



FIGHT TORY ANTI-UNION LAWS
Called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement
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LAMBETH: STRIKE TO STOP TORY MURDERERS!

Cuts kill people, young and old!

Despite the waffle and empty ranting of union officials about the Tory government's sledgehammer attacks on the health service, this blunt fact emerged loud and clear last week.

The Lambeth, Southwark and Lewisham Area Health Authority finally declared that 'enough was enough'. Medical experts declared that to impose the Tories' £5.5 million cuts in their budget would kill off dozens of patients. The AHA refused to do it.

With the total support of every doctor present it voted overwhelmingly against the sweeping cutbacks which would be required to achieve the Tory target.

Among the departments that would be hit are radiotherapy (crucial to cancer patients), heart surgery (including the fitting of life-saving pacemakers), gynaecology, orthopaedic surgery and renal dialysis (which provides vital life-support for kidney patients).

Closed down

On top of this, 300 acute beds, entire wards and whole hospitals would have to be closed down to make up the immediate saving demanded by Tory minister Patrick Jenkin.

Prime targets for closure are Sydenham Children's Hospital, St. Giles' Hospital in Camberwell and St. John's in Lewisham.

Opponents of the cuts on the AHA have stated that they could provide names and addresses of at least 204 known patients whose lives would be immediately placed at risk by the cuts in this one area alone.

But despite the 'special case' arguments peddled by the AHA, these kinds of cutbacks are not exclusive to the London area.

The Lambeth AHA's problems are certainly made more dramatic by its need to finance three world-class teaching hospitals (Guy's, King's and St. Thomas's), and medical opposition to the cuts has gained strength from top consultants whose departments are immediately at risk.

Ruthless

But the Tory axe is crashing ruthlessly into the National Health Service in every town and region in the country.

And in most cases the NHS has been already reeling from the savage cuts and cash limits imposed by Callaghan's reactionary Labour government.

The very survival of the National Health Service, a historic gain for the working class, is now at stake.

Thousands of working class men, women and children stand to suffer possibly irreparable



Nursing care provided during the Hounslow Hospital occupation

injury and illness and hundreds more will die if Thatcher's government is allowed to proceed with its policy of wanton vandalism and destruction.

For the Tories the only criterion is boosting the profits of private industry and cutting the taxes paid by top managers.

They have no interest in the health and welfare of the working class.

Local authorities

This is why not only the health service, but every aspect of public spending is under the most ruthless attack.

Local authority cuts will slash basic social services for the young, the sick and the

old; council housing has been axed, and existing council housing sold off—producing a growing toll of homeless; and education, too, faces a devastating attack.

No section of the population is safe from this all-embracing Tory attack: former Labour traitor Reg Prentice, now Tory Minister for the Disabled shocked even the most woolly headed liberals recently by bluntly warning the Royal National Institute for the Blind that the handicapped will have to suffer the full brunt of the cuts!

But if the Lambeth defiance has focussed attention on the real effect of the cuts, the AHA's conscience-saving gesture offers no solution to the

problem of how to stop the cuts and stem the Tory offensive.

Embarrassed and angered at the fact that the AHA—itsself a totally unrepresentative, appointed body originally set up by Tory Minister Sir Keith Joseph to give the illusion of 'democracy' to the NHS—refused to act on this rare occasion as an obedient puppet, Jenkin has simply replaced them with equally unrepresentative nominees from the Regional Health Authority.

No call

Labour 'lefts' such as Lambeth council leader Ted Knight continue to splutter about resisting the cuts on the RHA; but there has been no

clear call from Labour or trade union leaders in the area for action by the workers' movement to resist the cuts.

Mass meetings

While trade unionists in hospitals in the neighbouring Westminster AHA have been holding a series of mass meetings to organise action to prevent the cuts and forming hospital defence committees (see pages 10-11), there has until now been no such initiative from Labour or union leaders in Lambeth.

Only since Jenkin's move to override the AHA have COHSE stewards in the area come forward and declared a policy of non-cooperation with the new appointees and opposition to the cuts.

And NUPE spokesman Bernard Dix has simply endorsed the AHA's stand, offering no lead for NUPE members in this key struggle.

The task is now to make Lambeth the national focus for a full scale struggle against the Tory cuts.

Strike action

Branch meetings and mass meetings of health unions must be called in every hospital to adopt a firm policy of strike action and occupation to prevent the cutback or closure of existing health service provision in the area.

Trade union committees must be elected to demand access to the accounts and plans of the AHAs to reveal the full extent of the planned cutbacks, and the colossal profits being made from the NHS by drug monopolies, banks and other suppliers.

The demand must go out that union officials who have never at any point led action to prevent the cuts, call an all-London meeting of health service stewards to prepare a coordinated programme of industrial action to prevent the dismemberment of the health

service.

And in every other area of the country, where essential services are equally on the point of collapse, public sector workers must demand local and national officials take up a similar policy.

Public sector and other unions at local level must establish the closest working relations and seek to unite the broadest possible united front by the labour movement against the cuts through the establishment of councils of action comprising delegates from all public and private sector unions, local Labour Parties, claimants' organisations and other working class bodies.

Reverse cuts

With such bodies the fight can be taken up for the spreading of specific struggles against the cuts and for the adoption of policies designed to combat union officials' collaboration with the cuts.

Indeed the only policy capable of preserving the public services—a reversal of the cuts and a sliding scale of state spending to compensate fully for inflation—clashes with the requirements of British capitalism and is clearly unachievable under either the Tory government or under Callaghan.

It requires a mass struggle to bring down the Thatcher gang, and a determined political fight throughout the trade union and Labour movement for the exposure and removal of the existing right wing and fake 'left' leadership, and the construction of a revolutionary party committed to the fight for a planned socialist economy.

Join us in this fight.

*Strike and occupy to stop the cuts!

*Open the books of the AHAs and local authorities to elected trade union committees!

*For a sliding scale of public spending!

*Build councils of action! For a united struggle to defeat the Tories!

PHOTO: Angela Phillips, IFL



Prentice—no aid for the blind

PHOTO: Laurence Spinkham, IFL



Cobbling together a government

In some of Europe's capitalist states it is regarded—especially among the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie—as a rare and splendid privilege, an ultimate mark of success, to be asked to be Prime Minister.

But not in Italy. There, to become Prime Minister is to be almost certain of failure and to be in need of another job very soon.

Italy has been without a government with parliamentary sanctions for six months.

Failed

After the June election, Christian Democrat Giulio Andreotti tried to form a government and failed.

The President then took the unusual step of asking Socialist Party leader Bettino Craxi to form a government.

The squabbling Christian Democrats refused to support him. So he, too, failed.

So did Christian Democrat Finance Minister Pandolfi, who tried next.

Three down—how many to go? Most bourgeois political commentators are now saying that if the next effort is a failure the President may have no alternative but to admit that the parliamentary system is in a complete impasse and try to buy time by calling yet another general election.



Berlinguer

government

Some reports suggest that Pertini himself threatened to resign.

Majority

So the next Prime Minister, who has now formed a government and looks forward to a Parliamentary majority of 40, appears to bear a heavy responsibility on behalf of the Italian capitalist class.

His name is Francesco Cossiga.

His main claim to political fame is failure.

But that is nothing special for a leading bourgeois Italian politician.

What is special is that Cossiga—having been Interior Minister during last year's mounting waves of uncontrolled violence and the kidnapping and killing of Christian Democrat leader Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades—admitted responsibility and resigned.

ity and resigned.

This unheard of and unprecedented gesture of bourgeois political "principle" has made Cossiga famous and apparently respected by leaders of the other parliamentary parties.

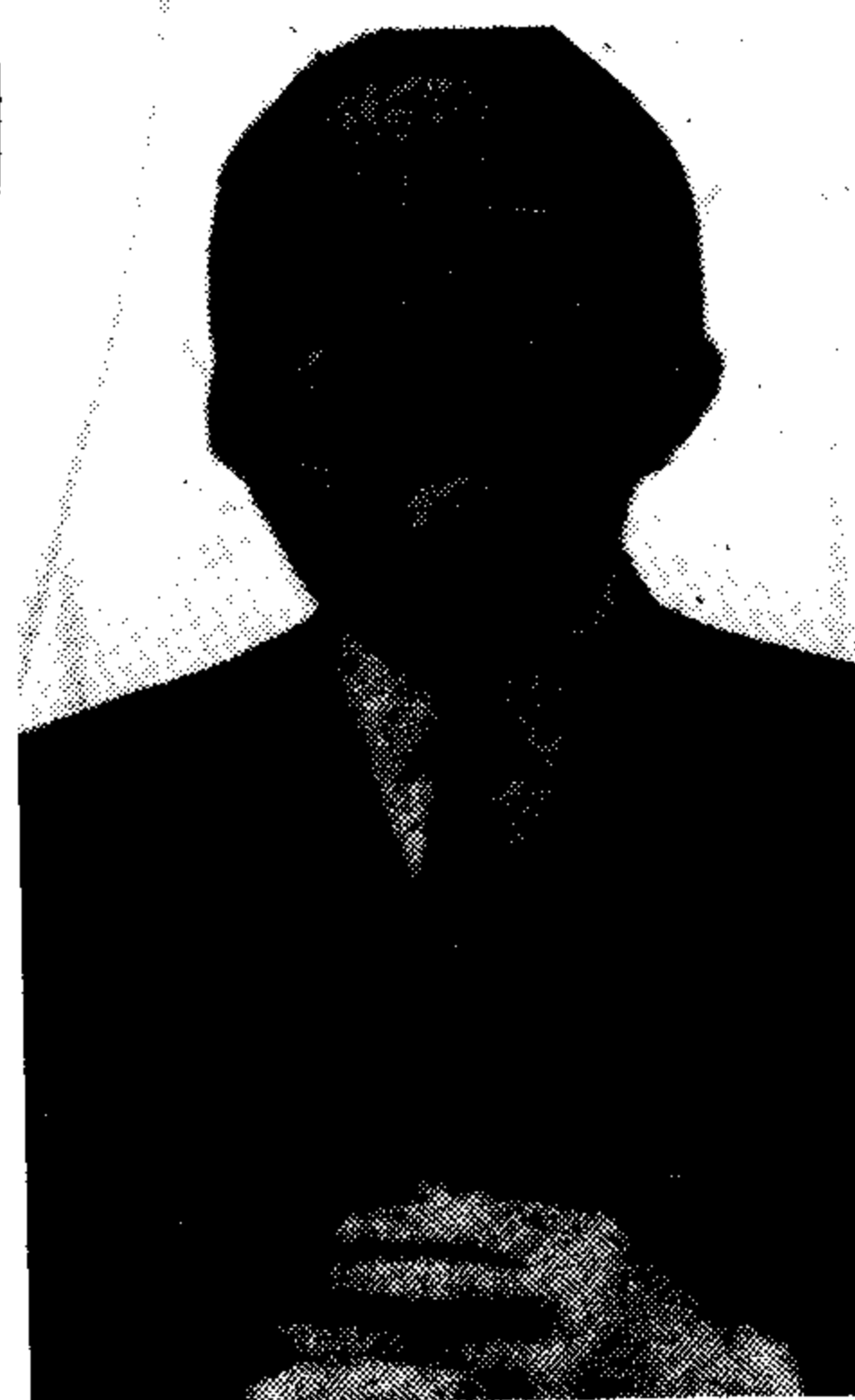
In addition, Cossiga has the 'merit' of not being considered to be a leader of either of the Christian Democratic factions.

Relative

And what is more he is a close relative of the CP leader Enrico Berlinguer, who is still committed to a policy of "opposition" unless the CP is given seats in a broad class collaborationist cabinet of "historic compromise".

Cossiga has not been selected to bring his cousin or any other Stalinist into the Cabinet.

But he may be the Italian bourgeoisie's last hope for now



Andreotti

of calming the party disputes and rescuing the rapidly waning credibility of parliamentary democracy and preventing the country being plunged for the second time in six months into a futile general election.

Such an election would almost certainly solve nothing but would lead to a further exposure of the Stalinist leaders as unable to offer any way to meet the demands of the Italian working class.

BEHIND BP TAKEOVER

The nationalisation of BP's exploration and production operation in Nigeria has been hailed by British capitalists as the beginning of a major offensive against foreign capital.

In fact—as the Nigerian



Obasanjo

authorities themselves have been at pains to point out—there is no anti-capitalist element in this take over, for which Nigeria will pay full 'compensation' to the oil multi-national.

Nigeria is a military state in the middle of its own economic crisis which has seen a big decline in the level of production.

British companies have more than £2,000 million invested in the country and trade which has fallen through economic stagnation from £1,000 million a year to £600 million this year.

The military government of General Obasanjo—and the civilian government due to replace it this year—will both maintain Nigeria as a capitalist state which exploits its workers and peasantry.

Invest

Foreign capitalists from the United States and from Germany are still queuing up to invest there.

The oil operation, of which BP was a part, was itself a tripartite arrangement between BP, the Nigerian government and Shell, whose stake is the same size as BP's but whose interests have not been interfered with.

While we favour steps to expropriate imperialist holdings in the semi-colonial countries, therefore, this particular nationalisation has no measure of 'socialisation' about it.

It is an opportunistic move by the Nigerian government to boost popularity at home by taking a 'tough line' over one Rhodesian sanctions buster.

In fact many of the companies operating freely in Nigeria have strong links with South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Support

Foreign capitalists were favoured by the Nigerian government partly because of the enthusiastic support given to them by governments such as Britain during the annihilation of Biafrans.

The Nigerian government adopts a tough line towards South Africa and white Rhodesia to appease its own black masses.

Yet the government they wish to see established in Zimbabwe is a capitalist government, run by black businessmen but dependent, like Nigeria itself, on strong links with overseas capital.

PORTUGAL: A CHALLENGE TO PARLIAMENT

When military officers publicly attack parliaments for passing laws which trespass on military authority, then democratic rights are in danger.

That is the situation in Portugal where the officers of the Revolutionary Council have protested against the vote passed by a Socialist and Communist majority granting amnesty to anyone accused of a coup attempt since the revolution of April 1974.

Military President Eanes himself has also made thinly veiled threats recently to re-establish military rule if the parliamentary parties could not form a majority government.

Eventually, in the continued absence of any parliamentary

solution to the crisis—Eanes has appointed a new caretaker government under Maria de Lurdes Pintassilgo which is designed to hold on until early elections take place, probably in October.

This is the situation which the Socialist and Communist Parties have tried to avoid.

Consequences

They fear the consequences of having to give an account of themselves to their worker and peasant supporters.

Stalinist leader Cunhal even looked last week as if he might try to persuade Eanes not to dissolve parliament after all and keep the new bourgeois government in office.

Premier Pintassilgo is herself close to the Catholic hier-

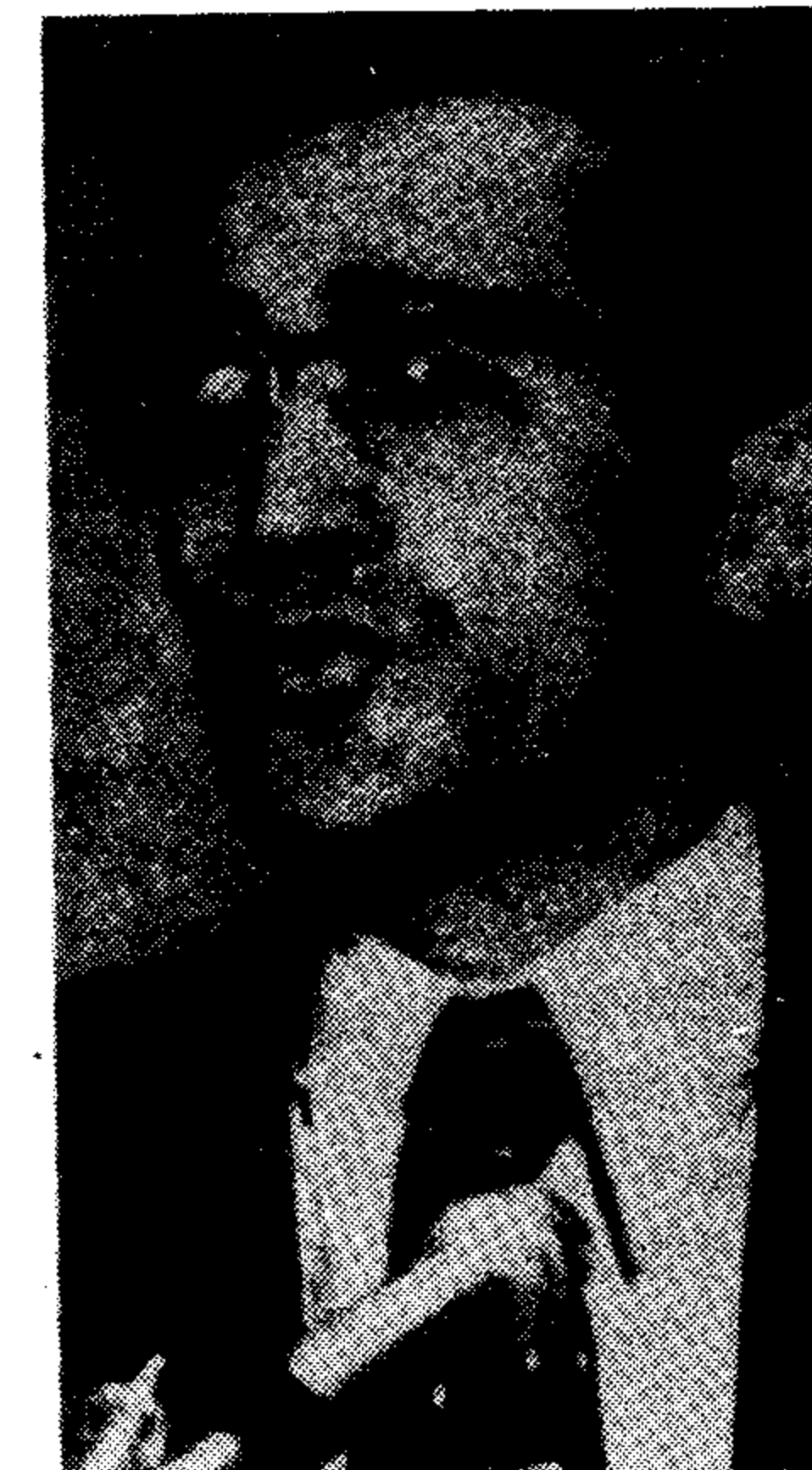
archy, though on account of her work on aid to the "third world" and in building a (bourgeois) Catholic women's movement she has been invested with 'left' credentials by the Stalinist and reformist bureaucrats.

