

# SOCIALIST PRESS



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# DOWN WITH THE SHAH! FOR SOCIALISM

In some of the largest political demonstrations ever seen in the world, the workers, peasants and students of Iran have expressed their unanimous demand for the overthrow of the Shah's dictatorship.

And while the Shah and his military regime still cling on to office they are rapidly losing power.

Their fear of last weekend's marches led them to withdraw their troops and police from the streets where the demonstrations were to take place.

From behind a shield of tanks, the Shah in his palace and the bourgeoisie in their wealthy suburbs could only look on fearfully as about two million in Tehran and huge crowds in other cities called for the death of the Shah and the downfall of the government.

These events, which continue as we go to press, are opening up the way to struggle for socialism in Iran.

### Weakest link

This former fortress against communism is now the weakest political link in the imperialist chain.

In attacking the Shah's tyranny the Iranian masses are also attacking world capitalism of which he is a principal agent.

Workers are showing a consciousness of that connection by once again intensifying their industrial action against capitalist property in Iran.

Some private factories have been occupied by workers; the banking system is nearly paralysed by strike action; and last week once again the workers in the oilfields stepped up their strikes and go-slows which resulted in oil production falling to less than half its normal level.

### New dangers

As this great mass movement grows, it brings the end of the Shah's regime rapidly nearer.

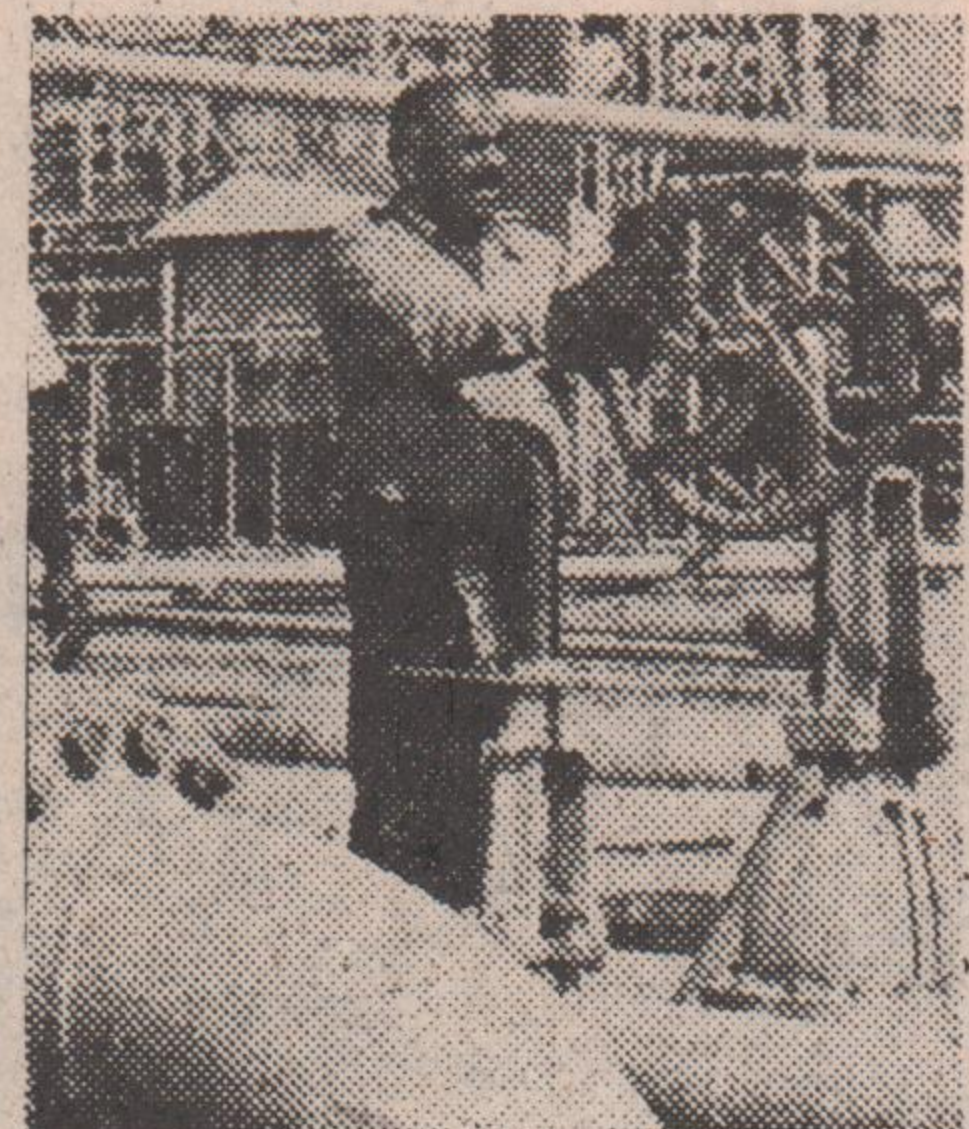
But at the same time it is encountering new dangers—both from outside, and from those who claim to be its own leaders.

While many of the protest demonstrations are taking a religious form, it is totally wrong to interpret the movement as a whole as a religious movement.

The actions of the strikers and hundreds of thousands of demonstrators are expressing their hatred of the oppression of the dictatorship and the exploitative economic system.

These combine to keep the working masses of Iran in a state

of permanent deprivation at the same time as it provides a small class of capitalists and aristocrats with staggering



Iranian oil worker

wealth—some of the dimensions of which are being revealed in figures uncovered by the striking workers of the Central Bank.

To begin to resolve the material problems of the masses which have fed the present mass uprising, it is necessary not only to overthrow the Shah's dictatorship but to go beyond

that to expropriate all the parasites of the aristocracy, the landowners and the capitalists and start to build a socialist planned economy.

### Workers committees

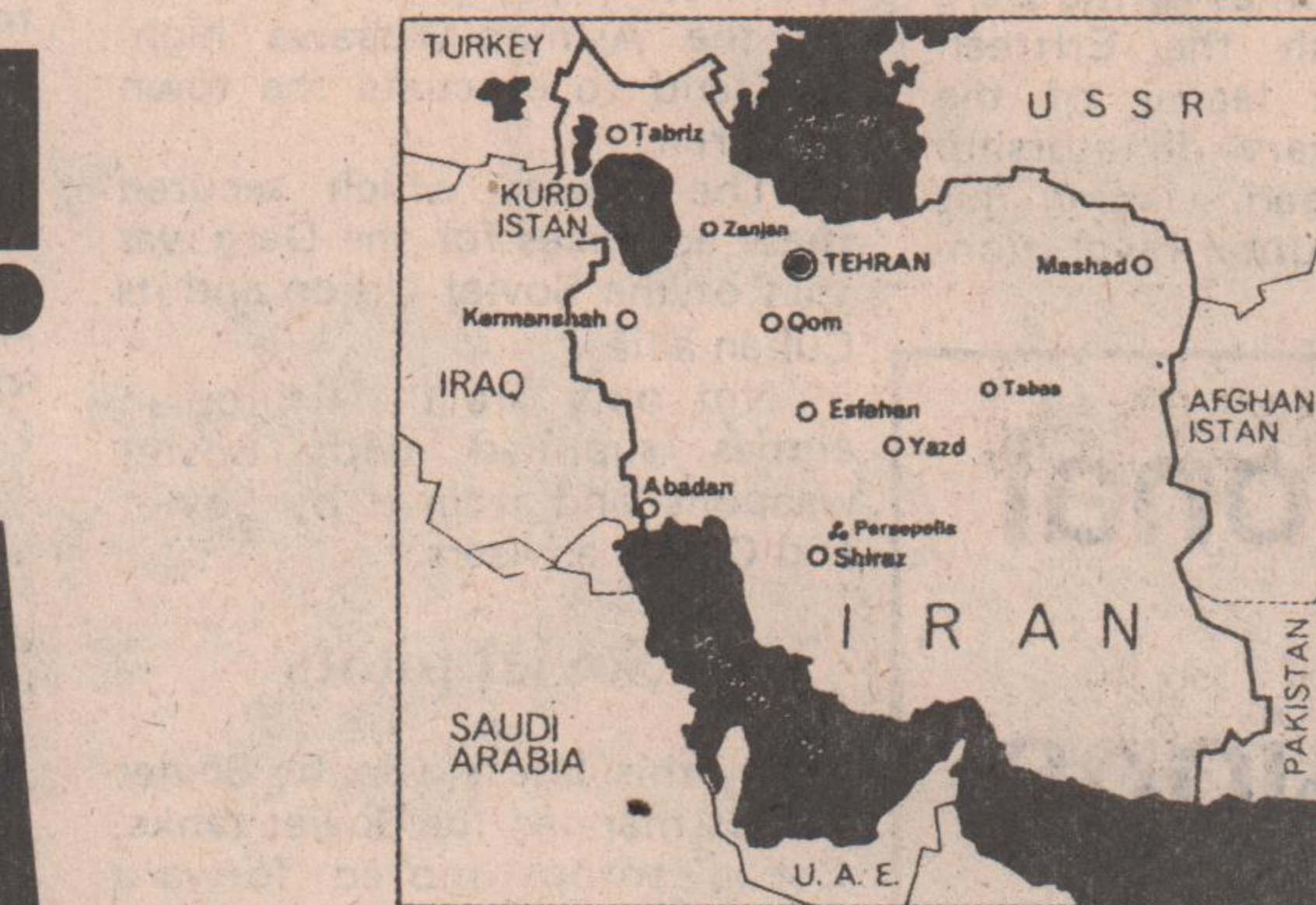
Already sections of workers have spontaneously taken some steps in that direction by occupying factories and setting up workers' committees.

But those who at the present time claim to be the leaders of the movement against the Shah have no intention of attacking capitalism in Iran.

They are the priests (mullahs) or the national capitalists represented by the National Front.

These leaders cannot offer to the masses a way out of their problems, since for all their democratic rhetoric they want to maintain capitalist exploitation in Iran.

The mood of the workers and peasants has been so uncompromising that some of these leaders—especially those who have attempted to demobilise the demonstrations in the



last three months—have already been discredited.

To maintain any credibility would-be leaders have had to take increasingly radical public positions in order to keep up with the mood of the masses.

### Power to betray

Nonetheless, although these leaders are riding an angry political tiger, they will continue to have the power to betray the movement as long as an alternative revolutionary socialist leadership in the form of a Trotskyist party, is not built.

