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40 YEARS OF  
THE FOURTH  
INTERNATIONAL  
Centre pages

## EXPULSION!

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



Fraser (centre) with toolroom workers during last year's strike

Alarmed at the prospect of indefinite strike action by 3,000 Leyland toolroom workers and the possibility of solid strikes by other skilled engineers, AUEW leaders on Sunday pulled momentarily back from immediate expulsion of 32 striking toolmakers at SU Carburettors.

But nobody should draw from this the mistaken conclusion that no further steps will be taken against the SU men.

Hugh Scanlon, Terry Duffy and fellow AUEW officials are biding their time, searching for some sign of a pull back by the toolmakers.

The retreat by the Executive—postponing the day of reckoning until the end of this week—is not a concession to the right of the toolmakers to strike, but a retreat in front of Saturday's unanimous vote by Leyland's unofficial toolroom committee to call all-out strike action as soon as the SU workers are expelled.

### Bludgeon

AUEW officials, who had hoped to be able to use the victimisation of the SU toolmakers as an example to help bludgeon down militant opposition to Phase 4 of wage controls, suddenly recognised that to do so would face much of

## THE IRON FIST OF PHASE 4

### Toolmakers challenge TUC intimidation

Leyland's car production with closure.

And for thousands to take strike action against their own union executive would have reverberations among skilled sections throughout the AUEW membership, and the trade union movement as a whole, raising with new sharpness the necessity for new, revolutionary leadership to defend jobs, living standards and the very right to strike.

Following the adoption of Sunday's resolution postponing the expulsions it has become clear that AUEW leaders are appalled at this prospect, yet caught in an acute dilemma.

If they concede to the SU toolmakers and with-

draw the expulsions then their prospects of exerting bureaucratic discipline over other, bigger sections of workers taking unofficial action are remote.

### Stoppage

Yet if they do proceed to victimise the toolroom men, then Leyland management—with whom AUEW leaders have collaborated shamelessly—will be faced with a major stoppage in which the toolroom committee will be pressing not only for reinstatement of the SU toolmakers but also for their main demand of separate negotiating rights.

And they are only too aware that such a struggle

would come at the time of a General Election campaign in which Callaghan and the TUC will be presenting their joint wage-cutting strike-breaking election platform.

AUEW bureaucrats are clearly hoping that more frantic behind the scenes talks with management, combined with vacillation from toolroom committee leader Roy Fraser (who called off a Cowley mass meeting scheduled for Tuesday) can produce some form of formula which can head off the militancy of Leyland toolmakers.

### Compelled

But if, as is likely, this last ditch escape bid fails,

and deputy convenor Alán Thornett, had won re-election in a shopfloor ballot as a result of their opposition to wage control, and their stand in defence of jobs and conditions in Leyland.

TGWU bureaucrats, recognising this as a threat to their policies of class collaboration have for nearly a year been conducting disciplinary hearings and "inquiries" into the Cowley 9. On Thursday the Oxford District Committee is to reconsider the whole case (see back page).

The issues involved in fighting these attacks by union officials affect all sections of workers and all unions. The right to strike and the right to oppose reactionary union policies are at stake.

### Support

The toolroom committee has definite weaknesses of leadership and, has policies with which we disagree. But it is crucial that the SU toolmakers and the unofficial committee be supported in this struggle.

In last year's toolroom strike thousands of workers showed their readiness to back the Leyland men. But at the crucial point the unofficial committee caved in to Leyland management.

There must be no retreat from the strike decision taken by the toolroom committee. And Fraser must call on all other workers to come out in their support.

Our policies are clear:

\*Force the dropping of the expulsion threats against the SU men, and the TGWU disciplinary charges against the Cowley 9!

\*Fight to defeat state control of wages! Put in catching-up pay claims with cost of living clauses to provide rises to keep pace with the cost of living as calculated by elected committees of trade unionists and housewives!

\*Challenge threats of closure—from Duffy, Leyland management or Chrysler—by demanding the opening of the company's books and those of their suppliers to elected trade union committees!

\*Fight for the nationalisation of the whole motor and component industry, and under workers' management as part of a planned, socialist economy!

\*Build a revolutionary leadership in the trade unions, capable of fighting the treachery and collaboration of the bureaucracy, right and 'left' wing alike!



Scanlon

then there is little doubt that Scanlon and his right wing co-thinkers will be compelled to press ahead with the expulsions.

They are determined above all else to uphold Phase 4 of wage control and to enforce it against militant sections—through wholesale expulsions if need be.

In this way the bureaucratic move to discipline the SU toolmakers is linked to the witch-hunting moves to expel or ban from office the newly re-elected TGWU leadership in Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant.

The Cowley 9, including plant convenor Bob Fryer,



## INTERNATIONAL

# Nkomo plans backstairs betrayal

Despite a welter of confused reports including contradictory press statements from Joshua Nkomo, the secret behind the secret sell out of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle is now emerging for all to see.

It is now confirmed that on August 14 a meeting took place in Zambia between Ian Smith and Joshua Nkomo, the purpose of which was to negotiate the inclusion of the Patriotic Front into the settlement being prepared by imperialism to head off a military victory of the liberation forces.

### Denied

As late as last Friday both Nkomo and Smith were denying that such a meeting had taken place. By

Saturday evening at the end of the two day summit meeting of the five "front line" Presidents, both Nkomo and Smith, were confirming the fact that the meeting had taken place.

### Stalinist choice

Nkomo is now fast emerging as the choice of the imperialists and the Moscow Stalinists to head a government which will bring "stable" rule to Zimbabwe. It has long been the strategy of the imperialists to split Nkomo from fellow Patriotic Front leader Robert Mugabe.

But it is not clear how Mugabe will react to these latest developments. It had been reported that he too has been offered a government post, although in a lesser capacity than Nkomo.

Behind the secret deals lie the heavy hand of imperialism. The August 14 meet-



Smith with his three black stooges

ing was reportedly set up in London five weeks ago when Nkomo met Chief Chirau, one of the four executive council members now ruling Zimbabwe.

If these sell-out moves succeed then imperialism will have much reason to thank "socialist" foreign minister David Owen and "black" Andrew Young, who have piloted the secret diplomacy campaign raging through southern Africa

over the last period.

### Armed struggle

The armed struggle has brought imperialism to the conference table in southern Africa. What imperialism fears now is a military solution which would open up further radicalisation of the masses and the emergence of revolutionary socialist forces.

Those who seek to

oppose Nkomo and Mugabe must demand no secret diplomacy; no internal settlements; intensify the armed struggle; take up a socialist programme for the establishment of a Zimbabwe state truly independent of imperialist exploitation.

## Iceland, Denmark

### workers face attacks

After nine weeks of labour pains and three failed attempts, Iceland's parliamentary leaders have finally given birth to a coalition.

The general elections of 27 June resulted in heavy defeats for both partners in the previous coalition—the right wing 'Independence' party and the radical, farmer-based 'Progressive' party.

The Social Democrats and the People's Alliance (a party of veteran 'Eurocommunists') each made large gains, but no single party held a majority.

It was the leader of the People's Alliance, Ludvig Josefsson who made the last unsuccessful bid to form a coalition, which foundered on the objections of the Social Democrats.

### Opposition

In refusing to participate, they cited Josefsson's former membership of the Icelandic Communist Party and the opposition of the People's Alliance to NATO membership and the US base at Keflavik.

But now both parties have joined in a government led by Olafur Johannesson of the Progressives, although Josefsson himself has refused to participate personally.

But the immediate problem facing the coalition is the strength of the working class. With years of spiralling inflation (now at 40%), Icelandic workers have successfully fought for escalator clauses in wage agreements.

Once the new government has moved to devalue the Krona (by an expected 15%), then discussions on wage 'restraint' will begin with the union leaders.

### Denmark

Clearly the strong agreements currently in force are under a major threat, and the new government will no doubt look to Denmark (the colonial power in Iceland until 1944) for appropriate methods of defending the interests of international capital.

Last week also saw the formation of a coalition in Copenhagen, but in different conditions from that in Reykjavik. The minority Social Democratic government of Denmark had been touting for partners for some time, before finally reaching agreement with the Liberals.

### Wage control

The declared aim of the coalition is of 'restoring a better economic balance as a basis for

a more satisfactory growth in output and employment'. That is, of course, wage control, speed-up and mass unemployment.

### VAT increase

Already a wages freeze has been introduced along with a supposed freeze on prices and profit margins, and VAT has been increased to further fuel inflation.

The powerful Danish TUC has repeated its position that wage control can be agreed only on three conditions—tax reform, housing reform and compulsory worker 'co-ownership'. The last has never been Social Democratic policy, but the first two were explicitly abandoned in the coalition bargain.

Prime Minister Anker Joergensen, having failed to secure the reliable support of the TUC, has been forced to turn to the bourgeois parties as the force which can assist him in his attacks on workers.

But already a mass wave of protest strikes is spreading from the shipyards in response to a call for 'active opposition' to the coalition.

As the collective wage agreements state that fines will be imposed on all workers on strike for more than two days, this action will prove an immediate



Anker Joergensen

test of the worth of the loud protests from the TUC and parliamentary 'lefts', and show the ability of the Danish

working class to mobilise in defence of its independent interests.

## Peru emergency

In seven provinces of Peru a state of emergency has now been declared and all civil liberties suspended by the military dictatorship of General Bermudez.

This repression is directed against the miners' strike, now entering its fifth week.

The miners are demanding the re-instatement of over 300 miners sacked during the last 18 months because of their militant union activities.

### Rejected

Both state-owned and privately-owned companies are rejecting this call for a labour amnesty, but some private firms have now been driven to offer individuals pay-offs of around £3,000.

The union has so far rejected the government's proposal to

## REBELLION CONTINUES IN NICARAGUA

General Somoza has applied to the Nicaraguan Congress for permission to leave the country. Perhaps he has begun to suspect that 'his' country does not want him.

In the wake of the raid on Congress by the Sandinist Liberation Front, the 'general strike' called by the Broad Opposition Front has begun to take paralyzing hold of the capital Managua and the other towns.

As with the similar action in January and February, this 'strike' is not an independent action by the Nicaraguan working class—in many cases employers are still paying wages. But, as before, it has developed in certain areas to a stage far more advanced than its organisers intended or desired.

The northern city of Matagalpa has risen in a rebellion led by youth and students, demanding the overthrow of Somoza's reign of repression.

Armed only with lightweight and improvised weapons they now control almost the whole city, while the military commander informed reporters that if only they would hand over their arms 'we would have no problems'!

Reinforcements of the National Guard are being rushed in to suppress the rising, but the army also has to contend with increasing demonstrations and violence in at least four other towns.

These include Masaya, where a short-lived commune was established in February before being brutally smashed by the National Guard.

To cap it all, Somoza also discovered last week the existence of a plot to overthrow him, organised from within the National Guard itself!

His power rests solely on the loyalty of what remains virtually his private army and the support of US imperialism.

But now the Carter administration is uttering condemnations of the regime's abuse of human rights, while the officer caste clearly doubts that Somoza has the capacity to suppress this latest opposition.