Cunhal last week said of this pillar of the bourgeois Catholic order, now acting as a smiling cover for moves towards more thoroughgoing military rule:

"The choice of Mme. Pintassilgo has been accepted by the vast mass of the Portuguese population, especially by women."

This Prime Minister, so acceptable to the Stalinist leaders, is herself an old frined of Salazar's successor, former dictator Caetano who was overthrown in April 1974.

Of the former ruthless



Eanes

dictator she said last week: "I have the greatest respect for him as a man and as a professor. As a political leader, I have criticised him for his lack of firmness."

BASQUE STRUGGLE REFUSES TO LIE DOWN



Suarez

The immediate aftermath of the parliamentary agreement on the new Statute of Autonomy for the Basque region was a week of high political confusion.

It began when bombs exploded in the airport and the main railway station in Madrid killing four and injuring 113.

The first reports that the bombs were the work of ETA (political-military) were at first hearing incredible. They seemed like the work of provocateurs.

No section of ETA has ever before carried out indiscriminate bombing of civilians. ETA (military) attacks only military, police and right wing political targets.

ETA (political-military) carried out no terrorism after the elections of 1977 until the campaign of bombs in the tourist resorts in the last few weeks before the Statute was agreed. And in that case long warnings were also given.

The first reports, however, turned out to be true.

After the deaths, ETA (political-military) ruefully

pointed out that they had given a long warning to the authorities but it was not acted upon.

This seems to be true. It may have been an intentional attempt by the police to discredit the Basque nationalist forces: but it is so easy to verify that this hardly seems likely.

It is quite possible that the warnings were regarded as hoaxes because ETA (political-military) had loudly and openly welcomed the Statute.

The next few days saw thousands more bomb hoaxes and a wave of police vigilance which nearly paralysed transport in large parts of Spain.

Condemned

Meanwhile, virtually every political force in Spain condemned the bombs. One of the most vehement condemnations came from ETA (military) which has said it will continue its terrorist campaign against the forces of the Spanish state until Euskadi has won true national liberation not the Statute.

ETA (military)'s political wing HASI—part of the Herri

Batasuna (Popular Unity) coalition—said that the bombs were "counter-revolutionary and incoherent".

At the same time the political party generally considered to be the political mouthpiece of ETA (political-military) itself, EIA, also condemned the bombings and called for a public self-criticism by its armed wing.

ETA (political-military) finally succumbed to all this pressure and issued a humiliating statement regretting the bombings and saying they had been a mistake.

The result of all this will almost certainly be the political eclipse of ETA (P-M) and its political allies.

Suarez and the Francoists in Madrid, along with his allies in the right wing Basque Nationalist Party will view the debacle with some satisfaction in the hope that it will discredit all sections of ETA.

Prejudice

That will be true, however, only in sections of the population where prejudice against militant Basque nationalism

already runs high.

In Euskadi itself the bombs will much more likely advance popular understanding of the terrorist campaign of ETA (military) which aims only at targets representing the authority of the Spanish state.

Enhanced

ETA (M) will emerge from the last week with its reputation for political principle and tactical coherence enhanced in comparison with ETA (P-M)'s obvious internal disarray.

That disarray certainly resulted from the recognition by some of its forces that in welcoming the fake "autonomy" granted by Madrid it would lose mass support to the organisations still appearing to fight for real autonomy.

The political and military debacle of ETA (P-M) therefore, indirectly confirms the fact that the new Statute will not, as Suarez and the PNV would like, make the explosive issue of Basque national rights go away.

INTERNATIONAL

Behind Cabinet reshuffles US BOSSES FACE POLITICAL CRISIS

Has the President flipped his lid? This logical question based on the "political Jonestown" of Carter's recent Cabinet reshuffle, has been explicitly raised by leading US politicians and commentators in the last few weeks.

Of course, just as President Nixon answered the electorate that "your President is not a crook", White House aides and public relations staff have anxiously denied that Carter has taken leave of his senses.

But with a succession of humiliating setbacks including Iran and Nicaragua spelling out the weakness of US imperialism, inflation now at an annual rate of 13.2%, a weak dollar, a mounting trade deficit, spiralling oil prices and gathering storm clouds of recession both at home and on a world scale, Carter has good reason to feel far from bright, breezy and confident.

Violent

The great unanswered question which has yet to reveal itself to the full is exactly how violently the powerful American working class will react to the policies required by US capitalism to weather the present storm.

But the US capitalists themselves in both of the two main parties are completely divided on what line to put forward on the present crisis.

Carter's frantic reshuffling of cabinet ministers—exchanging a fresh set of bankers and industrialists for some of his less successful initial nominees—indicates the scale of the problem he faces in putting forward a firm and united government policy.

So obvious is the crisis of leadership facing US capitalism that even while the purge went on in the White House and Carter's personal popularity sank below even the nadir of Nixon at Watergate time, his main Democratic rival for the 1980 election—Senator Edward Kennedy—was ostentatiously putting forward an alternative \$58 billion energy plan in opposition to Carter's \$143 billion scheme.

Indeed major spokesmen from Carter's own party are publicly abandoning him even as he makes his most determined effort to restore the authority of the Presidency in order to force through his energy policy.

Democratic party Senators for instance brazenly ignored Carter's recent image-building television news conference—in favour of attending a plush Washington dinner party.

Posturing

Senator George McGovern, a leading liberal Democrat, has advocated that Kennedy be the party's candidate in 1980, and accused Carter (with some justice) of "moral posturing, public manipulation and political ineptitude."

And another Democratic opinion maker, Scoop Jackson, predicted that if Carter does run in 1980 he will be driven out in the early primaries and Kennedy would take the nomination. He tried to soften the blow by adding, "I don't want to push him out as of now!"

Why then, is Carter so widely regarded as doomed to be no more than a one-term President, while Kennedy is seen as the answer to the problems of US capitalism?

Clearly the complete inability of Carter or his energy plan to win any support from the working class is a major factor.

Figurehead

US capitalism needs a figurehead President who can balance more adeptly between the demands of the working class and the real power of the monopolies.

Kennedy in this sense offers the only hope in either party of a populist, nationalist approach



capable of pressing home the policies required by capitalism while appearing to respond to the workers' movement.

Carter's name and image on the other hand is now irrevocably linked to the traumatic spectacle of the petrol queues and spiralling prices which have hit US workers like a bolt from the blue, and raised a new awareness of the role played in the US economy by the giant monopolies.

According to opinion polls, 75% of Americans believe that the oil monopolies deliberately created the shortages to bolster

their own profits.

Another survey in California showed that in the heart of "free enterprise" America only 56% of those asked were opposed to nationalising the oil firms.

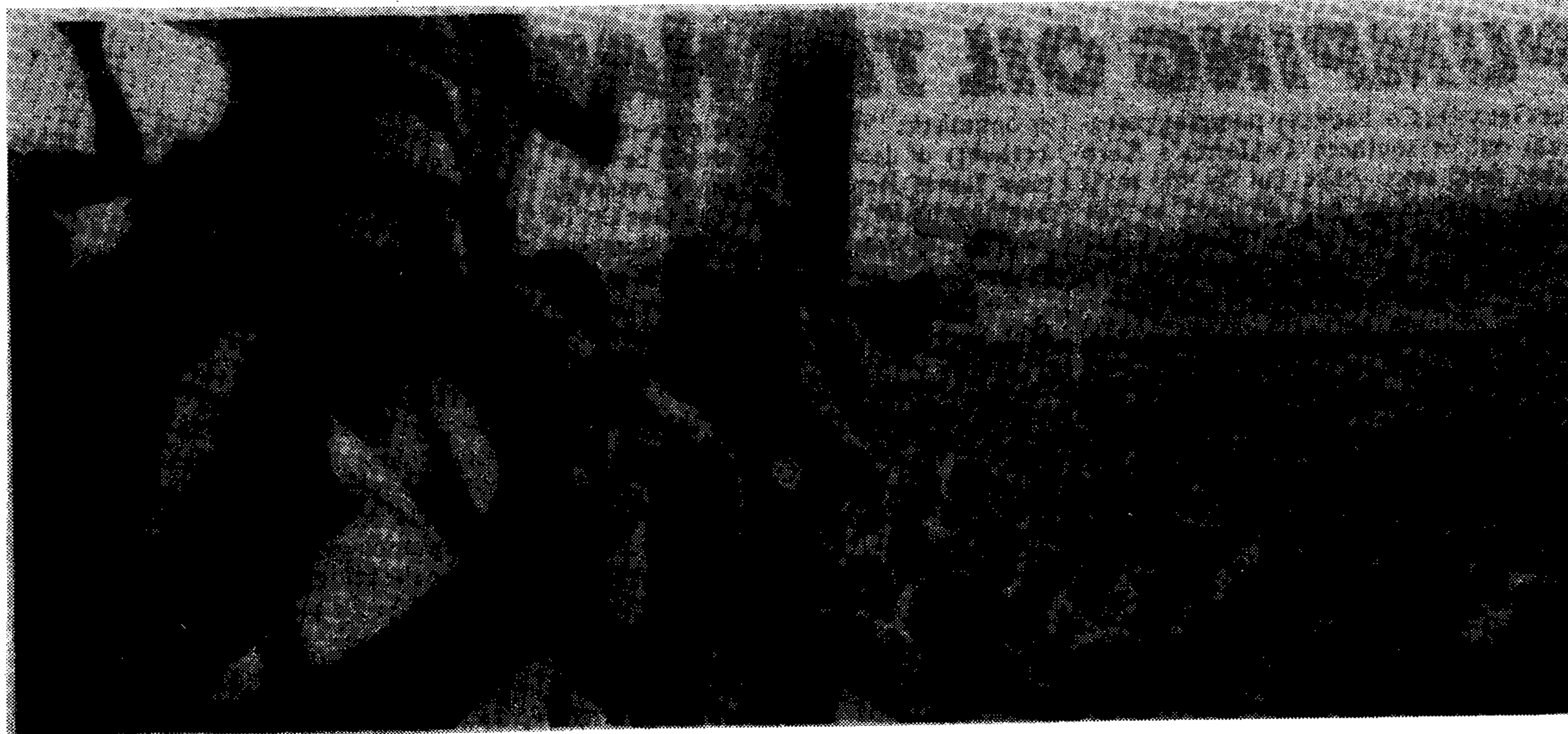
This is why Carter's thoroughly capitalist "solution" to the US energy crisis is tinged with the populist gesture of a "windfall profits tax" on the oil firms.

But this will be of little satisfaction to workers who will face a steep rise in prices for the petrol they need to get to work

each day for the oil they need for central heating.

Nor does the rest of Carter's plan offer any hope to workers. The freezing of oil imports to below the record 1977 level of 8.8 million barrels per day will be easy under conditions of a world recession—but that same recession means unemployment and speed-up.

And the target of a 4.5 million barrels per day cut in imports by 1990 will take place only if the oil monopolies can achieve suitably high prices and profit margins to make domestic production worthwhile.



'Lula' addressing a Sao Paulo mass meeting

Brazilian workers revolt

The dictatorship of General Joao Figueiredo was further shaken last week by a 'revolt' of some 20,000 construction workers in Belo Horizonte capital of the state of Minas Gerais.

The riots started after the workers were locked out of a stadium where they were to ratify the mass decision taken the previous day to call an immediate strike in support of a 110% wage demand.

This decision had been taken against the advice of the union leadership which, after nine hours street fighting, one death and 50 injuries, was obliged to support the rank and file position.

National union leaders including Luis Macio de Silva ('Lula'), were flown in to control the strike and negotiate terms.

The wages of construction workers in Belo Horizonte are well beneath the 'bread line' and have risen only 44% in the last year whilst the cost of living

index has risen by 55%.

Local journalists call Minas Gerais "Starvation City" and the desperation of the urban masses has reached such a point that the government has deliberately desisted from reacting with violence for fear of unleashing a city-wide revolt.

Ten unions in Minas Gerais have issued a communique of solidarity with the struggle of the 100,000 construction workers which follow that of the teachers two months ago

when the police rapidly moved to repress any mobilisation.

This time the police have been manifestly reluctant to intervene and some were seen moving out of areas taken over by rioters.

The upturn in working class combativity initiated by the strike of the Sao Paulo steel workers has shown no sign of slackening and has compelled Figueiredo to accelerate his plans for 'democracy' in order to hold the bourgeoisie together in a period of increasing advances by the masses.

Bolivia election heralds new struggles

The elections in Bolivia have ended in deadlock and put the whole proposition of "constitutionalising" the country in doubt.

Final results give the UDP coalition of Siles Suazo an overall majority with 35.9% of the vote and 45 seats in parliament.

Siles was closely followed by Victor Paz's right wing A-MNR alliance with 31.8%—yet Paz gained 59 seats in the congressional poll.

Ex-dictator Banzer won 13.5% and 24 seats.

Outside of the bourgeois parties, the small Partido Socialista of Marcelo Santa Cruz won six seats and 4.3% of the national vote.



Padilla

Santa Cruz received the belated support of 'Trotskyists' of the Moreno faction of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International, whilst Vanguardia Obrera Comunista (Workers Communist Vanguard) led by Fileman Escobar took one per cent of the poll and gained a seat in parliament.

The electoral stalemate has predictably deepened the political crisis in Bolivia.

First Paz proclaimed that widespread fraud had taken place. Then he and Siles sat down to discuss coalition while the new assembly attempts to 'elect' a president.

The current President, General Padilla, has hinted at a 'run-off' between the two MNR mandarins.

Block roads

Meanwhile Siles' peasant supporters have threatened to block roads into La Paz and other major cities, and the COB (Bolivian TUC) has declared a general strike for one day to 'pressurize' the electoral court to announce Siles as the victor.

This action has been steadfastly opposed by the pro-Moscow Stalinists whose pathetic manoeuvres within bourgeois parties and alliances have lost them any remaining credibility amongst the working class.

It is quite evident the Bolivian capitalist class cannot manage elections, but equally it is well aware that any other 'solution' involving the army will be trenchantly resisted by the masses.

Put on trial

Indeed the commander of the Army has been sufficiently cowed to suggest that Banzer be put on trial for the crimes of his dictatorship.

There is no doubt that the crisis will deepen for even if a 'victor' is finally selected in an orderly manner, the very heterogeneity of the party alliances, the critical state of the economy and the continued mobilisation of the masses threaten the wholesale collapse of the electoral manoeuvre.



Summer School marks step forward in fight for FI

The third annual International Summer School, held by the Workers Socialist League in the last week of July, marked a new step forward in the struggle for the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

In addition to a strong attendance of members and supporters of the WSL itself, the school drew international delegations from the USA, Greece, Denmark, Turkey, Spain and Zionist-occupied Palestine, as well as members of the newly formed Workers Party—the latest grouping to emerge from the degenerated British Workers Revolutionary Party.

Method

The first day's discussion centred on what was to become very much a theme running through the school—the necessity for a grasp of the Marxist method of dialectical materialism if revolutionaries are to understand and intervene correctly in the complex and contradictory processes of the international class struggle.

The second lecture, on the international economic crisis, brought together a general examination of the Marxist theory of crisis with a specific analysis of some of the main features of the post-war 'boom' period and the way in which these contained the contradictions which proved to be the seeds of the present crisis.