Already there are strong rumours that the religious and bourgeois political leaders secretly negotiated an agreement with the Shah in order to avoid last Sunday and Monday's gigantic demonstrations "getting out of hand".

The release of National Front leader Sanjabi from jail may be part of an attempt to prepare a reactionary compromise.

Both the regime and the frightened would-be new leaders are haunted by the same spectre—that of the Iranian socialist revolution.

They could both see that for two days the situation threatened to be one of dual power in the major cities.

The regime left a power vacuum in the large areas of the cities from which it was forced to withdraw.

It is now involved in a contest for power with the masses as it attempts to restore its authority.

But that authority is in any case based on an army consisting of a majority of conscripts,

Continued page 2

# NGA leaders help to destroy their own union

In imposing an indefinite lock-out on 4,500 print workers and journalists at the *Times*, the International Thomson Organisation obviously enjoys the full financial and political backing of other Fleet Street papers and the print employers as a whole.

If they succeed in their objective of forcing in new technology and effectively eliminating NGA control over type-setting operations, management will be paving the way for an all-out onslaught on jobs throughout the industry.

### Waiting for lead

But even while the *Times* workforce waits vainly for some positive lead from union officials it has been revealed that the opportunist leaders of

the NGA have entered into a deal with other Fleet Street bosses to allow them to print extra papers while the *Times* is off the streets.

### Financial aid

These extra sales will provide added revenue for the *Times*' rival papers—but revenue which these employers are quite likely to channel back in financial aid to Thomson management in their war on jobs at the *Times*!

In other words rather than call out the NGA's other Fleet Street members in support of the threatened workforce at the *Times* NGA leader Joe Wade is encouraging them to do extra work which can only strengthen the employers!

This, plus the revelation of secret talks and attempted secret deals between the NGA leadership and the *Times* management points sharply at

the danger of a major sell-out which in a comparatively short space of time could cripple the NGA as a union.

Such wheeling and dealing must be condemned by every printworker. Instead the call must go out for the *Times* premises to be occupied, and for supporting strike action throughout Fleet Street.

Defend all jobs! Work sharing on full pay!

### Conspiracy

Open the books of the national newspapers to show the financial connections and the conspiracy to slash jobs throughout the industry!

Demand the nationalisation of *Times* newspapers and the remainder of the bourgeois press without compensation and under the management of elected committees of workers.



The NATSOPA demonstration against the lock-out threat

# INTERNATIONAL

## Eritrean fighters face Soviet troops

150 blitzed villages; 100,000 new refugees. That is only part of the toll paid by the Eritrean people in the first three weeks of the latest offensive against their struggles for self-determination and independence.

While the armies of the Derg battle to crush the Eritrean revolution, the leader of the Ethiopian military dictatorship has been abroad visiting his allies in this counter-revolutionary war.

In Moscow, Colonel Mengistu ratified a treaty of friendship between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia.

At the same time, the latest fruits of this vicious friendship were being gathered in the Horn of Africa, as the forces of the Eritrean Popular Liberation Front (EPLF) were forced to withdraw from their positions on the Asmara-Massawa highway and to evacuate the town of Keren.

The power which secured these advances for the Derg was that of the Soviet Union and its Cuban allies.

Not only are the Ethiopian armies supplied with Soviet weapons and trained by Soviet and Cuban advisers.

### Soviet pilots

In this latest assault, Soviet troops manned the Soviet tanks, Cuban troops moved forward with their heavy artillery, and it was Soviet pilots who flew the MiG bombers to strafe the EPLF's positions and the refugee camps, to drop napalm and destroy the crops.

By these criminal and barbaric acts, the bureaucratic leaders of the Soviet Union and Cuba are fulfilling their pledges to the reactionary and bloody dictatorship of the Derg.

Once again they have announced to the international

proletariat and the oppressed masses of the world that their promises of friendship are contracts to work for the strengthening of counter-revolution.

### Legitimate

The EPLF is plainly unable to understand the complex basis to the Soviet and Cuban intervention in Ethiopia and Eritrea—and has—though understandably—responded to it in an empirical way.

But their struggle for national self-determination is a legitimate one that deserves the support of the international workers' movement.

A demonstration, sponsored by associations of Eritrean workers and students in Britain is to be held on Saturday, marching from Speakers Corner to the Soviet Embassy under the slogan:

"Condemn Russia's war of aggression in Eritrea".

The WSL will be supporting this demonstration, distributing a leaflet explaining why we believe that such a march should also protest at the role of imperialism in the Horn of Africa, and spelling out a Trotskyist position on the reactionary role of Stalinism in that region.

## Arafat in new sell-out plan

The 'peace talks' between the Egyptian and Israeli bourgeoisies drag on, with American envoy Cyrus Vance now undertaking yet another desperate week of "shuttle diplomacy" in a bid to get things moving.

Meanwhile the Palestinian petty-bourgeoisie is looking increasingly prepared to strike its own bargain with the Zionists.

Although piqued because he hasn't been invited to take part in the preparation of this historic sell-out of the Palestinian people, PLO leader Yasser Arafat has indicated his willingness to fall over backwards in defence of attacks on the fundamental rights of those he claims to represent.

### Message

He has sent a personal message to President Carter telling him that, in exchange

for a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza strip, he will "renounce the use of force against Israel".

It is not known whether or not he has the support of the other PLO leaders.

"Comrade" Arafat's intentions are clear. Provided that the Palestinian petty-bourgeoisie can be guaranteed the minimum conditions in which to develop into the Palestinian national bourgeoisie then all will be forgiven.

The Zionists, however, are being far less co-operative. Rather than clear the way for a Palestinian "mini-state" on the West Bank, they are instead stepping up their building programme there. Arafat's hopes are doomed to failure!

### Right of return

Palestinian workers and peasants must break with these petty-bourgeois leaders and build an organisation which reflects their interests; an organisation which will fight for the right of return for all of the Palestinian peoples and jobs and homes for all in the Middle East.

Arafat and his errand boys around the world must be decisively rejected if there is to be any lasting peace in the Middle East.



Arafat

## National divisions grow in S.E. Asia

The history of troubled relations between Stalinist states took a new twist last week with the decision of Vietnam to sponsor an alternative 'Government of National Salvation', pledged to overthrow the present Stalinist regime in Cambodia.

That this is no propaganda exercise but a firm commitment is shown by the concentration of 120,000 Vietnamese and 20,000 rebel Cambodian troops along the border.

The programme of the United Front for National Salvation is for a neutral, non-aligned Cambodia with the re-establishment of banks and money, abolition of the compulsory work system, freedom of movement and association, and rebuilding of Cambodian family life.

### Peasant communism

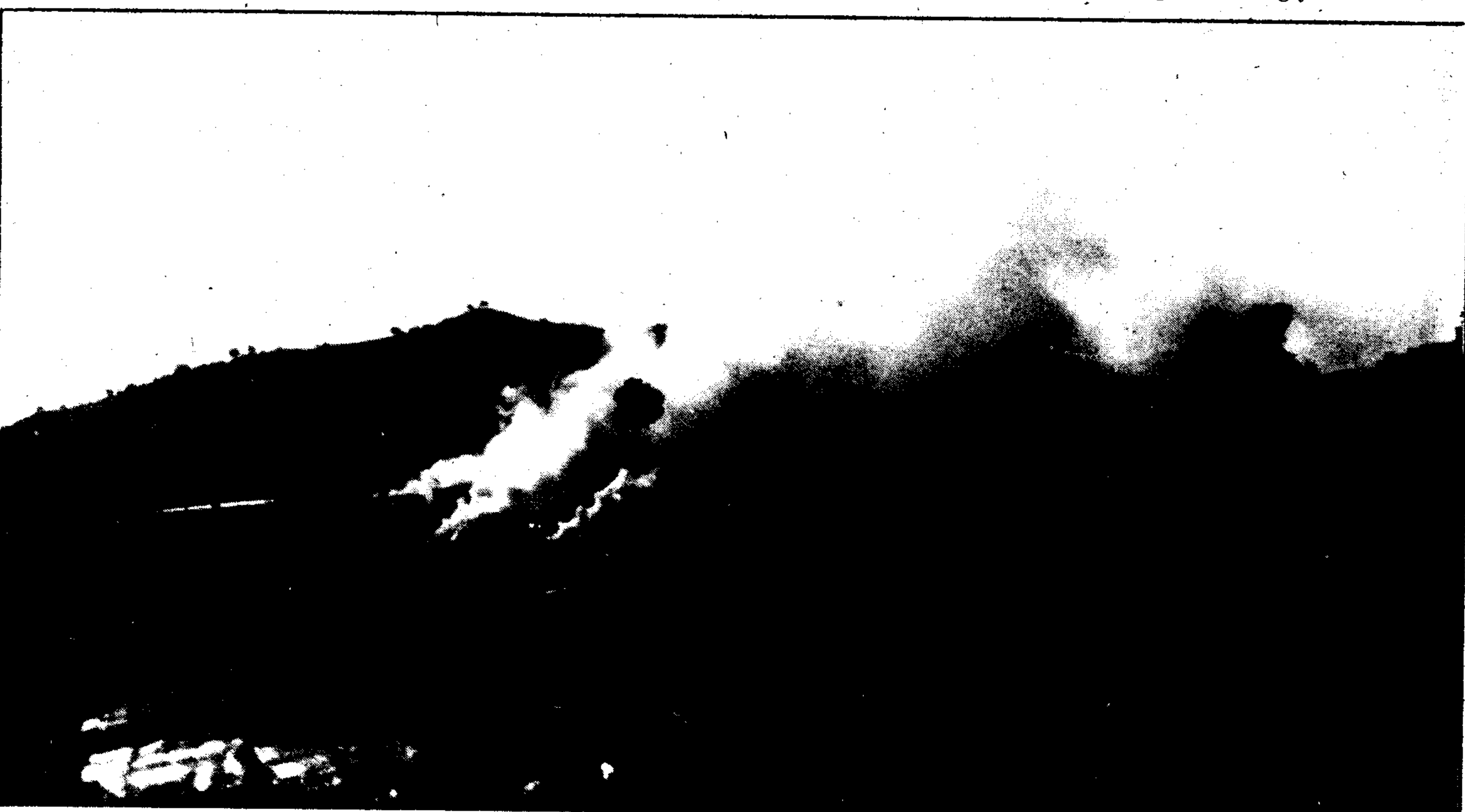
The development of the Cambodian revolution since the overthrow of Lon Nol's US puppet regime has up to now seemed to follow ideas of peasant primitive communism much more than Stalinist doctrine.

