it stands in terms of the class struggle.

British workers should

beware of Marxist phraseology covering liberal ideas!

There is an argument that in order to build up a "strong and widespread" campaign one should not specify which class the campaign supports.

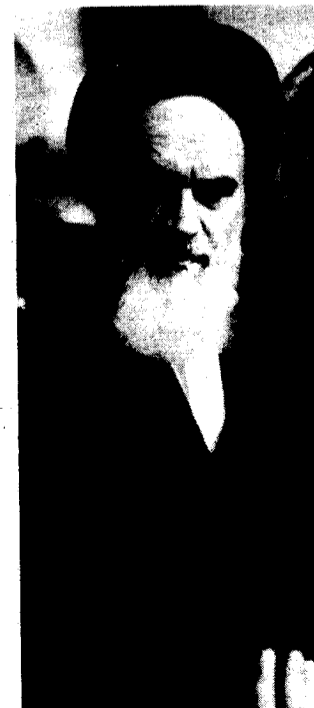
To put it differently, this kind of reasoning is trying to put forward the idea that a solidarity campaign is above class struggle, which is absurd.

(...)

Any campaign which does not make its position clear (...) and does not concentrate its activities around workers' demands will betray the interests of the workers in Iran.

It is these working people who should be the focus of such a campaign, and their allies should be the British working class.

Therefore the main activities of a campaign should take place on the shop floor and not on the university campuses.



Khomeini

different. The basic task of the socialist movement is the building of a revolutionary party fused with the mass movement.

Our understanding of a revolutionary socialist struggle is



USFI leader Mandel



Trotskyist-organised Young Socialists' anti-Tory rally in Trafalgar Square, 1964. This was too much for the right wing. The Trotskyists were expelled.

No socialism and no democracy!

Jeff Harris looks into the murky history of anti-socialist purges in the 'Social Democratic' Labour Party
Part Two

Throughout the history of the Labour Party, its expulsions and witch-hunts have been directed only against the socialist left — never the Tory right.

And a consistent feature of the 'left' reformists has been their inability to challenge the right wing leadership.

Konni Zilliacus's *'Why I was Expelled'* is a testament to the bankrupt vision of such fakers with its lame references to: "Labour's present leaders who are too frightened to allow reasonable freedom to minorities and dissenter. . . But that will pass, and appear in a few years as a growing pain in the Party's advance to maturity in world affairs".

That was 1949. The same year also saw the Trotskyists of the Revolutionary Communist Party split over the question of entry into the Labour Party.

Jock Haston took the majority into the Labour Party on the basis that:

"the working-class are looking and will continue to look at the personnel within the Labour Party for a solution to their problems"

(RCP internal bulletin March 1949).

Gerry Healy had already entered the Labour Party with his Trotskyist "Group" in 1946.

Witch hunting

This was a period of sustained witch-hunting in both the unions and the Labour Party and only the discipline of the small Healy contingent enabled them to ride out the proscription of their Socialist Fellowship grouping in 1951 and their periodical *Socialist Outlook* in 1954.

By the late 1950's however the objective conditions of the class struggle were changing and large scale organised opposition to Labour's right-wing leadership began to emerge.

As always the response was anti-democratic McCarthyism.

In 1958 the Holborn and St. Pancras Labour parties were purged and ex-Trotskyist John Lawrence, leader of the Labour group on the Council, was expelled along with 6 other councillors and several supporters.

The Lawrence group went on to join the Communist Party.

In 1957 Healy's group had started *The Newsletter*, and by 1959 was ready to form the Socialist Labour League (SLL).

The first thing they did was to apply to the Labour Party for affiliation. The reply was swift and hysterical.

The SLL was proscribed, and throughout the country the NEC ordered a whole series of

expulsions and suspensions.

The expulsions included many councillors, and whole Labour groups were suspended.

Branches in many working-class areas and scores of union branches and Trades Councils condemned the witch-hunts, and the SLL organised big lobbies of the NEC.

The core of the opposition was in the Streatham and Norwood Labour parties.

In Streatham Healy himself was branch chairman, and in Norwood Brian Behan was a leading member.

Despite rank-and-file protest the 2 branches were "reorganised".

The Labour Party in Leeds was split down the middle, with councillors and 9 executive members expelled and socialists being framed with absurd charges.

Jack Gale was secretary of the Leeds SLL branch, and his wife Celia was expelled from the

Labour Party on the grounds that "you are known to associate with your husband"!

Clearly the SLL gained a great initial impetus from all the furore, though *The Newsletter* remained somewhat unclear on its analysis of reformism.

Illusion

Its greatest mistake was in perpetuating the illusion that the Labour Party had been at one time a principled socialist organisation.

"A determined and energetic campaign against bans, proscriptions and expulsions is vital if socialist policies and purposes are to be restored to the Labour Party." (*Newsletter* April 25th 1959).