The dictator may well feel that he has enough enemies to fight, without friends.

Whatever course the struggles in Nicaragua may take, there can be little doubt that the days of the Somoza family dynasty are very definitely numbered.

But the workers and peasants of Nicaragua may well find that their rejoicing at this victory is cut short by the imposition of dictatorship under new tyrants who use the old methods of repression for the same familiar aims.

## Derg army halted

The forces of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front are still succeeding in their defence of the city of Keren against the attacks launched by the armies of the Derg and its Cuban backers.

This setback for the Ethiopian military dictatorship has severely disrupted their strategy. Strained by wars on several fronts, working class agi-

tation in Addis Ababa and the rumblings of mutiny in the conscript peasant armies, the Derg is in no position to withstand delays in the plans it has made with the acquiescence—however reluctant—of the Soviet and Cuban bureaucracies.

Already the EPLF has been able to move back into areas recently evacuated before the Ethiopian advance, and now the invading army is also subject to constant attacks on its flanks

and in its midst.

At the same time a new plague has descended on the Horn of Africa. Vast swarms of locusts are eating their way across Ethiopia and have already caused famine in the northern areas bordering Eritrea.

Colonel Mengistu must be remembering uneasily how previous famines were a major cause of the popular uprising that overthrew Haile Selassie and brought its own execution-



Mengistu

er to power in the shape of the Derg.



# KENYATTA: imperialism's favourite nationalist

Lying in state in a pin-striped suit, Jomo Kenyatta provoked the British bourgeois press into a fit of fulsome eulogy.

This corrupt and dictatorial President of Kenya received his due as a loyal servant to imperialism: universal acclaim as a 'statesman'.

Handsome (if rather belated) apologies were made for his years of imprisonment at the hands of British colonial rule.

## Nationalism

But perhaps the worthiest tribute at the coffinside came from a former and vanquished rival, Odinga Odinga:

"We have had very many differences, but it's only the way of doing things. My goal was his goal: nationalism."

Plain words for the unvarnished truth. Kenyatta was a bourgeois nationalist leader, who succeeded triumphantly in damming the course of the anti-imperialist struggles and forming a sheltered reservoir of capitalist profits from the turbulence of revolutionary Kenya.

His career followed the typical pattern familiar from the lives of so many nationalist leaders in colonial countries.

Born in the 1890's, as British rule was being imposed on Kenya, Kenyatta gained his first education from mission schools—his earliest notable achievement was assisting to translate

the New Testament into Kikuyu—and steadily worked himself into the small layer of the African petty bourgeoisie of minor civil servants.

He was involved in the nationalist movement from 1919, when the East African Association was founded with Kenyatta as propaganda secretary.

As the struggles for political independence developed over the next few years to pose a serious threat to the British administration, so Kenyatta emerged into greater prominence, particularly through his speaking skills.

By 1927 he had become general secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association—the Kikuyu are the dominant tribe in Kenya and the Association was the leading force in the nationalist movement.

But from 1932 to 1946 Kenyatta lived in Europe where he schooled himself more fully in the methods of political opportunism and established profitable contacts with Labour politicians and bourgeois liberals.

## Transformed

When he returned to Africa after the war, the political situation of Kenya had been transformed.

The African intelligentsia was no longer in control of the nationalist movement, which had erupted into huge popular

struggles.

The land question was the driving force behind this upheaval. As European farmers settled in the fertile Kenyan highlands, many thousands of Africans were dispossessed of their agricultural land and driven from their stock pastures to inferior and inadequate grazing land.

Many moved to the towns and cities, forming the basis of a growing proletariat.



Kenyatta with Kissinger

But the majority remained in the rural areas, either as agricultural day-labourers, or attempting to eke out an existence in conditions more intolerable than any in their impoverished history.

Kenyatta was rapidly elected president of the Kenya African Union and declared that 'we must buy freedom by blood'.

## Defuse

But all his actions at this time were attempts to defuse the militancy of the African masses and divert their activity towards a parliamentary forum, so that Kenyatta's own influence could be assured along with the underlying priority of

had developed in brutally suppressing the Malayan revolution after the war.

The African rural population was herded into specially constructed, fortified village encampments with agricultural production supervised by troops to ensure that supplies were maintained for the occupying forces and not directed to the guerrillas.

Thousands of 'suspects' were detained and imprisoned in the labour and concentration camps—in some cases whole tribes were moved hundreds of miles across the country in an effort to smash the guerrillas' bases—and a 'scorched earth' policy was pursued.

These measures had an

the armies of imperialism were given complete freedom to establish bases from which to seek control over eastern Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Inevitably these policies provoked opposition, particularly as revolutionary developments emerged in other African states.

## Class division

Capitalist 'prosperity' produced an ever more marked division into classes, with a growing gulf between the impoverished urban proletariat and rural masses on the one hand and on the other the various bourgeois layers accumulating the wealth from expanding agricultural and industrial production.

Kenyatta's 'benevolent' dictatorship came under increasing attack for its authoritarian methods of rule and the gross corruption and nepotism of its administration.

The President frequently resorted to the repressive powers of the state in order to deal with his opponents.

But Kenyatta's rule was more firmly assured by the total political bankruptcy of this motley opposition, which never attempted to mobilise the masses in a struggle to realise their economic and political demands.

But at Kenyatta's funeral, as David Owen paid the respectful tribute from one faithful servant of imperialism to another and a greater, his mind was doubtless turning anxiously from the 'Old Man's' past to the future of Kenya.

## Faded prestige

The immediate succession to the presidency seems destined for Daniel Arap Moi, Vice-President for ten years and, amongst his other posts, Chief Scout of Kenya.

But lacking even Kenyatta's faded prestige as a veteran nationalist, Moi's authority will be a far less effective block to opposition.

Some of that opposition may come from other rival members of the narrow ruling clique which Kenyatta built up around him.

But however successful the bourgeois bureaucracy may be in preserving its unity, the Kenyan masses will certainly be thrown into conflict with their interests and with the domination of imperialism as the short-lived boom of the economy sags and plunges into the chaos of the capitalist crisis.

Kenyatta may have been unwilling to loose the reins of power from his grip, but death has spared him the humiliation of seeing them torn from his hands by the masses he patronised and exploited throughout a life of opportunism and gratified ambition.

By David Whitfield

# IRAN: 40,000 march

'Unity, peace and order' were the demands put forward by the Shah's new Prime Minister as he took office.

Jaafar Sharif-Emami's appeal met with a predictable response.

In north-eastern Mashad—holy city of the Muslim Shi'ite sect, and starting

point of the last wave of violent demonstrations—ritual mourning ceremonies for those killed 40 days ago by the Shah's forces developed into a mass demonstration of 40,000.

After a prominent religious leader had presented a set of 14 demands (including a return to Islamic law) as a basis for negotiations with the Shah,

the demonstration began to break up, with large sections chanting anti-government slogans.

## Three killed

Riot police moved in with teargas and then gunfire, killing at least three of the demonstrators.

Once again, the events in Mashad will be only the first shudder in a new convulsion to grip the Shah's dictatorship.

Such crude and bloody manifestations of the class struggle appeared not to ruffle the diplomatic cordiality of Chairman Hua's meeting with the Iranian dictator.

## 'Security'

But no doubt they did give an edge to their discussions of maintaining 'security' in the Gulf area for imperialism and its allies in the Stalinist bureaucracy ruling China.

stable capitalist dominance.

Although his meetings acted as mass rallying points for the anti-colonial struggles, this did not signify that Kenyatta either led or organised the mass movement.

His oratory was an important asset in the development of the movement, and secured his own prestige.

But as the agents of the British government reported, Kenyatta's meetings were the pretext not the reason for mass mobilisations, and his political positions were not shared by his militant audience.

But his efforts were frustrated in the short-term as the increasingly violent struggles against British rule exploded into the first major Mau Mau revolt of 1952.

A State of Emergency was declared, and Kenyatta himself was arrested for 'managing Mau Mau'.

His own indignant description of this charge as: 'one of the most brilliantly calculated, fomented and perpetrated lies in the whole history of imperialist intrigue' comes rather nearer the truth.

## Authority

But nine years of imprisonment and detention preserved his authority in the nationalist movement and saved him from the exposure of his political positions in the course of the struggle.

Throughout this period, the British colonial rulers were battling to crush an extended revolt, using the techniques they

effect, but did not succeed in crushing the liberation struggles.

British imperialism was forced to concede its defeat.

Kenyatta himself was released in 1961 and again became president of what was now the Kenya African Nationalist Union.

## Encouraged

Much of his energy was spent on encouraging white settlers and foreign investors to stay in Kenya, arguing that they would be welcome after independence.

The elections of 1963 gave KANU a majority in parliament whereupon the other parties dissolved themselves into an enlarged KANU, with Kenyatta still at its head, and after independence, as president of a one-party state.

For fifteen years Kenyatta ruled supreme, consistently outmanoeuvring such 'left' critics as union leader Tom Mboya and Odinga Odinga.

The struggles against colonial rule in Kenya were amongst the most protracted and most violent in the whole continent, yet today Kenya is one of the strongest bastions of imperialism in Africa.

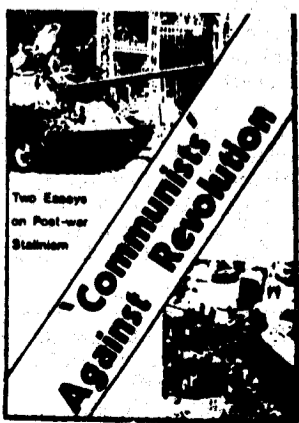
That reversal was not of course the work of any one man, but Kenyatta did play a key role in directing such a shift. He fully met his pledge to imperialism of a welcome after independence.

Foreign investment was eagerly encouraged, and, as capitalism flourished in Kenya,

## READ IT YET?

'Communists' Against Revolution, containing the important essay 'The Theory of Structural Assimilation' by Tim Wohlforth is the book on post-war Stalinism that Mandel and Healy would not discuss.

Make sure you get your copy—available at £1.75 plus 20p p&p from: WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR



# Carter rings round for support

US Senators will be plagued by a spate of heavy breathing phone calls in the next week or so.

A desperate President Carter, unable to win support for his energy conservation measures will be frantically lobbying uncommitted Senators, trying to persuade them that his controversial Bill to increase the price of natural gas is crucial to his efforts to stabilise the US dollar.



Carter

## Some support

Whereas a few weeks ago many sections of US capital were content to allow the dollar to fall in order to improve their chances in export markets, there is a chance that the mounting evidence of economic crisis within the US itself may rally some support for the increasingly discredited peanut millionaire.

In particular the dollar's downward plunge against the yen has created renewed chaos in the US steel industry, with clamours from the steel bosses for anti-dump-

ing measures against increased imports of European steel.

Steel shipments from the EEC countries increased 72% in July over the June total, and US steelmakers claim that European manufacturers have exploited the currency fluctuations to avoid the protectionist "trigger price" system designed to minimise foreign competition.

But dislocation of trade in steel is only one aspect of the weak state of US

capitalism.