This is perhaps due to the feudal structure of pre-revolution Cambodia where both the working class and the professional middle class were almost non-existent.

Thus the social layers from which the bureaucracy of most Stalinist states is drawn did not exist.

What concerns the Vietnamese is the extreme Khmer nationalism of the regime, which claims large areas of Vietnam as part of the former Khmer empire, and appears to use the war against Vietnam as a means of justifying further sacrifices by the Khmer peasants.

The support of the Cambodian government by China makes the situation one of great danger for the masses in South-East Asia who may well find themselves once again the unlucky pawns in a power conflict—this time between rival "Communist" bureaucracies.



Soviet planes bomb Eritrean village

## IRAN—from front page

whose loyalty is more and more in doubt.

It was the virtual certainty of mutiny that forced the withdrawal of the troops last week-end.

But the decisive step through

which the masses could impose their own power in place of that of the dictatorship has not yet been taken.

That is the establishment of independent militias and of Soviet-type committees representing the working class and other oppressed classes including the rank and file soldiers.

Although the week's events show that more and more sections of the masses have managed to equip themselves with arms, they still remain dangerously ill-defended.

This makes the demand for soldiers to mutiny and to go over to the revolution one of the most crucial at the present time.

When that happens on a large enough scale the revolution will face the new danger of imperialist military intervention to restore control of a country which the American and British governments constantly say is the key to "stability" (that is, permanent imperialist rule) in the Middle East.

One of the urgent international tasks of the labour movement now, therefore, in Britain and other imperialist countries is to prepare to prevent direct imperialist military intervention.

### Blacking

Meanwhile the campaign for the blacking of all supplies, especially arms and ammunition to the Shah becomes more urgent than ever.

The major obstacle to this at present is the inaction of union leaders of the TGMU and other organisations in the blacking campaign.

Through concrete acts of solidarity such as the blacking of arms the international workers' movement can make an important contribution to the victory of the revolution and the building of socialism in Iran.

\*Down with the Shah and the military regime!



The Shah's riot police

\*Build armed workers' militias!

\*Create workers', peasants' and soldiers' committees!

\*For a constituent assembly!

\*For a workers' and peasants' government!

\*In the factories and oil fields: expropriate the capitalists and occupy!

\*In the countryside: expropriate the landowners and occupy!

\*In the army: refuse to obey the officers! Join the workers in setting up militias!

\*Black all arms to the Shah! \*No imperialist military intervention!

\*Sack Callaghan, Owen and Mulley, the Shah's friends!

### DEMONSTRATION

Called by Campaign Against Repression in Iran

Sunday 17 December 1.30 p.m. Speakers Corner

INTERNATIONAL



# Rival Stalinists fall out

While at the end of last month the political assembly of the anti-Communist NATO alliance at one end of Europe was paving the way for a new imperialist arms build-up, a major public row on the military budget was blowing up within the seven-nation Warsaw Pact.

President Nicolae Ceasescu of Romania has for a long time been a member of the Pact on terms very different from those the Soviet bureaucracy would like.

As long ago as 1962 Romania forbade other Warsaw Pact troops to be stationed in or conduct manoeuvres in its territory and has refused to allow Romanian soldiers to be commanded by officers from any other Warsaw Pact countries.

Also on more than one occasion the Romanian leaders have also vetoed Soviet policies in the Comecon economic alliance.

Despite his long history of public recalcitrance, Ceasescu's new attacks on the Soviet Union two weeks ago were unexpectedly sharp.

## Rough ride

They began during a Warsaw Pact summit meeting at which Ceasescu claims to have resisted Soviet efforts to extract an increased military commitment from all the Warsaw Pact countries.

After what was reported to be a rough ride at the summit, Ceasescu on his return to Romania orchestrated a large number of public displays of "national support" for his independent stand.

He made a number of pointed statements in opposition not only to more military spending but to outside interference in Romanian affairs. He spoke of the "sacred right" of every nation to decide its own destiny.

Neither the National Assembly nor the meeting of 3,000 party members who pointedly applauded Ceasescu's words, represent any real mass support for the nepotistic bureaucracy in Romania.

No vestige of workers' democracy is permitted under the dictatorial rule of Ceasescu and his family and his friends.

## Popular backing

But it was no doubt in an effort to seek popular backing that Ceasescu publicly linked his opposition to more military spending to the need to spend money instead on the domestic economic needs of Romania.

It is this contradiction which equally faces all the East European Stalinist bureaucracies including that of the USSR—especially when in the same week Brezhnev was forced to admit that many of the major economic targets of the tenth Soviet Five Year Plan will not be fulfilled and when as a result of similar failures the Bulgarian leaders had to announce the abandonment of long term

economic planning altogether.

It is only a few months since Ceasescu was forced by militant strikes in the coal mines to give concessions in the form of wage increases to Romanian workers.

He lives, like the other Stalinist bureaucracies, under the permanent threat of new attacks from the working class.

That is why the present dispute is causing so much bitterness.

It is not Ceasescu's iron-fisted internal regime which offers a threat to the stability of the other bureaucracies.

But his "selfish" refusal to shoulder his share of defence spending means that the other already detested bureaucracies must make up the gap by further economic pressures on the masses.

And as far as the Kremlin is concerned if Ceasescu is to get away with this, a dangerous example would be set for the other Warsaw Pact regimes which are in equal need of any possible means to save themselves from the wrath of the working class.

Ceasescu's "every Stalinist bureaucrat for him-

self" approach is, therefore, a real danger to the Warsaw Pact bureaucracies as a whole.

The rumours that the Kremlin is preparing some kind of military move against Romania cannot, therefore, be completely discounted.

Certainly Ceasescu seemed to retreat at the end of last week from his sharpest anti-Soviet remarks and took his opposition onto the more nebulous ground of a vague proposal for an arms-free zone in Central Europe.

That may have been a reaction to a threat.

And a mysterious statement in Ceasescu's last speech might be evidence that such action was being seriously prepared politically.

Ceasescu complained at such actions in the relations between Communist states as "a support of counter-revolutionary elements in certain countries and the instigation of these to overthrow the government, actions which in a flagrant way violate the principles and the norms of relations between socialist countries, even international law and the UN Charter."



Brezhnev with Czech Stalinist Husak



Ceasescu with Elizabeth Windsor riding through London earlier this year

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

## Nkomo meets Hughes

The so-called transitional government in Zimbabwe has outlined a new plan for an "internal settlement".

In a change from the previously announced plan, all parties which gain five seats in the elections scheduled for 20 April will be entitled to representation in the cabinet.

Previously the whites would have been guaranteed 28 of the 100 parliamentary seats but the cabinet posts were to have gone to the party which won the election.

Now the whites could conceivably emerge as the most important bloc in parliament and therefore also the cabinet.

The announcement was supported by the main black collaborators in the present

government—Muzorewa and Sithole.

Both stressed that they supported the new proposals in the cause of "stability". The sharing of cabinet power would, they said, "unite the nation".

Sithole said "we do not want independence and then, after a week, a coup and after another week a counter-coup."

These latest developments prove even more clearly the nature of the internal settlement.

The guerrilla war has made the peaceful transition to stable black majority rule impossible.

Meanwhile the efforts of the imperialists to convene an all-party conference, split the Patriotic Front and bring Nkomo into an alliance with the collaborators continues.

Despite his insistence that

"the liberation of Zimbabwe can only be achieved by war", Joshua Nkomo was last weekend meeting imperialist envoy Cledwyn Hughes.

As we go to press the outcome of this meeting was unclear.

However, whatever is announced from the meeting, the fact that Nkomo agreed to meet Hughes at all can only give rise to speculation about what, if anything, was discussed with, as Callaghan outlined when he dispatched Hughes to Africa "as much privacy as possible".

The demands must be pressed for:

\*No secret diplomacy!  
\*Intensify the armed struggle!

\*For a socialist Zimbabwe!

## Francoist referendum flop

In spite of an 11 to 1 majority for the new constitution, last week's referendum in Spain is proving to be a serious embarrassment to the Francoist regime.

The Suarez government and its Socialist and Communist Party allies were predicting that their massive propaganda campaign for a "yes" vote would get at least 80% of the population to participate in the referendum.

In fact, however, almost one third of the electorate stayed away from the polls—many more than in the December 1976 referendum or in the elections of June 1977.

## Irregularities

It is impossible to put an exact figure on the proportion of abstentions, since the Ministry of the Interior doesn't seem even to know how many voters there are on the rolls!

As in the parliamentary elections last year, countless examples of electoral irregularities came to light.

Many voters found them-

selves registered twice or not at all.

In some poll stations "yes" voters got a congratulatory certificate.

All this and the high rate of abstention have both severely discredited what was planned to be a triumphant entry into the fold of "democracy".

## Armed police

Instead it ended up as more like a reminder of Franco's rule—the electoral irregularities, the virtual declaration of the result before a vote had been cast, the ban on demonstrations during the campaign and the omnipresent armed police at every polling station and on virtually every street corner.

Suarez and his reformist and Stalinist backers will try to cover up or argue away all these obvious symptoms of the absence of any real democracy.

But, not even by blaming intimidation by the Basque nationalists of the ETA, can they wipe from the record the sorry fate of the constitutional referendum in the Basque provinces (Euskadi).

In spite of a massive police presence and a huge



Spanish police on the rampage in the Basque town of Renteria

campaign waged by the government together with the reformists and the Stalinists (in which both Felipe Gonzalez and Santiago Carrillo toured the region) the people of Euskadi contemptuously boycotted the constitution as a protest against its failure to recognise Basque

national rights.

In the Basque provinces, less than half the electorate voted.

In Guipuzcoa and Biscay—traditionally the most militant Basque provinces—the abstention vote was as high as 47% of those eligible to vote.

Far from neutralising the continued sources of political instability in Spain, the referendum has sharpened the conflict between the Madrid regime and the masses in Euskadi, and has done little if anything for the democratic credentials of the regime nationally.

## Contradiction

Far from establishing a definitive parliamentary democratic order, the referendum may well turn out to have sharpened the contradictions.

