

SOCIALIST VOICE

Journal Of The International Socialist League
British Section Of The IWL (FI)

Dockers Can Win

Three of the seven dockers' unofficial leaders in the 1951 conspiracy trial are carried shoulder high from the Old Bailey after their acquittal

They are (right to left) Harry Constable, 'Nudger' Harrison and Bill Johnson



★ Europe 1992

★ Argentina

★ Polish Socialist Leader Interviewed

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE



Editorial:

One Year of the International Socialist League

New ISL Publications

1) The Political Revolution Price £1.00

This pamphlet includes an article by the International Secretariat of the IWL, 'The Political Revolution on the March' which appeared in our Journal 'Correo International' and an article by Bill Hunter called 'The Soviet Union and Trotskyism'.

The pamphlet deals with the enormous processes that are today unfolding in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Block. Only the political revolution can rid the Soviet and world working class of the bureaucracy which acts as a complete break on the upsurge of the working class. The central question posed by the document is which will prevail, socialism or capitalism?

2) Student Supplement Price 10p

This publication is produced as a supplement to Socialist Voice. It seeks to raise the question of what sort of leadership should be built in the students movement today against the Tory Government's class attacks.

The ISL now has translations of all the documents for the World Congress of the IWL to be held later this year. Readers of the Socialist Voice are welcome to send for the list of documents and prices.

International Socialist League

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We make no apologies for emphasising the struggles of the international working class in the pages of the Socialist Voice and in particular the success of the Spanish General Strike in December. To begin organising on an international level, to seek connections with workers abroad, is not a second or third rate issue.

To have such a perspective is, in reality, the only way to guarantee success. In the development towards 1992 workers will have to tackle the international plans of the multi-nationals with international programmes of struggle.

Perhaps it is not current coin in the workers movement in Britain but what other road is there? **To fight in your own back-yard or respect limitations imposed by the trade union and labour bureaucracy is to invite defeat.**

The lessons of the miners', seafarers' and Ford workers' strikes is that only through the fear of international mass action will governments and multi-national bosses back down.

If miners fight their 'own patch' British coal will be snubbed in favour of South African and Columbian. If seafarers strike within their national boundaries then international fleets will be used to break their strike. When British Ford workers struck against the multi-national they threatened to move production to Spain. Concrete lessons of the absolute necessity for international solidarity must be grasped from these experiences.

The International Socialist League was founded one year ago this month as the British section of the International Workers League (IWL) Fourth International. It was formed out of a fight to turn to internationalism and address the tasks of building a truly mass movement.

The ISL has begun the struggle in Britain that in Latin America began decades ago. Seeking alliances with all those who wish to fight, all those seeking a programme of struggle.

We were convinced by the positive experiences and results of the IWL that only by placing the creation of a world party on a higher level than a national party and only by turning towards the tasks of the mass movement could trotskyism in Britain make advances like that of Latin American trotskyism. Advances, that meant, for the first time since the death of Trotsky, developments towards mass influence beginning to take place in some countries where the IWL has sections.

In Argentina the Movement towards Socialism (MAS), section of the IWL, is the worlds largest trotskyist party with elements of mass influence and is the fourth main electoral force in that country. In Brazil our second largest Party, Convergencia Socialista (CS), have begun to make similar developments. At the last conference of the Brazilian CUT (TUC) with a membership of millions of workers, the CS represented 10% of the delegates.

We are even more convinced today that the basic struggle we waged inside the Workers Revolutionary Party was correct and that as the working class come to the fore in Europe the conditions for rebuilding the Fourth International will be seized by the sections of the IWL.



Socialist Voice

Editorial Board for this Issue

Sue Gwyer Martin Ralph

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International Struggle Against Ford

Comment

The Transport and General Workers Union leadership and others rejected an approach by the IG Metall union of West Germany, in November, when they suggested an inter-union European approach to Ford to oppose large transfers of work.

The British unions according to the Financial Times stated that they had a good working relationship with Ford of Europe and did not need a European-wide agreement.

However, a report in the Financial Times in January carries an unusual report, that, the British Unions at Ford are now seeking discussions with their counterparts on the continent as Ford demand a three-shift working day and are determined to concentrate production of single units such as engines and transmissions in one factory.

But the letter we publish on this page shows that while the leadership seeks discussion with Ford it does not want to build a European struggle. The Spanish workers should have been responded to immediately in order to begin building connections with workers in other countries.

In the last issue of Socialist Voice we carried details of the attack on Mick Gosling, the chair of the TGWU at Dagenham. One thing the union leadership will not be wanting to discuss with Ford is the case of Mick Gosling. As Ford prepare for 1992 there will be more Mick Gosling cases unless workers are mobilised against such acts.

In the bid to dominate what has become the largest car market in the world Ford wants to extract from workers the highest productivity possible. The figures for the last nine years are staggering. In 1979 Ford employed 104,000 workers in Europe by 1988 the figure was 77,500. The productivity meanwhile increased by 8.5 percent a year.

Speed-ups, sackings and union attacks are at the centre of the plans of the multinational car manufacturers today. These attacks are increasingly determined by international developments that is why we also include on this page an article on Ford workers in Argentina.

These international bosses can be fought but it requires taking every opportunity to build international links to begin with. To defeat the plans of Ford in Europe and worldwide requires the building of international workers organisations that are controlled by the rank and file.



Carta desde España



Ford Spain

Comisiones Obreras' Ford Trade Union Branch

Almusafes, 27-12-88

Dear comrades,

Learning, through your letter of 5-12-88, about the problem that the multinational Ford has created in Dagenham by sacking comrade Mick Gosling, our trade union branch began to react in several ways:

a) We have transmitted the news and your letter to the rest of the trade unions in Ford Spain, such as UGT and CNT.

b) It has been reported to the workers of Ford Spain in organised meetings. The workers have reacted with anger against the multinational and expressed their solidarity with Mick Gosling.

c) A protest letter was sent to the Staff Director, Mr John Hougham, demanding the reinstatement of Mick Gosling.

d) We have sent a letter of solidarity to comrade Mick Gosling, following the resolution of the trade union branch of the CCOO which was also approved in the workers' meetings.

We believe that it is necessary to act on other fronts because when Ford takes a decision you have to fight very hard to change it. So, we want you to inform us of anything you consider we can do from Spain.

We use this occasion to propose a meeting to discuss, among other issues, the agreement between the multinational and the trade union in Britain.

We propose the meeting take place in January 1989. We will send a delegation to your country (we will pay the cost).

Class greetings

A. Hernandez

Letter from Ford workers in Spain supporting Mick Gosling



Ford workers fighting last year at Dagenham

Ford attack in Argentina

In December, Auto-Latina, the Volkswagen/Ford consortium in Argentina, began laying off workers and forcibly bringing forward workers' holidays. In line with Ford's international policy, 500 redundancies are planned in Ford Argentina.

Ford International's profits were \$ 856 m in the third quarter of 1988 and from January to September profits were \$ 4.1 bn.

In Argentina, during the military dictatorship, Ford Argentina had profits of \$ 300 m a year.

Members of the MAS (Movement towards Socialism), Argentine section of the International Workers League (LIT) working in Ford proposed to fight for a reduction in the working day to 7 hours, maintaining wage levels. They argue that if there is an excess of 500 workers working 8 hours a day, then there is an excess of 4,000 hours. If there are 4,000 workers and everyone works one hour less a day, then it is unnecessary to enforce any redundancies or lay off any workers.

Dockers' struggle



Dockers being hired in Bristol and holding their registration books in 1967.

The Demand for Permanent jobs

A National Docks Delegate Conference of the Transport and General Workers' Union has called for strikes if the Government attempts to undermine or abolish the Dock Labour Scheme.

The Dock Labour Scheme came into being in 1947, the product of the upsurge of the British working class determined not to return to pre-war conditions.

The Dock Workers (Regulation of Employment) Scheme, had the stated aim of "ensuring regular employment". It was a measure of decasualisation. It set up a National Dock Labour Board and local boards consisting of equal numbers of trade union and employers' representatives.

The boards are responsible for keeping a register of employers and dockers, pay wages due and are responsible for disciplining dockers. The employers pay a levy to cover the cost of the scheme and dockers who are not hired are paid a "fall-back" by the board. The employers thus have not got direct control over the labour of registered dockers and this has been the cause of their desire to remove the Scheme.