The discussion made it clear at once that this contribution and the questions it raised mark an important starting point for further detailed analysis of the development of the crisis.

Assessment

The school then turned its attention to an assessment of the various currents that have emerged from the post-war crisis of the Fourth International—beginning with the Healyite International Committee.

A report based on new work on the origins and early work of the British section of the IC revealed clearly the contradictions present within the post-war International as a whole, and highlighted the damage and disorientation brought about by the adoption of revisionist positions on Stalinism by the European Secretariat of the Fourth International following Tito's break with Stalin in 1948.

The entry work carried out by the Healy group inside the

British Labour Party in the 1950s was also examined in the context of the objective political and material conditions facing Trotskyists at that time, with a view to assessing the early political strengths and weaknesses of the Healy leadership which of course has since degenerated to the point of acting today as the most servile apologists of the reactionary Iraqi Ba'athist hangmen.

Adaptation

The fourth day saw a discussion on the political history, method and positions of the French OCI, the dominant grouping in the Organisation for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI).

The OCI's long-standing and characteristic blend of sectarianism and opportunist adaptation to world social democratic and nationalist currents was drawn out, and its entirely opportunist concept of international work was detailed in the discussion.

On the Friday, representatives from the IMG and the USFI 'Bolshevik Faction' were invited to contribute in a major discussion on the positions of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Analysis

The main report centred on an extensive analysis of the political inadequacies of the USFI's main documents for its forthcoming eleventh world congress.

The failure of the USFI documents to present any analysis of seven of the major political turns and developments to have occurred since their last world congress (Portugal 1974-76; the defeat of imperialism in Vietnam and Cambodia; the defeat of imperialism in Angola and the role of Cuba in Africa; Videla's military coup in Argentina; the upheavals in Spain; the Soweto events in South Africa; and the threat of fascism in Turkey) was matched however by the failure of leading IMG member Brian Grogan to discuss any of those questions in the 45 minutes of his contribution.

Divert

Instead he attempted to divert the discussion into an exercise of simply "drawing class lines".

According to Grogan, no matter how confused, wrong or inadequate the positions of the USFI in major class struggles, so long as it had not actually crossed class lines then it had to

be regarded as revolutionary.

Through this crude sleight of hand Grogan attempted to evade any political accounting for the positions of the USFI and substitute an *organisational* debate on whether or not the WSL and its co-thinkers should be a faction within the USFI.

His problem in doing so is of course compounded by the growing political crisis now emerging within the ranks of the USFI itself (see centre pages).

Saturday saw more detailed political examination of the analysis and struggle for programme in Ireland and in Iran.

And on the final day of the School the issue under discussion was the construction of an international tendency to carry forward the fight for the continuity and development of Trotsky's Transitional Programme in opposition to the opportunism and sectarianism displayed by the main tendencies of the world Trotskyist movement.

The WSL, which had tabled as the initial basis for that discussion a draft programmatic statement, proposed to take the initiative with the launching of an international discussion bulletin, and suggested that the necessary debates and amendments on the programmatic platform of an international tendency should proceed rapidly, with the perspective of a conference to adopt a finalised platform by the end of 1979.

This perspective was warmly endorsed by international delegations, and points the way firmly forward to the broadening of the fight for the reconstruction of the Fourth International in the months ahead.



OCI leader Lambert

MOBILISE LABOUR MOVEMENT FOR TROOPS OUT!

For the group of cynical US bourgeois politicians in the ad-hoc Congressional Committee on Irish affairs, led by Congressman Mario Biaggi, the ban on arms sales to the Royal Ulster Constabulary was a handy electioneering manoeuvre.

But the outcome has been once again to point the finger of international opinion at the systematic torture and maltreatment of republican prisoners by the RUC in Britain's most long-running and barbaric colonial war.

The US decision no longer to supply the RUC with additional supplies of the lethal "Dirty Harry" Magnum pistols and high powered rifles they have ordered can of course be circumvented by placing orders for equipment elsewhere.

But the renewed blow to the international standing of the British imperialists and the carefully cultivated "impartial" image of the sectarian RUC is not so easily undone.

Duty

The irony is that this attack has come *not* from the British labour movement, whose duty is unmistakably to struggle in every way possible alongside the Irish people to force the withdrawal of the British occupation forces from the six counties, but from capitalist politicians in the USA who stand fundamentally opposed to the working class.

In Britain both Labour and Tory politicians have maintained their reactionary "bipartisan" line of endorsing every aspect of British military terror in Ireland.

In a bid to challenge this and to raise the issue of Ireland

within the workers' movement, a committee including delegates from a number of trade union bodies in the Oxford area has commenced publication of a labour movement bulletin on Ireland.

Entitled *War! What War?* the first issue features a transcript of a major speech on Ireland given by Brendan Gallagher at the highly successful Oxford labour movement conference on Ireland in May.

The committee has also conducted a publicity campaign to mobilise forces on the 'troops out' contingent on the August 12 demonstration on Ireland.

Under conditions where the anti-imperialist movement within Ireland itself is plainly on the rise, it is essential that similar initiatives are taken by trade unionists elsewhere, and that the fight for action to

force the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland is taken up throughout the workers' movement.



The Oxford bulletin—copies available from Socialist Press



The eviction of the Huntley St. squatters

Defend Piers Corbyn

Following the eviction of the Huntley St. squatters last August, Piers Corbyn was sentenced on June 13 to 28 days in prison under the 'Criminal Trespass Law'.

At present he is out on bail pending his appeal which will be heard on Tuesday August 14.

Now a leaflet issued by the Huntley Street Defence Committee has called for a demonstration outside the court on that day (for details see below).

The leaflet points out that this conviction has important implications for

any trade unionists, students or community groups involved in occupations.

The 28-day sentence was handed down in response to Corbyn's throwing a bucket of water over the rampaging police thugs who smashed up the Huntley St. squat.

As the leaflet says:

"The 160 men, women and children living in the block in London WC1 were evicted by a force of 650 police.

"The attack was led by 5 JCB bulldozers which broke down the barricades and the SPG police who carried riot shields and drawn truncheons.

"This took place even though on the previous day

the squatters had gained agreement that they would all be rehoused."

It is clear that Corbyn is being made an example of in order to deter others who choose the tactic of occupation to defend their living standards and conditions.

Socialist Press calls on trade union and Labour Party branches to pass resolutions demanding the dropping of the case against Corbyn and to support the demonstration on August 14.

*Demonstration starts at 10 a.m. outside Knightsbridge Crown Court, 1 Hans Crescent, Knightsbridge, (beside Harrods).

Pound soars: business slumps

In the midst of a gathering world recession, the Tory government has embarked on policies that will create a devastating slump in the British economy.

And while certain sections of British capitalism—in particular the bankers and certain big monopolies—feel confident that they can actually strengthen their position, boost profits and grow fatter despite this threatening slump, other, weaker, sections are far less enthusiastic. They see in the swingeing cuts in public expenditure and the consequent wholesale increase in unemployment the prospect of falling markets, falling profits and eventual ruin.

Threat to profits

Other sections of capitalists, dependent for their profits on export markets, see the Tory policy of keeping the value of the pound artificially high in the foreign exchange markets as a threat to their profitability.

The higher the value of the pound, the more British exports cost on the world market.

This not only makes them less competitive than the products of international competitors, but also because of this makes it much harder for employers to pass on the effects of British inflation in increased prices—thus further squeezing profit margins on exported goods.

This squeeze is not merely affecting small producers.

Top managers of both ICI and Courtaulds have taken to news conferences recently to

Workers must fight new attacks



Currency traders

warn of the damaging impact of the 'strong pound' on their export trade.

ICI point out that, while they stand to gain £2½ million per year from every one cent rise in the value of the pound—since their imported raw materials become cheaper—they stand to lose £5 million in lost sales as a result of their prices being pushed up in the highly competitive chemicals market.

Increasingly top employers are pointing out that although it is possible for modern German and Japanese industries to compete effectively despite their high valued currencies, for British industry the present period is like high altitude training for athletes: in limited doses it can aid fitness; but if carried on for too long it results in collapse!

Yet the Tories show no sign of seeking to alter the present situation. The record level interest rates that have acted as a magnet for speculative capital from all over the world and thus driven up the value of the pound are to be maintained—and some bankers are even speculating that they may rise further.

Not deterred

Nor does the impact this is having on sections of industry

deter the Tories from their high interest rate policy—which they see as part of their strategy to curb inflation.

They plainly regard the exposure of British capitalism to the full brunt of international competition as a necessary form of treatment—similar to the 'cold turkey' withdrawal of heroin from a long-time addict.

Rationalisation

The Tories look to the 'strong pound' to spur on employers in each industry to new and urgent steps to increase exploitation on the shop floor through rationalisation and speed up—and thus drive up the rate of profit.

It is no coincidence that ICI, Courtaulds and CBI spokesmen have all concluded their moans and groans about the 'strong pound' with firm statements that the only answer is "more efficiency" at the point of production.

The Tories in other words are using the strength of sterling to speed up the process of 'natural selection' in industry, and to weed out the weaker, least efficient, most antiquated sections of British capitalism, which will inevitably go to the wall—at the cost of thousands of jobs.

But the paradox is that they are consciously doing this at present at the expense of the balance of payments—since attractive, modern imported goods are made relatively cheaper by the strength of the pound.

Imported cars last month took over 50% of British sales: other imported goods are out-selling their British competitors both on price and quality.

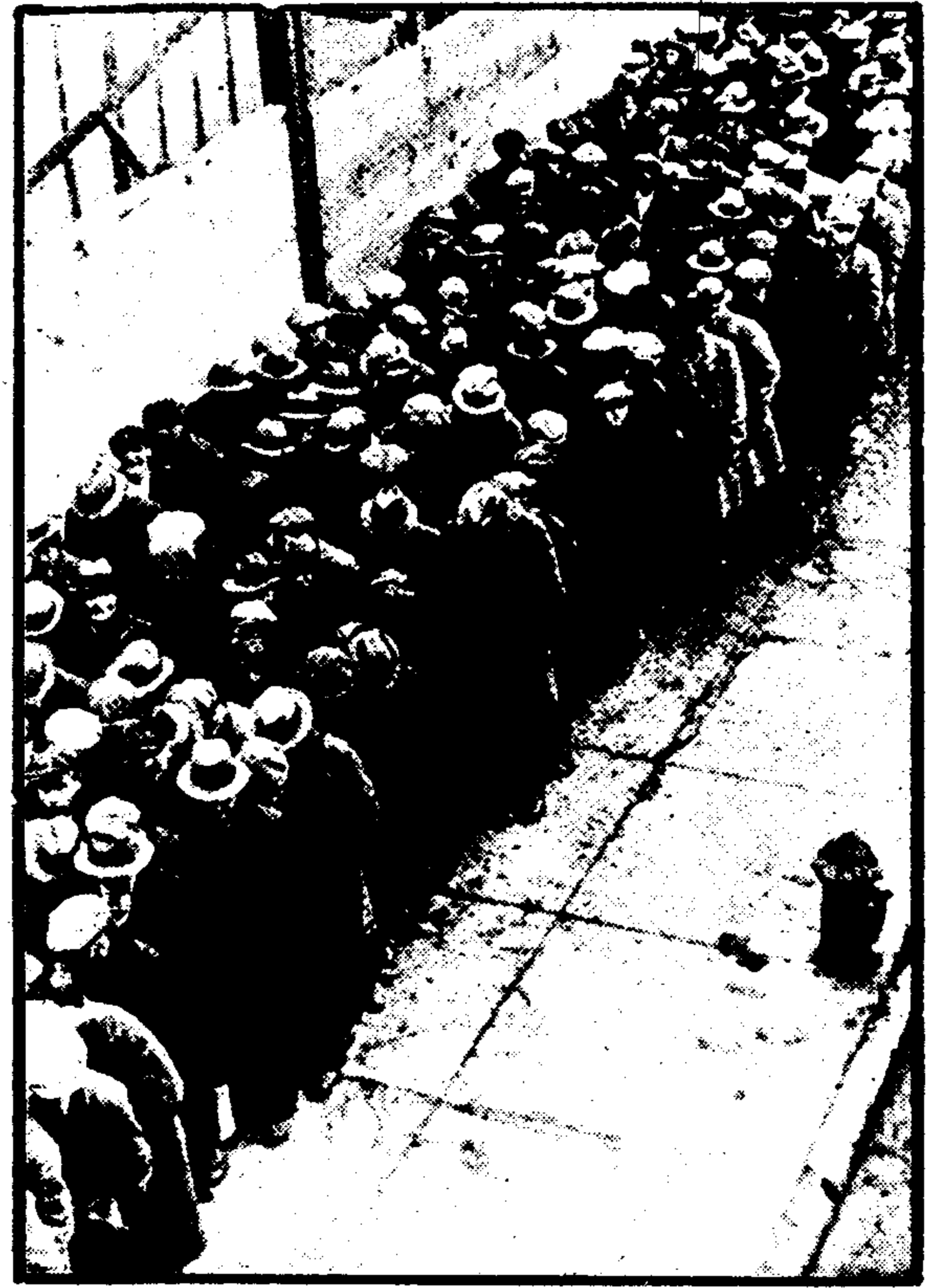
The Tories' purge, in other words is to be ruthless and thorough—and one from which all but the most determined employers are inclined to pull back—particularly at a time of world-wide recession.

This accounts for the gathering pessimism amongst British industrialists as reflected in the CBI's latest quarterly survey, which predicts a further drop in the rate of return on capital (to around 3%), a decline in industrial activity and a drop in industrial investment over the next year.

Frighteningly bad

Even the Chancellor, Sir Geoffrey Howe, has been stalking the country proclaiming that the immediate outlook for British capitalists is "almost frighteningly bad."

But of course if certain employers run into crisis with their own companies they are being offered some compensation by the Tories—the chance to buy into lucrative sections of nationalised industry.



A new devastating slump

BP, British Airways, British Aerospace, chunks of NEB holdings and property in the New Towns are just some of the plum offerings being sold off by the Tories.

No such options are available to the working class. The future for workers if the Tories are allowed to operate for five years is absolutely frightening.

Unemployment will soon reach 2 million: inflation continues to soar unabated. On the shop floor, savage and desperate employers will be waging a relentless struggle to take away hard-won working conditions.

Signals attack

A 'strong pound' under the Tories, just as the "sterling crisis" under the Labour government equally signals an attack on the working class.

The only way forward under such conditions is for workers to wage the most tenacious fight—through strikes, occupations and mass class action—to defend existing jobs, public services and living standards, and to prepare for the political struggle necessary to bring down the Thatcher gang of bankers and profiteers.

Socialism

This requires the construction of a revolutionary party capable of advancing a clear programme that exposes the collaboration of trade union and Labour leaders with the employers and directs workers towards the necessity for a planned, socialist economy as the only means of defending and improving the working class against the ravages of the capitalist class.

Oct 28 march against Corrie

The TUC General Council has called on 28 October a national demonstration against the anti-abortion Private Members Bill currently being moved by Tory James Corrie.