These have expressed themselves in recent weeks on the one hand in ETA's effective campaign of terror against the armed police and civil guard, and on the other hand in last month's attempt at a military coup and increasing mobilisations by the far right.

At the end of it all the Interior Minister Martin Villa was reduced to saying weakly that the referendum was not so important any way, since the Spanish people had already definitively chosen what he calls "democracy" in last year's elections!

Throughout the motor industry there is an employers offensive taking place, against shop-floor strength, for speed-up and greater exploitation.

In Fords, even though the workers successfully broke the government's 5% limit, they ended up with a punitive anti-strike clause tied to 5% of their wages, whereby any dispute even of 15 or 30 minutes duration would lose them £4 automatically.

This is under conditions where the Ford management is one of the most ruthless in the country and, as has been shown by recent attacks at Halewood on workers working up the line, is continuously attacking.

### Attacking

This clause is designed to weaken workers' resistance to these attacks, which is why management insist on this clause.

In Leyland the management has set about systematically attacking a labour force which has been the traditional leader in motor industry wages and conditions. Leyland workers have had the strongest shop-floor organisation.

Now the management, with the help of the union leadership, have ended piecework, established plant-wide negotiations and now achieved agreed national level negotiations for the next year.

By then management hope to have established (through the package they have offered) a wage and grading structure to go alongside the already established national conditions agreement.

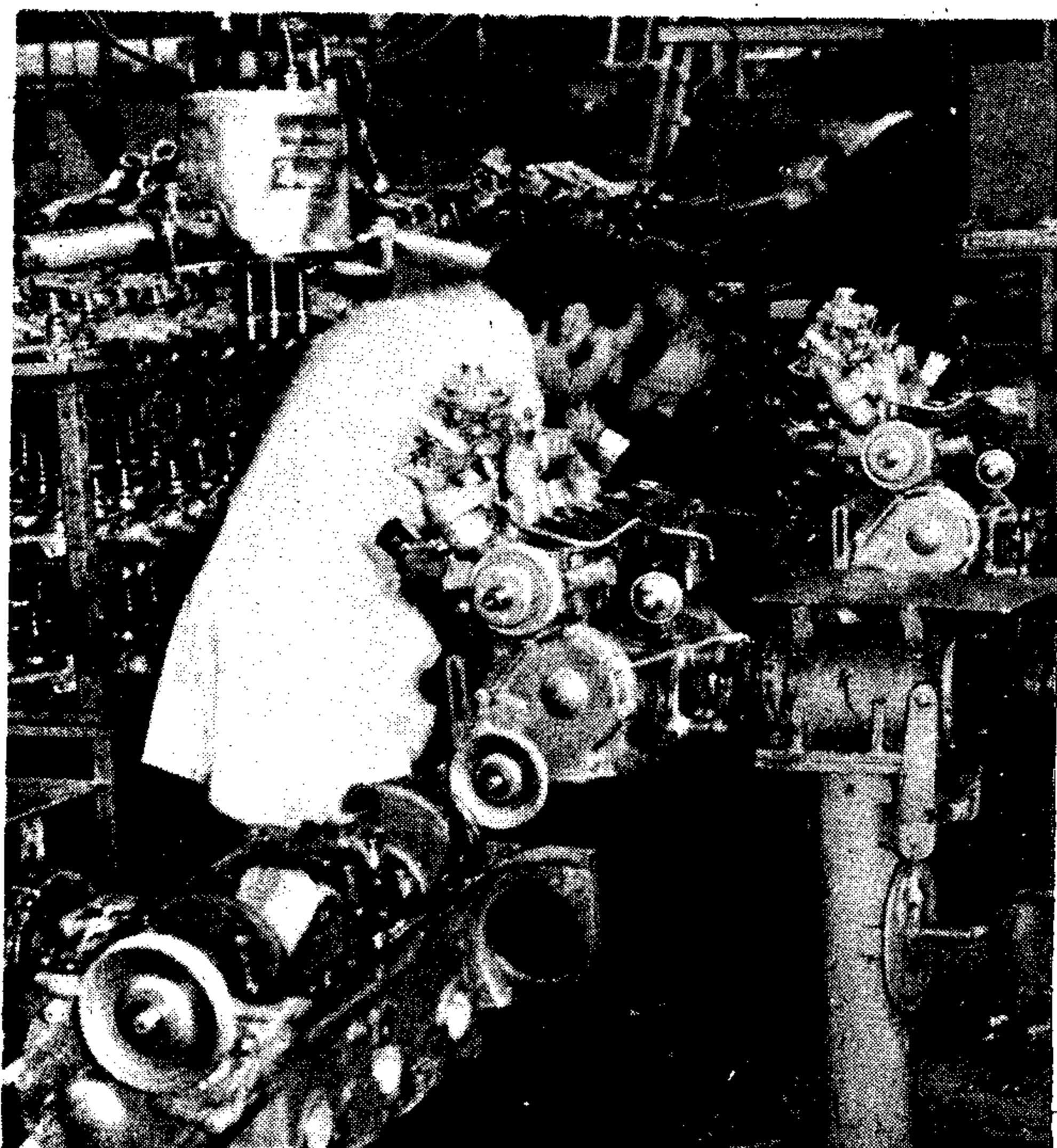
### Speeded-up

To achieve all this, the management are prepared to pay certain wage increases which have to be raised by speed-up and demanning.

Even then, Leyland workers will have had their standard of living reduced as well as being speeded-up because they are only being offered the 5% in this year's review and have only received the government's norm over the previous three years.

In Chrysler as with Leyland the management have used continuously the threat of closure in order to attack conditions—this has not changed with the take-over by Peugeot.

In Vauxhalls the measly 8% wage increase even had productivity strings tied to part of it. These are now being implemented on the shop floor with the cooperation of many of the stewards.



AUEW members at Vauxhalls

# CRISIS IN THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

We are publishing on this page the statement from the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement calling a conference for workers in the car industry to be held on January 20 in Birmingham. While the CDLM itself has a clear programme on which it has campaigned within the motor industry, the Conference organisers stress that they are extending a particular invitation to other groupings on the left within the motor industry to come along without prior commitment to discuss the crucial issues facing carworkers.

Policy voted on at the last CDLM Car Workers' Conference was:

- 1) Regain living standards.
- 2) Defend them with cost of living clauses.
- 3) Break the twelve month rule.
- 4) Full support to any section fighting wage controls.
- 5) Against corporate bargaining.
- 6) Against participation
- 7) Defend mutuality agreements.
- 8) Open the books of the employers.
- 9) Extend and improve lay-off agreements to 100% pay.
- 10) No secret negotiations.
- 11) Direct control over negotiating committees by mass meetings.
- 12) For combine committees directly answerable to the shop floor.
- 13) Against import controls.
- 14) Nationalise the car and component industry.

So all carworkers are under attack, and many have similar problems. In both Leyland and Chrysler, for example, "participation" committees have been used to draw senior stewards in towards doing the employers' dirty work

for them.

In opposition to these attacks the workers have received nothing but misleadership. Even at Fords the officials recommended the deal with the penalty clause.

But whereas in Fords the officials led a fight against the 5% arguing the profitability of the company, in the rest of the motor industry the officials have gone along with all the employers' plans. They have a dual standard—one for companies who declare a profit and another standard for those who don't.

### Forefront

In this the officials have received the support of many of the senior stewards particularly of the right-wing and of the Communist Party. Leading CP member Derek Robinson at BL Longbridge, for example, has been in the forefront of fighting for company-wide bargaining, which is the means the employers are using to weaken shop stewards and strengthen the full-time officials. Leading CP members in Chrysler have also been in the fore-

front of the employers' plans and whilst initially talking in favour of nationalisation of Chrysler at the time of the Peugeot take-over, did nothing to fight for this.

There is an urgent need to develop a new leadership in the motor industry that fights for the independent interests of the car workers; that stops the employers' plans to pit Ford workers against Leyland workers or Datsun workers or any others; that puts forward a programme that does not start from the "profitability" of the firm or its necessity to compete with other car firms, but from the defence of living standards and jobs.

### Occupation

We must answer the threat of closure by exposing the fraud if it is a bluff designed to pressure workers into accepting a company offer and by the counter threat of the occupation of the plant if it is a real threat.

We must say that we will oppose all speed-ups, unemployment-creating schemes, that we will oppose all redundancies.

The employers will say that they need to economise to compete with other car firms—we must demand the opening of the books of the firm concerned and of its component suppliers as well as the rest of the motor industry. Let us see why they can't maintain jobs and wages. If they prove their case, then the whole motor and component industry should be nationalised without compensation and under workers' management and made part of a planned socialist economy.

These policies, alongside cost-of-living clauses, whereby wages rise automatically with the cost of living as decided by elected committees of workers, to be in every wage deal are essential.

### Import controls

If these are not fought for, then the trap of the Communist Party and Labour 'lefts' who argue for import controls, making Japanese or other workers



Ford strikers spell out the basic message



Chrysler workers on strike at Linwood



Stalinist Robinson

Todd

redundant, will be fallen into.

We must answer the employers' "viability" argument by challenging the argument that we have a common interest with the employer. This will greatly strengthen the fight against

speed-up, no-strike clauses and all the other problems now facing car workers and in the course of this the CDLM will be fighting for a new leadership in the motor industry.



## CARWORKERS CONFERENCE

THE CRISIS IN THE MOTOR INDUSTRY  
Called by the Campaign for Democracy  
in the Labour Movement

January 20, 1979 in Birmingham

Full details from CDLM, c/o 37, Birchfield Close  
Blackbird Leys, Oxford

# Labour 'lefts' cheer Callaghan's nationalism



It is seven years since the disintegration of the monetary system of the capitalist world (which had been established at Bretton Woods and based on the overwhelming economic strength of the United States).

During that time a number of vain attempts have been made by the main capitalist nations to restabilise their monetary system and the exchange rates between the different countries.

But the only results have been a series of stabilisation plans which have come to nothing while the gap between the values of the different currencies has widened and many very sharp fluctuations have taken place.

## Danger

The instability is a danger to the whole capitalist system since it indicates the absence of any stable standard of value and threatens to undermine the basis of international trade and production.

And in addition the widening gap between the exchange rates of the strong and weak capitalist economies has become increasingly alarming to the countries running a stronger surplus in their balance of payments.