The SLL continued to fight within the Labour Party however and during the early 1960's its supporters became a major force within the Young Socialists, the latest in the series of

youth organisations grudgingly set up by the Labourites.

In 1962 "Keep Left" was proscribed and 3 members of the YS national committee were expelled. The viciousness of the bureaucratic attack snowballed until by 1964 NC meetings were suspended and over a 2 year period the whole Labour Party youth movement was butchered. In 1964 there were 722 youth branches. In 1965 there were 605. In 1966 it shrank to 483 branches.

Most tendencies profited from the right-wing offensive, even though it was directed exclusively at the SLL. These tendencies included the International Socialists (forerunners of the SWP), the 'Militant' group (formed in 1964), and the grouping round *The Week* (precursor of the IMG).

But the SLL gained most of all and actually took the title Young Socialists for its own

youth movement, the Labour Party reconstituting its own organisation as the LPYS under strict bureaucratic control.

In 1968 the Annual Labour Party Conference heard that its student body NALSO had been "infiltrated" by elements which were "in opposition to the party's principles and policies". It was disbanded. It wasn't until 3 years later that the present National Organisation of Labour Students was set up.

Betrayals

All this took place against the background of the betrayals and anti-working class policies of the Labour leaders from Gaitskell and Wilson through to the fakery and posing of the 'lefts'.

Once again the right-wing was able to organise freely and 4 Tory MPs of the sixties were all ex-Labour members. More recently crypto-Tories have emerged in the higher offices of the Labour Party (George Brown, Stonehouse, Prentice, Dell, Taverne, Mayhew, Marsh, Gunter etc.), all openly declaring allegiance to the bourgeoisie they served so faithfully when claiming to be socialists.

In 1976 the right-wing began to make noises about the activities of "Militant" supporters, claiming to have found evidence of Trotskyism in their paper. The NEC report on their investigations to the 1977 Conference basically exonerated these tame cats but left the door open for raising the matter again should the need arise.

Piety

At the height of the red-baiting Transport House bureaucrats refused to work with newly appointed Youth Organiser Andy Bevan, a "Militant" supporter.

The piety of the social democrats comes over strongly in the NEC Report:

"This NEC calls on all members of the Labour Party to refrain from attacks which add nothing to solving the serious economic and social problems which face this country . . . We reject totally a further descent into McCarthyism which can only provide ammunition for those who wish to confuse the people about the reality of Britain's present crisis".

It is time for all those who see themselves as on the left of the Labour Party to take stock of its history, its political character and its direction.

A campaign must be mounted to end all witch-hunts as part of a drive to kick out the Callaghan/Healey leadership. There must be a fight for a recall Conference to decide on a socialist manifesto for the coming election.

Concluded

Poll proves need for nurseries

It is not very often that anything worthwhile is revealed by an opinion poll. But a recent Gallup Poll commissioned by *Woman's Own* magazine seems a rare exception.

The poll centred on the problem of child care for

women who wish to go out to work.

And the surprise is that even Gallup was obliged to confirm the position argued in the TUC's report "The Under Fives"—that there is a massive unmet demand for state provision of nursery care for young children.

Indeed the answers to the survey shoot down in flames the conventional bourgeois notion of the woman's role as first and foremost wanting to be a full-time mother and housewife.

Choose to work

It reveals that even if all financial pressures that compel many women to go out to work were removed, only one-fifth of working mothers would prefer to stop work and look after their children full-time.

Four-fifths stated that they get bored or lonely at home, need a break from the children, and would still want to go out to work.

But of course the financial pressures are there. The poll reveals that one

quarter of working women do so because otherwise there would not be sufficient income for the family to survive.

Estimates suggest that if mothers stopped going to work, the number of families on supplementary benefit would treble.

Yet despite the clear necessity for child care facilities to cater for these requirements, state nursery provision is pitiful and schools completely ignore the needs of working mothers.

Only two percent of working mothers with children under five find places in local authority day nurseries. And only two percent with school-age children found even occasional places for them in holiday play schemes.

Demand

Yet 96% of the women interviewed thought that such play schemes should be provided, and 80% thought that care should be provided after school hours.

More than 50% want nursery and nursery school places expanded to meet demand—while only 2% favour the present predominant system of individual child-minders.

Woman's Own declares its willingness to take up a pressure campaign on this issue, turning to government ministers, the Equal Opportunities Commission, the National Consumers Council and even the CBI for help.

Workers movement

Such a "campaign" is of course doomed to ignominious failure.

But the figures revealed point yet again to the necessity to take up the sharpest fight within the workers' movement—the trade unions and the Labour Party—against the Labour government's wretched betrayal of working women.

Clearly the potential support exists on the estates in each town for a major campaign for an immediate halt to the cuts in nursery care and for a crash programme

of child care provision by the state.

Public meeting

Trade union branches, trades councils and Labour Parties must therefore be called upon to order and discuss copies of the TUC Under 5s report, and to initiate public meetings in working class estates designed to take forward a campaign for the following demands:

*Oppose all cuts and closures with occupation and supporting strikes.