What casual labour on the docks meant before the war was described by a Liverpool docker - Peter Kerrigan - in a pamphlet published by the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League in 1959:

"Older men on the docks remember the thirties very well. The humiliation of the stands. The 'muscle feeling'. The scramble for a job.

"They remember the 'blue eyes' system - the whisper of 'you're staying behind' into the ear of the favoured ones.

"The militant was isolated. The man who refused to overload a sling on the last ship was left standing".

As Kerrigan wrote: *"From the dockers' point of view there is much that is wrong with the Dock Labour Scheme... But the employers chafe under it because they have only an indirect control of labour.*

"They look upon the meagre provision of fall-back and attendance money as a luxury."

Kerrigan was writing at a time when the first big increase of unemployment after the war was beginning in Britain and effecting areas like Liverpool. There began then the first attempts to remove the Scheme.

Over the past forty one years, the result of the compromises and capitulations of the trade union bureaucracy is that the dock-labour force has not only shrunk, but non-scheme ports have been developed. Thus, among this diminished number of dockers, the proportion of dockers not covered by the Scheme has grown.

Built by Struggle

Capitalist economy picked up into a "boom" in the sixties. The employers used advances in technology - mechanisation, containerisation - to undermine the dockers' strength. They nibbled away with amendments to the Scheme. The trade union bureaucracy retreated at every turn.

In view of the dockers' strength - built up by the struggle of unofficial committees, against the opposition of the trade union bureaucracy - employers and Governments decided to assist drastic re-organisation by larger redundancy payments than that for other workers. Trade union leaders offered no policy of fighting redundancy.

At that time trotskysts and other workers called for nationalisation of the land transport industry and a convention of dock unions and the seafarers' union, to lay down guidelines for nationalisation. They called for a struggle to force the Tory Government to resign and to compel the Labour Government to carry through nationalisation in the first months of office.

They sought a campaign for a reduction in hours to absorb surplus dockers and employment of all temporary unattached men at full average earnings, the registration of all port and container bases and the extension of the

Past and Present

International Solidarity

The 'Somerset Clarion', journal of the Somerset Community Defence Campaign, reports a speech of John Bees, chairman of the Bristol Docks Shop Stewards Committee, given at one of their recent meetings.

He said that the 10,000 dockers would "fight to the death" to defend their right to work.

"They still have great strength, although few in number...Solidarity between dockers and other port workers, between non-registered and registered dockers, between dockers and lorry drivers is the crucial factor in any dispute. International solidarity would also be vital. Holland, Belgium, France and Italy also have a docks scheme similar to ours, and their trade unions could give support to striking British dockers."

Dock Labour Scheme to transport and warehouse workers. All this was realisable at the time, given a mobilisation of mass struggle by the trade union leadership.

However, whenever dockers took action against the use of unregistered labour, which undermined the Dock Labour Scheme, the trade union leaders worked to end the action.

How do the dockers defend themselves and advance now? First, they must realise, like all British workers, that their type of struggle has now changed, because of developments of capitalism and because of the retreats and betrayals of leaders which undermine the advances gained by working class action.

Overcome Divisions

Dockers have to think beyond national boundaries particularly as employers and Tory politicians gear up for 1992. The militancy of the dockers in the forties, fifties and sixties, which established their strength, was built by unofficial leaders who consistently, stubbornly agitated at dock gates throughout the country, painfully overcoming divisions between the ports nationally. There is need to develop this type of leader, able to overcome set-backs and disappointments to develop a unity of the working class. But this time on a European basis and internationally.

What we are saying is that if the dockers wish to defend their Dock Labour Scheme, then, yes, they have to take strike action whatever the threats of the Tories. But their only real road of permanent advance, together with other British workers, is by immediately building a joint rank and file organisation, now, with the dockers of Europe, to organise joint action of workers who are facing the same attacks.

L.A. Dockers Show the Way

Dockers in the South Cone of Latin America are showing the way forward for the semicolonial countries to fight imperialism. In what is an example for the world working class, Uruguayan, Chilean and Argentine dockers' leaders have signed a joint statement to defend their national sovereignties which in practice means a boycott of all shipping links between the three countries and the Malvinas (Falkland Islands).

In this way, Latin American dockers are beginning to fight back while their governments, and particularly the Argentinian, are stepping back in the conflict over the question of sovereignty of the Malvinas in front of British imperialism. This action has already achieved success. The controversial British cargo ferry 'Indiana I' was boycotted in the Chilean port of Punta Arenas. It had arrived from Montevideo (Uruguay) after facing the same problem there.

The fighting capacity of the Chilean dockers is outstanding. They are fighting imperialism even under Pinochet's dictatorship, which aided Britain during the Malvinas war in 1982.

Harry Constable - Dockers' Leader

Harry Constable was one of the best known dockers' unofficial leaders in the forties and fifties.

He broke with the Communist Party during the Second World War. He joined the trotskyst movement at the end of the forties. As a result of leading a dockers' strike in 1949 he and three others were expelled from the Transport and General Workers Union. His support among dockers was such that he continued to work on the London docks and his fellow workers defeated attempts to victimise him when they refused to be hired unless he was hired first.



In 1951 he was one of seven dock members of the unofficial National Portworkers Committee who were arrested and charged with conspiracy after a national strike for the "Dockers' Charter".

During their trial there were several dockers' strikes including a national strike of 17,000. Thousands of dockers demonstrated outside the court. These strikes and the Old Bailey Trial were a landmark in docks' history. Not only were the dockers' acquitted, but the government was forced to withdraw the anti-union war time order 1305, under which they were indicted.

Harry Constable was the most effective speaker and organiser among the unofficial leaders and held big audiences of dockers while developing political ideas.

'Left' in the middle

Peter Kilfoyle is the policeman on Merseyside of the National Executive of the Labour Party. After the surcharging of the 47 Liverpool councillors in 1986, he was sent in by the labour bureaucracy to witch-hunt the left.

The 47 councillors were victimised and fined for fighting the Tory attack on council rights. Kinnock's hostility to their struggle equalled that of Thatcher.

Mr Kilfoyle's job during the past few years has been to make the Merseyside Labour Parties safe for the right wing and exert pressure for Kinnock's policies in the unions.

He keeps his records and marshals his spies on the leftwing in the Labour Party - not only on "Militant" and "Socialist Organiser" - but on the bulk of the anti-Kinnock Liverpool membership of the Labour Party. Kilfoyle was overseer of the reorganising of Labour Parties and the expulsion of "Militant" supporters.

One of the central aims of the right wing in Merseyside was, and is, the removal of any control of the rank and file of the Labour Party over its representatives - on the council and in Parliament.

In Liverpool, the District Labour Party (DLP), with delegates from the unions and local Labour Parties, controlled the policy of the council. There were times when this DLP during the past struggle of the Liverpool council, pushed the council forward. One of the successes of Kilfoyle and the right wing was to remove that control. To put it mildly, Mr Kilfoyle is heartedly disliked in the Liverpool labour movement.

A number of "moderate" ex-lefts became councillors after the removal of the forty seven. Keva Coombes, former leader of the Merseyside County Council abolished by the government, now a Liverpool councillor, is the leader of the Labour Group. At the end of last month, Kilfoyle launched a vicious attack upon him.

Recently, twenty members of the council voted against the Labour council's decision to prepare to implement the poll tax. Kilfoyle has demanded disciplinary action against those who broke the Labour whip. The Labour Group has taken no action and Kilfoyle declares that Keva Coombes is

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"craven and cringing" because he argued at the Labour Group meeting against disciplining the twenty and called for unity from "all of us".

Kinnock's Policy

The witch-hunting agent for the top labour bureaucracy declares that Coombes has allowed the "bullies" to triumph because of his cowardice.

The Labour Group meeting took place eight days after a meeting of the DLP. Keva Coombes obviously carried into the Labour Group meeting the memories of this DLP meeting.

The twenty councillors had carried out the repeated previous policy of this DLP in relation to the Poll Tax and this meeting carried overwhelmingly a resolution supporting them. It did so, after successfully defeating the chairman, who was attempting to carry out Kinnock's and Kilfoyle's policy by claiming that the DLP could not decide on this matter. After hostile questions the report of Keva Coombes as leader of the Labour Group was not endorsed.

Keva Coombes accuses Kilfoyle of interfering in Labour Group affairs when he would be better putting his efforts into the Party's membership drive.

But that is not the job that this bureaucratic careerist has been sent to do. His job is to whip the "moderates" like Keva Coombes into line by forcing them to take sides. His job is to purge the Merseyside Labour Party completely and make it a supine instrument of "new realism", even if it means losing the majority of the Party rank and file who reflect the widespread hostility to the Tory Government.