The relative rise in the value of their currencies reduces the competitiveness of their products and redistributes profits from their capitalists to those of the devaluing deficit countries.

So the changing value of currencies is partly the expression of a sharpening competitive struggle between the individual nations of the crisis-ridden capitalist system.

The proposed European Monetary System (EMS) is partly an effort to reduce the damaging instability of exchange rates.

## 'Float' together

But it is also partly a counter-stroke by the surplus countries (notably by West Germany) to try to stop the competitive devaluations and to gain a respite for West German capitalists.

Technically the EMS plan involved getting all the nine EEC members to fix their exchange rates in relation to each other and allow them to "float" together against the US dollar and other currencies.

This means it would simply involve an extension of the existing system of this kind (known as "the snake") which now includes West Germany, Holland, Belgium and Denmark and used to include



Capitalist leaders at the Bonn summit

France and Britain as well. The planned EMS would fall short of the earlier more grandiose plans for European Monetary Union (the development of a single European currency) which was submerged by the waves of nationalism of the EEC members.

The aim of the EMS is much more modest than that; but nonetheless it has been made by West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and its backers into a symbol of European capitalist unity and the future of the EEC.

But last week the EMS too fell as a new victim of the fratricidal strife between the countries of "united Europe".

The capitalist classes of the weakest deficit countries—Britain, Italy and Ireland—fear the EMS because they want to keep the possibility of further competitive devaluations of their currencies if their efforts to push up profitability by wage control fails.

## Precious weapon

Devaluation is precious to them as an economic weapon because it helps profits by simultaneously making national goods more competitively priced and cutting real wages through putting up import prices.

The Italian and Irish governments, nevertheless, went to Brussels last week intending to sign up in the EMS club—as long as they got in exchange an agreement that more EEC aid would be given to them through the budget.

But it was the national interests of the French capitalists that stopped this deal.

French capitalists were not prepared to dig deeper into their pockets—not even to persuade their Italian and Irish rivals into partial economic disarmament.

So rival capitalist nationalism sabotaged this symbol of imperialist European unity.

These antagonisms reflect the disunity between the capitalist states which arises from the fact that they are unable to impose all the costs they want on the working class.

That is why they are forced to grab from each other and so threaten the monetary stability on which collectively they depend.

## Rearguard

It is only socialism which can bring about a non-antagonistic unity of the states of Europe as a step towards the United Socialist States of the World.

The self-styled *Tribune* "socialists" on the left of the Parliamentary Labour Party, however, have once again shown themselves to be not in the vanguard of the fight for the United Socialist States of Europe but in the rearguard of capitalist nationalism.

Last week on his return

since the 1960s, that currency stability is bad for the working class but that devaluation is somehow a "socialist" measure.

This is simply a smoke-screen for the anti-socialist nationalism of this group which argues that the economic crisis can be solved by defence of the national capitalist economy through import controls and devaluation.

But devaluation, like the



Currency dealers in Tokyo

austerity policies which go along with maintaining a fixed exchange rate, involves an attack on working class living standards.

And import controls involve an attempt to shift the burden of the crisis in one country onto workers in another.

But the working class, unlike the narrow nationalists of the *Tribune* group and the ruling capitalists

whom they reflect, have no country.

Socialists should be opposed to the EMS which is part of a plan for the recovery of West German capitalism at the expense of its rivals.

But they must oppose it with policies which represent the independent and international interests of the working class.

# PRESS GANG



For well over a year the press has kept a discrete silence over the fate of the Sanderson strikers, broken only by occasional references to it as "the Grunwick of the north" or Britain's longest running strike.

Last week as the details of a settlement—which has not been implemented at the time of going to press—were made known the *Guardian* gave it the accolade of an editorial.

The purpose was to bury the strikers not to praise them. There was no reference to the long months on the picket line, the continual battle for union action, the never ending series of promises from the TGWU which were never delivered; the ups, the downs, the dogged determination which alone keeps strikers going through their darkest hours.

The article began simply: "You win some; you lose some;"—a summary entirely in harmony with the public utterances of trade union leaders who have betrayed one long running recognition battle after another.

The *Guardian*, keeping its editorial line absolutely in accord with the right wing of

the TUC, urges that ACAS should be given the force of law and the right of access to workers.

ACAS is a government set up agency which exists solely to damp down the independent action of the working class.

It is out of the same drawer as the industrial tribunals, used to head off strikes when union militants are sacked.

Every year the tribunals publish statistics showing that a high proportion of workers who turn to this arbiter 'win'.

The fact that practically nobody wins reinstatement from a tribunal has not prevented the attacks of the Tory press which demands no interference in the rights to hire and fire.

ACAS, like the tribunals, is an organisational expression of social democracy—a ball and chain on the working class painted in the colours of neutrality.

The impact of a victory—or a defeat—at Sandersons on other recognition battles will be immense. Nowhere will it be bigger than at Garners in London where the strike in support of union recognition is coming up for its first anniversary, where every piece of double talk and betrayal by the

TGWU bureaucracy has been doused through the close involvement of the Communist Party.

It is no accident therefore that this week Margolis, the boss of Garners, chose to break his silence over the strike.

He provided the material for witch-hunts in the *Daily Express* and *Telegraph*.

The theme of both articles was that the workers in the restaurants did not want the union in and that the strikers were being manipulated by left wing extremists.

The *Express* published a picture of Cyril Margolis in his office, captioned "a general on the eve of battle".

"The ghost of Grunwick stalks the West End of London this Christmas", writes Geoffrey Levy, with more truth than he is aware of.

The articles, coming close together with sudden renewed TV interest in the strike are not for the purpose of informing readers, even with perverted facts.

They are part of laying the groundwork for a demolition job on the strike, in which the TGWU bureaucracy will be challenged with the results of a new poll of the scabs.



Callaghan

from Brussels they jingoistically cheered Callaghan's justification for not joining the EMS—that it was to defend Britain's "national interests".

Callaghan uses the same argument to justify Phase 4!

To this chauvinism they add a spurious argument, popular in *Tribune* circles

PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

On October 28 1928, Cannon, Abern and Schachtman were expelled from the Communist Party.

The very next week the first issue of *The Militant* was published, "not a surreptitiously distributed mimeographed bulletin such as satisfied many literary cliques but a full-sized printed newspaper."

All three had been employed by International Labour Defence, a permanent defence organisation for class war victims initiated by the Communist Party.

They now had no jobs and no income. Despite these inauspicious beginnings, *The Militant* was produced regularly on a fortnightly basis.

The long process of accumulating the cadre of American Trotskyism was begun.

### Outside

With no possibility of reaching wide layers of the CP before expulsion, militants had to be contacted from outside. Almost immediately the Trotskyists won people in Minneapolis where the American Trotskyists were to play such a central role in later years.

The CP leadership aided the process through their bureaucratic approach.

"Their method was to go up and down the country putting a motion in every committee and branch to approve the expulsion of Cannon, Schachtman and Abern.

"And everybody who wanted to ask a question or get more information was accused of being a Trotskyist and expelled forthwith.

"... Eventually, practically all those who had been expelled for hesitancy in voting to confirm our expulsion became sympathetic to us and most of them joined us."

(*History of American Trotskyism*, pp.56-7).

The difficulties facing the Trotskyists were enormous. They had only one copy of Trotsky's "Draft Programme of the Communist International: a Criticism of Fundamentals".

### Ones and twos

This was the document which had changed everything for Cannon while he was in Moscow. Recruitment on the basis of this document was by ones and twos.

"Soon after we were expelled... there came a knock on my door one day and there was Morganstern of Philadelphia, a young man but an old "Cannonite".

"... He said "we heard about your expulsion for Trotskyism but we didn't believe it. What is the real low down?"

In those days you didn't take anything for good coin unless it came from your own faction. I can remember to this day going into the back room, getting out the precious Trotsky document from its hiding place and handing it to Morgie.

"He sat down on the bed and read the long "criticism"—it is a whole book—from the beginning to the end without stopping once, without looking up.

When he finished, he had made up his mind and we began to work out plans to build a nucleus in Philadelphia."

### Serialised

Others were recruited in the same way. While the "precious document" was serialised in *The Militant* it was a long time before it

# THE BIRTH OF AMERICAN MARXISM

1978 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the emergence of the Trotskyist movement in the United States. The Socialist Workers Party which today claims to represent that tradition offers no more than a hollow mockery of the fighting spirit of that early movement. This article is the third in a series in *Socialist Press* which will examine the early history of the SWP, the party so central in the 1930s to the launching of the Fourth International. -



James P. Cannon



Max Schachtman

was possible to publish it in pamphlet form.

Of course, the slanders which had already been levelled at Trotsky were now directed with full force at Cannon, Schachtman and Abern.