*Open all new nursery schools.

*Open the books of the local authorities to reveal their plans, and expose the need to nationalise private suppliers and contractors.

*Set up a workers' inquiry into local nursery provision, to draw up a plan for expanded facilities to be provided, free of charge, to all parents by the state.

*Demand that union officials and Labour MPs and councillors commit themselves to fight in practice for such demands.



Police called to remove Trotskyist YS leaders in 1964.

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

AMBULANCE DRIVERS: Call

all-out national strike!

Reject this bid to isolate London hospital workers

Ambulance drivers are now in their third week of disruptive actions in pursuit of the £60/35 hour week pay claim. Although the action is having an effect in

some areas—especially in London where the overtime ban is causing a drastic shortage of accident cover—it is becoming more and more obvious that only strike action will win the full claim.

Ambulance drivers showed their strength and determination on the 22nd January day of action, with an almost complete national one-day strike that put them at the centre of the whole pay offensive in the public sector. Since then, however, their own leaders have come out with a series of weak and half-hearted proposals—such as an overtime ban which has already proved more costly to the workers than a complete stoppage.

Narrowly defeated
At a national meeting in Birmingham of ambulance stewards, there was an excellent opportunity to strengthen and co-ordinate the campaign; but a resolution for all-out strike was narrowly defeated.

It is now obvious however, that 'shows of strength' and disruptive action are not sufficient to win the claim—nor should ambulance drivers be tricked into accepting a bogus comparability scheme which links them to the other emergency services, and which will probably include a no-strike clause.

Weakness

Their own leaders have repeatedly shown their weakness when faced with Callaghan's threats to bring in the army—even though the army cannot possibly cope with a national ambulance strike.

Now there is a danger that they will attempt to reach a settlement which separates them from other public sector workers in the same pay claim.

As well as this, they have attempted to confuse and demoralise the membership at every stage of the negotiations.

The only way forward for ambulance drivers is for a national indefinite strike, with a skeleton emergency cover to be provided under the control of area strike committees—to be withdrawn at the first sign of scabbing by the army, volunteers or police.

The strike should be linked to other workers in hospitals and local boroughs in the same pay claim through the building of Councils of Action.

The union bureaucracy should be forced to support the building of these links, instead of allowing the different sections in the low pay campaign to be separated and drawn into different sell-out settlements.

200 call for unity

After two consecutive weeks of short strikes at Oxford hospitals, 200 workers at the Radcliffe Infirmary have overwhelmingly called for joint unlimited strikes by all NUPE members together.

The call came as NUPE further fragmented action in the county. Even as the hospital workers were calling for united action ambulance drivers were being persuaded to resume transferring patients from one hospital to another to ease the effects of a nursing shortage at the Radcliffe!

The meeting at the hospital instructed the branch chairman, Pat Ward, to call for the all-out action at a weekly meeting of branch officers and officials.

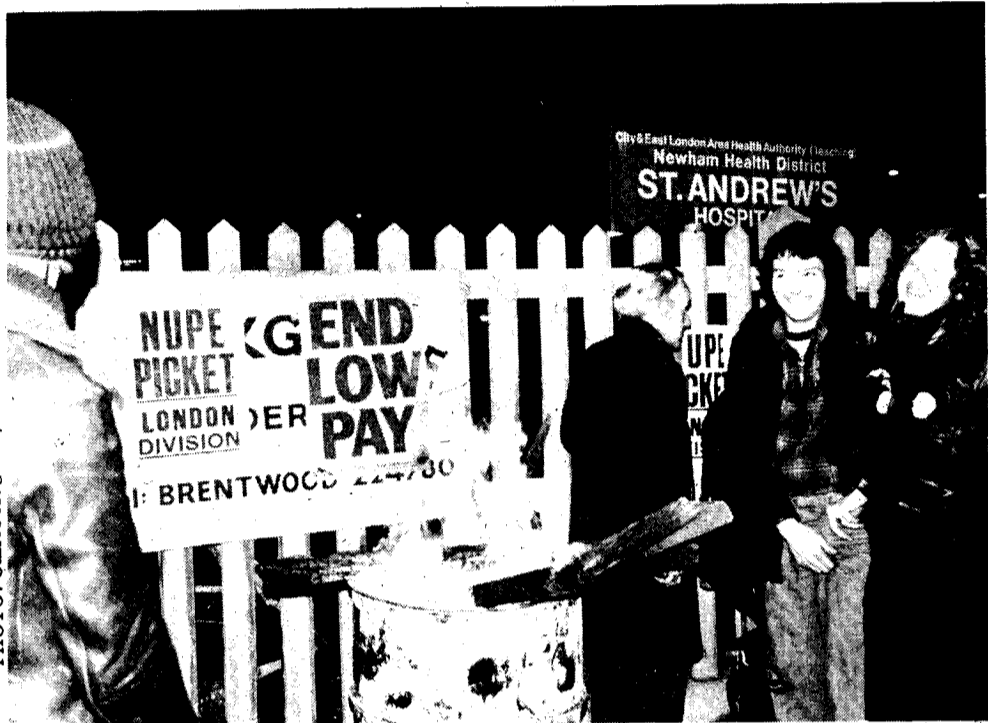


PHOTO: Carlos Augusto, IFL

Pickets outside St Andrews Hospital

The dangers of NUPE's policy of 'selective action' in pursuit of the public sector pay claim have become more obvious over the past week, as full-time officials have consistently attempted to isolate and sell out the strikes in London's hospitals.