A million in debt

The Labour Party is in debt to the tune of a million pound. Their answer to solving this problem is to launch a campaign for a 'million members'. They campaign for these members whilst attacking the most progressive and democratic structures of the Party.

As part of the 1989 budget cuts Labour will abolish policy forums i.e. holding discussion with members on forming policy. Regional conferences will now be organised biennially as opposed to annually.

There are to be cutbacks in the women's organisation and the use of the telephones by staff at the Party's HQ in Walworth Road is to be monitored.

The Party will hold fewer press conferences.

A move to abolish the annual women's conference, proposed by Larry Whitty, was overturned by a sub-committee of the National Executive. To show that he wasn't being politically vindictive good old Larry offered that his Party car be sold off, his second car that is. But the Party thought this was going to far.

The budget for the Youth organisation is to be drastically reduced and the new magazine 'Red Youth' is to be closed down.

Staff vacancies are to be frozen at a time when there are forty jobs unfilled.

Kinnock is calling for his million member Party and ensuring to those new members he is looking to that there will be no structure or representation in the Party for women or youth, no democracy, no accountability, plenty of centralisation, less servicing of members and a bureaucratisation of the Party as a whole. Which layer of society is he hoping to attract into membership? Perhaps dissident Tory backbenchers or the Social and Liberal democrats?

Kinnock hopes to recruit paying members who are nothing more than card holders.

On 25th January the General Executive of the Labour Party gave their leader Neil Kinnock power to ignore conference policy decisions and leave anything he personally disagreed with out of the Party's new manifesto. This one man Party is destined to become a Party for the yuppies run by the yuppies.

As Thatcher's attacks come thick and fast the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracy come in as a second front to enforce these attacks by preventing any organised fight back from the working class. They actively demobilise opposition. Thatcher is in power today because the Labour and Trade Union bureaucracy are providing her with the best service that social democracy can provide.

Y.T.S.

Young Talent Squandered

John Owen from Socialist Voice interviewed YTS (Youth Training Scheme) trainees at the Florence Training Centre, Upper Warwick Street, Liverpool.

Dave, one of the trainees, explained:

"There are about one hundred trainees on our site and we are supposed to be allocated £120 a month per module (the units which comprise the training centre) for the necessary equipment. The boss says we have to buy our own stuff if there's something more we want."

His three friends; Brian, Mike and Mick also spoke to Socialist Voice. Brian said:

"The course we are on is called Reprographics, this involves drawing, printing and photography. But there is no photographic equipment and we use very old printing equipment."

Two of the trainees were sacked recently. They explained what happened:

"We were sacked because a room had been flooded and we were blamed. The boss got someone else to tell us to get off the premises."

The trainees were members of a union. One of the lads said: *"We went down to see the union. We went back to work after the week-end. We had been reinstated. However, we were on suspension, it ended up with us having a day's pay docked."*

The lads felt that this was wrong because they had done nothing. One of them told Socialist Voice: *"They are always suspending us for petty things. They usually dock the pay as a result."*

Another YTS trainee declared: *"We wanted to do silk screen printing. They have the equipment for that but don't have the paint."*

When asked what they thought about YTS overall the answer was unprintable.

Discussing with these and other YTS trainees has left no doubt in my mind that given real assistance from the union and from rank and file trade unionists, the 16 to 18 year olds would fight for real training and trade union conditions.

Free Press?

Civil liberties are continuously being eroded under this Tory government. With a relentless drive for secrecy the Tories are beginning to gag the nation's press.

There is a new Bill going through parliament aimed at tightening up the secret service. It comes on top of the recent spate of legislation, primarily aimed at the Irish Republican Army (IRA), like the broadcasting ban on quoting Irish Republicans who refuse to renounce the armed struggle.

We can see an ever growing tendency to reduce the media to a government mouth-piece, spewing out daily reports, carefully edited to avoid conflict with the powers that be. Already the press selects its news of worker's struggles. From a glance at most of

the papers you would not believe that a strike of colossal importance had ripped through Spain.

In fact it was the first Spanish General Strike in fifty years, with over eight million workers answering the call.

It is not that the press barons thought the strike was unimportant. Quite the opposite! They know exactly the importance of these struggles. They try to kill its effect by remaining silent.

The mass show of strength by the Spanish working class might stir British workers into action against this government and in opposition to their own cowardly leaders, who shirk away from a real fight against cheap labour schemes at home.



Letter to Socialist Voice



HGV Drivers Welfare Campaign,
c/o Hackney TUSU,
489 Kingsland Road,
London E8 4AU (01-249-6930).

January 20th 1989

Dear Editor,

We are writing to inform you about an attempt to improve facilities for long distance lorry/truck drivers. At the moment Long distance lorry drivers are being treated as second class citizens by the Road Transport Authorities, car park owners, councils and the owners of motorway service stations.

We are increasingly being barred from service stations. In addition, with a few notable exceptions, there are very few overnight parking sites and even those that do exist rarely have reasonably priced meals or sleeping facilities.

The current situation is something long distance lorry drivers are not prepared to tolerate for much longer. We provide a valuable service for both industry and the community, which we believe is not really appreciated.

We believe that long distance lorry driving is a hazardous occupation and we hope to show this by conducting interviews with drivers and getting them to fill-in the health questionnaires we have prepared.

Recently we have been visiting a number of sites and talking to drivers to establish their needs and requirements. In addition the TGWU newspaper 'The Highway' is to give the campaign publicity in its next edition. We will be preparing material for Jack Ashwell (the TGWU Road Transport Commercial National Secretary) and TGWU MP's to use.

Our aim is to make this a major health and safety campaign within the TGWU and the Road Transport Industry. Long distance drivers require good facilities and at the moment too many drivers are spending uncomfortable, restless nights. **This has implications for both themselves and other road users.**

We believe that the owners of the good sites do not deserve to be tarnished with the reputation of the bad ones. However at the moment there are simply not enough good places where drivers can relax, get a good meal and purchase reasonably priced sleeping accommodation.

With the support of other drivers it is intended to alter this. Any drivers who are reading this and who may be interested are asked to contact us at the address above.

Yours faithfully,

George Sherman,
HGV Driver,
Branch Secretary for TGWU 1/1208.

Solidarity Leader Speaks

Josief Pinior was a leader of Solidarity under clandestinity in the region of Wroclaw and was a member of the clandestine National Commission of the union after the Jaruzelski coup-de-etat. He has been arrested on several occasions because of his involvement in workers' strikes and for his role in the resistance. He was a founder of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS) and he is one of its present leaders.

The PPS sent greetings recently to the rally for the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Fourth International organised by the Socialist Workers' Party (PST) - Spanish section of the International Workers League (LIT). The following is a translation of an interview with Josief Pinior which appeared in "La Verdad Socialista" (15-11-88), paper of the Spanish PST.

La Verdad Socialista: "How do you see the present situation in Poland?"

Josief Pinior: "The post-stalinist totalitarian regime is in a period of crisis and cracking all over. There is, once more, an awakening of the people, with demonstrations demanding workers' economic, democratic and religious, ... rights. The authorities are trying to diminish the effects of the crisis through the introduction of the free market, while at the same time holding on to power. And this is impossible.

"Any serious reform of the state economy must include the abolition of the 'nomenklatura' (bureaucracy) and the state apparatus. The PPS will not negotiate at the 'Round Table' because we consider that it is only a manoeuvre to change the feature of the system but without any real change. A real reform means a revolution with important qualitative changes."

LVS: "What is the proposal of the PPS?"

JP: "A programme for a democratic revolution with the objective of ending with the totalitarian regime and towards political democracy and socialisation of the economy.

On the other hand, one of our basic objectives is the development and re-building of the trade union movement, 'Solidarity'. Most of the resources of the party are directed towards this objective."

LVS: "How did the party intervene in the struggles of May and August?"

JP: "We have been involved from the beginning. We were the only political group which forecast them. We were the only ones in the opposition who said that there were going to be strikes after the last price rises.

"Because of that, members of our party have been harshly repressed. In Wroclaw and Silesia, eight of our members were

arrested last September. Three members were condemned to imprisonment. And these were the only three arrested after the strikes. This is proof of the activity of our party.

"The 'Round Table' negotiations have failed. The shipbuilding workers in Radub and Wisla are already on strike, indicating, surely, stronger and more generalised struggles than before the summer.