### Encouraging

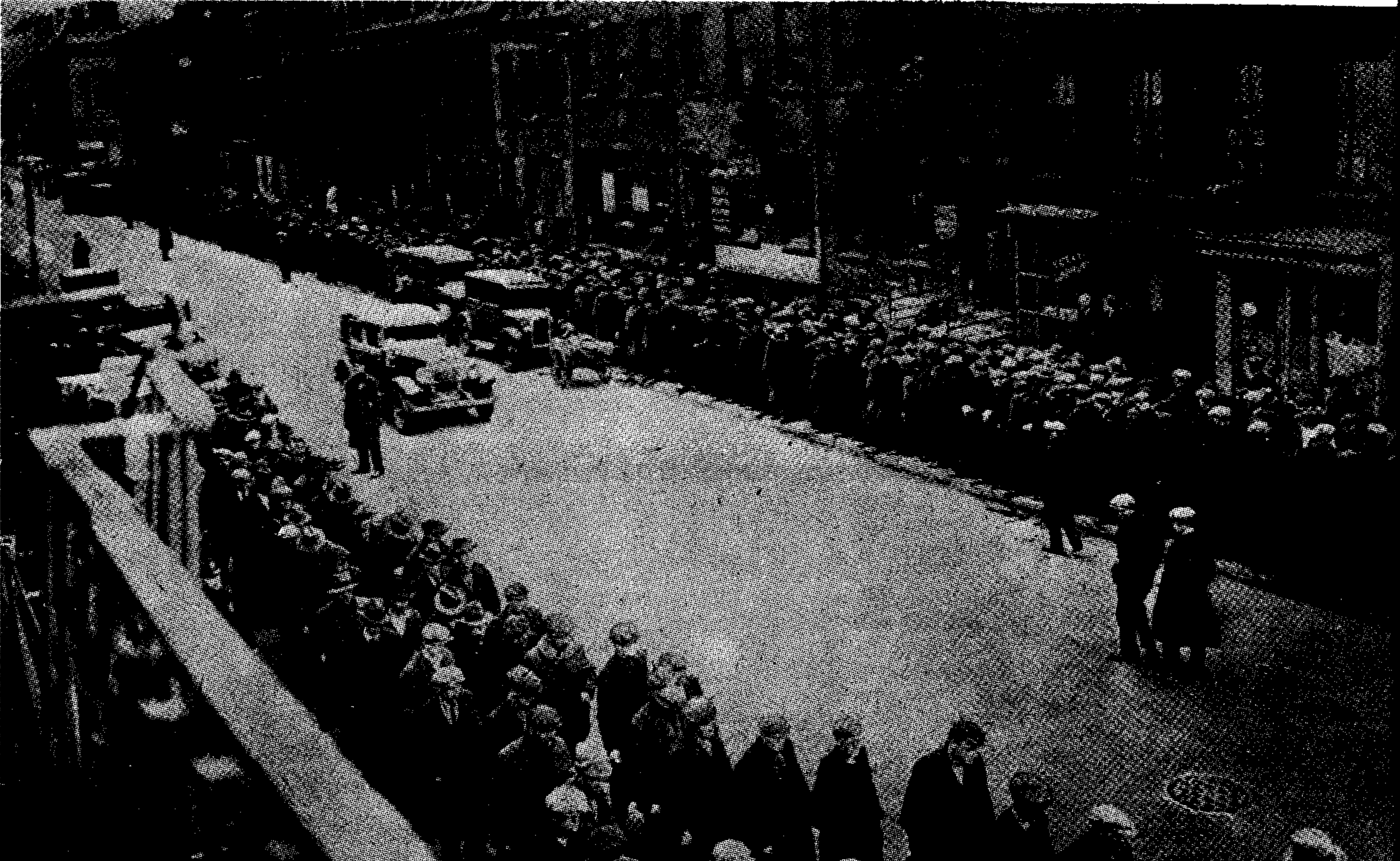
These denunciations of the three former leaders of the CP were printed in the party press and found their way all round the world encouraging the rest of the international opposition.

To win forces in the USA was a major step forward.

It helped the hard-pressed Trotskyist forces elsewhere to go forward



Trotsky reviewing troops in Red Square, 1921



American workers in food queues during the Depression

with renewed enthusiasm.

While news of the American group (and shortly afterwards the emergence of a Canadian group around Maurice Spector) inspired forces in the rest of the world, the Cannon group had to wait months before making direct contact with Trotsky.

Nevertheless they went ahead, resolved to answer the Stalinist gibe that they were "three generals without an army" by constructing one.

The work of building the left opposition was in stark contrast to Cannon's previous work:

"Not long before our

expulsion I had made my national tour, speaking to hundreds and sometimes thousands of people.

"Now we had to speak to individuals. Our propagandistic work consisted mainly of finding out names of isolated individuals in the CP, or close to the party, who might be interested, arranging an interview, spending hours and hours talking to a single individual, writing long letters explaining all our principled positions in an attempt to win over one person".

In the first phase isolated groups and individuals were won in Chicago and Minneapolis (a couple of dozen in each); Kansas (three or four); Philadelphia (two); New York (a few individuals); Cleveland, St. Louis and the mining areas of Southern Illinois.

*The Militant* was a propaganda paper, carrying long articles explaining the issues at stake in the divided world communist movement.

The CP responded with savage repression of anyone who even talked to the Trotskyists.

After building their whole lives in the party "a whole wall of ostracism" separated them from party members:

"We lived in those first days under a form of pressure which is in many

respects the most terrific that can be brought to bear against a human being—social ostracism from people of one's own kind."

Cannon reports how this pressure kept many sympathisers within the CP away from Trotskyism. The step necessary to break from the CP was just too great to take.

Throughout this period the Trotskyist movement considered itself to be still a faction of the Communist International.

### Initial work

Not until 1933 when Hitler came to power with hardly a ripple of opposition developing in the Stalinist ranks did Trotsky call for the building of a new revolutionary international.

The initial work of the American Trotskyists was therefore directed towards the cadres of the Communist Party.

As we have seen, the CP used slander and ostracism against the Trotskyists. When that failed they tried to use physical force:

"They sought to avoid having to answer any arguments by making it impossible for us to speak, to write, to exist."

The Trotskyists sold their papers outside the CP

headquarters in Union Square. The Stalinists were so surprised by the speed at which *The Militant* appeared that for a few weeks sellers were left alone.

Then the physical attacks began. Two women members were set upon, punched and kicked and driven away.

Fight after fight took place as the Trotskyists defended their programme and perspective in the face of the Stalinist terror.

Not content with confronting the Trotskyists on the streets the CP broke into Cannon's flat and stole all his private papers, documents, correspondence and records.

As with the other tactics they used, the physical attacks rebounded on the Stalinists:

"We scandalised them mercilessly, cried to high heaven, publicised their burglary and gangsterism and made them wince with our exposures... We knew how to exploit all these things to good effect... We appealed to the good will and communist conscience of the members of the party and began recruiting the people who came to us at first as a protest against this Stalinist procedure."

The attacks on sellers





Trotsky speaking in Copenhagen in 1932

and meetings went on until May 1929. When Cannon made a national tour the Stalinists turned up at meetings to wreck them.

Defence guards were formed and most of the meetings went ahead successfully.

It was after a meeting in New York where a Stalinist was so badly beaten that he ended up in hospital that the CP called a halt to the attacks, convinced that they could not wipe out the Trotskyists as easily as had been thought.

### Appeal

Meanwhile every possible opening to carry the revolutionary programme to the CP members was used.

For example, in December 1928 the Plenum of the party Central Committee met in New York.

Cannon, Schachtman and Abern turned up, knocked on the door and announced "We have come to appeal against our expulsion."

The faction fight was still going on, and hoping that they could use Cannon's previous association with Foster, the Lovestone faction, who were in a majority, allowed Cannon to take the floor.

He made a two-hour speech on behalf of all the expelled. The speech was printed in the next issue of *The Militant*.

On February 15, 1929 as the CP was preparing its national convention the Trotskyists published the platform of their faction.

In the short period from the October expulsions every document of the Left Opposition they could get hold of had been published.

Now a complete statement was drawn up.

### Platform

It began with a declaration of principles on an international scale—starting with the Russian question (the question of socialism in one country) and going from there to the trade union question in the US and the detailed problems of party organisation.

This was put forward in *The Militant* as the faction platform for the Communist Party convention.

By not turning away from the party they kept in contact with the best ele-

ments there. Further recruits were made.

Later in the year this platform was the basic document of the first National Conference of the Left Opposition in the United States.

That first conference, held in Chicago in May 1929 was attended by 31 delegates and 17 alternates from 12 cities representing a total of about 100 members throughout the country.

A leadership was elected and the organisation named "The Communist League of America, Left Opposition of the Communist Party".

A central preoccupation of this conference was the theoretical training of the membership.

"... no sooner had we been expelled and begun to fight the Stalinist bureaucracy than all kinds of people wanted to join us on one little condition; that we turn our backs on the Soviet Union and on the Communist Party and build an anti-communist organisation. We could have recruited hundreds of members in the first days had we accepted that condition."

It was vital that the nucleus of the US revolutionary party was absolutely clear on the gains of 1917 which remained in the Soviet Union despite bureaucratisation.

### Foundation

It was also necessary to fight those who wanted to turn away from the policy of fighting as a faction of the Communist Party.

In his *History of American Trotskyism*, Cannon places great emphasis on the importance of a firm theoretical foundation on which to build.

He shows how Trotskyism survived and grew precisely because of an understanding of the need for a clear independent working class programme.

Without such clarity other forces such as the Lovestone group who were soon themselves expelled from the CP (at the time of the left turn) and who chose an opportunist attitude to programme in order to facilitate growth, fell apart in the face of the twists and turns of Stalinism and the political situation generally (Lovestone's group voted to dissolve itself in 1941).

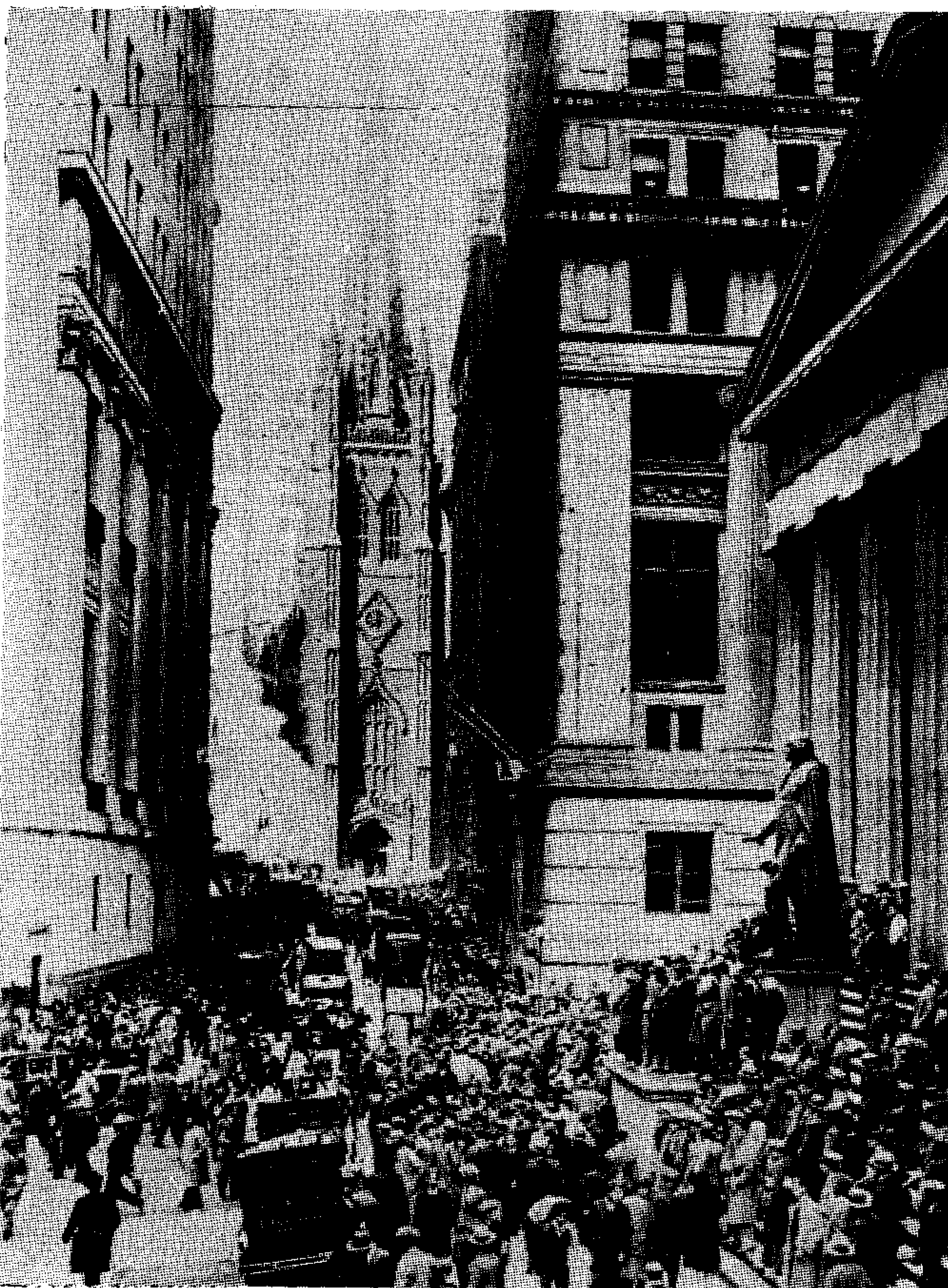
Tendencies towards avoiding the difficult work of remaining a faction of the CP represented a bending under pressure of the moment.