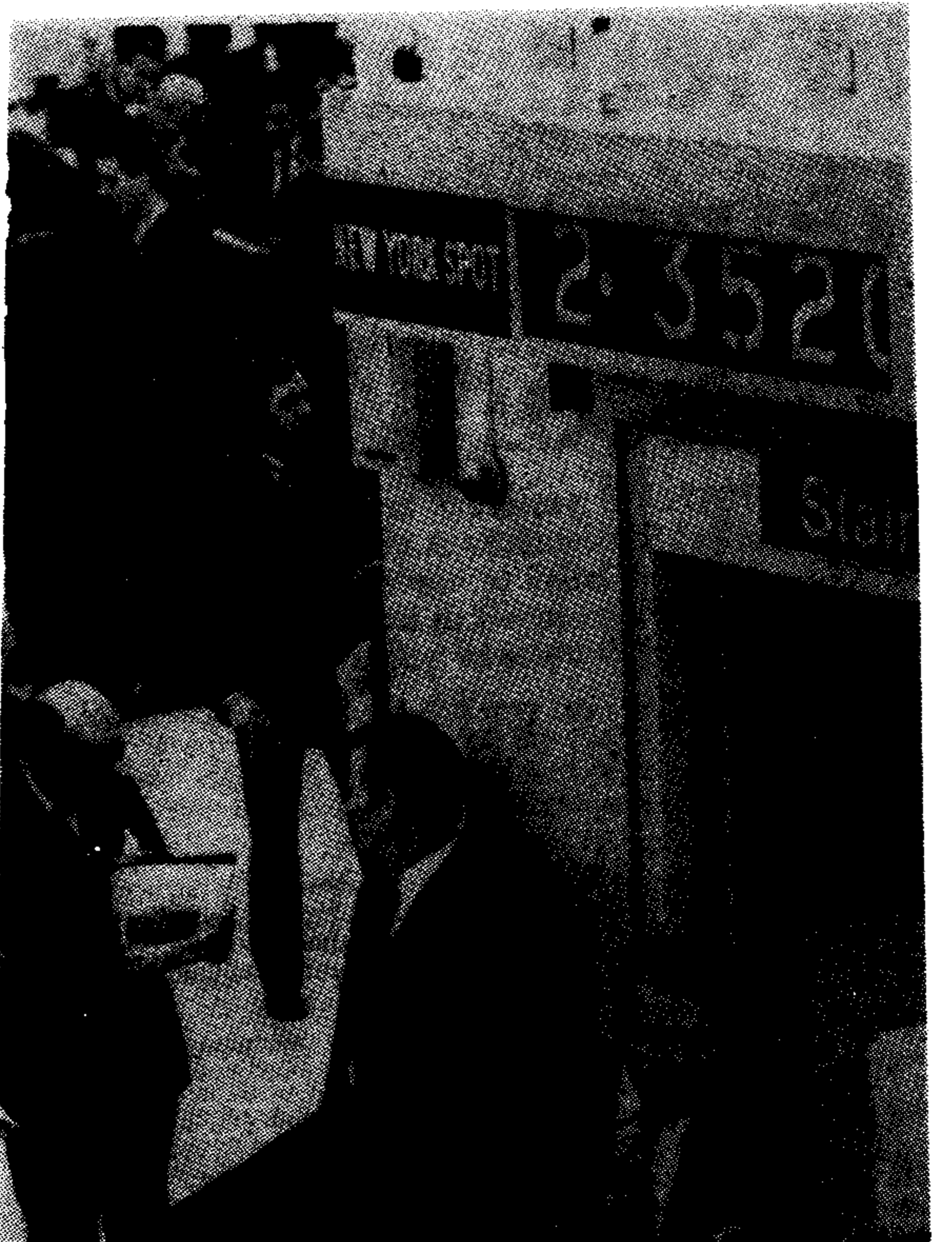
This marks a major step forward in the struggle to mobilise the strength of the labour movement in opposition to this piece of legislation which, if enacted, would dramatically cut the number of legal abortions performed below even the present inadequate figure.

But as previous occasions have shown, TUC support does not of itself guarantee a sufficient turn-out on the day: it is now up to trade unionists and Labour Party members to mobilise branches and banners in a massive show of strength.

That strength must also be directed against those reactionary Labour MPs who abstained or voted in favour of Corrie's Bill on its Second Reading in Parliament.

The demand from trade unionists and Labour GMCs alike must be that the Labour Party lays down a 3-line whip instructing its MPs to vote against Corrie's attempts further to oppress and enslave working class women.

Instead the policy spelled out must be to fight for the right to free abortion on demand—the only policy that can offer women the basic right to control their own bodies and protect their own health.



Mixed feelings in the Stock Exchange

PRESS GANG



The Commonwealth Conference has produced a state of hysteria among the news editors and leader writers of the capitalist press.

Not only have they had to endure the 'insult' of the Queen being lectured on politics by a town mayor in Zambia, but they have actually received pictures which clearly show Nkomo sitting in the same room as Thatcher—without apparent rufflement on either part.

The analogy drawn by most of the press beneath these shocking pictures was that of the IRA sitting down with Tory ministers. They muttered about murderers being invited to share meals.

When Nigeria nationalised BP's oil production and refining processes the howls of rage reached a crescendo.

It seemed that the Lion of Britain had travelled to darkest Africa only to have its nose pulled.

Lastly it became clear that Mrs Thatcher had begun to realise that the Owen Plan to sell out the black masses of Zimbabwe had many attractive features which she ought to adopt.

For the Express and Mail it was too much. Both papers reached the same conclusion on the same day.

If the choice lay between

recognising Muzorewa and preserving the Commonwealth, then the Commonwealth should be ditched.

This was a historic point for both papers which have always regarded the Commonwealth as a faded reminder of imperial Britain.

But if the bitterest pills were being swallowed in Africa the angriest outbursts were reserved for the United States and nearer home as the US State Department suspended the sale of magnum revolvers and other weapons to the RUC in Northern Ireland.

Candidly, the Telegraph said:

"Ulster has proved in many respects to be a training ground of inestimable value: military morale in the Province remains astonishingly high, probably because it is the only place where a British soldier can now expect to hear a gun fired in anger."

But it pointed to the decline in army recruitment, the resilience of the IRA and the wavering of sections of the British bourgeoisie as major danger signals.

"The only feasible alternative to the static policy now being pursued is a deliberate intensification of the security campaign plus political measures designed to emphasise Ulster's status as an integral part of the Kingdom."

These measures turn out to be an old story. The reintroduction of internment and the physical blockading of the border between Ireland north and south are the measures which the Telegraph advocates.

The Observer—under Conor Cruise O'Brien, every bit as militantly reactionary on Northern Ireland as the Telegraph—called the arms ban "significant and disquieting".

The press likes the rules to be simple. Murderers are those who oppose British imperialism, such as Nkomo and the IRA. All other deaths have different labels attached.

A clear example in Britain itself completes the picture. Last winter while the public sector workers were taking action over pay, a consultant had only to hint at a decline in standards for the press to indict the hospital workers for murder.

Now when Joseph and Jenkins launch an attack through the cuts on the lives and health of the working class those same papers have suddenly become worldly wise about the whole affair.

The Telegraph summed this up:

"It does not need to be said that the hooligan propaganda about the cuts being likely to cause 200 deaths, to take patients off kidney machines and so on is pure agitprop for the unwary."

The 'United' Secretariat

Indo-China war

By Henry Phillips

This is the first of a series of articles about the major political and theoretical crisis in the USFI promoted by the recent wars in South East Asia.

The main sources on the dispute, which will be referred to in the articles are the following:

1. The two counterposed political resolutions which appeared in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* of June 4 1979: "The Sino-Indochinese crisis" (Statement of the Fourth International) and "New Advances in the Indo-Chinese revolution and Imperialism's Response" (United Secretariat Minority resolutions).

2. The main theoretical articles to date are: Fred Feldman, "Behind Fall of Pol Pot Regime", *Mili-*

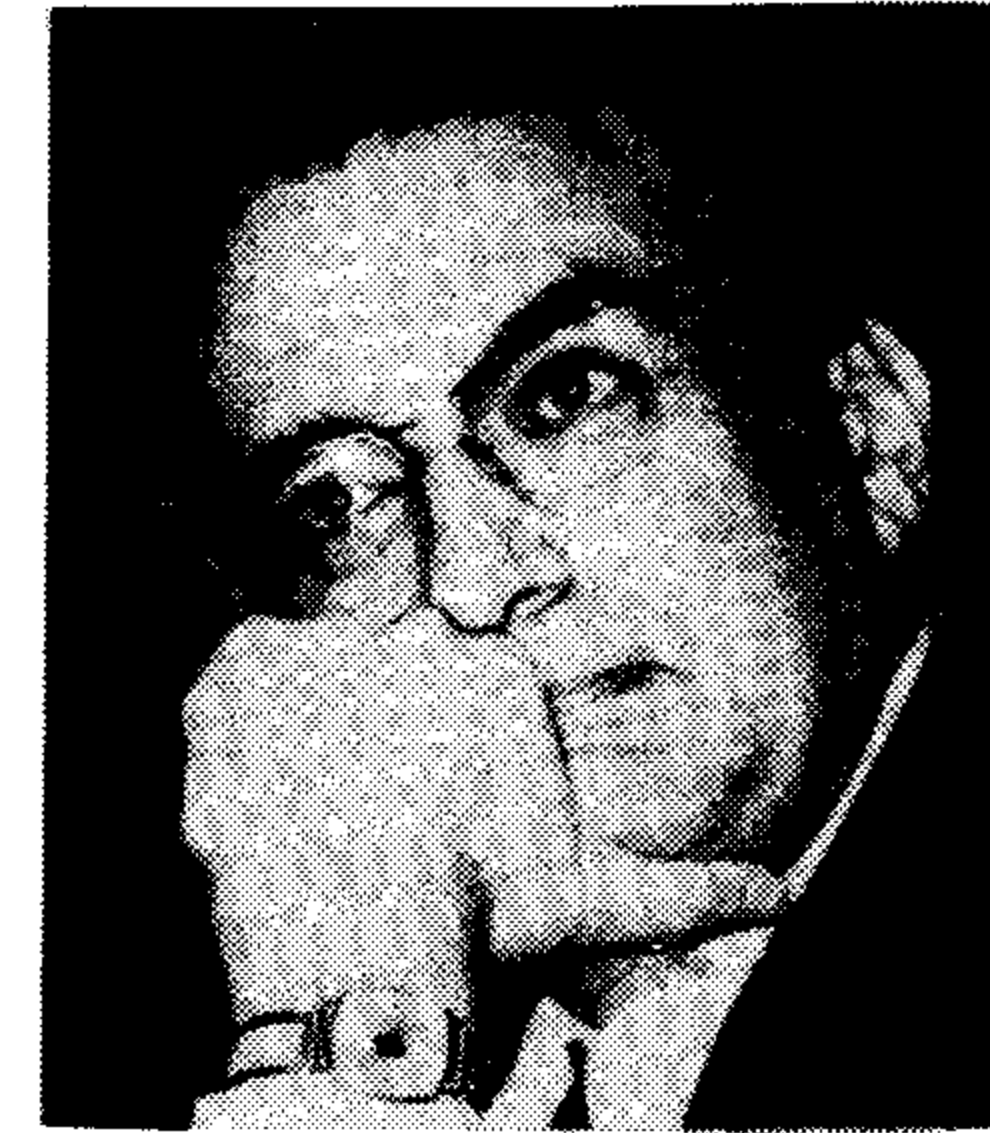
tant Jan. 19 1979, reprinted in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, Jan. 22 1979.

Fred Feldman, "Socialist Revolution in Vietnam", *International Socialist Review*, April 1979, reprinted in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, April 9, 1979;

Steve Clark, "Imperialism vs. Workers of the World", *Militant March* 23 1979, also reprinted in *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, April 9, 1979;

Ernest Mandel, "Behind Differences on Military Conflicts in Southeast Asia" *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*, April 9 1979;

Steve Clark, Fred Feldman, Gus Horowitz and Mary-Alice Waters, "War and Revolution in Indochina—What Policy for Revolutionists?". *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor* July 16 1979.



Mandel

Continually faced with new developments in Stalinism and world revolution since World War Two, those who claim to be Trotskyists have had to face such questions over and over especially in the immediate post war period in relation to the development of Stalinist rule in Eastern Europe, and then again in relation to the Chinese revolution of 1949 and the Cuban revolution a decade later.

Significant

All of these events provoked major discussions and disagreements in the Trotskyist movement and led to the most significant of the Trotskyist movement's many splits and fewer fusions.

We have been forced to conclude that the basic political problems to which these developments gave rise have remained *unresolved* in the Trotskyist movement.

And it is that fact which stands at the root of the disintegration of the Fourth International as an authoritative organisational centre of world revolution.

In the treatment of these major events by the leaders of movements claiming adherence to Trotskyism two characteristic tendencies have emerged: on the one hand a tendency to adapt to, and in some cases to give revolutionary credentials to, the Stalinist bureaucracy (and sometimes to other non-proletarian forces as well); and on the other hand a tendency to adhere to a rigid orthodoxy which can see today's events only as repeats of yesterday's.

Adaptationist

There are occasions when we have argued (as in 1953 when Pablo threatened to liquidate the programme of the Trotskyist movement in entry into the Stalinist parties) that the organisational consequences of the adaptationist position were so serious in their implications that the resistance to them by the International Committee should be defended, even though the theoretical basis of that resistance was woefully inadequate and failed to be further developed.

And we have always seen as a landmark in a long process of theoretical disarmament of the Trotskyist movement the "reunification" document of 1963 on the basis of which the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International was established.

Liquidation

It is a document and an agreement which we regard as Pabloite, in the sense that it opens the way to the liquidation of the revolutionary programme by recognition of the petty-bourgeois Castro leadership in Cuba as an 'unconscious Trotskyist' leadership.

According to the USFI, the Cuban revolution unfolded the "logic" of permanent revolution, and the task of Trotskyists was not to carry through the fight for Trotskyist parties on the Marxist programme

Part One

Last December's full-scale invasion of Kampuchea by Vietnam, and China's subsequent partial invasion of Vietnam, are events of profound significance for the working class of the world, and therefore for the Trotskyist movement.

Although bitter conflict between the leaders of states claiming to be communist is nothing new—and has led in isolated instances to moments of armed conflict—the new South East Asia conflicts are the first examples of all-out wars between such states.

"Freedom"

On many occasions workers of one country have been sent to kill and wound workers of another country, on both sides in the name of "freedom" and "democracy". On a shamefully high number of occasions "socialist" leaders have echoed these calls or independently dispatched their followers to kill workers in the interests of "socialism" while their "comrades" in other countries did the same.

Now in South East Asia, for the first time on anything like this scale—though many times foreshadowed—the "communist" leaders of two states have called on their own workers to kill "enemy workers" in the name of "communism".

The wars therefore mark, if not a new state of the degeneration Stalinism, then a terrible new expression of that degeneration, and one which raises the appalling possibility of more destructive events of the same kind in the future.

Leadership

Such prospects underline the fact that the building of an authentic revolutionary leadership in the working class is the most vital task of our epoch. Trotsky and his comrades of the Left Opposition founded the Fourth International to provide such a leadership—one which reflected the independence of the working class, both from the bourgeoisie and from the Stalinist bureaucracy, and which therefore also represented the objective unity of that class on a



Khmer Rouge troops welcomed as liberators in Phnom Penh after defeat of Lon Nol puppet regime

world scale.

The Fourth International was in this way the continuation of the tradition of Bolshevism and the Third International in its early years, of the principled fight to create new workers states through socialist revolution, to lay the basis for a world federation of those states based on a world planned economy and thus found a new historical epoch in which wars would be eliminated and class exploitation definitively ended.

Physical defence

As part of the fight for that objective Trotskyists, utterly hostile to pacifism, have supported the physical defence of even degenerated and deformed workers states, against imperialism.

But they have never believed that the struggle for new socialist property

forms would take the form of armed invasions of capitalist states by workers' states; such a perspective of building the revolution was explicitly repudiated by Lenin even in the case of a workers state that had not become bureaucratically degenerated. It applies with redoubled force to a Stalinist-ruled state.

We believe that it is also implicitly in the tradition of the Bolshevik Party and the Left Opposition that, in a struggle between bureaucratic rules of two workers states, it is the task of the workers on each side not to kill each other in the name of "communism" and in the interest of two parasitic ruling castes, but rather to find the road to the unity of workers in both countries and the destruction of the bureaucracies.

This requires a policy analogous to the revolutionary defeatism

advocated by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in relation to the intercapitalist war of 1914-18.

Class nature

The problem which was posed for the world working class, and hence for Trotskyists, in the recent and perhaps continuing wars in South East Asia were several: to understand how states claiming to be socialist in nature could go to war with each other; to understand the true class nature of those states; to understand the role and interests of the rulers of the states involved and the contradictions between these interests and those of the working class and oppressed masses; and to find a clear political road which expressed the independence and unity of the working class to make concrete the struggle against

both bureaucratic rule and against imperialism.

In other words, the task is to apply to a new situation in the world the lessons obtained from the long theoretical struggle of Trotsky and the founders of the Fourth International about the counter-revolutionary historical role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, about the class nature of states ruled by that bureaucracy, and about the necessity for a strategy and tactics of political revolution.

History

Since its foundation the Workers Socialist League has struggled to understand these lessons and apply them in today's conditions.

As part of that struggle we have examined the history of the Fourth International since Trotsky's death.

splits wide open over



The Cuban revolution

etical problems. The tragic events of South East Asia in recent months, where worker kills worker, under the leadership of "communists", shows how urgent that need is.

The USFI today is by far the largest of the organisations in the world today claiming to be Trotskyist. The diametrically opposed positions emanating from various sections of that organisation on the South East Asian wars shows how far it is from having resolved any of the major theoretical problems facing Trotskyists, and therefore how far it is from being able to offer the revolutionary lead which could provide a way forward based on the independence and unity of the working class.



Castro

The Indo-Chinese events have hit the USFI like a thunderbolt, shattering the basis of 'unity' provided by the Latin American self-criticism and the agreement to forget about Portugal.

The Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia provoked a sharper counterposition between sections of the USFI leaders than ever before.

The SWP supports the Vietnamese invasion; the USFI majority around the European leadership oppose it, and call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea.

The two sides in other

words support opposite sides in a war.

In their latest article on the subject four leading SWP members acknowledged this fact:

"Two methods? Yes. Two underlying theoretical approaches? Yes. But, above all two political lines. Two lines of action counterposed in wartime.