"It is not only the sacking of 11,000 workers, but it is the first step of a plan of economic restructuring. And this, precisely in a place that is a symbol of the resistance against Jaruzelski."

LVS: "Why is all this happening?"

JP: "There is a revolutionary situation in Poland. There is a decay in the living conditions, it is something like a catastrophe of civilization that has become more acute in the last eight years. This is a decisive element and the Polish people will not agree with it. There will be more strikes and protests. And the attitude of the authorities is reminiscent of the attitude of Louis XV, who, a few days before the French Revolution, wrote some notes where he asked himself what was happening that was so important that it should stop him from going on his hunting trip.

"We call upon the whole left to discuss this matter, to discuss a new alternative of the left and to put forward proposals. It is very difficult to defeat post-stalinism in one country because it is an international process. It is more acute in the East, it will change the whole system and it is evident that the change is going to be made by workers."

LVS: "What do you think about Perestroika?"

JP: "Nothing will change. More than that, its effects are beginning to annoy Gorbachev himself because the economic and democratic demands have begun."

Trotsky in the USSR

On 15th November, for the first time in more than sixty years, it was possible to speak publicly about Trotsky in the USSR.

The theatre of the House of Culture of the Aeronautic Institute in Moscow was not big enough for all those who wanted to participate in the debate on "Trotsky". Most of them were born under Stalin or Brezhnev and wanted to know about the only Bolshevik leader still not rehabilitated.

One of the speakers was the daughter of Adolf Joffe, the Bolshevik leader who committed suicide when persecuted by the bureaucracy during illness. She revealed how she had suffered under the stalinist regime simply because she was his daughter. She ended her speech telling the public that the murderer of Trotsky was received as a hero in the USSR.

Galina Antonova-Ovseenko, daughter of the political commissar of the Red Army, was in a concentration camp between 1937 and 1952. She ended her speech saying: "*What is Trotskyism for me? It is my life.*"

Finally, Igor Pianitsky, son of the Bolshevik leader who organised the clandestine net of the party before the revolution, said: "*Trotsky is the key figure of perestroika because he is the theorician of the anti-bureaucratic struggle.*"

Le Monde said in its report on the meeting that: "*nothing can be understood about October if the role played by Trotsky, which is still unbearable for the regime, is not understood.*"

Under the heat of the fight it is more and more difficult for the bureaucracy to maintain the slanders and lies over the role of Trotsky in the Revolution. It is the people of the USSR, the Polish workers, the Yugoslavian nationalities - all those who are fighting against the bureaucracy - who will rehabilitate Trotsky.

Gorbachev Appeals to Capitalists

Bill Hunter

Last month Mr Gorbachev let it be known that the Soviet leaders were close to an agreement to establish links with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other world bodies of capitalism.

He appealed to the capitalist countries "We have gone too far in the old thinking" he said, and added: "We are inviting our country and the world to look jointly for answers. There is need for understanding and reciprocal steps on the other side. We cannot accept the rules of participation in the IMF and the World Bank. There are objective reasons for this."

There certainly are objective reasons why the bureaucratic rulers of the USSR meet cruel dilemmas on every hand. The basic reason is the objective contradiction between the property relations created by the Russian Revolution and the parasitic nature of the bureaucracy which usurped the power.

Bureaucratic 'planning' is now unable to rule in the Soviet Union without disaster. It has brought grave economic problems to the economy. The bureaucracy cannot leave the scene and hand over to workers' democracy. It is a parasite whose privileges, power, cynical paternalism and suppression of mass initiative are the opposite of the socialist content of the Russian Revolution. But it grew on the body of that Revolution. Stalinism had to steal its banner to develop the political dictatorship which protects the privileges of the bureaucracy.

Adjusting and Manoeuvring

Today, the results of that Revolution in relationships, in the thinking, culture and traditions of the Russian people are there as the objective fact. Gorbachev is sitting on the lid of a boiling cauldron. Although driven to more and more concessions to imperialism, the bureaucracy has not got a co-ordinated, stable, worked out policy of a 'capitalist road'. The Gorbachev wing proceeds empirically, under the blows of circumstance, adjusting and manoeuvring to maintain its rule.

The contradictions result in conflicting tendencies within the bureaucracy. There are in it, those who consciously see the development of Russia as a capitalist economy

similar to the imperialist countries. Already, the singular present development of the crisis in the stalinist countries is the emergence of Communist Party entrepreneurs who are rich business men and directly involved in the exploitation of workers.

Capitalist Wing

Almost certainly, the consciously capitalist wing of the bureaucracy is more developed and stronger than at any time during its history, and Trotsky at one time pointed to a fascist wing in the bureaucracy. In regard to that, we should note that the Pamyat organisation, which runs regular, well organised, open meetings in Moscow, was described by a Moscow News correspondent as reminiscent of the fascists of the thirties. It is a notorious, extreme racist, chauvinist body which has been breaking up meetings to nominate 'dissidents' for the Soviet elections and has the protection of powerful elements in the Soviet state.

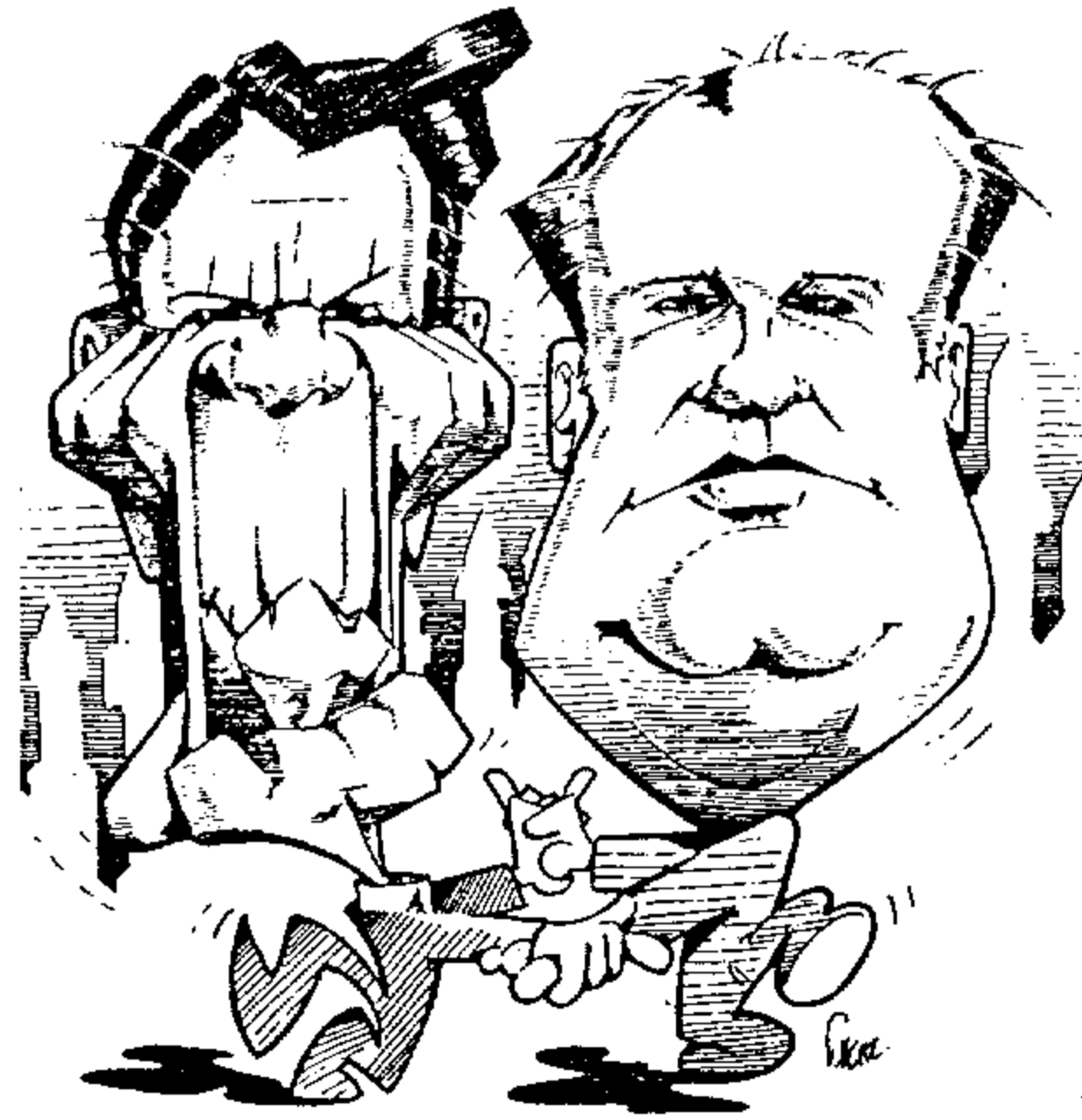
For their part, the economists who are close to Gorbachev talk of a "mixed economy" in the language of social democracy - reformist labourism. And there are the mass of bureaucrats who resist any upset of the old bureaucratic ways and among them, those who work for a return to the old stalinist repression.