### Problems

People who could not stand up to pressure of this sort would be politically destroyed for the tasks to come.

As we have said, the twin themes of the Communist League of America were the Russian and trade union questions.

The Trotskyists replied to the CP's ultra-leftist position of ignoring the American Federation of Labour and instead building "Red Trade Unions", by fighting for an understanding that only by using the



existing formations could the mass of American workers be reached.

The left turn had in fact created problems for the Trotskyists.

Many CP members and sympathisers now said "Look, the party has corrected itself, there is no need for a separate organisation". Recruitment from the Stalinists stopped and, as the depression mounted,

the CP grew.

Now opened a period of increased hardship for the Trotskyist forces—"the dog-days of the Left Opposition" as Cannon called it.

The central emphasis was placed on publishing activity and theoretical work.

Despite enormous financial difficulties printing facilities were established and even a whole book—Trotsky's "Problems of the Chinese Revolution" was produced.

### Economical

The May 1929 conference had decided on a propaganda orientation. Cannon places great emphasis on economical use of forces. The question at the conference was "What concrete task shall we set for 100 people?"

Firstly it was decided that the CP remain the focus for activity.

"... the road to the masses leads through the vanguard and not over its head".

This period has often been misunderstood by later would-be Trotskyist forces.

In today's entirely different conditions, the sectarians of the International Spartacist Tendency in particular like to draw a parallel between their obsessive preoccupation with propaganda directed at other left groups today and the correct orientation of Cannon's group towards the CP.

The Spartacists believe that a "vanguard" is contained within the various largely petty-bourgeois subjectively revolutionary groups today in the same way that it was at that time to be found in the mass Communist Parties.

### Vanguard

But this is profoundly incorrect. In the late 1920's and early 1930's the political vanguard of the working class was to be found in the Communist Parties. These parties had been formed hardly a decade previously by thousands of people under



Stalin with cronies at the Black Sea

It was absolutely necessary to persist even in the most adverse conditions with a sharp orientation to those forces.

Even after the Trotskyists declared the need for a new International it was necessary to pay particular attention to work amongst the Stalinists.

The situation today is quite different. The various "Trotskyist" groupings have their origins in the post-war crisis and disintegration of the Trotskyist movement.

Moreover, the relationship of any of these forces to the working class is in no way comparable to that of the main CPs of the 1920's and 1930's.

### Fetish

So while for us today, discussion and polemics with other forces has an important part to play in the reconstruction of the Fourth International, our prime orientation is the practical and theoretical re-establishment of the Trotskyist tradition, the fight for the Trotskyist programme and method, in the day to day struggles of the working class.

Another fetish of the Spartacists is their concept of the "propagandist period".

By this they mean that before any serious attempt can be made to fight for leadership in the daily grind of the class struggle "cadres" must be accumulated (from other left groups) and "trained" theoretically in isolation from the class struggle in preparation for their future role as leaders of the workers struggle.

In defence of this orientation the sectarians continually throw at the authentic Trotskyists of the WSL the claim that in this approach they follow in the tradition of James P. Cannon.

At the May 1929 conference, as we have said, the Communist League of America set itself the task of concentrating its fire on the membership of the Communist Party.

Their method was as follows: "We set ourselves the task of propaganda *not* agitation."

In the next part of this series we will go into this question in more detail, but we can make a few brief comments here.

For while Cannon *does* say that with few members it was not possible to do mass work, he also has this to say about the political situation in which they were working.

"We had no chance whatever to participate in the mass movement. Wherever we tried to get into a workers' organisation we would be expelled as counter-revolutionary Trotskyists."

We tried to send delegations to the unemployed meetings. Our credentials would be rejected on the grounds that we were enemies of the working class."

In addition to this Cannon argues that:

"... there was great stagnation in the general labour movement. There were no strikes. The workers were quiescent. They were not interested in any theoretical questions. They were not interested in any actions at that time".

### Not parallel

Despite the longing of today's sectarians for a similar period of quiescence, in no way could the situation faced by Cannon be parallel with that obtaining today.

Our own movement, with only slender forces, has shown that it is possible to play an important role in the events of today's class struggle—much to the anger of sectarians and bureaucrats alike.

However, the attitude of the Cannon group to mass work must be more closely assessed.

### Mass work

It was around this question that the Communist League of America clashed with another grouping which claimed to be the real representatives of the Left Opposition in the USA.

The next part in this series will take us up to the launching of mass work by the Trotskyists. It will deal with the debates between Albert Weisbord's Communist League of Struggle and the Communist League of America, the significance of the points at issue and lessons for today.



Castro with Angolan President Neto



Castro (left) with Peruvian military dictators

# OLD PALS TOGETHER AGAIN

Part two of a review by Tony Richardson of "Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution—the Trotskyist View" by Joseph Hansen, published by Pathfinder Press in paperback.

It was Hansen who proclaimed OLAS: "... a definitive break with the treacherous leaderships whose advocacy of 'peaceful coexistence' really signifies a line of maintaining the status quo and doing everything possible to block the masses from taking the road to revolution".

## OLAS

It was Hansen who said that OLAS would "facilitate a regroupment of revolutionary forces in Latin America and speed up their development along programmatic lines [!]" (p.226)

Yet in 1969 Hansen, with no explanation, tried to turn round and argue that:

"In short, the Cubans have not yet settled accounts with Stalinism."

Of course between 1967 and 1969 a whole number of major changes—both in the USA with the emergence of the anti-war movement, and internationally, with the 1968 French General Strike and the "Prague Spring" had taken place.

The Stalinist intervention in Czechoslovakia had in fact drawn out the most obvious evidence that Castro had become integrated into the Kremlin's political orbit.

## Regretted

Yet in a 23 page article dealing with Castro's speech defending the Soviet intervention, Hansen does not once condemn Castro. Instead, making the point that the Czech invasion was one of the worst crimes of Stalinism, Hansen lamely adds:

"It is to be regretted that Castro does not see this. Perhaps he will come to this view as more facts accumulate." (p.378)

And though his general introduction does offer mealy-mouthed criticism of some of the regimes that Castro has supported—such as Allende's Popular Front, Neto's regime in Angola and the Mengistu dictatorship in Ethiopia—Hansen still talks of:

"... the efforts made by the Cuban leadership to defend their revolution by extending it." (p.8).

And Hansen concludes by arguing *against* a political revolution in Cuba for the overthrow of the Castro bureaucracy. Instead he calls vaguely for a "Leninist-type party that guaranteed internal democracy".

## Dogmatism

Despite nearly twenty years in which practical experience has exposed the hollowness of their analysis and refuted the impressionist ideas on which it was based, the USFI leaders, still cling rigidly to their false position on Cuba.

Pabloite empiricism has thus turned to a form of stubborn dogmatism whose mirror image is to be found in the Workers Revolutionary Party leadership—who insist to this day that Cuba remains a capitalist state in which Castro is a new Batista!

Hansen's collection of misleading and confused writings on Cuba are, in short, further eloquent testimony to the need to reconstruct the Fourth International on the basis of a return to the Marxist method and the principles of the Transitional Programme.

## Concluded

Excited by the appearances of the revolutionary overthrow of the Batista dictatorship in Cuba and the steps towards nationalisation that followed, leaders of the US Socialist Workers Party devised the concept that Fidel Castro had "naturally" become a Marxist—even an "unconscious Trotskyist".

Ignoring the close interplay between Castro's policies and the powerful political and economic support given to the new Cuban regime by the Soviet Union, the SWP leadership seized on his left demagoguery, and the progressive measures taken within Cuba to stamp out vestiges of support for US imperialism, to hold Castro up as an anti-Stalinist.

They ceased to call for the construction of an independent Trotskyist party in Cuba—and instead sought to play a role as a pressure group within Castro's political movement.

## Appearance

Such positions were wrong at the time, and can be seen more clearly to be wrong now. But they *did* fit in with the superficial appearance of events in Cuba—even though failing to grasp the real content of those events.

But now, nearly 20 years later, SWP leaders are still vigorously defending Castro and his policies against criticism, insisting, *in spite of* even the most obvious facts, that Cuban policy in Africa in general and in Ethiopia in particular is:

"an internationalist policy, a policy that aids the African revolution, and by extension the world socialist revolution".

These words, by SWP 'theoretician' Ernest Harsch, were written even while Cuban troops were using Soviet arms to back up the reactionary Derg military dictatorship and crush the Eritrean liberation struggle!