Last Thursday, the strike at St. Andrew's Hospital in East London was ended after two weeks, and the

two St. George's Hospitals, in Hyde Park Corner and Tooting voted to continue with selective action, after being on strike for over a week.

These hospitals, and many others in London, have clearly shown their willingness to continue with all-out action in pursuit of the pay claim if they are given the slightest lead by their full-time officials.

Confronted

Instead of working to spread the strikes, however,

the bureaucrats have done everything in their power to end all-out action and isolate the struggles in individual hospitals.

An example of this was given when Steve Seegar, NUPE branch secretary at St. Andrew's spoke at a mass meeting at St. Mary's Hospital, Harrow Road to urge them to stay out on strike alongside his own hospital.

He was immediately confronted with a GMWU full-time official who argued for a return to work, saying that St. Mary's had 'done

its bit' after a week's strike and they should 'let somebody else have a turn'.

If the low pay campaign is to grow in strength, then hospital workers and stewards must be prepared for an all out fight against the policies and actions of their own full-time officials, who have shown consistent fear and hatred of working class solidarity.

High points in the struggle were reached when the London Divisional Council of NUPE were forced to reach a decision on calling all-out action in the London area, and the call was defeated only by the Chairman's casting vote.

And when strikers from the Westminster Hospital lobbied a meeting of the NUPE Executive demanding that they used their power to spread the strikes throughout London Hospitals, the whole campaign seemed on the verge of victory.

Out of step

But the NUPE bureaucracy have shown time after time that they have no intention of calling for the action necessary to win the full claim.

At no time has the treachery of the public sector union leadership been so out of step with the militancy of their own membership.

It is now vital that branches already on strike should form local strike committees and councils of action to spread all-out strike action.

WSL We offer a lead!

Whichever way you look at the struggles and problems now facing the working class world-wide, one thing stands out above all—the need for a principled leadership capable of leading the struggle for state power and the establishment of a socialist society.

The Workers Socialist League is the only movement in Britain that fights patiently and relentlessly to build such a party, on the basis of the Trotskyist Transitional Programme.

We alone are the movement

that does not shrink from even head-on battles with the existing leaders of the working class—whether these be open right wingers, 'left' talking Labourites or Stalinists of the Communist Party.

Such a policy has made us no friends in the trade union and Labour bureaucracy, but has consistently offered the most powerful lead to workers in struggle.

Indeed the strength of our movement lies precisely in our rejection of any attempt to find "short cuts" around the necessary fight to construct a Marxist leadership in the working class.

In these battles we set out to prove to workers both in theory

and in practice the necessity for a new leadership and for a programme of transitional demands which, starting from today's problems and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers in struggle to grasp the need for socialist revolution.

For this reason, though we are smaller than some self-styled 'revolutionary' groups, the WSL has featured in the forefront of pay struggles in British Leyland, in the fight against the sale of jobs by TUC leaders, in the struggle against the cuts, in unionisation struggles, and in the fight against bureaucratic dictatorship within the unions.

This method of approach—rejecting any descent to simple trade union militancy, and any form of concession to the counter-revolutionary reformist or Stalinist bureaucracy—is of course essential for the working class not only in Britain but

internationally

In taking up international issues the WSL points out not only the obligation of British workers to support the Irish liberation struggle and revolutionary struggles such as those in Iran and Southern Africa, but also the necessity for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International as the organising centre of the world party of socialist revolution.

The WSL is not the biggest movement on the left in Britain nor is it the easiest to be a member of. But in its approach to both theory and practice it is the only really serious revolutionary movement.

WHY NOT JOIN US? Fill in the form below for more details, or approach your local branch, who will gladly supply more information about our programme, policies, and perspectives.

More details

Send me more details of the Workers Socialist League.

Name

Address

Trade Union/occupation

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PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL



Big response to Garners appeal for help

Anger continues to mount among TGWU members at the failure to win the 13 month Garners strike.

Resolutions are coming in to Region 1 Secretary Sid Staden and to General Secretary Moss Evans demanding all-out action from the union to force Margolis to concede recognition.

This continuing support for the strike and criticism of their handling of it has shown up the weakness of the policies adopted by Staden and Region 1 "organiser" Shorter.

Faced also with a united strike committee determined to fight for policies to win, their only defence is to attack so-called outside groups "who want to wreck the strike".