The July trade deficit has shocked the Carter administration by rocketing to a massive \$2.9 billion—which if continued would bring a staggering \$34.8 billion annual deficit.

And the fleeting spring boom in the US economy now seems to have completely run out of steam even before Carter takes further steps to curb growth in a bid to hold the value of the dollar.

Meanwhile, despite assurances from government officials, inflation shows little sign of dropping below double figures.

## Bleak prospect

All this means a bleak prospect for the powerful US working class, with continuing mass unemployment and the necessity to confront Carter's wage-cutting "anti-inflation" policy if they are to defend their living standards.

But workers are discovering that, as in Britain, the main allies of wage controls are the bureaucratic leaders of the trade unions, who are

tied hand and foot to the capitalist Democratic Party.

Latest casualties of this unholy alliance are the 460,000 US postal workers. Both postal unions—the American Postal Workers Union and the Letter Carriers Union—had voted to defy the law and take strike action to force an improvement on the employers' 19.5% three-year pay contract.

But on the eve of strike action union leaders gratefully seized the pretext of "mediation" by Carter's chosen "impartial outsider" Wayne Horvitz, in order to call off the action.

New talks are likely to see virtually insignificant increases in wages, in exchange for likely concessions by union bureaucrats on job security.

## Dead duck

Carter however is in far too dire a crisis to reward such craven collaboration with even the distant promise of a crumb from the table.



Postal workers on the march in Washington on July 12

The much vaunted medical programme which he cynically dangled as a carrot in front of the noses of top union bureaucrats in order to secure their support in the course of the election campaign is now obviously a dead duck.

The struggle to break the US trade union movement from the Democratic Party and for the construction of a Labour Party to assert the political independence of the working class must be taken up now with renewed vigour.



## 150 march to win back nursery

The Oxford City Nursery Campaign started off the new school term by firmly reminding the County Council of its existence by demonstrating through the streets of Oxford on Saturday September 2.

The march was joined by over 100 parents and other nursery campaigners from the Labour and Trade Union movement, carrying banners from trade unions, political groups, womens groups and the nursery campaign itself.

### Victorious

They shouted slogans calling for the restoration of the axed South Oxford Nursery class.

The march was led by children from the victorious campaign to save the South Oxford Middle School.

This school, to which the axed nursery class is attached, was relieved from closure in July by

Shirley Williams. She obviously drew back from yet another Oxford School occupation, building on the national support of the nursery occupation and eviction, with renewed threats of strike action from the public sector unions.

### Exhibition

The demonstration ended in Bonn Square where the exhibition of the occupation attracted sympathetic interest from passers by who stopped to listen to speakers from the Trades Council and the nursery campaign.

They outlined the plans to lobby the TUC and the next meeting of the Education Committee.

The campaigners also plan to picket the South Oxford Nursery classroom if it is used for anything other than its proper purpose—there have been plans drawn up to open it as a private nursery class.

# IRELAND

## TROOPS OUT NOW!

## Mass demonstration for PoW status

The complete failure of the most barbaric and savage repression meted out over the last 10 years by British imperialism to crush the resistance of the Irish people was revealed clearly last Sunday by a huge 25,000 strong demonstration from Coalisland to Dunganon.

The march, led by 200 relatives of the internees in H Block of the notorious Long Kesh concentration camp, was a show of support for the two-year struggle by republican and socialist prisoners for the restoration of political status.

### Hunger strike

Among the most courageous of these fighters has been 20-year old Willie Gallacher.

His 48-day hunger strike in support of the political status demand and against his frame-up for the bombing of a British Legion hall, was eventually ended last Tuesday as trade unions throughout Strabane responded to a Trades Council call for a two-hour stoppage in his support.

### 10th anniversary

Gallacher's courageous fight has succeeded in bringing his case and the whole issue of Long Kesh brutality right into the Irish labour movement.

The demonstration marked the tenth anniversary of the original Civil Rights demonstration which had followed the same route.

But, coming at a time when workers North and South are coming into increasing conflict with British imperialism and its Irish bourgeois hangers-on,

## New battalion for Ireland

A new battalion of British troops is to be sent to northern Ireland to take up residential duty in the service of imperialism.

The extra fares will be partly offset by a reduction in the number of troops on emergency four month tours.

But the change will be towards more long stay forces with tours of at least 18 months.

The move is the inevitable increase in army control of northern Ireland heralded three

weeks ago by the announcement by Labour defence minister, Mulley, of a massive increase in army forces.

Soldiers in the new battalion will be accompanied by families and will do less intensive street patrols and more long term intelligence work.

The switch—which involves an extra financial commitment to the occupation even in the unlikely event of the number of troops remaining unchanged—demonstrates that the Labour government has no intention of withdrawing troops from Ireland.

The recent *Daily Mirror* editorial calling for the 'bringing home' of the troops has been hailed as a progressive move by *Socialist Challenge* (which 'challenged' the *Morning Star* to match the *Mirror*).

In fact there is no evidence that the editorial—based on populist reaction—reflected any division within the Labour Party leadership on continuing long term occupation of northern Ireland.

The *Daily Mirror's* call represented war weariness and a pessimism about imperialism's ability to suppress opposition.

The withdrawal of troops from Ireland can be forced only by the working class on both sides of the Irish sea.

There are 13,500 regular British troops in Ireland and 8,000 UDR soldiers, who are taking over more of the 'on street' patrols.

## Mass demonstration for PoW status

and at a time of increasing awareness in Britain of the issues of the Irish struggle, this latest movement has the opportunity to learn the lessons of previous protests and take forward the fight for the withdrawal of British troops and for self-determination of the Irish people.

Central to this fight must be a programme of demands on jobs, wages and democratic rights capable of mobilising the independent strength of the working class on both sides of the imperialist border in Ireland, and the struggle in Britain to remove the reactionary Labour leadership that has acted consistently in defence of British imperialism.

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Prisoners Aid Committee  
Day of Solidarity with Irish POWs  
Sunday 26 November  
Details to be announced

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United Troops Out Movement  
Demonstration against British imperialism in Ireland.  
Saturday 7 October at 1pm  
Barnsley

# Bureaucrats backing Labour's campaign

While Denis Healey and James Callaghan do their level best to destroy Labour's election chances by spelling out the reactionary wage-cutting policies on which they intend to stand, TUC bureaucrats are attempting to whip up electoral support among their long-suffering membership.

General secretaries of six major unions have come together to coordinate their efforts to support the Labour leaders in the election campaign through a Trade Union Committee for Labour Victory.

With no prospect of the Labour manifesto containing so much as a hint of socialism or even any serious efforts at reforms benefitting the working class, this campaign is clearly going to be an uphill task.

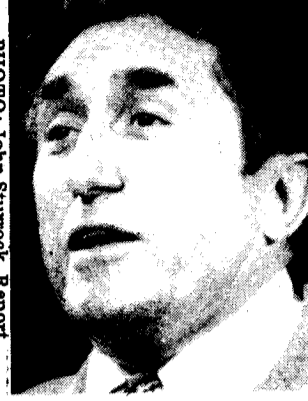
An appeal fund is to be launched, which will depend almost exclusively on bureaucratic lump sum donations rather than spontaneous rank and file support.

A clear example of this was the call last week by extreme right wing EETPU general secretary Frank

PHOTO: John Sutrock, Report



PHOTO: John Sutrock, Report



Callaghan's men: Buckton, Evans and Chapple

Chapple for union officials to give a day's pay to the election appeal.

*Labour Weekly* conservatively estimates that if such an appeal were successful it would net some £2,250.

Chapple—a diehard supporter of the wage-cutting Callaghan-Healey leadership—also had the cheek to call on EETPU members—many of whom in the power industry suffered the direct brunt of Phase 3 limits—to give an hour's pay to the Labour Party's election funds.

Carefully avoided at each point by these bureaucrats is the question of the programme on which Healey and Callaghan intend

to stand, the contempt shown by the Labour leaders for the decisions of Labour Party conferences and of the TUC, and the scabbing role they have played consistently against the workers' movement.

The Workers Socialist League calls for a vote to Labour in order to create the best conditions to expose these betrayals in practice.

## Leadership

In this way we can mobilise workers in a break from Labour reformism both 'left' and right and fight for a revolutionary leadership based on a programme for action in

defence of jobs and living standards.

But we combine our call for critical support to Labour with the struggle within the workers' movement to break wage control, for the removal of the reactionary Callaghan-Healey leadership and for a programme of socialist policies, which will test out and expose the complete inadequacy of those Labour 'lefts' that pose as opponents of Callaghan and Healey.

This perspective means an all-out struggle against not only the Labour Party bureaucracy, but their brothers-in-arms in the TUC and the trade union apparatus.



## Strikers jailed

No scruples have ever been shown by Labour government ministers in their scabbing on strikes and collaboration with British employers.

But the recent case of sixteen jailed Indian seamen indicated the depths to which the Labour leaders are prepared to go in assisting even Greek shipowners in their strike-breaking activities.

The seamen took industrial action against discriminatory wage rates and longer hours inflicted on them in comparison to the Greek sailors on the SS *Calypso*.

They staged a sit-in, barricading themselves in a cabin on the ship. The Greek captain promptly called in help—from the British authorities.

Immigration officers—notorious for the racist views rife among them—boarded the

ship, broke their way into the occupation, and hauled the 16 sailors off in handcuffs.

They were thrown into Brixton jail, while repeated efforts were made to deport them by air. All such attempts were defeated by the resistance of the seamen, who also rejected a \$500 pay-off settlement offered by the shipowners.

Last Thursday, however, after three weeks imprisonment, they secured a \$700 cash settlement and payment of their flights home.

Meanwhile the involvement of the immigration and prison authorities in this attempt to intimidate strikers has prompted protests from immigrant leaders in Britain.

The case points yet again to the need to fight within the Party for the complete repeal of the Immigration Act, and the removal of its racist defenders from the Labour leadership.

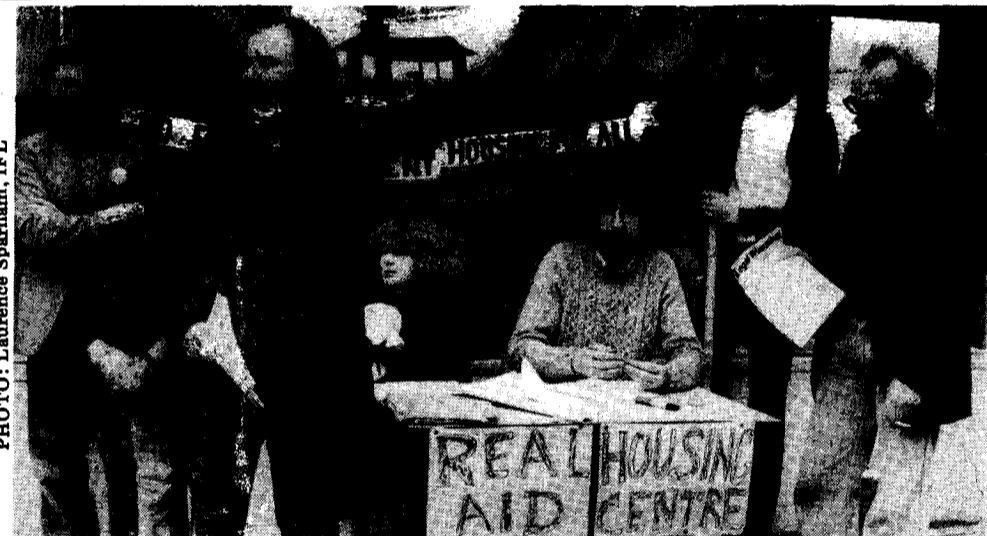


PHOTO: Laurence Sparham, IFL

Huntley St. squatters picketing Camden Housing Aid Centre

## Conference fights Trespass law

A national conference, entitled 'Occupations, Criminal Trespass and the use of Law' has been called to arm the labour movement in its struggle against this major plank of reactionary Labour legislation.