The encrusted bureaucratic relations clog up the attempt to extend the relationships with international capital. This is a complaint of the imperialists which Gorbachev is answering with his appeal for sympathy.

But the overriding problem for the bureaucracy is the feelings of the mass of the population and the objective fact of what is left over from the Russian Revolution.

Market Enterprise

Gorbachev and leading Soviet spokespersons have pushed forward co-operatives as unleashing initiative and market enterprise. 50,000 co-ops were set up in two years. At the end of last year the government issued a decree barring them from a wide variety of businesses. The decree was evidently the result of hostility among the Soviet people. That hostility has been commented on from



time to time by Rupert Cornwell, the "Independent's" correspondent in Moscow.

One significant report appeared in that paper on the 25th November when Rupert Cornwell described "a wave of public resentment at all things to do with co-operatives" and wrote of Muscovites he had discussed with who "would come out overwhelmingly, venomously against co-operatives."

He gave extracts from letters to Soviet papers. "Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya" ran a selection of readers' letters. "Every co-op is a step back towards capitalism" wrote outraged of Minsk. "Why bother with theories, let's just recognise that 1917 was a mistake - the West is sure to applaud."

A writer to "Sovietskaya Kultura" said that Perestroika had produced a class of speculators, disguised as co-operatives. "They are sucking people's blood." Cornwell declares that "horror stories abound of co-operatives buying up scarce meat for three roubles a kilo and selling it for fourteen roubles." It is the 'objective reason' of the reaction of the Soviet working class which brings forward the plea of Gorbachev to the imperialists of the IMF and the World Bank. His 'Perestroika' means an attack on the employment and conditions of Soviet workers. He pleads for "joint answers" with the imperialists on assistance from the IMF without conditions that provoke the Soviet workers.

Workers Force Concessions from Gonzalez



One and a half months after the General Strike of eight million workers in Spain, the working class are scoring more victories.

As we reported in the last issue of Socialist Voice, Felipe Gonzalez, Spain's 'socialist' prime minister, was forced to back down over implementing his youth employment scheme after workers made its withdrawal the main demand of their strike. They also demanded a two per cent wage rise for public servants, pensions to be raised to the level of the minimum wage, collective public sector wage bargaining and that unemployment benefit be extended from 35 to 48 per cent of the total jobless.

The government called trade union leaders to negotiate with the employers. This was rejected by the workers. After the failure of this meeting, boycotted by workers' representatives, the government was forced to meet the trade union leaders on their own.

In the wake of this meeting Gonzales attempted a political manoeuvre to divide the social democratic trade union congress, UGT, from the communist controlled CCOO. This was a very dangerous move from the political point of view because it could have left the CCOO alone in the leadership of the anti-government movement. The government had to back down from this plan too and accept joint leadership in the negotiations.

It is in this political climate that the gov-

ernment began to meet trade union representatives to discuss their demands. This triumph reinforced the strength of the workers' movement which then introduced a further demand for a ten per cent wage rise.

The employers began to get wor-

ried. The government was agreeing concessions to workers daily. Jose Maria Cuevas, president of the Spanish Confederation of Enterprise Organisations (CEOE) announced that the managers would demonstrate in the streets if the trade unions were given any more concessions. But after a few days the CEOE accepted, for the first time since 1979, to award a wage rise linked to inflation. Finally, the Spanish Minister for the Economy, Carlos Solchaga, said that the whole economic plan of the Government could be discussed with the trade unions.

A Great Experience

Of course, it cannot be assured that workers are going to obtain all their demands. It is clear, however, that the general strike was a success. Firstly, because the Spanish version of YTS was defeated before it was even introduced and secondly because it has opened up the possibility of achieving the rest of the demands. The most important development is that the Spanish working class has made a great experience. Every worker in Spain now knows that through fighting it is possible to win. Every worker in Spain knows how to fight against the Thatcherite policies of Felipe Gonzalez. One of the leaders of the CCOO has already said, that if necessary, another general strike would be called.

Angolan 'Peace' Settlement

With the usual arrogance of an Apartheid leader, Botha has warned Angolan leaders that if the negotiated terms of the peace settlement are not adhered to then the agreement will be jeopardized. This is also, of course, a warning to the ANC (African National Congress) and to the Soviet Bureaucracy that is seeking an accommodation with the Apartheid Government, that they had better keep in line.

That Bush, the new President of the United States, continues with the military aid for Savimbi, leader of the reactionary forces in Angola, at £15 million annually, was presumably not covered by the accords. Savimbi's guerrilla organisation, Unita, still controls a 300 mile area in the Eastern part of the country.

Major Martinho of the Angolan forces said they can do what ever they want. They can: "...bring in arms, take out arms, bring in men, take out men." But the Cuban troops are leaving on schedule, the ANC training camps are being transferred further and further from South Africa. This is the essence of the negotiated peace settlement that Imperialism and Stalinism seeks to impose on the nationalist and revolutionary movements from Nicaragua to South Africa.

It is aimed at holding back the movement of the working class and the oppressed in these regions.

The South Africans are now demanding not just Cuban withdrawal, they see that as the first stage. They now demand an internal political settlement. The essence of this would be to extend the political control of the Unita forces.

United States' Terrorism

Kevin Townsend

Socialist Voice condemns the criminal shooting down of the two Libyan jets by United States imperialist forces.

Every worker must stand full square with Libya against this outrageous arrogance and unprovoked act of aggression and any future plans by US imperialism to attack Libya, under the hypocritical pretext of eliminating chemical weapons.

The oppressed nationalities will treat the USA's commitment towards the eradication of chemical weapons as wretched two-facedness, of the worst and most cynical kind.

They will ask why the sudden concern by the 'napalm baby bombers', with the eradication from the earth of these vile and destructive weapons.

They will ask why the threats and attacks are only aimed at Libya, when even a report by the CIA claims that more than 22 countries are either in a position where they can manufacture, deploy, or are actively seeking to acquire chemical weapons and gases

Amongst the list of countries are Apartheid South Africa and Zionist Israel. Little mention is made of the US and French governments' manufacture and stockpiling of chemical weapons. We can expect the same veil of secrecy will surround the Portland Down germ warfare laboratories in Britain too.

US in Vietnam

The US happens to be one of only a few governments to have used chemical weapons and substances in war. Vietnam was subjected to the barbarism of US warplanes dropping huge quantities of Agent Orange chemical defoliant and napalm bombs on North Vietnam and its innocent civilians. The Vietnamese people are still paying for this crime against humanity with numerous deformations of newborn babies and mutations of human life.

They will also ask why the lack of action and criminal silence from the US when Iraq carried out abominable chemical bombings on Iran and on Kurdish peshmerga rebels in Iraqi Kurdistan.

The US actively supported Iraq financially in the Iran-Iraq war to retain the support of Saddam Hussein's reactionary regime which defends the interests of US imperialism and the oil multi-nationals in the region.

The international terrorists of the White House accepted the use of chemical weapons

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by Iraq and will support any measures necessary to defend its interests against the peoples of Iran and Libya, people who have dared to liberate themselves from the direct exploitation of world imperialism and its multi-nationals.

That is why Sir Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary and spokesman for British imperialism, was reported at the height of the shooting down drama, as saying: "*The chemical weapons issue, in Iraq's case, would not stand in the way of maintaining good relations*".

After profiting from the war Britain is looking to profit out of the peace and nothing will stop them from this.

War mongers

The talk of France's role, as putting pressure on the US to abort its plan for a military strike or invasion of Libya, is like Britain's role, designed to dress up the villains of world imperialist robbery and oppression of the semi-colonial nations, as peace loving diplomats, when they are in fact exactly the opposite-war mongers and war makers.

The US, British and the other major imperialist forces of the world are engaged in public deception when they talk of eliminating chemical weapons and gases. They are not for the elimination of these weapons. They care not about their barbaric effects on human beings. They propagandise about elimination because they do not want them to get into the 'wrong hands'.