"That was the difference that emerged in the world Trotskyist movement. It is the first time since the opening of World War II that differences of such magnitude in wartime have arisen in the Fourth International." (ICP, 16.7.79, p.701)

Stark parallel

It is impossible to escape from the conclusion that had the USFI had militants in Vietnam and Cambodia then the two main currents in its leadership would, on the basis of these two lines, have had to tell their followers to *kill* the followers of the other section in the name of "Trotskyism"!

A stark parallel exists between this situation and that of the "democrats", "socialists" and "communists" mentioned earlier who have promoted not the unity but the division of the world working class.

It is an awareness of the serious implications of this new split which has helped to force open inside the USFI the most fundamental discussion of theoretical issues since its foundation.

The USFI is now publicly beginning to debate the question which the Workers Socialist League has been attempting to raise for the last four years and begin to answer as part of the theoretical rearmament necessary to the reconstruction of the Fourth International.

Workers state

Among the issues which have already entered this dispute (though in some cases in an implicit or a distorted form) are: What is a workers' state? How is a workers state created? Is the creation of deformed workers' states fundamentally different from the creation of healthy workers' states? Does the Stalinist bureaucracy play a partly progressive or totally reactionary historical role? What accounts for conflicts between the bureaucratic leaderships of workers' states? What are the consequences of these conflicts? Does the Stalinist bureaucracy preserve or endanger socialised property forms?

These are the *same* questions which arose in the theoretical and political debates in the Trotskyist movement after World War II and in the lead-up to the 1953 split.

They are the *same* questions which were raised after the Cuban revolution in 1959 and which dominated the discussions in advance of the SWP's return to the Pabloite fold in 1963.

In the USFI they emerged again over Latin America, Portugal and more

recently "Eurocommunism"

To many "Trotskyist" leaders they are frightening questions.

The 1963 "reunification" of the USFI, for instance, involved an agreement not to open such issues to discussion until the dust could settle.

But they are, we have always maintained, fundamental questions for Trotskyists, questions which must be reopened and resolved time and time again in relation to changing historical events if the revolutionary socialist movement is to combat Stalinism at every new turn.

In the period since World War II, the leaders of the organisations claiming to be Trotskyist have for the most part failed to give satisfactory answers to those questions.

And that, in the opinion of the WSL, is one of the main reasons why they have contributed to the destruction of the Fourth International as an authoritative centre of world revolutionary leadership.

We must therefore accept it as in a certain sense positive that the discussion of these fundamental theoretical questions is being reopened within an organisation which since its formation has been more responsible for suppressing their discussion.



SWP leader Barnes

But the USFI leaders have not been converted in a positive way to the virtues of this theoretical debate.

It has been *forced* upon them by the evident irreconcilability of the positions which have been taken up on the question of the Indo-Chinese wars.

In his main contribution to the discussion so far, Ernest Mandel uses a revealing word.

Referring to the disagreements in the USFI over the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, he says that:

"their political implication with regard to further developments in relation to armed conflict between ruling bureaucracies in workers states are not clear. This is potentially dangerous especially because of the possibility of armed struggle between the Soviet Union and the Peoples Republic of China. Moreover, the underlying theoretical questions are of such importance (and, in one case, of such novelty) that a thorough discussion of them has become

UNAVOIDABLE."

(ICP 9.4.79, p. 335, our emphasis)

But the theoretical discussion, which this jagged rip in the political fabric of the USFI has allowed to show through, demonstrates the vast distance between ceasing to avoid the questions and beginning to resolve them.

From the contributions so far it is clear that the long theoretical disarmament of the Trotskyist movement has left the USFI with *no* agreed positions on even the basic theoretical issues which have emerged in the period since World War II.

We can illustrate this point in concluding this initial article by summarising some of the present dispute, raising points, all of which we intend to discuss more systematically in the later articles in this series.

We find the two sections of the USFI leadership in total disagreement as to what took place in Kampuchea after the defeat of the Lon Nol regime and the departure of the imperialists in 1975.

The discord is not so much about facts, as to how they are to be interpreted.

Ernest Mandel and the USFI majority says that a workers' state was established. The SWP leaders say that Pol Pot set up a reactionary capitalist state which came to act as an agency of imperialism.

So the difference between the interpretation of events in Kampuchea takes us at once to a more fundamental difference—about what a workers' state is, and what is the nature of the process by which a workers state is established under Stalinist leadership.

Deficiency

A dispute exists between the two sides as to whether what defines a workers state is the overthrow of the previous state apparatus even in advance of any transformation taking place in property forms (Mandel's position), or whether a workers state is only established when the capitalist class has been expropriated (the SWP's position).

This dispute in itself is not the fundamental one; but it reveals a deficiency in the way both sides are attempting to resolve the question—through dictionary definitions rather than a thorough attempt to understand complex dialectical processes.

Another question is raised by the discussion here: what is the significance of a *deformed* workers state? Or, to put it another way, is there a fundamental qualitative difference between the formation of a *healthy* workers state and the formation of a deformed workers state?

We argue emphatically that there *is*. But on this crucial question both sides in the USFI dispute seem to be saying or clearly implying that such a qualitative difference either doesn't exist, or else it is of incidental importance.

Continued next week

but to "combine with" the forces of Castroism.

This is one of many examples of how Trotskyists, not only of the USFI, have under-estimated the historical role of the revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy, finding in the events of the world some spontaneous objective revolutionary "logic".

The 1963 agreement did not of course stop one of its main signatories, the American SWP (prevented by reactionary US law from affiliating to the Fourth International), from waging a battle later in the decade against the most disastrous consequences of the pro-Castro orientation of the USFI—the guerrillaist turn of the USFI's 9th World Congress in 1969.

But, while the SWP insisted on the need for a revolutionary party to express the independent interests of the working class in Latin America, north of the Rio Grande it permitted itself full freedom in adapting to other petty bourgeois forces. The SWP's orthodoxy was selective, and seldom uncontaminated with Pabloite adaptationism.

Obstacle

In fact "orthodoxy" itself—whether in the hands of the SWP or of Healyites or Lambertists—becomes, as the world changes around it, inevitably more and more theoretically reactionary, more and more an *obstacle* rather than an aid to the comprehension of the processes of evolutions and leaps in development of the objective political world.

To analyse the world merely through the words that froze decades ago on the lips of Trotsky or Lenin is to make the ludicrous assumption that had these fountainheads of orthodoxy lived until today they would have continued to assess the world in the same terms they did when they were in fact part of it and fighting to change it.

In the USFI it was the disasters of experience, and

the leaders' subjective need for unity, rather than any resolution of the theoretical argument over these questions, which allowed the SWP's "orthodoxy" to triumph and the guerrillaist strategy to be abandoned in Latin America.

'Reunification'

A new 'reunification' of the warring factions took place in the USFI in 1977 on the basis of very inadequate and partial self-criticism of their guerrillaist policy by the former International Majority Tendency. (We have analysed this in our document "The Poisoned Well").

The leaders of the two factions seem also to have agreed not to go over again the issues which had so sharply divided them in Portugal in 1975.

This agreement, under which the SWP and the International Majority dissolved their factions, was to be cemented together at the forthcoming 11th World Congress of the USFI. But, as the theoretical emptiness of the documents for that Congress demonstrate, the urge of leading groups of the world Trotskyist movement to establish *organisational* unity has been allowed to take precedence over the real need for continuous theoretical rearmament of the revolutionary movement.

Thus on two occasions, in 1963 and 1977, the two leading groups in the leadership of the USFI (the SWP on the one side and the section around Mandel, Frank and others on the other) have tried to get their marriage to coincide with a funeral, or perhaps a less ceremonious burial, of the profound theoretical issues which had previously divided them.

Theoretical problems

But whether these leaders face up to it or not, the fact is that the building of a Trotskyist leadership in the world today still depends on real steps being taken to resolve those theor-

WAR AND THE INTERNATIONAL

Di Parkin reviews Trotsky's pamphlet *The War and the International*.

To mark the centenary of the birth of Leon Trotsky, *Socialist Press* is publishing a series of 16 articles to review and present the importance of many of Trotsky's major writings.

Writing in 1933 Trotsky argued:

"The basic historic crime of the parties of the Second International consists in their fostering and strengthening the slavish habits and traditions of the oppressed in neutralizing their revolutionary indignation and falsifying their class consciousness with the aid of patriotic ideas.

"If the European proletariat did not overthrow the bourgeoisie at the end of the great war, if humanity writhes now in the agonies of the crisis; if a new war threatens to transform cities and villages into heaps of ruins—the chief responsibility for these crimes and calumnies falls on the Second International."

In his work, *War and the International*, written in the Autumn of 1914, Trotsky analysed the circumstances and likely consequences of this gross, barbaric betrayal.

The pamphlet is, of course, no mere abstract analysis.

Like all of Trotsky's writings it is full of fire, rage, invective and emotion.

Speaking of the about-turn on the war question in the pages of *Vorwaerts*, the paper of the German Social Democratic Party, he writes:

"This is simply a case of an ulcer of slavish sentiments bursting open and foul pus crawling over the pages of the working men's press.

"It is clear that the oppressed class which proceeds too slowly and inertly on its way toward freedom must in the final hour drag all its hopes and promises through mire and blood before there arises in its soul the pure, unimpeachable voice—the voice of revolutionary honour."

Trotsky however never stops at the level of rage and scorn.

He utilises them for political purposes—and his political purpose as early as Autumn 1914 was to fight for the resurrection of proletarian internationalism.

This basic principle of the Marxist movement was indeed dragged into mire and blood, impaled against the barbed wire of the battlefields and drowned in the trenches of the first

imperialist world war.

The blow against the working class consisted not merely in the fact that millions of workers were marched to their deaths, with their heads stuffed with patriotic illusions.

The real catastrophe was that they were marched there with the total support, agreement and even praise of the parties of the Second International.

On August 3, 1914 the German Social Democratic Party voted in the Reichstag (Parliament) in favour of granting the war credits necessary for German imperialism to wage its war.

The Social Democratic deputy Haase declared:

"In the hour of danger we will not leave our Fatherland in the lurch... Guided by these principles we vote for the war credits."

Thus in that vote and the parallel moves by the French and English workers' parties, the supposedly "Marxist" Second International thrust the sword of imperialism into the heart of the fundamental principle of internationalism so clearly expressed in the *Communist Manifesto* which states that:

"The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletariat of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."

Further on the *Communist Manifesto* declares boldly that:

"The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation..."

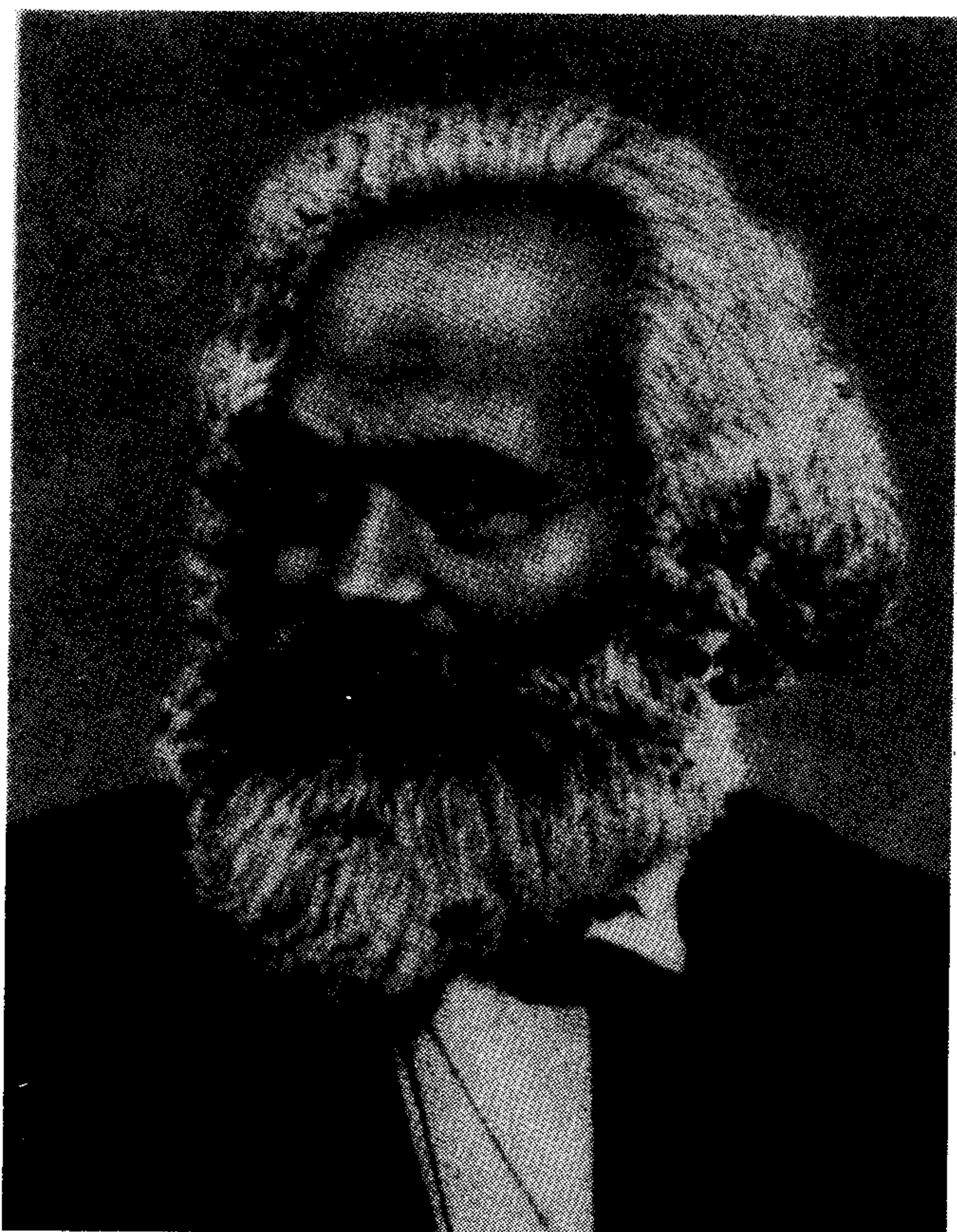
And its ringing conclusion is a direct opposite to the positions adopted by the traitors of the Second International, when it proclaims:

"Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working men of all countries unite!"

The social patriots of the Second International however chose to "unite" with their "own" capitalist class, their own exploiters, rather than unite with the world's proletariat in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.



Troops in action in the First World War



Karl Marx

This split the Second International into warring national groupings.

This capitulation to imperialist pressures drew a line, a class line, between the Second International and Marxism.

Trotsky, Lenin, Luxemburg, and Kollontai with only a handful of supporters stood on one side of that line facing and fighting the traitors.

It was not however enough to condemn the betrayal: it was important to understand it, to understand its material roots.

This was the task undertaken by Trotsky in *War and the International*. Trotsky argued that the causes of the betrayal did not lie in the mistakes and individual wickedness and faults of the leaders of the Second International, but in the fundamental historical conditions of the entire epoch.

It was rooted in the very

material factors that had led to the war itself.

The war was a result of the economic rivalry produced by the crisis of capitalism. This epoch, the epoch of, as Lenin puts it, "wars and revolutions" saw the capitalist search for world markets turn into the fight between nation states for markets for economic dominance in the "dog-eat-dog" world of inter-imperialist rivalry.

The war, Trotsky stressed, was "economic rivalry under the banner of militarism."

Imperialism is not however a phenomenon whose impact is restricted to the ruling class.

Trotsky's contribution in this pamphlet is to explain: "the dependence of the proletarian class movement, particularly in its economic conflicts, upon the scope and the successes of the imperialistic policy of the state."

The proletariat, seeking

to improve its conditions becomes interested in the development of the forces of production. At first this development took place on a national basis, but the epoch of imperialism changes all that:

"As capitalism passed from a national to an international imperialistic ground, national production, and with it the economic struggle of the proletariat, came into direct dependence on those conditions of world market which are secured by dreadnaughts and cannon. In other words, in contradiction to the fundamental interests of the proletariat taken in their wide historic extent, the immediate trade interests of various strata of the proletariat proved to have a direct dependence upon the successes and the failures of the foreign policies of the governments."

The dependence of the English labour aristocracy on the spoils of imperialism and its consequent liberal or reformist and non-political trade union orientation was something that had long been analysed:

"All these circumstances which considerably improved the lot of the upper strata of the proletariat, led the class movement in England into the peaceful waters of trade unionism and its supplemental liberal labour policies."

The German labour movement had however evolved differently, and until 1914 had:

"theoretically marched under the banner of Marxism. Still in its dependence on the conditions of the period, Marxism became for the German proletariat not the algebraic formula of the revolution that it was at the beginning, but the theoretic method for adaptation to a national-capitalist state crowned with the Prussian helmet."

The English workers' movement had grown up openly adapting to the capitalist state through the

medium of the Liberal Party.