The Campaign Against the Criminal Trespass Law, which is officially supported by seven major unions and a host of local and regional trade union and Labour Party bodies, has called the conference to discuss "criminal trespass" and the tactic of occupation in the context of the increasing attacks on democratic rights by both Labour and Tory leaders.

The call for the conference details some of the numerous developments on this front since the Tory 'law and order' election victory of 1970:

"We have had the Indus-

trial Relations Act; the Shrewsbury Conspiracy Trial; the introduction of high-speed possession orders against occupations and the use of the Sheriff's Act; the Prevention of Terrorism Act; the injunctions against the UPW; the bans on demonstrations under the Public Order Act (leading, among other things, to the arrest of prominent members of Leeds Trades Council on May Day).

"What is more, Local Authority Bills now in Parliament intend to make it an offence to organise a demonstration without giving seven days' notice to the police; earlier this year Tory MPs introduced a bill to make mass picketing illegal; and senior Appeal Court Judge Lord Denning has talked publicly about having unofficial strikes made illegal."

The Criminal Trespass Law, passed with full

Labour government backing and defended by such leading union bureaucrats as TGWU Deputy General Secretary Harry Urwin, created five new criminal offences relating to trespass which threaten with jail and heavy fines those taking part in any form of occupation, work-in, sit-in or squat.

It gives sweeping new police powers to enter and to search without warrant.

CACTL members played an important role in assisting the Oxford City Nursery Campaign's six-week occupation against the cuts and have taken an important initiative in calling this delegate conference for November 11 in Conway Hall, Red Lion Square.

Conference credentials, (£2 for employed, £1 for claimants and OAPs) are available from CACTL at 35, Wellington St., London WC2.

# PRESS GANG HARD CELL

The two Southampton dockers who refused to climb a 25 foot ladder to their container lifting cranes last week because there was oil on the steps ought to have known better.

The worst that could have happened to them was a quick fall, a broken neck and a quick clean death.

But instead they chose to protest, were disciplined by management and 2,000 dockers struck in support.

That is when their problems really began.

The witch-hunt that fell on their heads would have made a fatal fall seem an act of mercy.

The *Telegraph* has been assiduous in tracing the "crimes" of the dockers as the strike progressed—saving their trump card until they had gone back to work.

By last Wednesday (30 August) the paper had already homed in on Richie Pearce and Ronald Mouldale, members of the national unofficial dock shop stewards.

This committee, the *Telegraph* warned its readers "has regularly tried to override official union policy".

The same story (headlined Dockers stay out in row over 'drop of oil') resorted to one of the *Telegraph's* best known tricks, unattributed quotes.

Noting that dockers had been complaining frequently about such defects, the first bashful informant is

supposed to have said "It seemed very well orchestrated".

The second unknown was in fact a collective secret informant: 'Shipowners' were quoted as saying "The men must have a death wish".

By Thursday the dockers were "wreckers" in both the headline and first paragraph of the story.

Robert Adley, Tory MP for Christchurch and Lymington, was given space to attack the working class collectively, describing the strike as:

"Further evidence of a determined attempt by industrial workers to cripple Britain's major ports".

Friday brought allegations of "sabotage", quoting a *shop stewards'* document to management—which management said they knew nothing about.

But Friday also brought a vote to return to work and so Saturday's *Telegraph* was looking for fresh targets for its venom.

The real culprits it transpired were not dock workers at all but students . . . and not just ordinary students either.

The story stated:

"Shipowners believe that a Trotskyist cell at Southampton University is behind a spate of unrest in the port there in the past year involving 13 strikes and 12 other disputes that have disrupted the export drive.

"They are seeking firm evidence that students have been secretly fomenting

unrest in the docks, which are the main gateway for trade with South Africa."

While still waiting for any "firm evidence" of this remote control of the working class, the *Telegraph's* rant in its leader linked Southampton docks with Leyland.

"Manipulation by Communist groups—dissident or orthodox—is only one ingredient. They owe their influence to their ability to play on resentments and anti-social impulses, glorifying them in the name of class war and solidarity, surrogates for a lost sense of purpose and community.

"This alliance between backwardness and Marxist dogma gains added force because the industrial and political establishment has lost much of its self confidence."

How will this establishment regain its 'self confidence'?

By no other method than paying close attention to the lead given by two members of this establishment who have achieved close harmony on the task facing the capitalists.

Or as the *Telegraph* puts it:

"Government, Parliament and opinion-formers must take the lead by spelling out the consequences for all concerned of industrial vandalism, as Mr. Edwardes and Mr. Duffy have done this week."

It was a long drop from that oil patch.

"A new International cannot be prepared without practical participation in the unfolding events. To counterpose a programmatic discussion to the revolutionary struggle would, of course, be false. It is necessary to combine the two."  
(Trotsky, Writings 1933-4 p.44)

"The Second, the Third and the Amsterdam Internationals cannot at present convene their congresses, because they are paralysed by their dependence on imperialism and because they are torn asunder by "national" contradictions. On the contrary, the sections of the Fourth International, despite their extremely meagre resources, the difficulties of obtaining visas, the murder of their secretary and the hail of repressions, were able in the most critical moment to convene their international congress and adopt unanimous decisions in which the tasks of the present titanic struggle are formulated precisely and concretely, on the basis of all historic experience."  
Trotsky, Writings 1938-9



# 1938-1978 Forty years of the Fourth International

By Mark Hyde

On September 3, 1938, thirty delegates from eleven countries met near Paris in secret conference.

Their business was the founding of a new World Party of Socialist Revolution—the Fourth International.

The USA, Latin America, the USSR and several European countries were represented. Due to "conditions of distance, illegality and other adverse factors" several important areas of the world were unable to send delegates, including Spain in the throes of civil war, South Africa, Australia, Palestine and China.

The Founding Conference was the fruit of fifteen years of struggle to defend the programme and perspectives of revolutionary Marxism.

## Reactionary

In 1923 Leon Trotsky had formed the Left Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to fight the rising parasitic and degenerate state bureaucracy led by Stalin.

By 1933 it had become clear that the Stalinist bureaucrats had successfully transformed the parties of the Third (Communist) International into no more than agencies for the reactionary diplomacy of the bloated Kremlin clique.

The Communist Parties since that time have served only to paralyse the revolutionary will of the working class.

Up to 1933 the Left Oppositionists had attempted to reform the Communist Parties.

Their minds were changed not by the vile slanders and persecutions of the Stalinists but by a great historic event—the refusal of the German Communist Party to fight for working class unity against Nazism, and Hitler's consequent coming to power.

The fact that this monumental betrayal, conducted by the most powerful Communist Party in the world, found hardly an echo of protest within the ranks of the Communist International, proved conclusively that the vanguard of the working class once grouped in that movement had been stifled, demoralised and destroyed by Stalinism.

The tasks had changed—the struggle for the Fourth International had to begin.

Since Marx and Engels participated in founding the International Working Men's Association (First International) in 1864, communists had based their perspective on the understanding that the international capitalist system could only be ended by the working class as an international class with an international programme and an international revolutionary party.

## Impetus

Yet each International was built (and destroyed) under different historical conditions. The Third (Communist) International was constructed rapidly under the inspiring impetus

of the successful Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the revolutionary upheavals following the First World War.

The situation in 1933 was very different. Just as Lenin had been thought mad by renegades when he proclaimed the need for a new International in 1914, so the partisans of the Fourth International had to begin the fight as tiny groups against massive odds.

In the document *Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International (Transitional Programme)*, adopted at the Founding Conference it was explained that:

"The Fourth International has already arisen out of great events: the greatest defeats of the proletariat in history".

In fact by 1938 this was even more true than it had been in 1933 with the height of Stalinist police terror in the Soviet Union and the diversion of the revolutionary struggles of the working class in France and Spain into the Stalinist treachery of the Popular Front—the new name for class collaboration and abandonment of revolutionary struggle.

The last hours of peace were drawing to a close before the Second World War unleashed its horrors on the world.

## Foundations

It was during such a period that the foundations of the Fourth International had been laid.

The Trotskyist movement analysed events, warned the working class of the betrayals of its leadership, and fought in practice to uphold at each point the banner of working class political independence.

At the same time it combined its intransigent adherence to principle with flexible tactics aimed at seizing every opportunity to group new forces around the slogan of the new International.

The process of selecting these forces was long and painful. At each stage through a combination of theoretical discussion and practical work the revolutionary currents had to be separated from the centrists who talked against reformism and Stalinism while remaining incapable of taking up the revolutionary

struggle necessary to destroy them.

The young Trotskyist movement tested out an almost innumerable series of tendencies in this way.

For instance in February 1933 the International Left Opposition had arrived at the need to break off all collaboration with the Italian group *Prometeo* led



In 1940 Trotsky



By 1933 Trotsky analysed that Stalinism had become a counter-revolutionary force.

by Amadeo Bordiga because of its hopeless sectarian positions.

Later in the same year a step forward was taken with the *Declaration of Founding* written by Trotsky, and signed by the International Left Opposition, the German Socialist Worker

Party (SAP) and two Dutch organisations, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and Independent Socialist Party (OSP) which were later to fuse.

The *Declaration* outlined the need for the new International and the basic principles upon which it should be based—including total opposition to centrism.

Trotsky hoped that through common work these organisations could become a part of the new World Party.

A permanent commission of the four movements was established with the task of preparing a manifesto and theses as well as to "represent the undersigned organisations in the eyes of the whole world".

### Deserted

In fact the SAP proved an untrustworthy ally from the beginning. Along with the OSP it participated in the work of the so-called London Bureau—a loose federation of centrist parties including the British Independent Labour Party (ILP).

At the same time it refused to fuse with the German section of the Left Opposition and quickly deserted the work of the Fourth International altogether.

While Trotsky did not close his eyes to the London Bureau or take a sectarian attitude (he at one stage advised his British followers to enter the ILP, submit to its discipline and fight to win it over from within) no quarter could be given to organisations which refused to take a clear position on the Fourth International.

Rich lessons for the revolutionary movement today can be found in Trotsky's struggle in the 1930s to find ways of overcoming the isolation of the vanguard and preparing the new International.

### Heavy blow

The immense pressures generated by Stalinism and crisis-ridden imperialism frequently led to the defection and desertion of forces unable to assimilate the lessons and tasks of the period.