No reply

They have no reply to the strike committee's policies of a Day of Action in March, a national delegate TGWU conference and for strike pay of at least £30 a week.

That TGWU branches will support the strike was clearly shown by the response of the Liverpool labour movement when strike committee member

Manuel Blanco went to speak to a series of meetings last week seeking support for the strike.

Blanco told *Socialist Press*: "We were invited to Liverpool to speak at the Trades Council so we spent a day visiting some factories.

"First I went to the Port Shop Stewards Committee at 10 a.m. They immediately gave me £25 for expenses and agreed to take the resolution supporting our policies into their branches.

"There was only one who spoke against us but all the others told him to shut up.

"After that we went to Fords in Speke. We met the convenor, Brother McGuire.

"He agreed to put our resolution to the branch and to ask for a donation.

"At Triumph we were met by stewards at the gate and got promises to pass our resolution and to give us a donation.

"They had not even been told about our strike, through the TGWU although we have a copy of Region 1 Committee minutes which says the committee will circulate all regions for help.

"We also went to Dunlop, and the Shell refinery, At Vauxhalls, Ellesmere Port, the convenor, Brother Farrell

promised to ask for £100 donation at the branch and to pass the resolution.

"One lorry driver we met at Transport House took our leaflets to take to his meeting in Warrington.

"Pat Harkin, another leading lorry driver, promised to give the resolution to Wally Nugent, branch secretary, to be raised at the next meeting and will try and give a donation.

"After I spoke at the Trades Council meeting the chairman said they would pass the resolution, ignore the six picket limit and would send a bus down on the Day of Action, with the banner.

"He said they would all stay outside one Garners branch.

"He asked all TGWU branches to pass this resolution and will send a copy to the TUC. This resolution has seven points:

"This branch supports the Garners strike and calls on the General Executive of the TGWU to support the strike committee policies of:

1) No return to work without recognition and reinstatement of all.

2) Full blacking of supplies and suppliers if necessary.

3) To pay all the strikers a decent living wage until the strike is won, to be raised by a levy of members in Region 1.

4) Regular delegations to the picket line with large turnout on Saturdays.

5) National delegate conference of TGWU.

6) Send a delegation and banner to the Day of Action.

7) Regular donations to the strike fund."

"Also £26 was collected at

the meeting for us. "But it is not just outside London that support is coming in.

"For example, when I got back to London on Friday in the afternoon I collected £40 at a meeting of hospital workers at St Mary's W9 who have themselves just been on strike for a week for their pay claim.

"We know from our experiences that the union members will respond.

"The union leaders try to tell us they are "doing their best" but that members don't want to do anything.

"But they do not want to back us fully. They must realise that we will not go away, we are prepared to fight to the end."

Donations to the Garners Strike Fund should be sent to the strike headquarters at the TGWU Offices, 12/13 Henrietta Street, London W1.

Support Notts mass picket

Sacked Nottingham NUJ strikers, still on the streets a month after the NUJ pay strike finished must look to some real support from the union to win their jobs back.

FoC Robin Anderson—without any detectable note of irony—told the *Morning Star* last week:

"What management ended up with by not taking us back is 27 full time union officials prosecuting the dispute and selling what is proving to be a pretty successful paper."

By launching their own paper (*The News*) the sacked journalists are keeping up their morale and irritating the Nottingham Post management (Brian Clough has refused to speak to the *Post*).

But the journalists are not a single step closer to winning back their jobs.

The management of the Nottingham Evening Post is still in the Newspaper Society and managing director, Christopher Polecarew, is chairman of the NS new technology sub committee.

Only a series of strikes throughout the Newspaper Society will therefore get the journalists reinstated.

This policy is opposed by the NUJ leadership who instead look to their big brothers in the print union bureaucracies, who have refused to offer any tangible action in support.

But a mass picket has been called for March 3 which could be used to make a turn in the dispute.

Nottingham miners have pledged support for the picket and journalists from all over the country will send delegations.

This picket should be supported to the full and used to call for supporting strikes in the Newspaper Society field.

These strikes will be harder to call now than it would have proved to keep the national strike solid until Nottingham journalists were reinstated.

But there is still massive support among NUJ members for the Nottingham journalists.

Support the mass picket! Call strike action now!

Longbridge goes back

195-122 majority.

His argument about the 'isolation' of 19,000 workers was ludicrous and means that in his opinion no plant in Leyland should take strike action on its own.

The vote at the mass meeting was even then, with the return-to-work recommendation of the stewards, only narrowly carried.

The workforce at Leyland's Longbridge plant went back to work last week after a week-long strike over the non-payment of promised 'parity' payments.

The strike had had the effect of stopping all mass production of Leyland cars by bringing Cowley to a halt as well as Longbridge.

The major problem at the other plants which resulted in majority votes against strike action was the unprincipled way in which Leyland convenor Derek Robinson had at first fought for corporate bargaining.

Consequently he ended up leading a strike for the payments associated with the corporate bargaining plan.