The hands feared so much by these hypocrites are those of the working class and masses of the oppressed nations, who will not accept their forced enslavement, daily exploitation and political oppression.

World imperialism is quite prepared to hold the smaller nations to ransom, demanding they relinquish their arms but says nothing of Nuclear weapons.

They demand immediate disarmament of other nations but at the same time set them-

selves a chemical weapons disarmament period of eight years. Between 1981 and 1986 US expenditure on research into biological agents rose from \$15 million to \$60 million, which could hardly be called disarmament.

The morality of these imperialist slugs is that it is okay for Iraq to use chemical weapons against the Iranian revolution and it is permissible to use them on Kurdish rebels fighting for their national independence, but it is not acceptable for anti-imperialist nations to acquire and develop the self-same technology that the US consider their sole reserve.

Hands off Libya!

Down with U.S. Terrorism!



Yugoslavia: Mass Workers' Organisation

50,000 people demonstrated in Titograd, capital of Montenegro, Yugoslavia, demanding the resignation of government and party leaders in the republic as well as its representatives in the collective national presidency and the Communist League.

The demonstration began at 9.00 am when workers of the Radoje Dakic factory, after a long meeting, marched into the city centre. In a few hours the group of 1,500 grew to 50,000. Students and workers from Titograd and the nearby city of Niksic joined the demonstration.

For the authorities the most worrying element was that the demonstration was organised directly by workers who have built an "Organising Committee" with representatives from every factory in Montenegro. This committee was responsible for calling and leading the protest.



Argentina:

Mass Mobilisation or Individual Terror?

Mark Smith

The ever deepening crisis in Argentina is creating panic in sections of the middle class. A small group representing the fearful politics of this desperate sector attempted an armed occupation of the military barracks in La Tablada, Greater Buenos Aires, on 23rd January. This terrorist action, based on the politics of scepticism, that is, scepticism in the ability of the working class to deal with the military, ended in thirty eight deaths.

Some right wing politicians and trade union bureaucrats have denounced the group as Trotskyist. It is not. Among those who occupied the barracks were members and leaders of "Everyone for the Motherland" (MTP) an organisation with a populist programme calling for "national unity". The MTP had refused to join the United Left, the electoral front of the Movement towards Socialism (MAS - Argentine section of the International Workers League) and the Communist Party (CP), proposing instead a front including the peronists and radicals headed by the State Prosecutor, Mr Molinas.

The ISL echoes the MAS in saying that the terrorists are not Trotskyists. Trotskyism is based on the struggle against imperialism, the bosses and their governments, through the mobilisation of the working class and the oppressed.

Such actions as those on 23rd January will never stop a military coup. Individual terror cannot defend the working class against the policies of hunger and misery imposed by the government. On the contrary, terrorism provides justification for the government to repress the struggles of the working class and oppressed.

The United Left maintains that "the mobilisation of workers and oppressed is the only way to defeat the murderers and military rebels. Any other way, without the support

of the masses, can only provoke confusion amongst them and reinforces the repressive apparatus."

The MAS calls the workers and oppressed to continue the struggle to overcome the critical situation provoked by the bourgeois government. It calls for a fight for wages, to end payment of the external debt, to bring to trial the murderers of the military and for a mobilisation against any attempts to give amnesty to these murderers, and for the democratisation of the armed forces.

In Argentina the economy is falling apart. The purchasing power of the working class is plummeting, there are increasing redundancies in factories, bankruptcy of enterprises is rife and there is a rapid deterioration in the living standards of a wide sector of the middle class.

The crisis of the armed forces is still not resolved after five years of bourgeois democratic government. Those in the military responsible for the murder of 30,000 people between 1976 and 1982 are not only free (with a few exceptions), but are beginning to demand more from the government, in particular their exoneration for the genocide of the 'dirty war'. Using rebellion as the most successful method for putting pressure on Alfonsin they have made the government climb down. After the third uprising on 4th December most of the military's demands were met despite the killing of three civilians. Only the main leader of this military rebellion, Seineldin, was put on trial. This has had important political consequences.

The ruling Radical government and their main opposition, the Peronists, are losing the confidence of their supporters. There has been a turn of the working class towards the left. This is reflected in the result of the internal elections of the United Left.

Life of the LIT

The successful internal elections of the United Left, with 140,000 voters, is the expression in Argentina of a development of the whole Latin American continent. The Latin American masses are breaking with the "traditional" bourgeois parties. In 1988, after fifty years in power, the Mexican PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) had to fix the elections to avoid a defeat, provoking mass anger. In Brazil, the overwhelming success of the Workers' Party (PT) in the November elections showed the possibilities of building a class alternative to confront the deep crisis of the semi-colonial countries. The same is happening in Peru, where Alan Garcia, leader of the traditional APRA (the ruling nationalist party) and the most popular President in Latin America, after confronting imperialism on the question of the external debt a few years ago, is now quickly losing supporters.

The 140,000 voters in the internal elections of the United Left are the Argentine expression of the same process. The United Left has become the political instrument with which to break the Argentine workers from Peronism, a nationalist bourgeois movement. And the MAS, the largest Trotskyist party in the world, is within the forces of the United Left posing an alternative, new leadership for the working class.

On Monday 19th of December, - the day after the internal elections of the United Left - peronist workers and others were congratulating members of the MAS in the factories of Argentina: "Congratulations for the elections of the United Left." "Thanks. Do you think it was good?" "Yes, the result does not matter, it was a very important event."

A few days ago, Socialist Voice received a letter from an Argentine railway worker, a supporter of Alfonsin, saying: "The election of the United Left was a success because of the amount of people that took part - 140,000, when only 100,000 were expected. In a certain sense I lament that the MAS did not win, but I believe that Zamora will be Deputy."

The political importance of the internal elections is shown by concrete facts too. For example, in Capital Federal, 80,000 took part in the internal elections of the Radical Party, 40,000 in the Peronists, and 24,000 in the United Left. That means a ratio of 1 to 2 with the Peronists and 1 to 4 with the Radicals - and this in the Radicals main electoral bastion.

They Kill Children don't they!

Martin Ralph

"The best Europe could do is to support Israel, the only democratic country in the area", the Foreign Minister of Israel said as Gonzalez, Prime Minister of Spain, was inviting the Israeli Government to Spain for an official visit.

He continued: "the PLO is still a terrorist organisation only it has had plastic surgery."

This attack on the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) only serves the purpose of trying to hide the continuing crisis the Israeli Army and Government is facing in the occupied land of Palestine.

Why the crisis? It is because the Intifada has refused to bow down before the brutality of the occupation. We reported last month that Palestinians were now being killed at a rate of one a day. **The troops, like Herod, concentrate on killing young people. In the first two weeks of January six children under the age of twelve were killed.**

The settlers in the West Bank are becoming increasingly concerned that these measures have not stopped the uprising. They will become even more worried in the future.

Yitzhak Rabin, Israel's Defence Minister has been developing the methods of repression. He said, last month:

"It's very unpleasant for a powerful army like ours to have to deal with stones. We've returned to the stone age."

Within days of this remark suspected stone throwers were having their parent's homes blown up. The barbaric, terrorist army has even blown up homes with families and old people still inside, unable to escape in time.

Plastic bullets have also been increasingly used. The ones now being used are ninety per cent steel with a thin coating of rubber. In January, one Palestinian youth had six of these objects removed from his skull, each measuring approximately one inch in length - he managed to survive. The new plastic bullets explode from cannisters, their purpose is to maim and kill.

This barbarism is too much for some soldiers to stomach. Reserve soldiers complained to Shamir, Israeli Prime Minister, at being forced to beat and kill all sections of the Palestinian population.

The leadership of the Intifada has called on the people to answer the increase in repression by maintaining the uprising.

While all this continues, the labour movement remains silent in this country. Anyone who considers they are supporters of the

Palestinian struggle should condemn the invitation from Gonzales for the Israeli government to visit Spain.

All militant socialists and supporters of national freedom must fight for a clear position of support for the Intifada and must condemn the links of the reformist Labour Parties with the Israeli Labour Party. Its leaders have been active leaders of the repression, yet, to the shame of lefts in the Labour Party, there has been no campaign demanding a break of the British Labour Party from the oppressors of the Palestine people.

It is for this reason that we publish a resolution on this page, the spirit of which should be taken up by the whole labour movement.