In Spain a heavy blow was struck when a relatively powerful section of the movement completed a record of vacillation on central political questions by forming a centrist bloc—the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification).



murdered by Stalinist agents

The POUM went on, under the leadership of one-time Trotskyists Nin and Andrade, to play a criminal role in the Spanish civil war, acting as the major obstacle to the building of the revolutionary party by posing as a revolutionary Marxist organisation while

conducting a policy of silence on the betrayals of the leadership and giving support to the Popular Front.

Trotsky made many efforts to win back the best elements of the POUM to a correct policy—in fact observers from that movement were even invited to the Founding Conference of the Fourth International—but at the same time waged an implacable struggle against it.

### Heavy price

The POUM paid a heavy price for its centrism, many members, including Nin, being murdered by the Stalinists whose authority they had helped to boost.

It was significant that the POUM's right-wing opportunism had been preceded by spates of verbal ultra-leftism.

The POUM leaders were among those who opposed the turn to *entryism* into social-democratic parties initiated in several countries from 1934 onwards.

This tactic, which scored successes in Belgium and the USA where the Socialist Party was destroyed as a serious force by the entry and subsequent departure of the Trotskyists, also created major possibilities for the French Trotskyist movement.

### Invaluable

The aim again was to break the isolation of Trotskyism by forging links with, and working alongside the leftward moving centrist currents in the reformist mass parties.

The tactics used varied greatly from country to country depending upon the objective situation, but it was of universal significance that those who yelled loudest about 'capitulation' and believed that one somehow would lose one's purity by entering a non-revolutionary party, were the quickest to capitulate in actuality to their own bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy when the time came in their own countries.

In short, by 1938 the young ranks of the Fourth International had an invaluable history of political struggle behind them.

The sections remained numerically small, the largest organisation being in America where successful work in the mass struggles of the working class had gathered a membership of some 2,500.

The Belgian movement was the largest in Europe with some 800.

The British section—the result of a fusion shortly before—numbered some 170 members.

But as the *Transitional Programme* stated:

"If our International be still weak in numbers, it is strong in doctrine, programme, tradition, in the incomparable tempering of its cadres".

### Shadow

The Founding Conference took place under the shadow of a series of murders of leading Trotskyists—the response of the Stalinist GPU to Trotskyist exposure of the Moscow Trials.

Following the murders of Erwin Wolf, Trotsky's secretary, Leon Sedov, Trotsky's son, and Ignace Reiss who broke with the GPU and came over to Trotskyism, the Stalinists in July 1938 struck down Rudolph Klement who was responsible for organising the work of the Founding Conference.

In fact, as history was to reveal, one of the delegates at the Founding Conference



The Fourth International declared all out war on Popular Frontism such as that in France (above) and Spain

itself, Etienne (Mark Zbrowski), was a Stalinist GPU agent.

Of those who had participated in the *Declaration of Four* only the International Communist League (the later name for the International Left Opposition) had remained loyal.

The defection of the SAP was supplemented by that of the Dutch movement under the leadership of Sneevliet (later martyred by the Nazis) who sided with the POUM's capitulation to the Popular Front.

The Fourth International passed a resolution entitled *A Salute to our Living Martyrs and our Heroic Dead*, which listed the many Trotskyists murdered and imprisoned by bourgeois and Stalinist regimes internationally.

The spirit in which such repressions were viewed was revolutionary through and through:

"Today's sacrifice is tomorrow's guarantee of triumph. The proletarian revolution, victorious under the banner of the Fourth International, will avenge the comrades who have fallen, and snatch from the prisons those who languish there".

### Burning questions

As well as sending greetings to Trotsky, unable to personally attend the conference because of his forced exile in Mexico, and to the revolutionary fighters in the front lines of the Republican ranks in Spain, the conference occupied the main body of its time with the burning political questions facing the working class of the world in the wake of the awesome collapse of the Communist International.

The Leninist position towards the coming World War was reaffirmed in a Manifesto which counterposed to imperialist slaughter the international brotherhood of toilers and the revolutionary struggle for power:

"The working class has no fatherland to defend except where it conquers and rules. No support to the warmakers and imperialist war—we say—but continuation of the class struggle in every situation and utilisation of the war crisis for the overthrow of capitalist rule, i.e., the overthrow of the war and of capitalism itself".

### Confronted

In particular the social-patriotic myth that the war would be one 'against fascism' was confronted:

"... fascism cannot and will not be destroyed by the bayonets of French imperialism. Only the independent class action of the proletariat will put an end

to the hideous rule of fascism".

While devoting considerable attention to the problems of particular areas of the world—for example to the tasks of revolutionists in the war between colonialy exploited China and imperialist Japan—and of certain Trotskyist sections—in particular of the crisis-ridden French organisation—the main discussion naturally focussed upon the draft of the *Transitional Programme*.

### Experience

The *Programme*, slightly amended by the Conference, brought together the whole experience of the struggle for Bolshevik parties in the working class from the Russian Revolution onwards.

As the official review of the conference pointed out the aim was not the adoption of a series of abstract formulae for purposes of discussion and propaganda:

"Where the Bolshevik-Leninists have been armed in the past mainly with a profound analysis of the present social order and, in general, with the knowledge of the principles and methods by which the new society may be attained, they are now additionally equipped with the indispensable programme of action which can enable them to defend not only the tomorrow of the proletariat but also its today.

The programme of transitional demands contains the guidelines for the day-to-day struggle. It is not merely the programme for the convinced revolutionary worker, but for the working class as a whole..."

### Formulations

Conflicts of opinion existed on certain questions. The Polish delegates (in by no means their most important dispute with the majority) objected to the Programme's enthusiastic reception of the wave of sit-down strikes in many countries at the time, declaring them often to be nothing more than expressions of despair and "dumb protest" on the part of the workers.

Different formulations were favoured (with the American section presenting an amendment) on the exact attitude towards the question of regenerating the Soviet Union and building organs of workers' democracy—though only one delegate—Yvan Craipeau—was of the opinion that the class character of the USSR had changed and that the bureaucracy had become a new ruling class.

Finally the *Transitional Programme* was adopted with Craipeau alone voting

against—it having been agreed that an editorial commission would be elected to make final stylistic and factual amendments to the document.

The closing section of the *Transitional Programme* in fact contained an argument which anticipated a central difference at the Founding Conference and challenged a view that had been raised by various centrist elements as an excuse for non-participation in the fight for the new International.

The Polish delegates, voicing the theories of Isaac Deutscher, objected to the creation of the Fourth International on the grounds that "the Fourth was in no sense a mass organisation, and it would be folly to proclaim it till it was."

### 'Premature'

In fact a position similar to this—that it would be 'premature' to 'proclaim' a new International—had been accepted by the movement in 1936 despite Trotsky's opposition.

By 1938 the overwhelming majority had come round to the view that having declared the Communist International dead, the task could be postponed no longer.



Deutscher

The forces were small and weak. The repressions were massive. Reaction was ascendant. The tasks were immense.

At that level all the arguments and fears of the opponents of 'proclaiming' the International had a basis.

### Depth of the crisis

But a position that began from this alone left out completely the depth of the international crisis which would drive the working class forward seeking leadership.

Moreover it left out the practical revolutionary obligations of the Marxist movement.

"But has the time yet arrived to proclaim its creation? . . . the sceptics are not quieted down. The Fourth International, we answer, has no need of being 'proclaimed'. It exists and it fights . . . Outside of these cadres there does not exist a single revolutionary current on this planet really meriting the name."

### Disorientation

On the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Fourth International Trotskyism still exists and still fights, and the task remains the building of an international revolutionary party that can lead the proletariat to impose its dictatorship and reconstruct society.

Under the hammerblows of war and the massive upheavals that followed it the cadres of the young Fourth International suffered disorientation that led to the fragmentation of the movement and the growth of revisionist currents like Pabloism which paid lip service to Trotskyism while theoretically and practically undermining the central tenet of its programme—that the working class alone is the revolutionary force capable of destroying capitalism and establishing socialism.

This fact does not for one moment change the record—that the Fourth International alone on the eve of the Second World War fought against all difficulties to provide Marxist leadership; that since that time Trotskyism alone has fought to uphold the political independence of the working class.

### Ascent

If the list of martyrs has grown longer, and if the forces of Trotskyism remain numerically weak, the Trotskyists of today have on their side the fact that they live not in a period of reaction but of revolutionary ascent.

It is such a period that opens the road for the best commemoration of the founding of the Fourth International—the fight for its reconstruction on the basis of a practical reaffirmation of its founding principles and programme, the building of revolutionary parties based on the method of the *Transitional Programme*, and the destruction of both Stalinism and reformism and of the decadent imperialist system which they defend.

Next Week:  
Reconstruct the Fourth International

# Fighting for class independence inside the Zionist state

SP: How would you characterise the present political situation in Palestine and the surrounding area?

WL: The defeat of the Palestinian nationalist forces in the Lebanese Civil War following the massacres by fascists in the Tel al Zataar refugee camp, has opened a period of general setback in the area for the workers' movement and national liberation struggles.

This was also indicated by the victory of the ultra-right Begin government in the 1977 elections in Israel, and in the political retreats of the Palestinians in the face of the Zionist and UN invasions of the Lebanon.

SP: What is your characterisation of Zionism?

WL: Zionism is the method of rule of the Israeli bourgeoisie supported by an international movement which cooperated in the establishment of a Jewish state—that is to say a state based on race and religion—and opposed to the native Palestinians.

SP: And the State of Israel?

WL: We say that Israel is a bourgeois colonialist state run in the interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie in close alliance with world imperialism.

Therefore, not only does the state by its very existence stamp on the national rights of the Palestinians, it is also in contradiction to the interests of the Jewish workers and the petty bourgeoisie.

SP: What is your attitude towards military conflict between Israel and the Arab states?

WL: We call for the military defeat of Israel and the victory of the Arab states.

We do this not, of course, because we have any confidence in the Arab bourgeoisie, but in order to develop the struggle for the setting up of a democratic Palestine with equal rights for Jews and Arabs.

We see the defeat of the Zionist state as serving the

*This interview was conducted by "Socialist Press" during August with a member of the Workers League, an organisation operating within the Zionist state of Israel, and regarding itself in political solidarity with the Organising Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International of which the largest supporter is the French OCI.*

*Despite political disagreements with the Workers League we think its views and activities will be of interest in the workers' movement in Britain.*



Arab traitor Sadat

interests both of the Arab masses, and of Palestinians and Jews currently under Israeli rule.

While supporting the Arab side in the war, we believe that only the independent mobilisation of the working class will secure the kind of state we want.



Aftermath of a Zionist raid on Palestinian camp

SP: Why do you call for a 'democratic' rather than a 'socialist' Palestine?