The leadership of the German workers' movement, however, which had initially built an independent party, was pushed by the logic of its identical material dependence on imperialism into an identical capitulation.

"The political struggle of the German proletariat in this entire period had the same opportunist character limited by historical conditions as did that of the English proletariat."

This had taken the form earlier of the emergence of Bernstein's revisionist conceptions—vigorously opposed by Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?* Bernstein denied the revolutionary content of Marxism, and in particular substituted a vision of gradual reforms for the need to seize and destroy the old capitalist state machine.

Tied to legality, to the nation state, the parties of the Second International, however "Marxist" their rhetoric, in practice abandoned the road of revolution and abandoned the working class to imperialism.

However Trotsky's pamphlet is no depressing chronicle of betrayal:

"We revolutionary Marxists have no cause for despair. The epoch into which we are now entering will be our epoch. Marxism is not defeated."

The lesson Trotsky draws firmly from the 1914 experience is that:

"Socialist reformism has actually turned into socialist imperialism."

The booklet goes on to advocate demands for internationalists to fight on:

*Immediate cessation of the war.

*No reparations.

*The right of every nation to self determination.

*The Socialist United States of Europe—without monarchies, without standing armies, without ruling feudal castes, without secret diplomacy.

On that basis—posing the alternative between permanent war or permanent revolution—Trotsky maintained that the banner of Marxism could remain unstained.

This pamphlet written three years before the Bolsheviks, guided by an internationalist policy, seized power in Russia, is of great importance. Trotsky's work is part of the process whereby the new, Third, Communist International was to be built in 1919.

CAMPAIGN: DON'T LET TURKEY BECOME ANOTHER CHILE!

In view of the seriousness of the political crisis now facing the Turkish working class, the Workers Socialist League Summer School resolved to launch an international campaign in the workers' movement.

The object of this campaign is to highlight the danger of a fascist catastrophe in Turkey, and to bring maximum international pressure to bear on the Turkish CP, Labour Party and trade unions to break from their Popular Front with Ecevit and initiate a united front offensive against the fascists.

The campaign was launched on the following resolution:

***BREAK FROM ECEVIT AND HIS GENERALS!
*FOR A WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT IN TURKEY!**

The deepening world economic crisis is reflected with special intensity in Turkey.

The Turkish bourgeoisie and the imperialists are increasingly forced to abandon the perspective of class rule based upon the institutions and methods of bourgeois democracy. They turn instead towards solutions of the military-fascist type.

As the widespread and bitter struggle of the proletariat is met with the bombs and bullets of fascist terror, the replacement of bourgeois-democratic forms by the naked armed dictatorship of capital is placed on the agenda.

The perfidious cowardice of the misleaders of the Turkish workers takes on two basic characteristics in the face of this life and death struggle. On the one hand the reformists and Stalinists sabotage all independent mobilisations of the masses, and on the other they cling on to the wagon of bourgeois democracy as it plunges into the abyss.



Turkish state repression—aimed mainly at the left

This timid impotence finds its most rotten expression in the uncritical support given to the bourgeois RPP of Ecevit.

Ecevit came to power and holds it today, largely due to the treacherous illusions in 'progressive democracy', 'democratic roads' and 'peaceful co-existence' peddled by the Stalinists.

The RPP has proven itself completely servile in the face of demands from the IMF and other institutions of imperialist finance capital for vicious attacks on the basic rights and conditions of the toilers. As the fascist terror has increased, so have the attacks of the 'demo-

cratic' darlings of the Stalinists.

While 1800 workers and leftists have been killed at the hands of the fascist vermin, including the 120 slaughtered in two days at Kahramanmaraş, Ecevit has prepared the way for dictatorship through the introduction of martial law in 19 cities, mostly in the Kurdish towns of the East.

Arrested

On May Day 1979—the international day of the working class—thousands of workers, including leaders of DISK and the Turkish Labour Party, were arrested by the army.

Ecevit and his generals have stepped up attacks on the working class through the recent devaluation of the Turkish lira and price increases, while the voice of protest has been silenced through the banning of the workers' press.

Yet the Stalinists and reformists still preach reliance on Ecevit's 'democracy' to the workers. Thus the proletariat—the only force that has the social power and weight to place itself at the head of the oppressed masses in resistance to fascism—is left disorientated and open to demoralisation by the criminal policies of its leadership.

The attacks of the bourgeoisie have passed without serious proletarian resistance. But the working class has not yet been defeated. On the contrary, it still has the capacity and will to crush the fascist threat, and in doing so, smash the assaults of the 'democratic' bourgeoisie.

Leadership

The struggle against fascist catastrophe in Turkey is reduced to the question of revolutionary leadership.

The petty bourgeois masses, driven into bankruptcy and despair by the policies of Ecevit, now turn their backs on the empty promises and lies of bourgeois parliamentary democracy and seek a bold alternative course.

When they do not find this from the proletariat, they look to the fascists.

The downfall of the dictatorship of the Shah in Iran and the upsurge of the Kurdish masses has given a new impetus to, and created new conditions for, the confidence and readiness of the working class to fight. This applies especially to the oppressed Kurdish nationals in Turkey.

The Turkish government now conspires with the reactionary regimes in Iran and Iraq to repress the Kurds.

The Turkish question today is a question for the international workers' movement. The



Victims of the Kahramanmaraş slaughter

imperialists seek the fascist enslavement of the Turkish masses more than ever before, because of the need to create a new stable base for their police role in the Middle East following the revolutionary crisis in Iran.

Their success in these plans depends heavily upon the wretched reformist and pacifist illusions sown by the Stalinist traitors.

Not too late

The undersigned organisations say to the international labour movement: Turkey must not become another Chile! The danger is great but it is not too late to mount the struggle. The first step must be the independent mobilisation of the proletariat in a mighty united front.

The demand must be addressed to the Communist Party and other workers' parties, as well as to the mass trade unions: break from the 'democracy' of Ecevit and the generals which has opened the gates to fascism, and join together in fighting detachments of the armed workers' militia against the fascists.

Only when the oppressed masses see the proletariat prepared to fight for victory, will they join in struggle under its leadership.

The fascist monster must be crushed and the way opened, through the militant united front of the workers, for the establishment of a workers and poor peasants government which will end the rotten capitalist system that produces the crisis and fascism, once and for all.

Deadly blow

A fascist victory in Turkey would deal a deadly blow to the international working class and especially the downtrodden masses in the Middle East. The struggle for defence and solidarity with the Turkish workers today is a vital part of the world struggle against imperialism. The

undersigned organisations launch an appeal:

Turkey must not become another Chile!

Workers and youth internationally, fight in your organisations for concrete solidarity and warn of the fascist dangers in Turkey.

Down with fascist-military repression in Turkey.

For a workers militia in Turkey.

Arms and aid to the Turkish workers organisations—black all military supplies to the Turkish bourgeoisie.

Down with Ecevit, Ba'athist and Khomeini oppression of the Kurdish nation—for self-determination and an independent Kurdish state.

Break from Ecevit and his generals.

For a workers and peasants government in Turkey.

For a Turkish Trotskyist party, section of a reconstructed Fourth International!

- Workers Socialist League (Britain)
- Socialist League (DC) (USA)
- Communist Internationalist League (Greece)
- Trotskyist Workers League (Denmark)

Iran: free socialist prisoners!

Resolution adopted by WSL Summer School, July 29, 1979.

The WSL International Summer School:

1) protests against the continued imprisonment of members of the Habz-Kargarane Socialist (Socialist Workers Party) in Iran and demands their immediate and unconditional release;

2) demands also the ending of the numerous repressive measures now being taken by the Iranian government against other organisations which participated in the overthrow of the Pahlavi dictatorship, such as the Fedayin e Khalq, and against the movements for national autonomy and self-determination, as well as the ending of the widespread attacks being made on the rights of women;

3) declares its support for the continued struggle of the Iranian workers, peasants and students for full democratic rights. It calls for the establishment of a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage.

At the same time we support the building of democratically elected councils of workers

peasants and rank and file soldiers to defend the independent political interests of the masses, as part of the struggle for a workers and peasants government and the overthrow of Khomeini and the mullahs.

4) It condemns the arbitrary and reactionary actions of the so-called revolutionary tribunals — actions which include the murder and violent intimidation of homosexuals and prostitutes, as part of the regime's reactionary Islamic campaign against 'vice'.

5) These repressive actions form part of the Khomeini-Bazargan regime's determined preservation of capitalist exploitation in Iran. This school declares its support for every independent struggle of the working class and oppressed masses against this regime and against capitalism in Iran. The interests of the Iranian masses can be secured only through the fight to replace the present

regime with a workers and peasants government and the construction of a planned socialist economy.



Khomeini



Ecevit



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

LEARN LESSON OF EGA SET- BACK!

On Monday and Tuesday of last week the remaining in-patients were removed from the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital in London.

This is a serious blow to the longest-running hospital occupation, and also to the national fight against cuts in the health service, to which the EGA has been a focus and a leading example for over two years.

But despite this major setback, the occupation is by no means finally defeated.

The out-patients department is still treating patients, the remaining wards are still fully equipped and the staff and local community are determined to carry on fighting.

Campaign

An immediate campaign must be launched for the re-admission of patients and for the reopening of all the wards in the hospital.

There are several reasons for the removal of the patients.

The occupation itself has been divided and confused for several months due to the skillful and devious tactics of the health authorities.

After many attempts to close the hospital over the past two years, the AHA's final ploy was to withdraw funding for the payment of junior doctors, and to refuse to renew or replace individual doctors' contracts when they expired.

This finally resulted in patients being left on wards with no medical cover, and the staff could not reach agreement on how to oppose this completely callous tactic.

Ambulance drivers

Secondly, it was ambulance drivers from the local Camden NUPE branch who carried the patients, despite their close

involvement with the occupation in the past, and their long-standing agreement not to remove patients from any hospital that is under threat of closure.

Although the ambulance branch leadership were put in a very difficult position—where not to remove the patients would have left them without medical treatment—they, and every driver at that station must be criticised for not keeping close contact with the occupation committees when the instruction for the removals came through.

Also, it was staff at the nearby St. Pancras Hospital who accepted some of the patients, despite the fact that their COHSE branch has given strong support to the occupation in the past years—at one stage pledging indefinite strike action if any attempt was made to close the EGA!

Mistakes

EGA staff, ambulance drivers and St. Pancras workers must recognise that they have made mistakes in the events surrounding last week's removals.

But if the EGA wards are to be reopened and if a repetition of the removals is to be avoided at other occupied and threatened hospitals, then one very important lesson must be learnt.

It was the policies of the AHA and the Tory government which removed the patients—not the lack of commitment or solidarity by health workers in Camden.

It is only a campaign to change these policies that will save the EGA, a campaign that will directly confront the programme of cuts planned by the Thatcher government.

The leadership of the London public sector trade unions are in the best position to spearhead this campaign.

But the record of the London leadership on fighting the cuts since the Tories have come to office has been atrocious.

Despite resolutions from at least three large NUPE branches demanding that NUPE call an all-London conference to discuss action against the cuts, they have not taken a single step towards mobilising the membership against hospital closures.

The EGA is still in a strong position to resist closure, with a well-organised occupation, active support from local hospitals, ambulance drivers and the community.

But last Monday and Tuesday's events show that occupation and support from local trade unionists—no matter how well organised—is not sufficient to fight the Tory cuts.

The Tory government and health authorities will continue to try to pick off isolated hospital and ward occupations with ease, using every devious tactic at their disposal.

The only way to fight the cuts is to link local organisation to building for a massive campaign of all out strike action amongst health and public sector workers in defence of threatened and occupied hospitals.

Didcot unionisation fight sold out

The picketing of Selected Toys Ltd. at Didcot was abandoned last Friday after five solid weeks, as the management carried out the charade of closing the

factory under the guise of "voluntary liquidation".

The absence of any lead from TGWU District Official Phil Eynan in this unionisation fight spurred on the process of demoralisation that began when

management imposed a lock-out on June 26.

Together with the branch secretary, Eynan had ensured that virtually no meetings were held, and that only a selected handful of strikers were kept "in the know".

Off his hands

It is no secret that he is now well pleased that this troublesome dispute is off his hands and that the task of unionising workers at similar firms in the Didcot area has been set back by this defeat.

But as soon as STL employer Young attempts to start up production once more TGWU members must ensure that Eynan and the Reading District are forced to mount full-scale blacking of the plant and of the finished dartboards it produces.

The end of the struggle at STL was marked for some reason by a dance, which the local leadership had been more than willing to organise and Eynan readily agreed to attend.

Survival

The final song was appropriately "I Will Survive". The courageous strikers from STL will indeed survive so long as they remain ready to fight for their rights against reactionary employers and union mis-leaders.

The survival of types such as Eynan, however, rests on their ability to dupe, divide and betray the members they supposedly represent.

The task of the working class is to ensure that this survival is as short as possible.

Talbot stay out

A mass meeting of workers at the Talbot (formerly Chrysler) engine plant at Stoke, Coventry voted last Friday to continue their 3-week all-out pay strike.

They have rejected a derisory 5½% pay offer and incentive scheme offered by management, and are demanding an increase of around 20%.

The conspicuous silence of the press and TV on this major pay battle indicates

that there is little weakening in the action which began with mass meeting votes of upwards of 90% in favour of a strike.

This strength is in spite of the recent history of defeats and redundancies in Chrysler plants and a politically bankrupt right wing leadership that has always been reluctant to mobilise full-scale action.

Blacking

Even now there is little sign that the Ryton convenors have established the port blacking of imported Alpine and other Chrysler cars from the continent.

But the workforce plainly remains solid in its determination. And this is why the employers and the media wait with bated breath for the outcome of this crucial strike.

Workers Socialist League MANIFESTO



THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

STILL AVAILABLE: WSL Manifesto — spelling out the programme of the WSL and our attitude to the 1979 General Election. 5p plus 7p post from WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

JOIN OUR FIGHT AGAINST TORIES!

Returned to office after five years of Labour betrayals, the Tory government has immediately begun wielding a sharpened axe on jobs, conditions and social services. Trade Union rights face imminent legal attack. Prices are already beginning to rocket upwards.

Plum sectors of state industry will be handed to the Tories' profiteering big business backers; and the pay rises to police and armed forces mark only the prelude to increased state violence against pickets and anti-fascists, and an intensified army crackdown in the occupied North of Ireland.

The Callaghan-Healey leadership has made it clear that it will oppose any perspective other than settling down and meekly accepting five years of Tory devastation.

And, though they have once more dusted off their near-forgotten "socialist" speeches, Labour's "left-wing" MPs have continued to duck away from any fight to remove Callaghan.

TUC leaders, too, have set out to establish a basis for collaboration with Thatcher and the Tory cabinet, paralleling their anti-working class alliance with Wilson and then Callaghan.

But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles last winter.

These experiences are not dead. They point to the way that jobs, social services and hard-won union rights can be defended against renewed Tory attacks.

But a principled, revolutionary leadership is needed if the Labour traitors, the TUC collaborators and their hangers-on in the Communist Party are to be exposed and pushed aside, and the mass struggles mobilised that can defeat and remove the Tory government.

Such a leadership must fight day in and day out for a programme of *transitional demands* which, starting from today's conditions and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers to grasp the necessity for socialist revolution.

And in taking up democratic demands—such as an end to racial and sexual discrimination, it must show the crucial role that must be played by the working class as the only consistently revolutionary class capable of leading the struggle for the emancipation of mankind.

And it must fight on an *international* basis—mobilising solidarity for anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles—whether in Ireland, in Southern Africa or elsewhere throughout the world, and drawing strength and political lessons from revolutionary upheavals such as that which ousted the hated Shah in Iran.

This means fighting for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

This method of approach, rejecting any descent to simple trade union militancy, or concessions to any wing of the labour bureaucracy, is the method fought for by the Workers Socialist League.

The next period will see major class struggles in Britain. A principled, Marxist leadership is essential. Our movement though strong in programme remains small in numbers.

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

WHEN IT LOOKS LIKE
THERE'S NO WAY OUT



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Pay strike halts engineering plants

Despite Terry Duffy and the rest of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Union leadership's lack of work for the overtime ban and the three on-day strikes in support of the Confed pay claim, the first of the strikes was an almost total success.

Duffy, who lost the vote on the AUEW National Committee when he tried to get the unions' claim lowered, now claims the success so far as his.

Full claim

"In excess of 60 firms have now agreed to meet the claim in full. I am gratified to know also that already thousands of our members will be on a 39 hour week from next week."

He went on to say that an all-out strike could not be ruled out, but it looks as though the Confed is looking at calling only selective strikes.

The claim is for an £80 minimum wage for skilled men with increases for others as well as a 35 hour week and two extra days holiday.

The unions have indicated that they would accept a 39 hour week as a step to achieving 35 hours by 1982.

The strike action is the first called by the Confed since 1968 and together with the overtime ban means a huge decrease in production in many plants.