Trade Union Resolution

This BIFU Annual Delegates Conference condemns the continued oppression of the Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

We note that:

There have been many atrocities committed by the Israeli Army since the Uprising which has developed under the leadership of those that live in the occupied territories. It has the support of the entire population and that is why this movement has been attacked with such force.

The list of atrocities is long but the following list gives an indication of the horror:

- over 400 Palestinians have been killed.
- more than 400 women have aborted their unborn babies as a direct result of the use of illegal poison gas by the occupying forces.
- more than 1500 Palestinians have been subjected to permanent total or partial disability as a result of beatings by the security and military forces
- 15,000 Palestinians are placed under illegal arrest in concentration camps

Even these figures are by now an underestimation of the amount of suffering. The killing goes on daily.

This Annual Delegates Conference therefore demands that the

- a) **The British Government break all links with Israel.**
- b) **The TUC break all links with the Histadrut.**

These sanctions are to remain in place until the Palestinians question is settled to the satisfaction of the Palestinian people.

This motion on the Palestinians was passed at the Annual General Meeting of the Manchester Barclays Branch on 11th January for debate at the Banking, Insurance and Finance Union's Annual Delegates Conference to be held in May.

Europe: Battle

TUC Leaders looking for calm harbours

The growth of multi-nationals roaming the globe has linked the struggle of the working class and oppressed people in every country closer together. In many cases they face the same employer - Fords, General Electric, Philips, Nissan, etc.

How do we prepare for the Common Market in 1992? Only by building on those common interests.

In all the countries of Europe the pressure of capitalist over-production forces a relentless drive to cut production costs.

At the Trade Union Congress (TUC) last year, trade union leaders found a welcome relief when it came to the speech of Jacques Delors, President of the European Commission. He was given a standing ovation after he held out the hope that in 1992, with the creation of the European Market, there would be the prospect of Community-wide guarantees on workers' rights and collective bargaining. The feeling of those who stood and clapped was clearly that they had been 'lifted off the hook'.

Leaders Fear Action

The Tory government has continued relentlessly to press through its legislation curtailing the unions, meeting every retreat of the union bureaucracy with more laws. And these leaders are not just nervous about their members taking action, they are downright fearful. In the miners' strike, the printers' strike, the seafarers' strike, they showed their hostility to mass action.

With the growth of mass unemployment and the inability of the bureaucracy to organise any struggle against the Tory attacks, the membership of the unions has been steadily declining.

Here is the prime concern of the trade union bureaucracy. For loss of membership means loss of income and the certain loss of prestige and power of individual

bureaucrats.

Thus, to harassed bureaucrats, who had just reluctantly expelled the EEPTU, Delors seemed to offer a calm harbour.

TUC leaders who had once opposed the Common Market now felt they would get an Establishment that would give them that sympathetic ear which they complain is never given them by Mrs Thatcher. Mr Norman Willis said the Tory government "would resist the idea of consulting with and working with trade unions towards 1992".

But, the dawn was there! "They will resist in a way that other Western Governments will find incredible."

"One of the great myths of this period is that union leaders were stirring things up. But that was simply not true. The pressure was coming from below. We were running around like blue-arsed flies trying to control what was happening." - Lord Murray, TUC General Secretary in 1979, commenting on the tenth anniversary of the "Winter of Discontent".

Ron Todd talked about Brussels as "the only game in town" and declared that the trade union movement should learn how to work with trade union counterparts in Europe to "learn how to make the best of Community Committees".

The resolution of the TUC called for links to develop "European wide bargaining" and "TUC pressure" for the European Commission and Council of Ministers to produce and enforce statutory workers' rights.

If the TUC cannot get a government to enforce its rights in Britain it hopes to get one in Europe. Anything but use the power of the organisations it leads by mobilising the membership!

"We have to find out who's who and what's what among our trade union counterparts in

Europe" said Ron Todd at the Eastbourne TUC.

Well we've seen a little of the struggle to enforce workers' rights since that Congress. The common interests of European workers were very clearly shown in Spain at the end of last year. Eight million workers stopped work against a youth employment scheme which they declared would use youth as cheap labour. They demanded more jobs and higher wages.

There was no campaign waged by left or right in the British trade union leadership in support of the Spanish trade unions. Where was the Executive of the Transport and General Workers Union and Mr Ron Todd? Here is the "only game in town" - the struggle for youth rights, for jobs and wages.

But demoralised and capitulatory bureaucrats, together with those lefts who are tired and sceptical, turn their eyes to the European Parliament, committees and bureaucratic set-ups. Meanwhile, the real 'great game' is being played by a development of masses of workers.

The Spanish unions knocked back their YTS. That simple fact can tell the youth a great deal about what is what.

Here is the way to prepare for 1992. The way to get trade union rights, to get workers democracy (do not trust the bureaucrats' call for "industrial democracy" - that means bureaucrat and industrialist discussing what to do with the workers) is through organisation and struggle.

And workers in some other countries give indications that they are ahead of British trade unionists in feeling the need for international struggle. Look at the response to the British miners' strike throughout the world; look at the response among other Ford workers to the British Ford workers' strike last year and the letters which Socialist Voice has published from Ford factories in Brazil and Spain against victimisation in Britain.

ground for the Multinationals

We must fight for our trade unions locally and nationally to support and make links with these mass movements in the countries of Europe - the Spanish and French struggles, the movement in Italy towards a General Strike. Every factory, every body of trade unionists and youth, must seek connections with similar bodies in Europe.

The International Socialist League advocates all such moves that raise international consciousness while ceaselessly propagating the building of the International Workers League (Fourth International) - the LIT - of which it is a section. For it is only through the construction of a principled trotskyist organisation, with mass international support, that workers and oppressed peoples everywhere can be bound in the joint struggle which will finally defeat the multi-nationals.

Economies of Scale

Peter Windeler

The Single European Market due to come into existence in 1992 will force employers throughout Europe to attack living standards.

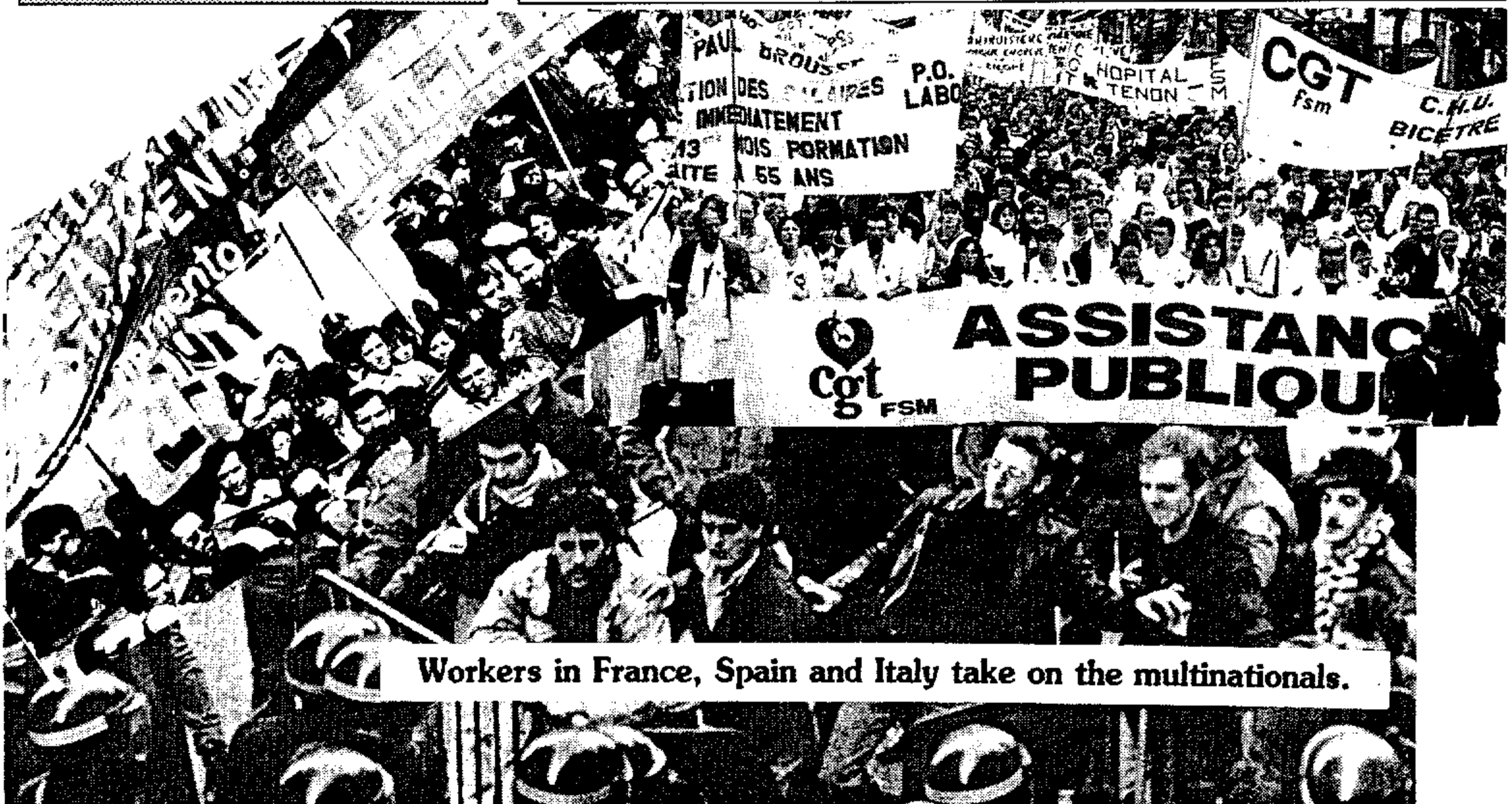
1992 is one step along the road capitalism must travel. Throughout the world capitalists are taking advantage of the economies of scale. Witness the move in North America to integrate the economies of Canada and the USA.