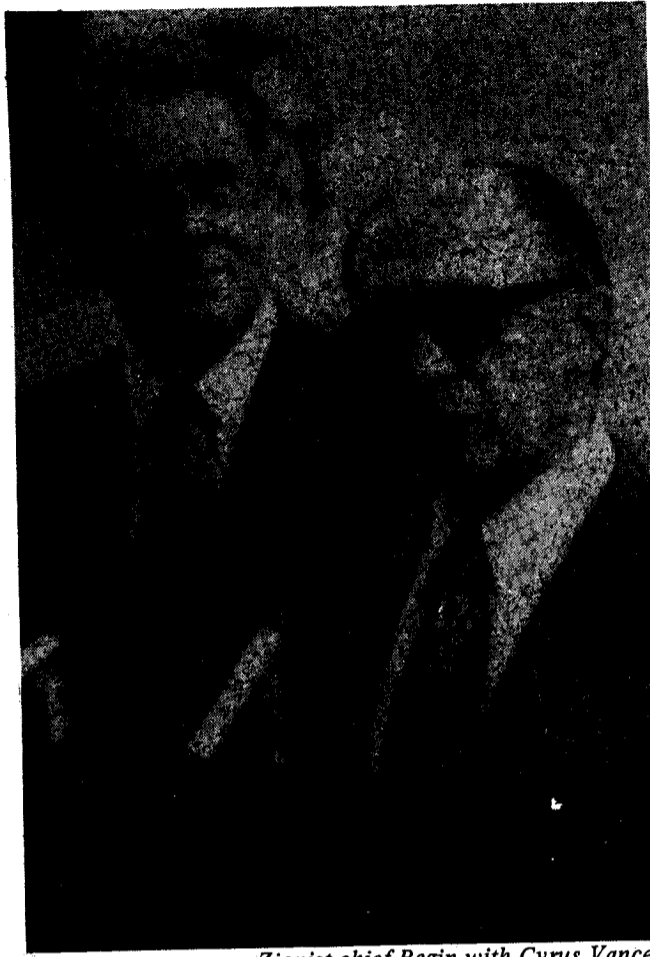
WL: Because we cannot place conditions on our support for Palestinian national liberation by saying that it has to be socialist.

However, we place no confidence in the ability of the Arab regimes or the Palestinian bourgeoisie to achieve national liberation.

We consider that by mobilising the working class unconditionally to this end, workers should then take their leading role in establishing a democratic state, which can only be a workers state also.

SP: How does the centrality of the national liberation task in Palestine affect your relations to the workers of the various national groups?

WL: The spontaneously anti-Zionist consciousness of the Palestinian workers gives them a special role within the vanguard of the



Zionist chief Begin with Cyrus Vance

working class.

Taking this into account, we see the importance of uniting the working class to achieve its independence, both to break the Jewish working class from the influence of Zionism, and also to make the Palestinian workers able to appear as an independent class capable of leading the struggle for national liberation.

SP: Can you say something about the organisations of the workers' movement in Palestine and your attitude towards them?

WL: We do not consider the Histadrut, which is sometimes referred to as a trade union, as anything of the kind.

It is a Zionist institution for colonisation and capitalist development which also has a 'trade union' department.

Nor is the 'Labour Party' which is closely linked to the Histadrut, in any way even a social democratic organisation, but a simple instrument of the colonial bourgeoisie.

Therefore we call for the democratisation and strengthening of the factory committees which exist in all factories or other enterprises of any size.

We think that the representation and leading role of Arab workers in these committees is an essential part of the development of militant struggle and in establishing the political independence of the working class.

Concretely, during the elections of 1977, we called on workers' committees, together with the CP and other workers' organisations to set up a new Labour Party for proletarian demands and the most important democratic aim—the national liberation of the Palestinian people.

SP: Can you give us some other examples of your intervention in workers' struggles?

WL: We have taken up the economic demands of Jewish workers (there are many factories from which Palestinians are excluded) and have tried to develop the democratic demands of the Palestinian workers towards proletarian struggle.

When Jewish workers are in struggle even on small economic questions, they come into sharp conflict with the Zionist state apparatus. It is by intervening in such struggles that we get the best hearing from these workers.

We advocate defending Arab workers in order to broaden such struggles, and to take a step to further political development.

During 1976 there was a 'land day' declared by the Palestinians against the takeover of farmers land by Zionist colonisers, and this included national strike action.

We called for, and in some cases achieved, the setting up of strike committees aimed at defending the workers who supported the strike against victimisation, at making the strike more general by getting the support of Jewish workers, and at continuing the campaign after the day itself.

SP: How would you characterise the different forces within the Palestinian national movement?

WL: We say that Al Fatah and the PLO majority represent the interests of the Palestinian bourgeoisie who want to set up a capitalist state.

This leadership is prepared to compromise on the basic interests of the masses—namely for the right of return of the refugees and the liberation of the whole of Palestine—in return for a deal giving them a puppet

state on the West Bank.

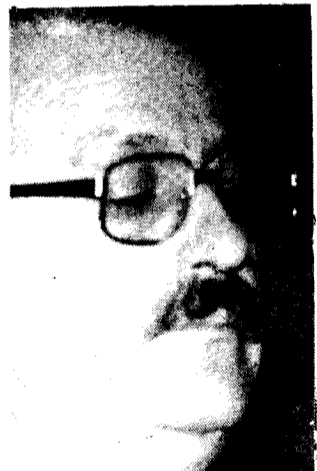
The Popular Front and the 'rejectionists' we would define as petty bourgeois—coming into conflict at times with the bourgeoisie, but unable to express any independent perspectives.

SP: Can you explain something of the recent history of the movements in Palestine calling themselves Trotskyist, and of how your organisation has emerged?

WL: In 1962 the Matzpen movement emerged, and this came to take up a position of socialist anti-Zionism. It was a very loose organisation, including many political trends, some pro-Pabloite, some state capitalist, some little different from bourgeois liberals.

At least two bodies still use the name, one associated with the British SWP, the other with supporters of the Pabloite USFI.

We emerged in 1970, and declared support for the International Committee of the Fourth International.



OCI leader Lambert

We were, however, opposed to the 1971 split of the IC on the grounds that it had been carried out in a sectarian manner by Healy without proper discussion, and we subsequently joined the OCRFI.

We were expelled from this in 1975 for reasons which we do not yet consider to have been fully discussed. Subsequently, we had a split within our ranks with those prepared to join OCRFI at any cost, but now supporting the USFI.

We consider the USFI to be centrists, and the Healy organisations to have degenerated well outside the bounds of Trotskyism.

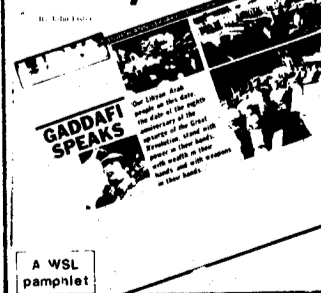
We therefore cannot see the continuity of Trotskyism outside the OCRFI, and are appealing for re-admission to it.

*Regular readers will be aware that the WSL holds very different views on the continuity of Trotskyism which we do not see as flowing through the OCRFI.*

## OUT NOW!

# WRP JUNKS THE OLD TROTSKYISM

WRP leaders junk the old Trotskyism



A WSL pamphlet

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

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



# Into the dustbin of history

A new face has been found lying on the cutting-room floor. In the faded company of blighted starlets the features of Josef Stalin have been consigned to cinematic perdition.

By David Whitfield

Paul Neuberg, producer of the current ITV series 'Red Tsar' discovered that Stalin had been systematically eliminated from Soviet historical documentaries.

In some cases, new figures had been superimposed to block Stalin out of vital scenes, but mostly film had been simply and effectively cut.

Neuberg argues that this blanket censorship was carried out in the mid-sixties by the Kremlin bureaucracy, which just offered international holders of the originals what were supposedly 'cleaner prints' while they substituted their new versions.

## 'Leading role'

The irony of this absurd tale is complex. The films in question were generally made with the express purpose of enlarging Stalin to revolutionary heroic proportions, and in particular to show the leading role he was supposed to have played in the October Revolution.

Without the central figure they lose most of their point—not to mention playing time. For example, 'Lenin in 1919' now runs for 108 minutes, as opposed to the original version, which is recorded at 133 minutes.

But Stalin himself was of course one of the earliest and most vicious of film censors.

This typical example of Stalin's bureaucratic methods started its course in 1927.

## Embarrassment

The great Soviet director, Sergei Eisenstein, had been commissioned to produce a film celebrating the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution.

But the finished product

proved an embarrassment to the bureaucracy—Trotsky featured as a leading figure beside Lenin, and this was scarcely convenient to Stalin at a time when he was preparing to expel Trotsky from the party and throw him into exile.

## Censored

When 'October' was finally screened shortly before these events of late 1927, the film had been judiciously censored.

Trotsky had been eliminated except for one scene at the Petrograd Soviet, where ingenious cutting made him appear in a counter-revolutionary role!

The history of 'October' marked the turning point of the Soviet film industry.

In the early years after the revolution, it was in film above all that the revolutionary ardour

of Soviet Russia was expressed in the arts.

Eisenstein, Dziga Vertov and others revolutionised the techniques of cinema as they sought to create revolutionary art.

## Never surpassed

In 'Strike', 'Battleship Potemkin' and 'October', Eisenstein presented the revolutionary struggles of the proletariat in a form that has never been surpassed.

In his early documentaries Vertov used film as a tool of the revolution, screening the realities of the Civil War and the new society throughout the cities and villages of the Soviet Union.

Vertov's greatest achievement, 'Man with a movie camera', was completed after 'October', and escaped the scissors of the bureaucracy only by avoiding any overt political statements.

It remains a unique expression of the day-to-day reality of a society undergoing revolutionary transformation.

But as the bureaucracy consolidated its power, the revolutionary cinema was appropriated as a propaganda machine for counter-revolution.

Not even Vertov and Eisenstein could escape or transcend the new conditions.

## Personality cult

In 'Three Songs of Lenin' Vertov contributed to the building of the Lenin personality cult which the bureaucracy used to launch the Stalin personality cult.

In 'Alexander Nevsky', Eisenstein mingled this unwilling task with a display of Great Russian patriotism and anti-German hysteria which served as a substitute for a revol-

utionary struggle against fascism.

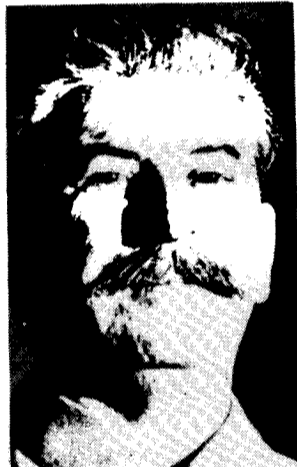
All the genius of Eisenstein and one of Prokofiev's most brilliant scores are not enough to save this film from the status of crude Stalinist propaganda dished up as art.

But now the bureaucracy has turned to cut its former head. Needless to say, in censoring Stalin the new regime of Stalinist bureaucrats was not renouncing its counter-revolutionary heritage.

The latest manipulations of the Kremlin clique have not negated Stalin's falsifications of history, but simply compounded them.



Official view of Stalin



A picture that dodged the censor—the real pock-marked Stalin

# WSL Writings on the Fourth International



## Fourth International: Problems and Tasks:

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



## Aspects of the History of the FI:

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



## The Poisoned Well:

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

All available from the WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5

# How to be a right wing extremist

Aims for Freedom and Enterprise have published a booklet entitled 'Your Freedom Manual' as a guide to right wing activity inside and outside the trade union movement.