The right wing leaderships in other plants where there is opposition to the corporate bargaining plan did not use this situation to fight for a straight wage claim and the breaking up of corporate bargaining, but instead argued merely against strike action for the implementation of the parity payments.

Even then the strike at Longbridge could have been effective and actually would have continued but for Derek Robinson.

He fought hard on the stewards' committee to get a "return-to-work" recommendation and only managed to get a

Buses sell-out danger

In the wake of the haulage drivers' tremendous pay victory, which crashed through the 5% limit and achieved a settlement in excess of 20%, 100,000 bus drivers have been looking for a similar settlement.

Basic pay for municipal bus drivers is only £34.39 for a 40-hour week. Haulage drivers have just achieved a basic rate of £64.

But TGWU national officer Larry Smith has no intention of waging a fight for such a figure.

Last week, after hearing an insulting 5% pay offer from the employers, he declared his willingness to recommend a supposedly "interim" settlement of only 6%—abandoning the rest of the claim to the tender mercies of some independent "inquiry" into pay and conditions.

Employers pointed out how irrelevant such an "inquiry" would be, but declared themselves ready to agree to one, provided it was government-run.

A major sell-out is thus being lined up. But Smith has to persuade a special delegate conference to accept his wretched proposal.

Bus drivers and ancillary staff must take steps to ensure that their delegates are mandated to throw out the 6% offer and the "inquiry", and to press for strike action if the full claim is not conceded.

Fraser stalls again

There was solid support for action from a mass meeting of all skilled workers in Cowley Body Plant in which several speakers called for an immediate strike or five-days notice on the overwhelmingly adopted £90 per week claim.

Despite this no strike vote was taken and when Roy Fraser attended the toolroom committee meeting last Wednesday the decision was to call another meeting on March 10 and invite all skilled workers' stewards.

For 18 months this committee has been making threats and calling meetings but doing nothing. Many of the skilled workers see this as just another way of the leadership trying to avoid the pressure from their members.

The feeling is still there for action but if the talk of the last 18 months is continued it could be dissipated.

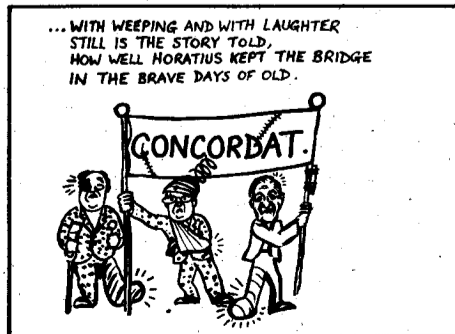
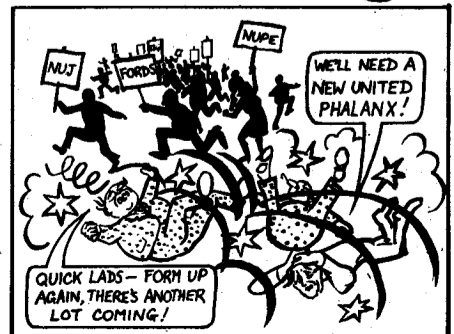
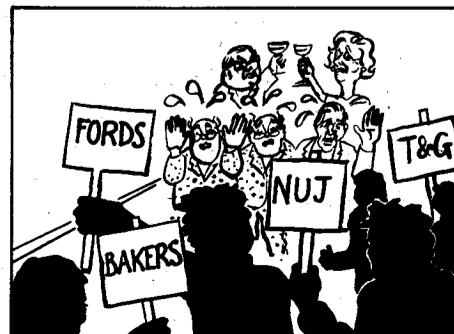
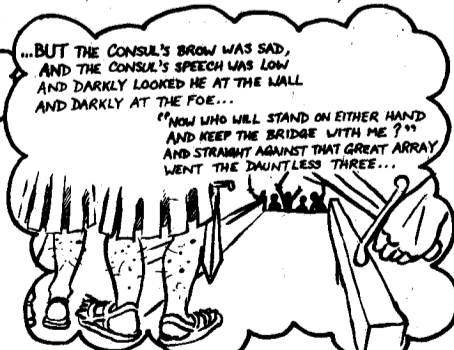
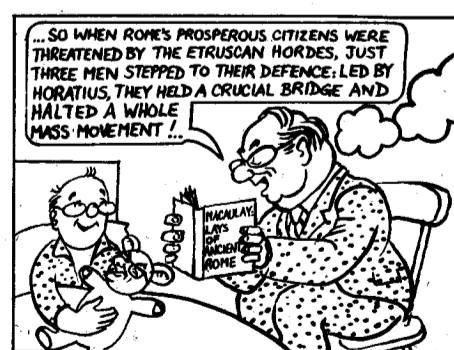
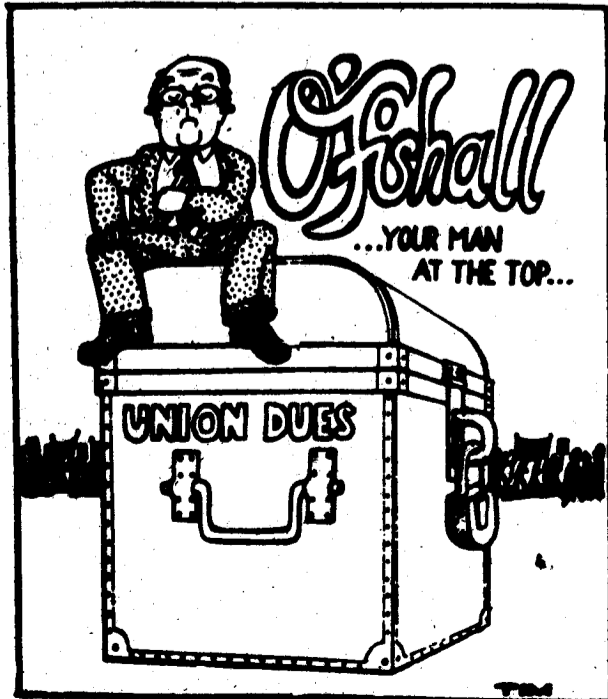