What will be the result of 1992 on the workers of Europe? If it is left to the will of the employers there will most certainly be mass redundancies and lay-offs. John Harvey-Jones, the former chairman of Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI) believes that half the companies and factories in Europe may disappear in the next ten years and the head of an influential Swiss business school thinks that a "bloodbath" lies ahead.

Multinational companies like Unilever aim to have only one factory producing the total output for Europe of one particular product. In the USA, for example, Unilever will have one factory in 1990 turning out 100,000 tonnes of bar soap each year.

The process of merging and rationalising continues throughout Europe and no industry can avoid the process. Look for example at the take-over of Rowntrees by Nestle of Switzerland and the recent attempt to take over GEC. On the continent Italian and Swedish-Swiss power generation firms are merging in anticipation of 1992.

As businesses stream-line their operations many workers become surplus to requirements. Last century Marx noted that workers laid-off often had no alternative than becoming servants for the upper and middle classes. Will 1992 mean that the modern equivalent of the chimney sweep and parlour maid return? The answer is yes! If big business has its way!



Workers in France, Spain and Italy take on the multinationals.

Stop the Deportations

Peter Money

The deportation of Viraj Mendis means that the Tories have given the green light to the Home Office to crack down on what they call 'illegal immigrants'. It will be a campaign of terrorism against the immigrant community. The Observer newspaper quoted a Home Office source as saying "the word in the Home Office is: go out and whack them".

This is an attack on the working class. It is designed by the Tories to divide the working class and to generate racism. Douglas Hurd made the Tory policy very clear when, denying there would be a purge on immigrants, he said tough immigration controls and opposition to discrimination was the way to secure racial harmony. This is the same language of

racism that Enoch Powell used when he talked of "rivers of blood" if immigration was not stopped.

The Viraj Mendis Defence Campaign was looked to by many in the immigrant population with the hope that it would stop the government's deportations, now taking place at the rate of fifty a week.

The most significant aspect of the campaign was in the youth that supported it. 2,000 people turned up in Manchester to demonstrate within hours of Viraj being seized. The majority were young people.

If the campaign did not stop the deportation, it was not because there was a lack of energy or determination in the hundreds of youth who selflessly gave their time to the campaign. If effort were enough, the campaign would have been won a year ago. The

youth marched the length of the country. They marched every Friday. They guarded the sanctuary 24 hours a day.

But the seizure of Viraj Mendis and his transportation brings out very clearly the need to take the anti-deportation fight into the organised working class.

The Tories are attempting to make immigrants the scapegoats for the crisis of their system. The organisations of the working class, the trade unions, community organisations must be brought to the aid of the immigrants.

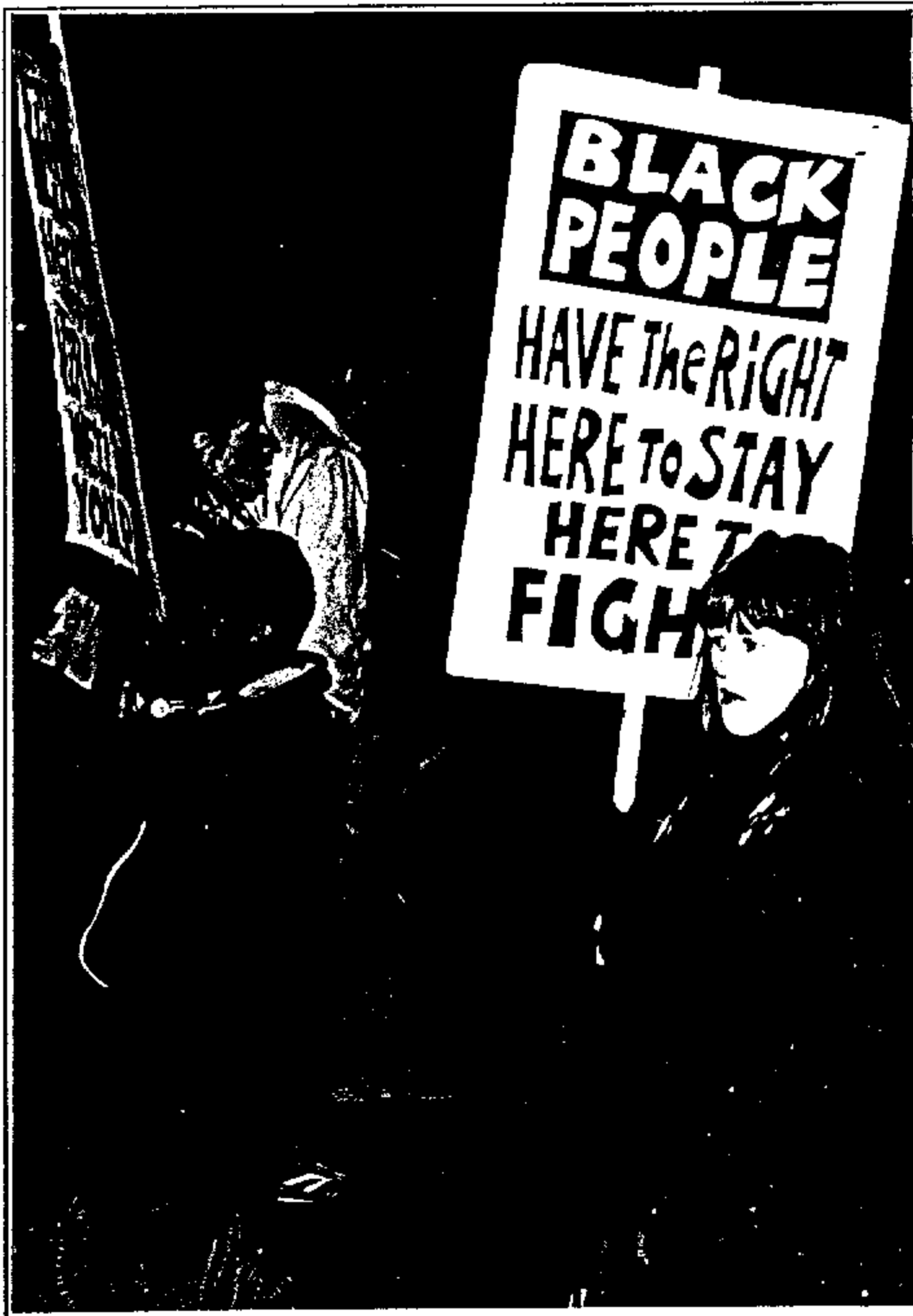
They must condemn the deportation of Viraj Mendis and demand he is given the right to return to Britain. It is, ultimately, only in the movement of the working class that the power lies to defeat the Tories and the state.



Marion Gaima is still facing deportation. Marion, a community activist, an employee of Hackney Council and a member of NALGO has lived in this country for over fifteen years.

The petition against Marion's deportation now has over 30,000 signatures. A deputation of MP's, Church leaders and NALGO representatives will hand in the petition to the Home Office on Thursday 2nd February at 11.30 am.

Marion won a review of her case in the High Court in December but pressure still needs to be put on the Home Office. Show your continued support for Marion and show the Home Office and the Press that we want her to stay.



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