The subtitle—The Little Blue Book—and cartoons of distorted malevolent 'extremists' place it in the camp of crude anti-communist literature that its parentage would suggest.

Its general advice is 'learn from the left', with sometimes hilarious results.

For example: "The Left hold demonstrations, often with violence, not because they enjoy knocking policemen's helmets off but because they hope it will get them on television."

The booklet is aimed at the disgruntled petty bourgeoisie.

"Let's assume you have a cause to campaign for. How do you start? First recruit your friends, your neighbours and/or workmates.

"Bring in sympathetic experts to help you: a local journalist, an accountant,



Recognise the extremists' tricks

a doctor for example".

The most interesting passages are inevitably on the trade unions.

"Because union officials are very powerful and sometimes act in a manner which

threatens personal freedom, it is essential to play your part in your union.

"Go to meetings and get your workmates to. The Communists, Trotskyists and other extremists have

been able to grab power because they go to meetings and know the rules."

After good advice on how to join a union ("Make sure you join the correct union") our 'freedom' fighter is enjoined to beware of "extremists' tricks for stifling democratic debate", join groups of 'moderates' for joint slates (Trotskyist presumably) and opt out of the political levy.

If a student, "don't be intimidated into joining demos for causes you don't support"; if a school student set up class collaboration early with "a body of freely-elected pupil representatives to sit on a policy/liaison committee with teachers, parents and governors".

Policemen are "there to help you" but if not, make your own citizen's arrest.

Stand up to nationalised industries and don't let the Co-op send your divvy to the Labour Party.

Following the simple directions in this booklet will enable even the most confused petty bourgeois to graduate as a fully-fledged fascist pig.

## TUC recommends use of 'gag' Rule 15

## No lead on pay at CAV

Workers at the Lucas CAV plant in Acton met last Friday to decide whether or not to accept the company's proposals for settling the 1978 wage claim.

Earlier in the year (while Phase 3 was still in effect) the unions had submitted an 11-point claim to management.

The first ten points concerned things such as sick pay, long service awards and other fringe benefits.

The eleventh point called for a "substantial pay increase".

Any workers misguided enough to expect a "substantial wage increase" soon had their illusions shattered by the GMWU convenor John Cockran.

In his opening sentence he told the assembled workers that they had to negotiate within Phase 3.

He went on to explain that all of the fringe bene-

fits had to be negotiated nationally with Lucas, whose headquarters are in Birmingham.

Having outlined what 10% meant to various grades of workers in terms of hard cash, Cockran put the offer to the vote.

### Action

Before the voting, however, he correctly pointed out that rejection would mean that the unions may have to take some action to push a bigger claim and that this would involve taking on more than just CAV or even Lucas management.

He claimed that nobody had broken Phase 3 and when asked how much the Ford workers received last year replied that that was enough of the comedy and it was time to get on with the vote.

Despite the one-sided way in which the proposals were put to the workforce and the lack of any alterna-

tive to accepting phases 3, 4 and 5 and so on, a large number of workers voted to reject the offer, which was nevertheless accepted.

No advances will be made, however, until the shop stewards committee is led by people who start not from the needs and policies of management or the government but from the needs of the workforce.

A TUC representative was sent to the September meeting of the Oxford and District Trades Union Council in an attempt to collect evidence to throw out delegates leading opposition to the dictatorial rule of President John Power.

The TUC—in the person of a nervous looking bureaucrat—sat silent among observers until flushed out by one delegate who demanded to know why his presence had been kept quiet as if delegates were 'criminals'!

A letter from the TUC was read out by Power

exhorting him to use Rule 15 to expel delegates and threatening to disaffiliate the Trades Council if the right wing did not tighten their grip.

### No copy

The TUC were writing in reply to a letter from Power, a copy of which he had not kept and was thus unable to read out.

But the meeting—attended by more than 80 delegates—showed little prospect of his grip being tightened.

A right wing move to stop discussion of Power's abuse of democratic procedure was defeated, and



Power

a move to suspend standing orders to allow discussion to continue won a 48-32 majority, being defeated only by the lack of a two-thirds majority.

## New bids to weaken Garners strike

In a feeble attempt to discredit the strikers and attack the strike, Margolis's hacks at Garners have been logging who turns up on the picket lines and on what days.

We understand that this information has been passed on to the TGWU Region 1 Finance and General Purposes Committee along with the claim that this information

shows that no strikers are picketing and the slander that non-union members are being paid out of union funds.

Instead of seizing this sign of desperation and replying with a new commitment to mobilise strong delegations to the picket line and solve the financial problems of the strikers—the Regional F&GP meeting last Thursday has put conditions on further support—the thorough examination of the strike committee's financial accounts.

What the books of the Garners strike committee will reveal to the Regional F&GP (in who's hands the full Regional Committee left the running of the strike) is that six times more financial and material support has come from other unions than from the 500,000 membership of the TGWU's Region 1.

Despite this, they were reluctantly forced to support the strike committee's plans for a Day of Action (after at first

refusing) which has now been altered from 30 September to 7 October.

We say that the strike committee have to publicly denounce any attempt by the Regional Committee to regain control of the running of the strike by blackmailing the strikers over the question of financial support and to continue to fight to force the Regional Committee to mobilise within Region 1 for the day of action.

# WSL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Please send me more information about the Workers Socialist League.

Name .....

Address .....

Send to: WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR



## Public meetings

### OXFORD

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public Meeting

"British Leyland and the Crisis in the Motor Industry"

Friday 15 September 8.00 p.m. at East Oxford Community Centre Princes St.

### LEEDS

SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

Public meeting

Wednesday September 13th at 7.30 p.m. Leeds Trades Club Saville Mount Off Chapeltown Rd.

### LEEDS

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public meeting

ABC—Drop the charges Tuesday 12 September at 8.00 p.m.

Leeds Trades Club Saville Mount Off Chapeltown Rd.

### LEEDS

WSL Social Work Group

Public meeting

"Regrading"

Thursday 14 September at 7.30 p.m. Leeds Trades Club Saville Mount Off Chapeltown Rd.

## Red Youth

Monthly Paper of the Socialist Youth League

YES! WE SAY VOTE LABOUR



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# Subscribe!

# Westerns struggle needs clear programme

Representatives of the 650 sacked workers at Western Ship Repairers of Birkenhead predictably received no help at all when they lobbied last week's TUC General Council meeting.

At a meeting in Birkenhead Labour Club, last Thursday, Action Committee Chairman Billington reported that in spite of the workers' demands for nationalisation of the company GMWU National Officer, Ken

Baker had told them that nationalisation was 'out'.

The only hope left, he said, was that the company might be taken over by a private owner, Butlers of Newcastle, who might provide jobs for 100-150 of the sacked Western workers.

All the GMWU's efforts were being directed along these lines.

TUC chairman and GMWU General Secretary David Basnett at first claimed that he had not even heard of the dispute, but when pressed stated his full support for the policies of National Officer Baker.

But, as Billington pointed out, it is not only the GMWU leadership which offers no assistance. The Merseyside committee of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has also failed to provide anything but verbal support.

In fact the Confed leadership has even gone so far as to advise the workers to withdraw their picket from Westerns.

However, in spite of their criticisms of the union leaders and officials, and of local MP Edmund Dell, the dispute leaders and their advisers from the Militant group were unable to put forward any perspectives for continuing the fight to re-open Westerns.

No attempt was made to pin down local Confed Executive member Stalinist, Barry Morris, to any concrete policy in support of the Westerns workers.

Indeed Morris was able to get away with an attack on the Westerns men over their periodic refusal to follow Confed orders.

What is clearly needed at Westerns is a policy of occupation of the yard to prevent either current owners, Lairds, or possible future owners such as Butlers from removing equipment.

This must be linked with demands for the opening of the books of all shipyards to committees of workers and for the nationalisation of the yards without compensation and under workers management.



Recent demonstration at Western Ship Repairers

# Chrysler-officials run from fight

Despite attempts to assure Chrysler workers that the Peugeot-Citroen takeover will open the way to expansion and prosperity, a statement made last week by the Company chairman did nothing to provide a firm promise that existing jobs will be protected.

"Our interest is to maintain activities in the UK but

this development is subordinated to certain considerations of productivity," he said.

The uncertainty facing employees of Peugeot-Citroen is emphasised by the unprecedented steps taken by union bureaucrats to attempt to show that they have a strategy to defend jobs.

At a meeting last Wednesday of the International Metalworkers Federation, bureaucrats from several European countries pledged to defend jobs.

But the programme they drew up in no way prepared for a real fight. The IMF calls on the British, French and Spanish governments to obtain "guarantees of jobs", and to ensure that the Chrysler plants do not become simply sites for assembling kits.

The IMF also called for direct government representation on the Peugeot-Citroen board. All this was rounded off with vague threats of "industrial action" to defend jobs.

The direction of this policy is entirely away from the mobilisation of the independent strength of the working class.

An independent working class policy must start from the fight to open the books of all the firms involved.

In Britain this means the fight to expose the machinations of the Chrysler UK management through the establishment of open the books committees at plant level.

This policy must be seen as part of the fight for a fully nationalised motor and components industry under workers management.

The willingness of Chrysler workers to respond to a lead for independent action is shown in the strike now in progress at the Luton and Dunstable plants, despite promises of a Central Arbitration Committee hearing on September 26.

Their claim is for parity with Coventry workers, and the strike is to demand payment now.

## Wakefield jobs in danger

NALGO members in Wakefield, whose leaders have meekly allowed a series of cuts by the right wing Labour Council, are now faced with the need to fight the closure of the Recreation and Amenities department.

The council plans to "dissolve" this department—with a current workforce of about 130—into other departments.

An emergency committee to fight this move has been set up by the 3,500-strong NALGO branch, and

a policy of non-cooperation with the closure has been adopted.

The NALGO branch has also written to Yorks NUM leader Scargill protesting at these attacks by a Labour Council dominated by NUM bureaucrats.

Any further steps to close the department must be met by all-out strike action throughout the NALGO branch, coupled to the fight to win other public sector unions and the local labour movement to support this action.

## Successful meeting on Bethnal Green

THE IMPORTANCE OF the Bethnal Green shop stewards in giving a strong lead to the hospital campaign was stressed at a Workers Socialist League public meeting on Tuesday 29 August.

Almost 50 people attended the meeting, held at Oxford House community centre, near the hospital, and along with people from local housing estates, there were also several health service workers and a delegation from a branch of NATSOPA, the print union, in the audience.

### Forge link

Colin Kenny, from St. Mary's hospital, speaking from the platform, argued that the central task of the stewards inside the hospital was to forge the link between the attempted closure of Bethnal Green

and the general cuts in the health service, and to lead a strong campaign for strike action in hospital union branches against the closure.

### 'Left' talkers

He also argued that the struggle must be directed more sharply against left-talkers such as Ian Mikardo, who pledge their support to the occupation, yet in parliament, continue to vote for the economic policies of the reactionary Healey-Callaghan government—those very same policies that are closing down Bethnal Green Hospital!