Dunlop workers on CP march against unemployment

Apology

In our coverage of the Dunlop struggle in last week's *Socialist Press* we incorrectly stated that TGWU General Executive Council chairman Stan Pemberton appeared on the platform of a meeting called

by the CP-inspired Merseyside Campaign Against Unemployment. This was not the case. We apologise for this error which was caused by our misreading of a report from our local branch.



SOCIALIST PRESS ★



Thatcher: the Concordat steals her policies

Low Pay Rally called

From the very beginning of the Low Pay Campaign the Workers Socialist League has fought for all-out indefinite strike action with strike committees deciding on emergency cover.

A meeting last Sunday of our public sector fraction took the decision to call a rally to present our policy for fighting the full claim, for fighting the cuts and for a socialist health service as part of a planned socialist economy.

This requires a new leadership in the trade unions and we will have stewards and strike committee members from London and Oxford speaking as well as a period for discussion.

RALLY
SATURDAY 3 MARCH
Small Hall, Conway Hall
Red Lion Square, Holborn
London
Rally starts at 2.30 p.m.
Credentials 25p

'CONCORDAT' MEANS PHASE 5

Pay struggles have reached the point where they worry top union bureaucrats almost more than the employers.

This is the clear message from last week's reactionary "Concordat" between TUC and Labour leaders, through which each side declares its willingness to attempt a further determined stand to stop the forward movement of the working class prior to the 1979 election.

Sabotage

Already the militant struggle by public sector workers for their £60/35 hour week claim and the pay claim by 20,000 busmen have been subjected to sabotage in line with the policies of the "Concordat".

Included in its tactfully vague proposals is the concept of some form of mechanism to settle the wages of key public service workers while denying them the right to strike.

This has been seized on by leaders of NUPE and the other



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Callaghan

three "low pay" unions, who are now stretching every muscle to drop the £60 claim in exchange for a miserable 9%, a job-cutting productivity deal, and an "inquiry" into

comparable rates of pay.

And TGWU bus officials are planning an even more brazen sell-out, with a 6% "interim" offer and the promise of an "inquiry".

Wage controls

But whether or not these manoeuvres succeed, the aims of the "Concordat" extend much further than the current pay round.

Its objective of cutting inflation to 5% by 1982, coming from leaders who have always blamed inflation on wage increases, is an unmistakable implicit pledge to permanent wage controls.

Home Secretary Merlyn Rees is only the latest of a series of leading ministers to declare his absolute opposition to free collective bargaining: and this anti-socialist government clique is backed up by the twelve right wing TUC leaders who recently signed the document *A Better Way*, explicitly defending wage controls.

But TUC leaders who have seen mass struggles trample Callaghan's discredited 5% limit underfoot know that such policies can only be achieved if the power of their members is held in check.

This is why the "Concordat" significantly includes "advice" designed to hamper effective picketing in disputes, to further outlaw unofficial strikes, to impose secret ballots prior to strike action being called, and to break the power of the closed shop.

No mandate

Not one of the TUC leaders that assented to this anti-working class "Concordat" (no vote was taken) had any mandate to do so from his members.

Every one of the policies contained in this squalid deal amounts to a complete concession to Thatcher, the Tory Party and the CBI.

If not thrown out this "Concordat" means that in the 1979 election workers will face a "choice" between open Tories

threatening anti-union legislation, or this gang of crypto-Tories planning to impose similar measures "voluntarily" through their bureaucratic control of the unions.

The TUC Congress and Labour Party conference must be recalled as a matter of urgency to throw out the "Concordat" and the Callaghan leadership and to offer those who claim to oppose Callaghan a final opportunity to spell out a socialist manifesto for the 1979 election.