Leadership

The employers are claiming that there is very little support for the action.

The reality is different. Where the strike call has not been supported this has been only because of a lack of leadership from officials and convenors who have held workers back for the last four years and now won't even fight for an



Cowley Assembly Plant convenor Bob Fryer with pickets on the gates

official strike.

Wherever a lead has been given workers have once again shown their strength—repeating again the lessons of the winter's pay strikes.

Blacked

In Rolls Royce in Coventry, shop stewards have issued letters to subcontractors saying that their goods will be blacked if they don't strike.

In Leyland all the major factories at Longbridge, Cowley, Rovers, Llanelli, Drews Lane and Castle Bromwich were out.



Fraser—no call for action

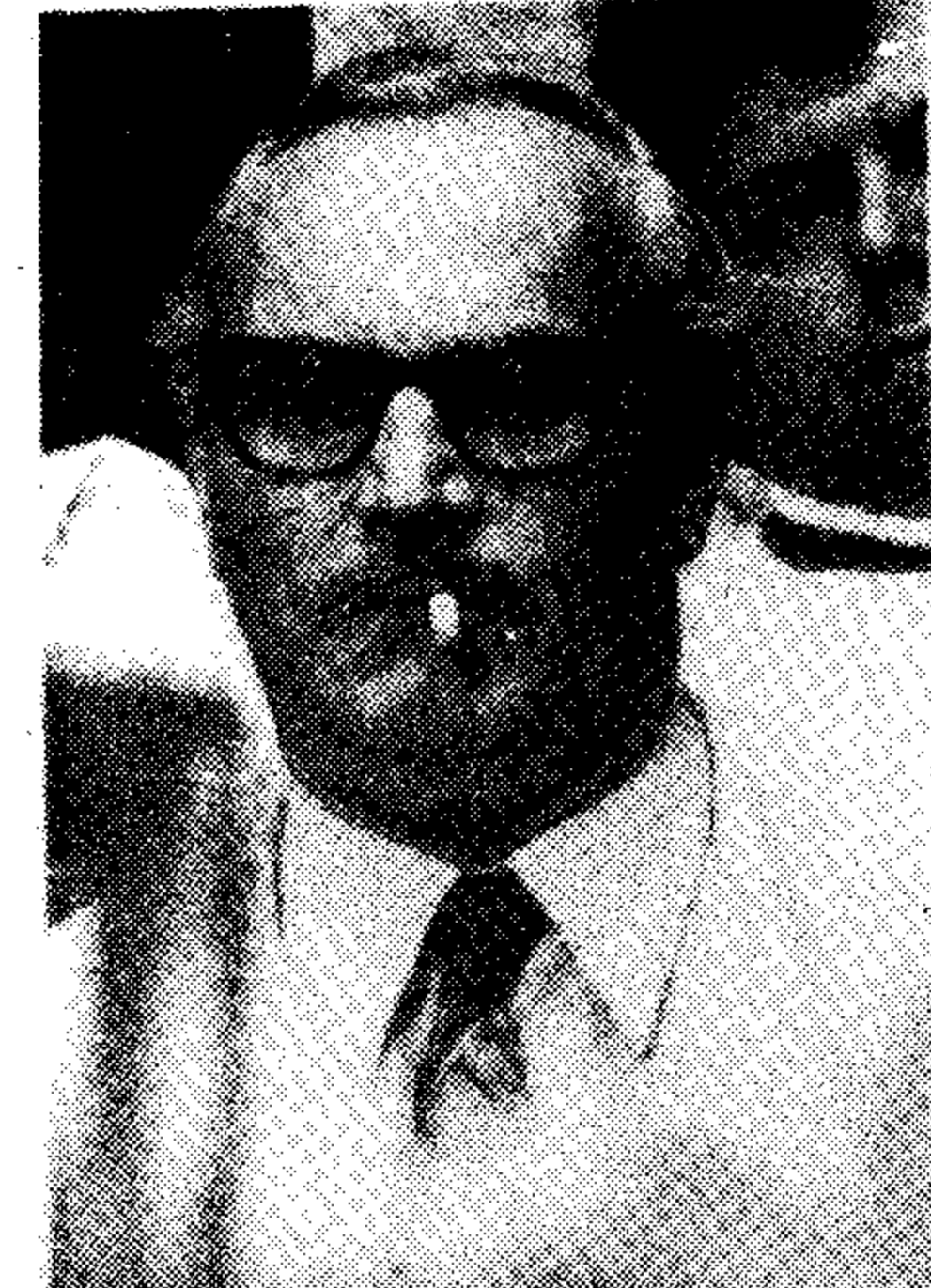
But in Oxford the employers, the press and the right wing put on a big effort to break the strike.

The most important component of this was the right wing leadership in BL's Body Plant.

Roy Fraser led the AUEW stewards in opposing the strike, on the grounds that the TGWU leadership had condoned scabbing on the skilled men's strike.

Opposed

The TGWU leadership opposed the strike on the grounds that "The Confed



Body Plant convenor Roche: opposed strike call.

has never done anything for us". They would not even call a stewards' meeting.

The right wing's campaign was backed up by the local press, whose campaign resulted in some small stoppages in the Assembly Plant against the Confed's call.

One of these stoppages was reported three days running in the *Daily Telegraph* as a sign of the lack of support for the strike.

In the last of these reports it was given greater prominence than the fact that the 18,000 Longbridge workers were coming out.

But as a result of determined leadership in the Assembly Plant pickets on Monday only had to turn a handful of workers away.

But over the road the vast majority of the neighbouring Body Plant were working through an official strike.

The support for this ill-prepared, limited action called by the Confed shows that with determined national leadership and all-out indefinite strike action the workforce would respond, bringing a possibility of a breakthrough on the 35 hour week.

Rovers in jobs struggle

Shop stewards at the Rover Solihull plant have voted to meet the threat of 1,400 redundancies with a policy of work sharing on full pay.

The shop stewards' committee at the plant voted unanimously to recommend this policy to a mass meeting of the plant workforce later this week.

The decision was in response to an announcement by BL that they are to cut production of the SD1 (the 3.5 litre) Rover Saloon car by one third on September 3 this year.

The strong response from the Rover stewards comes as BL faces the dual problems of the effect of rising oil prices on the sales of big cars and the effects of the rising pound on the export trade.

Management want to offset their losses by driving up the exploitation of Rover workers—through linking the programme cuts to speed-up.

They are proposing that the 30% production cuts are coupled with a 40% cut in

the workforce.

BL have given no hope of saving most of the 1,400 jobs involved, although a few workers will be redeployed on the Range Rover and 300 will be given the chance to switch to the Standard Triumph plant in Coventry.

Management are certain to resist the stewards' committee's work sharing policy which stewards say could be implemented either by reducing track speeds or leaving manning levels as they are or by working four days for five days pay.

Open the books

This correct policy must be linked to the fight to force BL management to open their books and details of their future plans for speed-up and rationalisation to an elected committee of Rover stewards.

The figures discovered in such an investigation would strengthen the fight by revealing the further attacks that are in the offing and the massive profits being extracted from BL workers by privately-owned component firms and BL's bankers and dealers.

'Comparability' fraud exposed

The findings of the Clegg Commission on comparability of earnings for public sector workers should have come as no surprise to public sector workers.

Following the massive wave of strikes earlier in the year in pursuit of a £60/35 hour week, the Clegg Commission was devised as a means of tricking public sector workers and enabling their leaders to force them back to work.

Strike action

It was obvious from the start however that only the strike action that had forced the government to increase its offer beyond the 5% Phase 4 limit could secure the full claim. But instead workers were

fobbed off with a miserable 9% increase plus £1 on account in advance of the Clegg findings.

Of course Clegg has taken no steps to provide workers with a living wage. Despite Alan Fisher's ranting and raving about the plight of the low paid, the lowest grades receive 'comparability' awards of only 3%.

While differentials are to be increased by Clegg, the vast majority of public sector workers will still be earning less than £50 a week.

The treachery of Alan Fisher and the public sector union bureaucracy is at the centre of this betrayal. It was Fisher and his cronies who argued for 'comparability' and drew up Clegg's terms of reference.

It was Fisher who sent thousands of workers back with only 9% and a worthless promise of more. And it was Fisher who persuaded the NUPE conference not to formulate a pay claim for this year so as not to "prejudice" the Clegg findings.

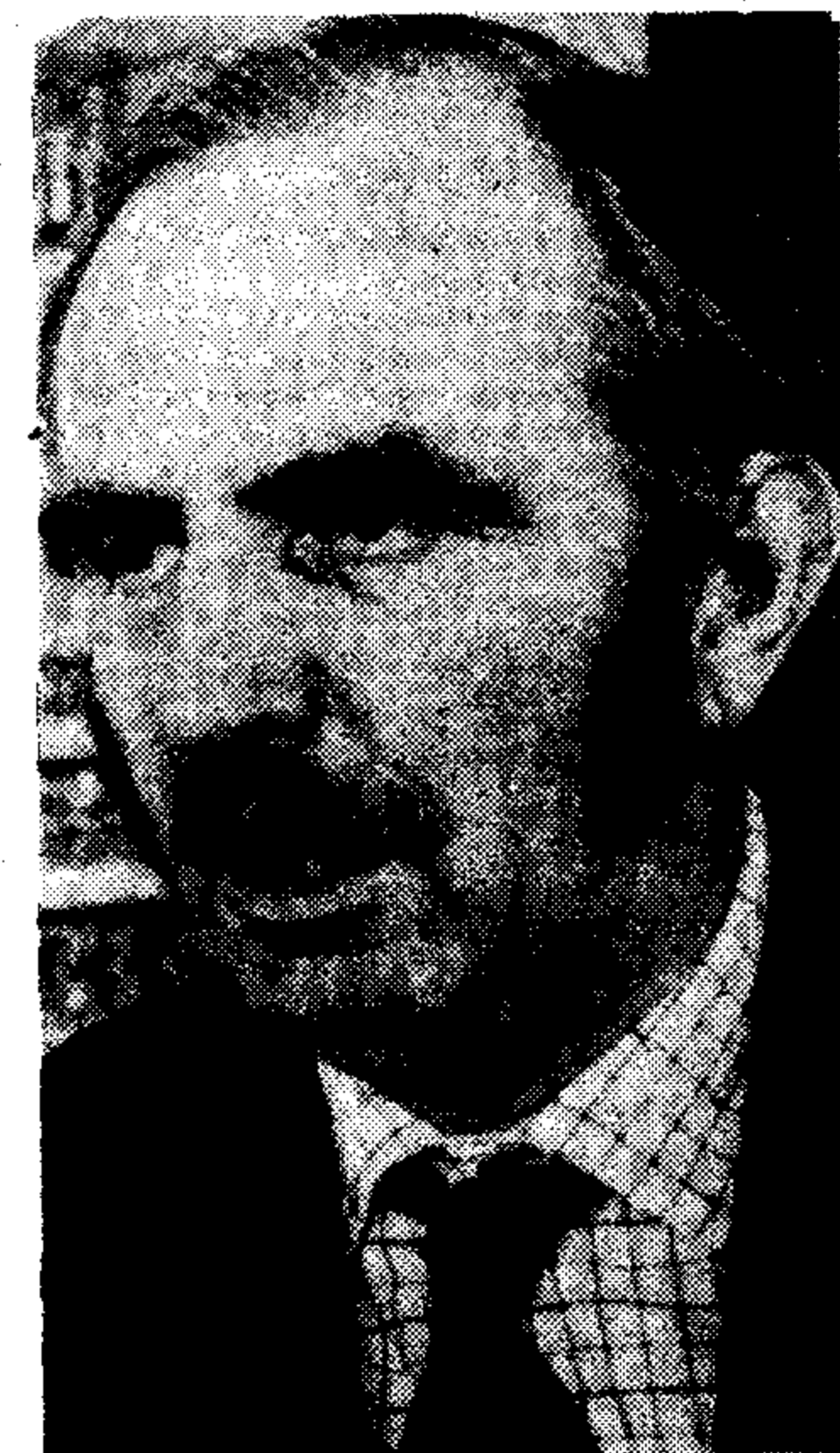
Miserable

As a result workers face not only miserable wages but further cuts in public services to finance the awards that have been made.

Management will no doubt also use the opportunity to railroad in speed-up and productivity schemes on every grade of public sector workers.

The lesson is clear: a specific pay claim to improve and defend living standards must be drawn up now within the public sector unions, and all out strike action carried through until the demands are conceded in full.

Branches and shop stewards committees must begin this task at once if Fisher is not to catch them napping once again.



Clegg

HEALTH WORKERS PREPARE TO COMBAT CUTBACKS

Staff at two more London hospitals have taken steps to resist the vicious series of cuts planned by the Kensington, Westminster and Chelsea Area Health Authority.

At a mass meeting held on Thursday at St. Stephen's Hospital in Chelsea, 300 workers pledged to resist the planned closure of six wards at the hospital.

They voted unanimously to continue working at the hospital and to refuse to remove patients and equipment from the threatened wards.

Earlier in the week, similar resolutions were passed at a mass meeting at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, and both hospitals have elected Hospital Defence Committees to coordinate resistance to the cutbacks.

Despite these moves, which reflect the growing militancy of health workers in the area, the AHA has already begun to implement the programme of cuts decided at their last meeting.

On the day before the meeting, which took place on 26 July, instructions were issued for the removal of patients from ward 3 at St. Mary's, Harrow Road.

The patients were removed by unsuspecting hospital porters and only afterwards was it announced that the ward was to be closed.

A mass meeting was called for the following Monday, where angry hospital staff agreed unanimously not to remove a single patient from a ward, no matter what the reason given for the removal, until they were assured that the ward would not be closed.

It is obvious that the authorities will sink to the lowest level

of lies and deceit in order to implement the cuts.

Health workers in the area should follow the example of St. Mary's by treating any instruction to remove patients from wards with suspicion—even if it is described as a temporary measure for "re-decoration of the ward".

Although preparations for the defence of wards and hospitals are going ahead, it is obvious that the AHA will continue to make cutbacks using all the underhand methods at their disposal.

They have the monopoly of information and resources at hand which enable them to be always one step ahead of the resistance of hospital workers, and they already have plans to stop renewing junior doctors' contracts—the tactic which led to the removal of patients from the EGA.

The AHA will stop at nothing to carry through their

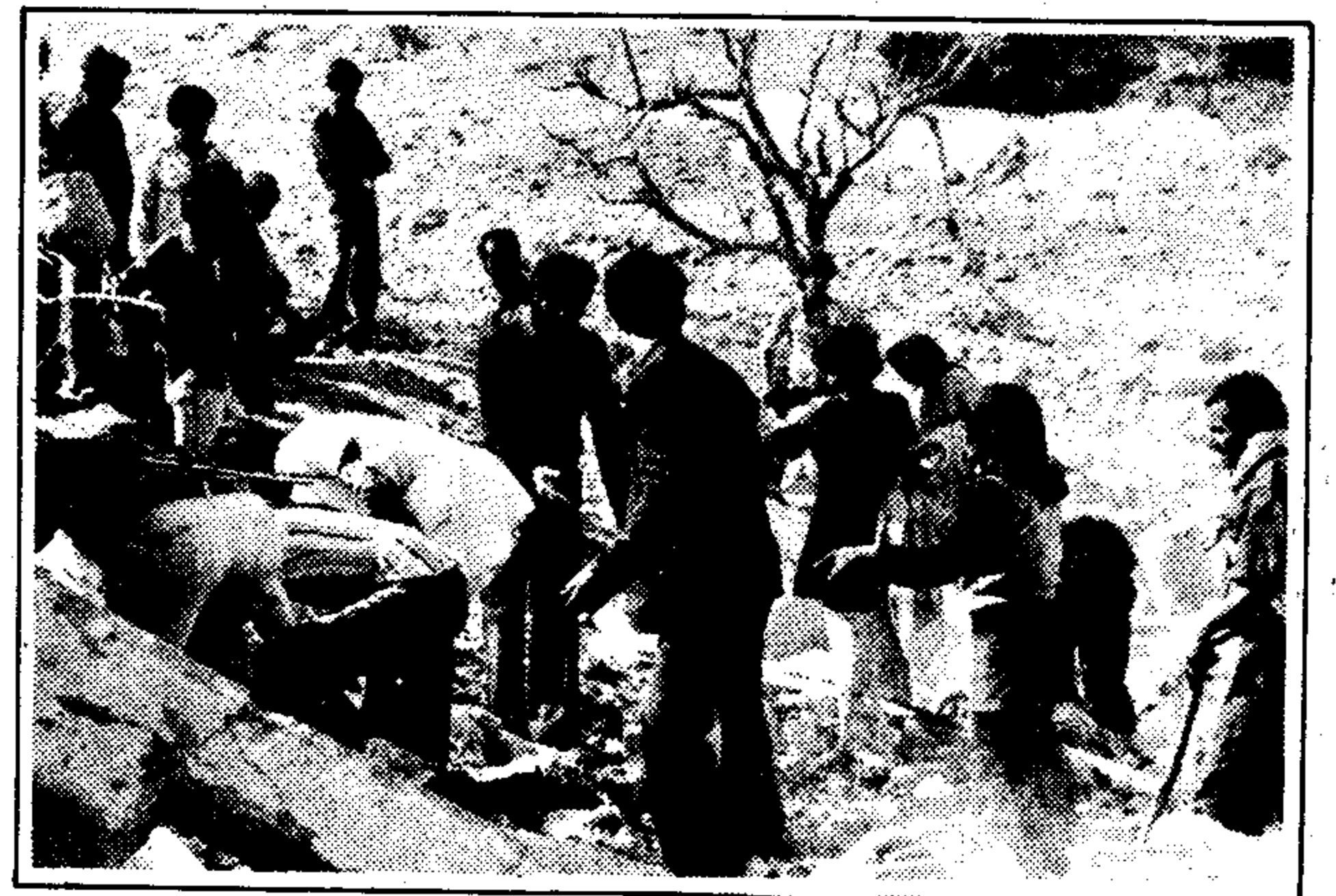
policies and as the example of Lambeth, Lewisham and Southwark AHA has shown even if they voted not to make cuts, then the Tory government would sack them and organise cutbacks from a regional level.