A NUPE steward from the hospital gave a short contribution from the platform, and speakers from the floor discussed practical steps to be taken in the campaign, showing the link between the fight to save Bethnal Green Hospital and

other struggles both inside and out of the health service.

A collection of £18 was made, including £5 from the NATSOPA delegation, and donated to the hospital campaign.

## Oxford NHS fight

A public meeting called in Oxford by the toothless Community Health Council this Wednesday will open discussion on Area Health Authority plans to close down both

Longworth Hospital and the Cowley Road geriatric hospital as part of a savage series of cut-backs.

From an original plan in which a brand new general hospital—the John Radcliffe

Phases 1,2 and 3—would form the centre of an expanded scheme for health care, government spending cuts have now produced a blueprint for an all-out attack on jobs and services in the Oxford health service.

The Workers Socialist League, in a leaflet into the CHC meeting will draw attention on the necessity for a programme of action by the health service unions to defend existing jobs and fight for the planned expansion of the service to take place.

Centring on the necessity for occupation to prevent closure and supporting strike action throughout the health service and the whole labour movement, WSL members and supporters will attempt to apply the lessons of other cuts struggles and force local union bureaucrats to declare support for the fight or face exposure in front of their own membership.

## Conference called

A Public meeting and a conference have been called to discuss the future of the campaign to maintain Bethnal Green as a general hospital.

On Thursday 7 September, there is a public meeting at Globe Town Community Centre in East London.

And on the following Thursday 14 September, a delegate conference for trade unions in Tower Hamlets, Hackney and

Newham has been called by Tower Hamlets Joint Shop Stewards Committee at Bethnal Green Hospital to decide on future joint action against health cuts.

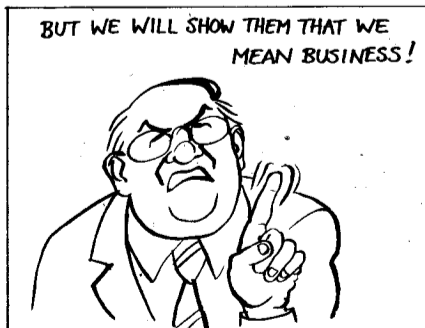
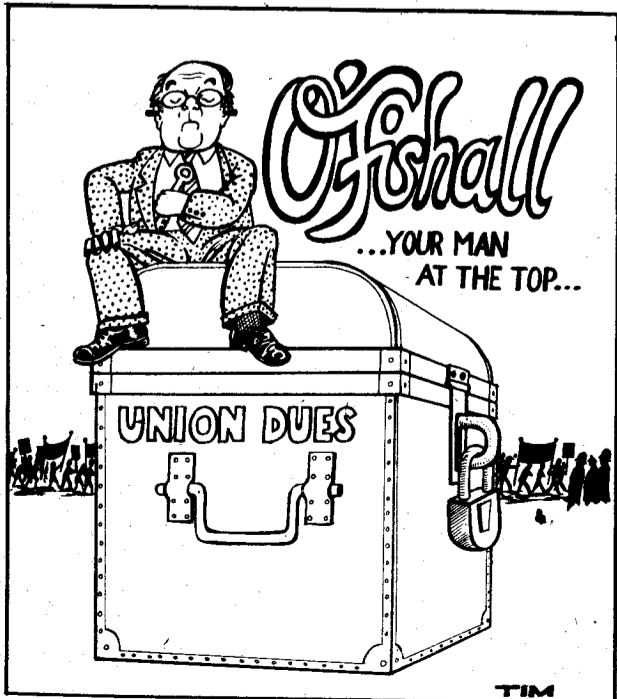
### Conference

Whilst we urge all workers and trade unionists to support these events and while we argue for the importance of sustained strike action in defence of threatened hospitals, the Workers Socialist League has argued

consistently for a conference of all London stewards in the health service to be called.

Action on a London-wide basis, starting in the health service, would give the strongest possible support to the fight against hospital closures.

The occupation itself is continuing to prevent the authorities from removing equipment from the casualty and theatres, and stopping any structural alterations to the now empty surgical wards.



# SOCIALIST PRESS

## Assassins move in at Heathrow

TWENTY PLAIN-CLOTHED trained assassins from the Special Air Services were drafted into Heathrow last week to join in the 'double red alert' prior to the Camp David talks on the Middle East. The SAS has for some time played a crucial role in under cover killing and provocation in British imperialism's operations in Ireland—under the supervision of Labour's torture chief, Roy Mason.

# ABC CASE AN ATTACK ON BASIC RIGHTS

## Call labour movement conference!

Even while the TUC prepares to debate a resolution from the Tobacco Workers Union condemning police interference with the labour movement, journalists Crispin Aubrey and Duncan Campbell, and ex-soldier John Berry face an Old Bailey show trial in which each could go to jail for 14 years.

They are charged under Section 1 of the Official Secrets Act—the "spying clause"—although not even the prosecution claims they are spies.

The charges centre on receiving information which "might be, directly or indir-

ectly, useful to an enemy", and relate to a conversation between all three men early in 1977.

### Not disclosed

None of the content of that conversation has ever been disclosed or published though it is clear that it did include references to the secret surveillance agency known as Signals. Intelli-

gence or SIGINT.

The arrest and trial of Aubrey, Berry and Campbell is a determined bid by military and intelligence chiefs to reinforce and extend the Official Secrets Act as a device for intimidating journalists, civil servants and the labour movement.

As such it must be seen in the context of the establishment of the latest police

Rees

computer, in which 1½ million out of 2 million files are political dossiers from the Special Branch; the ruthless use of the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism Act" under which 3,529 'suspects' have been held for up to seven days at a time, with only a handful charged; and the massive increase in police harassment of the labour movement, including the establishment of the SPG anti-picket squad, bans on demonstrations and new laws against occupations and work-ins.

Rees

All these developments in the strengthening of the capitalist state have taken place under the watchful eye of Labour ministers, including Home Secretary Merlyn Rees.

The extension of the Official Secrets Act in particular flies in the face of Labour's 1974 manifesto pledge to repeal the Act and replace it with a 'freedom of information' Act, and last year's TUC call for the dropping of the charges against Aubrey, Berry and Campbell.

The attack is not simply one on the three defendants but part of an offensive against the whole labour movement, which must be fought by mobilising support throughout the unions and the Labour Party.

These points were stressed last week at a successful 60-strong public meeting including a broad layer of trade unionists called by Oxford NUJ branch and Oxford Trades Council a few days before the ABC trial itself opened.

### Strike action

Appeals were made by floor speakers and from the platform by NUJ Branch Secretary John Lister for serious preparations to be made by the NUJ for strike action in support of the three victims, and for the NUJ jointly with the ABC Defence Campaign to call at once for a national labour movement conference to win support for this fight.

In the meantime, the strongest possible delegations from labour movement bodies should attend the regular pickets of the trial each Tuesday at 12.30pm, while bombarding union leaderships and the Labour Party with resolutions demanding the dropping of the charges and the repeal of the Official Secrets Act.



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

ABC campaigners at a recent march through Cheltenham

## COWLEY PLANTS DEMAND £27

This Thursday a mass meeting will be held of the whole manual workforce of Leyland's Cowley Assembly plant, to endorse a pay claim formulated by the stewards.

The main content of this claim is for £27 a week across the board (which would give the production worker a wage of £100) as well as the demand for a cost-of-living clause.

The stewards are also claiming a 35 hour week.

In the neighbouring Leyland Body Plant, TGWU stewards

also voted for a £27 a week across the board claim despite the fact that the senior stewards advocated simply putting forward a vague claim for a "substantial" increase.

Although the Body Plant claim does not include a cost-of-living clause it includes most of the same demands as the Assembly Plant.

Both of these claims are to be submitted at plant level and to be payable on November 1.

This is of great importance because the Communist Party and right wing throughout Leyland cars have been attempting to present a fait accompli of a corporate, nationally negotiated claim.

Up to these moves, no other plant in Leyland had even submitted a claim for the review.

No pay claim had been worked out in Longbridge and when the Leyland Combine Committee met two weeks ago, CP convenor Derek Robinson failed in his bid to get the principle of a corporate claim adopted.

The plant claim from the Cowley Body Plant marks the reversal of the position previously fought for by the right wing leadership—calling for a meeting of senior stewards to adopt a corporate claim.

This November review has revealed another of the weak sides of the Leyland toolroom committee. Roy Fraser, as union steward for nearly one thousand AUEW members in Cowley has not even formulated a pay claim!

### Differentials

In other words instead of giving a clear lead to fight the soc. contract, Fraser is concealing everything on differential.

The Cowley claims could be a major development in the struggles in the motor industry laying the basis for breaking up corporate bargaining and defeating Phase 4 of wage control.

## District Committee to discuss Cowley 9

This Thursday the Oxford TGWU District Committee meets and will have on its agenda the question of the Cowley 9.

These nine members—including the senior steward, three deputy convenors and other stewards in the Cowley Assembly Plant are threatened with various disciplinary sentences from expulsion from the union to banning from all offices for life.

The reason the District Committee will be discuss-

ing this case is because the Regional Committee, after carrying out an enquiry, decided at their last meeting to ask the Oxford District Committee, whose Finance and General Purposes Committee first raised charges against the nine, if they would like to drop them.

### Weak case

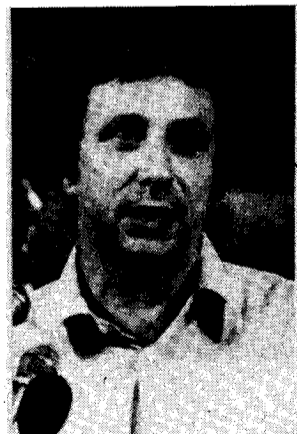
This showed yet again how weak the case is.

The case is so weak that it is reported that David Buckle, TGWU District Secretary and the main witch-hunter in the town even resorted to talking the issue out at his own branch meeting in order to stop a vote being taken which could have mandated the District Committee delegates from that branch to vote to drop the charges.

### 'Troublemakers'

Buckle's real position came out in reply to an Oxford Mail question about the Edwardes speech that there were a mere 1% of troublemakers in Leyland.

His reply was paraphrased as saying that the union are: aware of the



Alan Thornett

troublemakers among the workforce and taking steps to deal with them."

As we point out in our front page article, the victimisation of the SU tool-makers and the Cowley 9 case are completely linked.

Both are witch-hunts against those who fight the company and the social contract.

It is crucial that the campaign already established on the Cowley 9 be greatly strengthened if the District Committee decides to proceed with the charges.

### SANDERSON'S MASS PICKET

Support the 16-month strike for union recognition.

Week of Action 11-15 September Skegness

## FUND

THE FUND closed well down this month with a total of only £472.35 in for August.

This is certainly something we just cannot afford. Every penny of our fund is accounted for in terms of expenses and that money just has to be found from somewhere.

We appeal to all readers and supporters of the Socialist Press to ensure that we raise our full target of £600 each month so that we can develop and improve the paper.

All donations for the September Fund should be sent to:

Socialist Press Monthly Fund, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.