Any would-be Labour "left" that shirks such a responsibility must be exposed as helping Callaghan to open the door to the near certain electoral victory of the Tory Party.

The crucial issue in this situation is the building of a principled revolutionary leadership for the working class which is prepared to fight tooth and nail against the betrayals of all wings of the labour bureaucracy.

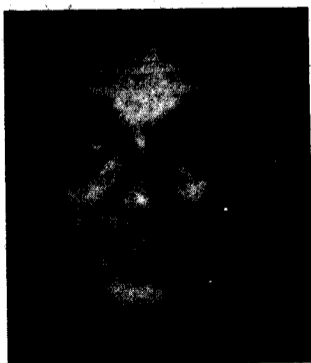
That fight is being waged at present only by the Workers Socialist League.

Chinese Stalinist army invades Vietnam

Only a few weeks after the armies of the Vietnamese Stalinist regime carried out their lightning invasion of the rival Stalinist state of Kampuchea (Cambodia) several divisions of Chinese troops with tanks crossed the border into Vietnam last week-end in what was described as a punitive invasion.

Though Peking has declared that it has no intention of seizing Vietnamese territory, reports as we go to press suggest that Chinese troops are still advancing despite heavy resistance by Vietnamese forces.

The timing of the attack has clearly caught the Vietnamese at their weakest point, with an estimated 100,000 troops tied down in what seems an almost indefinite commitment to preserving their new puppet



Deng

regime in Kampuchea from continuing guerrilla resistance from supporters of the deposed Pol Pot government.

But the timing is also clearly related to the international and domestic requirements of the Peking bureaucracy itself.

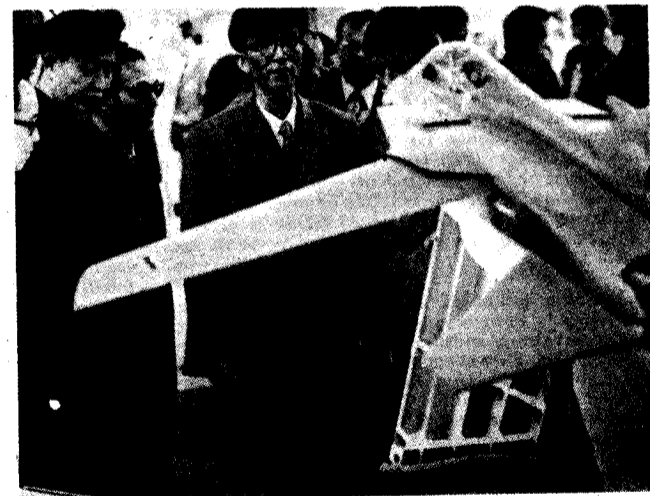
Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping has only just returned from the USA, the latest in the series of Chinese visits to key imperialist nations, in which a major topic of negotiation has been Chinese desires to purchase tons of advanced military equipment—including British Harrier jump jets.

The main motive behind these opportunist approaches to imperialism has however been the search for advanced technological equipment and investment which could equip the still chronically backward Chinese economy to offer the kind of improvements in living standards being increasingly demanded by workers and peasants alike.

In pressing their claim for such assistance the Chinese Stalinists have offered the capitalists not only the prospect of a slice of profitable investment in the huge, largely untapped Chinese market, but also hopes of an ally against the military might of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact.

The attack on Vietnam—linked to the USSR through a friendship treaty—can be seen as both proof of Peking's good intentions with regards to such an anti-Soviet alliance, and as a means of justifying its reactionary foreign policy and its growing military expenditure to the increasingly restive Chinese masses.

For revolutionaries and socialists however it is yet further proof of the utterly reaction consequences of the nationalism embodied in the Stalinist "theory" of



Chinese bureaucrats on arms spree

building "socialism in one country".

The Soviet Union has moved quickly to warn the Chinese of undisclosed consequences if they do not halt their invasion, and other Warsaw Pact countries with the exception of Romania have also denounced the incursion.

Under seige

Such divisions between non-capitalist nations can only delight crisis-ridden imperialism at a point where its own military outposts and puppet dictatorships are under seige from an advancing mass movement covering every continent.

The world workers' movement must demand the immediate withdrawal of Chinese troops from

Vietnamese soil, and the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

Political revolution

An end to such reactionary national rivalries can only be brought about through the struggle within the deformed workers states of East Europe, Asia and Cuba for the political overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy through the building of workers councils and the construction of revolutionary, Trotskyist parties.

Only in this way can the social gains within these countries in the form of nationalised property relations be adequately defended against imperialism and made the basis for the furtherance of the world socialist revolution.

FUND

With only a week to go to the end of the month we are a long way short of our target of £600. In fact we have received only £336.45 towards our total.

This is a situation which we must fight to change at once. Each issue of Socialist Press bears testimony to the leadership being given by supporters of our paper in the fight for the public sector pay claim, particularly in Camden where the struggle has reached a politically higher level than elsewhere, largely due to the intervention of our readers and supporters.

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