Prepare

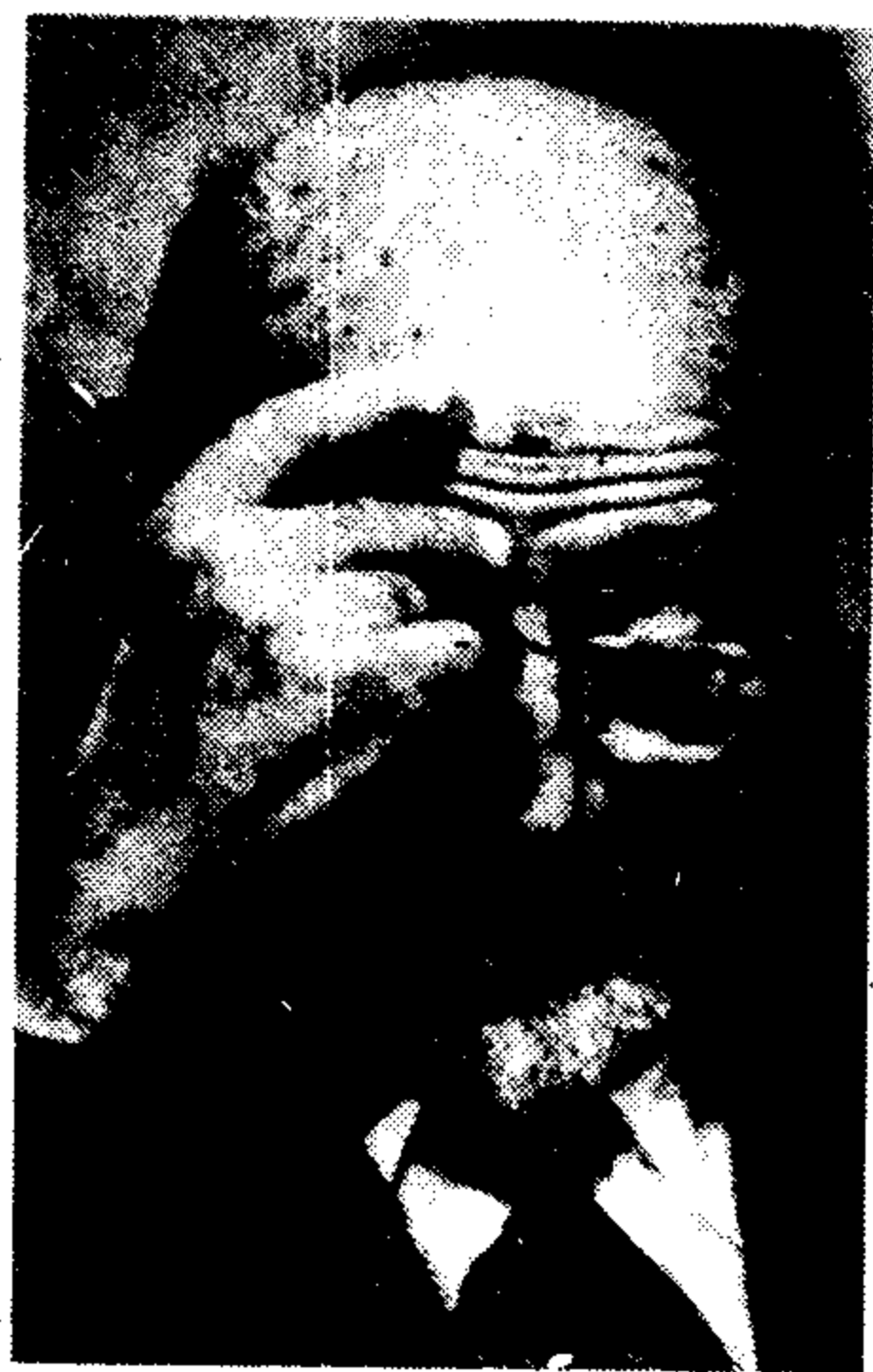
As well as continuing to prepare for occupation and defensive action, health workers must link this to building for a campaign of strike action by all London health and public sector workers in defence of every health facility in the Westminster area.

This will be particularly important in the fight to save Athlone House recovery unit and St. Columba's terminal hospital both of which are due for complete closure in the very near future.

SOCIALIST PRESS



Zionist bomb damage in South Lebanon



Bazargan

Khomeini cracks down on Kurds

A column of tanks from Khomeini's army rolled into Sanandaj, centre of the Kurdish people in Iran, as the preparations for Khomeini's "Constituent Assembly" reached their final stage.

The entire population marched out of the town of Marivan in protest at the authoritarian rule and national oppression imposed by central government and its agents in the armed forces and "revolutionary" committees.

They were joined by 7,000 more Kurds from Sanandaj, before a contingent of 5,000 marched back to Marivan on Wednesday demanding "Death to the Government".

Capitulators

At present, however, the leaders of this movement seem to have capitulated to the tanks and threats of Khomeini and Bazargan.

In negotiations, they have agreed that all internal and border security is to be left to the central government. But Khomeini will not stop the attacks until the Kurdish movement along with those of the Arab and other national minorities have been finally suppressed.

Such violent repression and intimidation expose the real character of the elections called by Khomeini and Bazargan.

Next week's *Socialist Press* will carry a full report of these elections.

FUND

With money still coming in for the £2,500 Special Fund which officially closed last week and £127.40 in already for the August Monthly Fund, it has been a good week for our finances. But with inflation once more beginning to spiral upwards we are certainly going to need every penny we can get. We will need to increase our income by 15-20% this year just to stand still, financially.

So there can be no room for complacency on the question of fund raising. Let's see if we can go over the top of the £600 target this month.

All donations should be sent to:
Socialist Press Monthly Fund
31, Dartmouth Park Hill
London NW5 1HR

Are the Zionists getting

ready to take

S. Lebanon?

Amid all the imperialist crocodile tears about the refugees from Vietnam, scarcely any notice has been paid by the leaders of imperialists to the daily exodus of tens of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese from the southern area of Lebanon, under vicious daily attack from Zionist forces in the area and their fascist supporters.

Since the Israelis withdrew their main forces after their invasion, they have relied on puppet fascist leaders Saad Haddad who has proclaimed an independent 'Free Lebanon' whose main function is to terrorise and bombard with Israeli-supplied weaponry any Lebanese or Palestinians found outside the few villages he controls.

UN forces

This racist, ultra-right wing individual, who provides a fitting ally for the Zionists, speaks to the press only with Israeli representatives present and harasses the pathetically irrelevant UN "peace-keeping" forces in line with the general military aims of the Zionists.

As each day goes by the Zionists themselves take an increasing role in terrorising the inhabitants of the area.

They send in wave after wave of bombers, usually against Palestinian refugee camps, though now sometimes against UN or even Syrian military encampments.

Such bombardments have begun to grow more intense.

In April Zeef Schiff, military correspondent of Israel's major daily paper *Ha'aretz* wrote after

the Israelis killed four people in a seaside resort that their policy had changed from retaliation against Palestinian guerrillas to 'attack anytime, anyplace'.

On Sunday July 29 the Zionists bombed large groups of Lebanese holidaymakers travelling in cars on a well-known holiday route for a weekend by the sea. 16 were killed and 65 injured.

On Thursday night, August 2, the Zionists sent two groups of commandoes past the UN forces to raid two camps alleged to include Palestinian guerrillas.

One of the raid leaders boasted: "We wiped everybody out".

Killed

PLO sources said three of their members were killed and many civilians were hit in heavy off-shore bombardment.

Such actions as these have driven even the mild-mannered *New Statesman* of 3. August into this clearly accurate view:

"The Israelis in fact seem to have the same attitude towards the Arabs of South



Woman casualty of Zionist bombing raid

Lebanon as Hopalong Cassidy did towards the Indians—namely that the only good ones are dead ones."

Yet what is the reason for the development of a Zionist-led and inspired holocaust in South Lebanon?

One reason being offered is

that the Zionists are trying to put pressure on the Americans because of their growing weakness.

In seeking to appease Arab oil states the US imperialists are taking tentative steps in the direction of recognising the national rights of the

Palestinians.

This is clearly part of the explanation.

However, just as the capitalist system develops through the accumulation of capital which intensifies its crisis, so the Zionists can only maintain themselves by the accumulation of territory.

Having neutralised the Egyptians, they hope to weaken the Syrians also by taking over effective control of South Lebanon, probably by a further invasion and certainly by attempting to establish further the power of their fascist allies.

The puppet strings that extend from Washington to Tel Aviv and Jerusalem are somewhat twisted now.

The puppeteers have lost some of their strength, and have less capacity for direct control over the action of their agents.

The Zionist regime is reacting to its galloping inflation and economic crisis at home by the only method it knows—using their enormous firepower to terrorise, drive out and murder new generations of the Arab population of the area.

Though the Zionists can be relied upon to make more enemies by the minute, the struggle for the destruction of their rule must be intensified.

The interests of the Jewish workers of Palestine are in no way served by the rapacious, colonialist Zionist regime.

The campaign must be stepped up both in the Middle East and internationally for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all areas inhabited by Palestinians and other Arabs as a step to the destruction of the Zionist army and its state.

*Next week *Socialist Press* will be carrying an interview with a Palestinian Trotskyist.

Nicaragua: new regime shuns socialism

In the face of severe shortages of food and supplies, continued resistance from groups of National Guardsmen and a real threat of invasion from Honduras, the Nicaraguan 'Government of National Reconstruction' has begun to implement policies which reveal its growing confidence in moving against deepening the anti-imperialist struggle.

They have shown a certain amount of flair in this.

First, millionaire industrialist Alfonso Robelo, a member of the Junta, was packed off to Cuba where, with Castro's beaming approval, he declared that Nicaragua would not become "another Cuba" but "another Nicaragua".

Loan

He then flew on to Caracas where he 'negotiated' a loan of \$20 millions—to be paid off at 10½% interest within six months.

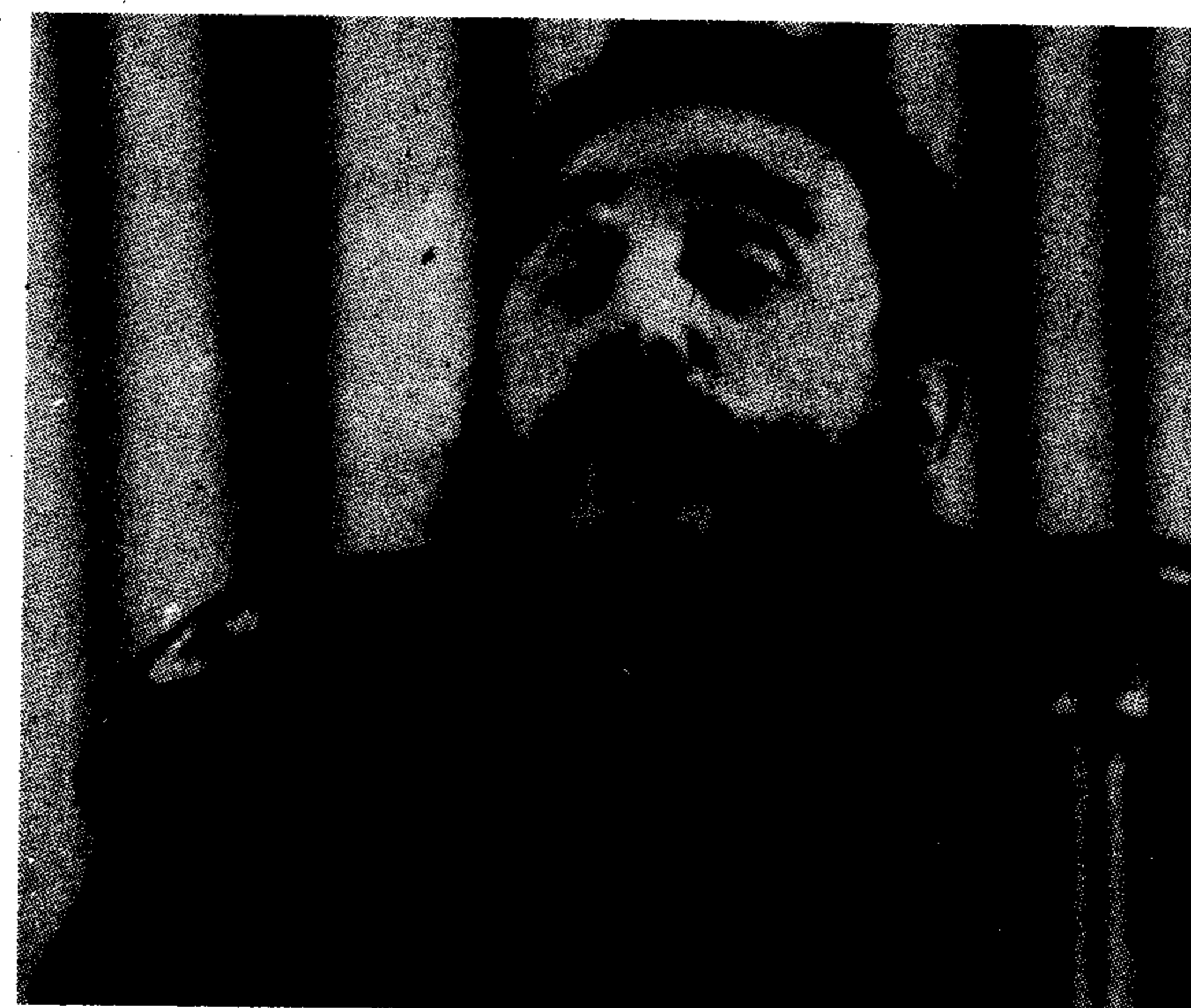
Robelo completed his week's work by declaring the nationalisation of domestically-owned banks.

As in Iran, this measure is solely intended to relieve the burden of sustaining a thoroughly crippled financial system from the shoulders of the capitalists who have welcomed the move.

Foreign banks, of course, remain in private hands and Robelo reiterated that the regime offers "full guarantees for the activities and property of the private sector."

US Embassy

At the same time the new Minister of the Interior, Tomas Borge, a founder of the FSLN and now leader of the Guerra Popular Prolongada tendency, confused those who considered his appointment to be an indica-



Castro—approval for Popular Frontist course of FSLN

tion of a 'Marxist' orientation within the regime by visiting the US Ambassador and asking not only for 'better relations' but also for arms.

All the members of the new government have now been named. Of the eighteen members, only Borge and the

Minister for Agrarian Reform, Jaime Wheelock (a leader of the Proletarian tendency of the FSLN) can in any way be accounted to have 'Marxist' sympathies.

But what does this tag of 'Marxist', of which the bourgeois press is so fond, mean?

It certainly doesn't indicate that these men are committed to accelerating mass mobilisation and the independent organisation of the working class for the overthrow of capitalism in Nicaragua.

The regime they have joined is manoeuvring with considerable speed to cut off these possibilities in the name of 'reform', 'national reconstruction' and 'peace'.

This is a direct result of the popular frontist politics of the FSLN which has based itself on an alliance of workers and 'progressive' capitalists.

This line has obviously now extended beyond the Tercerista group to the leaders of the more radical currents of the FSLN.

No lessons

These currents have undoubtedly stemmed the tide towards integrating old Somocistas into the army—but at the same time they have clearly failed to draw political lessons from the first weeks of the Junta's rule.

Revolutionary Marxists do not serve in bourgeois governments.

Revolutionaries in Nicaragua should be struggling against this regime by counterposing socialist measures to its capitalist policies and by working to impose such measures through the building of workers and peasants soviets.