## Papered over

But these positions are the official position of the SWP—whose leaders have now papered over their political differences with the leadership of the 'United' Secretariat of the Fourth International (USFI) from which they are prevented from affiliation by reactionary US legislation.

A 300 page book just published by Pathfinder Press contains a collection of writings by leading SWP member Joseph Hansen *all of* which contain this false position on Castro.

During the 1960s the SWP not only printed Castro's speeches but consistently defended them against criticism:

"Each speech serves a definite political purpose, connected always with mobilising support for the defence or deepening of the



Stalinist tank ablaze in Prague 1968—Castro endorsed the Kremlin intervention

revolution. Each point in each speech is logically placed. Every explanation and every illustration is admirably chosen to drive the points home."

(p.121, 1961).

The SWP went even further, however, and suggested that Castro offers a solution to the working class fighting capitalism or the Stalinist bureaucracy. In a passage ironically and crushingly refuted by the course of events, Hansen argued in 1960:

"With such a relationship of forces, the fear that Cuba may fall like a ripe fruit into the hands of Khrushchev does not seem well founded. It is more likely that the Cuban example will prove to be a fresh source of inspiration to the Russian workers in their own struggle to win back the democracy they knew under Lenin and Trotsky." (p.54)

On Latin America, Hansen wrote:

"They have done well, too, in inspiring defence of the Cuban revolution on the continent. From Mexico to Chile and Argentina, Cuba has become a key issue in public life. In all likelihood, the next revolution in any of the Latin American countries will tend to follow the militant example of Cuba rather than that of Guatemala, where a compromising attitude towards the old ruling circles and their armed forces facilitated restoration of reaction." (p.60).

And on a world scale, too, Cuba was held up as the

answer to the problems of the workers' movement.

"A highly dynamic revolution, it can, by following the natural lines of its defence through revolutionary politics on the international scene, add qualitatively new force to the colonial revolution, to the defence of the Soviet countries against imperialist attack, and to the struggle for world-wide socialism."

(p.77)

Holding these impressionist and anti-Trotskyist positions, it was hardly surprising that in 1967 Hansen could write enthusiastically in support of the Havana conference of the Organisation of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS)—a Cuban-sponsored initiative to group together guerrillaists and 'revolutionary' organisations from Latin America, and attended by delegations from other workers' states and international organisations.

## Step forward

Hansen described the OLAS conference as "an encouraging achievement and a step forward for the world revolution". And in reply to the magazine *Monthly Review*, which had said that Castro was effectively launching a 'Fifth International', Hansen replied only that OLAS:

"... has much to accomplish before the claim can seriously be advanced that it constitutes a new International." (p.226)

Raising criticisms on the question of the industrial proletariat, the Stalinist bureau-

cracies, the revolution in Western Europe and democratic centralism, he went on:

"It is to be hoped that OLAS will take up these problems. I think that it is completely in the logic of the progress already made by the Tricontinental and OLAS conferences to turn towards serious consideration of these problems". (p.227)

## Guerrillaism

With not only Hansen, but the whole USFI leadership finding itself swept along with this "current", and drawing up great schemas through which the Castroite forces would provide ready-made revolutionary parties, it is



Castro's chosen ally in Ethiopia—Derg leader Mengistu.

small wonder that at the 1969 USFI World Congress guerrillaism was actually adopted as the policy of the Latin American sections.

In arguing against this policy Hansen found himself tied hand and foot by his earlier false positions. Far from realising his dreams of Castro coming over to Trotskyism, the real world had seen the "Trotskyists" of the USFI effectively going over to Castro!

It was at this point that Hansen came out with his first real attack on Castro, dropping for a while the approach of seeking to persuade this "natural Marxist" to adopt SWP policy.

Pointing out the attractive power of the Cuban revolution for the youth, and the failure of the Castroites to understand Stalinism, he declared:

"All of this fostered ultra-leftism and even an anti-political attitude among the youth drawn into the orbit of the Cuban revolution, particularly in Latin America". (p.248, 1970)

He claims it is necessary to go through the experience with the youth. *But the SWP actively misled youth into illusions on Castro and Stalinism.*

It was, in particular, Hansen himself who continuously praised Castro, even after his 1966 attacks on Trotskyism as "a vulgar instrument of imperialism and reaction" at the Tricontinental conference.



# Teachers' leader in anti-gay outburst

My association "never knowingly recruits homosexual teachers". So said the leader of the National Association of Schoolmasters, Terry Casey, in a scandalous Radio 4 interview last week.

This reactionary and sinister attack on the rights of gay teachers was launched in response to a "kit" of information and films produced by the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE) for use in school sex education.

## Proposition 6

Casey's witch-hunting words were frighteningly reminiscent of the recent

campaign for "Proposition 6" in California which would—had it been passed—have produced the sacking of all homosexual teachers from California.

That campaign was organised by the far right.

## 'Unacceptable risk

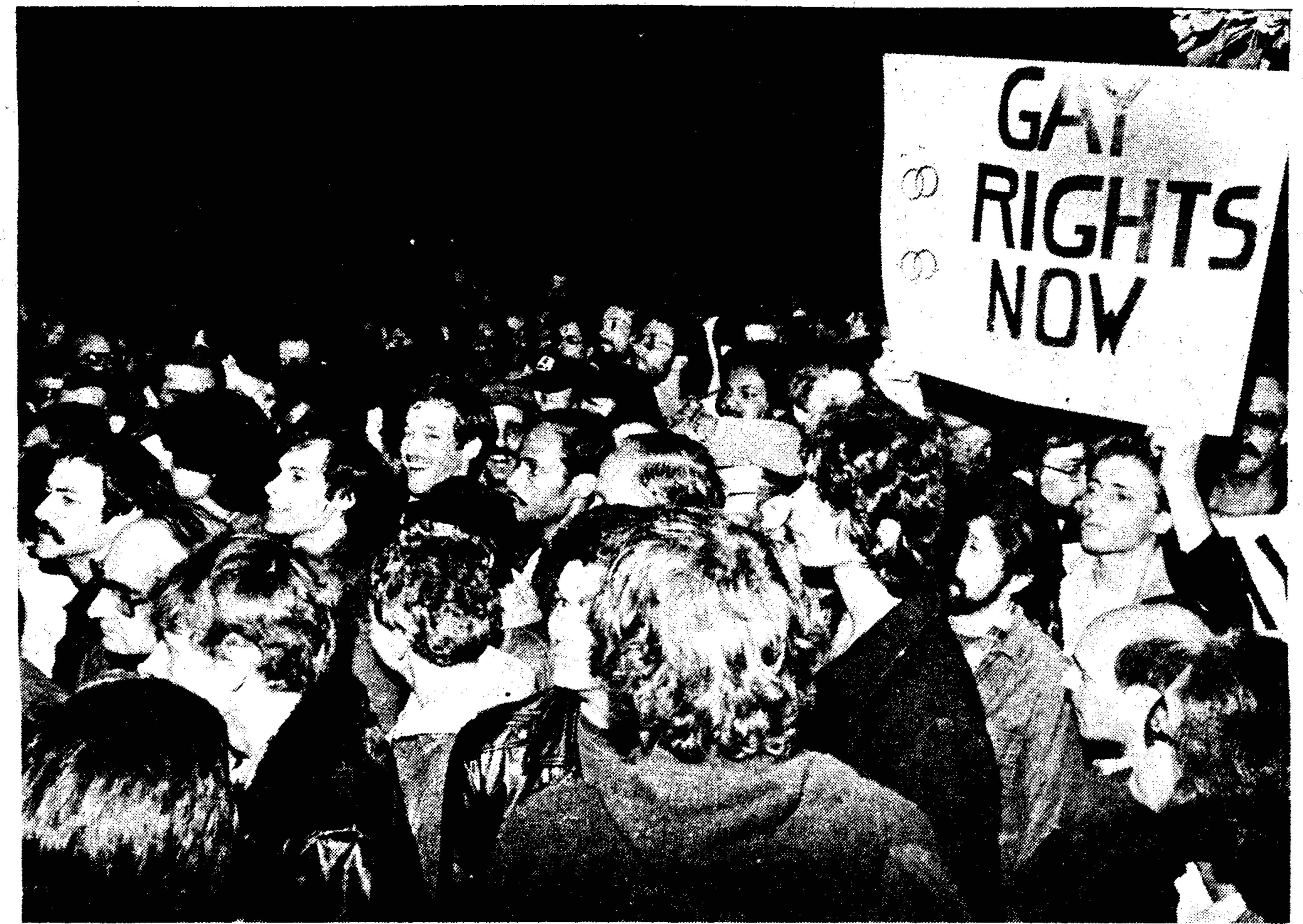
But it was opposed by almost the whole of the California trade union movement.

Casey, however, wants the same result while at the same time posing as a defender of the interests of teachers.

"I wouldn't want them persecuted" he said.

And then in the next breath he added that:

"They are an unacceptable risk in the teaching



American workers demonstrate on gay rights

Militant/Lou Howort

profession . . ."

Why anti-gay bigots such as Casey should believe that homosexual teachers are any greater "risk" than their heterosexual colleagues is not explained.

## Absurd argument

Doubtless it is part of the reactionary bourgeois mythology that depicts gays as incapable of controlling their sexual feelings, while

"normal" people are supposedly well-balanced.

Soaring rape statistics scarcely help this absurd argument, which feeds largely on ignorance about homosexuality—an ignorance which the CHE "kit" for schools is designed to combat.

Terry Casey, however, has shown that he is an unacceptable risk for those teachers whom he claims to

represent.

The press attempts to use the Thorpe case to spearhead fresh attacks on gays, coupled with the intensive barrage of propaganda by both Labour and Tory leaders in extolling the virtues of the bourgeois family unit suggest that Casey's outburst is likely to be only the first of a succession of similar attacks by

right wing trade union leaders.

His sinister attack shows the need to fight in the trade unions, especially the teachers' unions, for the rights of all workers and youth to determine their own sexual orientation without fear of any form of discrimination.

## IRELAND



The Common Market has been an issue increasingly to the fore in Ireland over recent months.

The "will he? won't he?" haggling by Irish Premier Jack Lynch over the European Monetary System (EMS) ended last week with a decision to remain outside—after failing to extract substantial sums of cash aid from the richer EEC countries (see p.5).

But at the same time the groundwork is being laid for the elections to the so-called "European Parliament", to be held next June.

Irish participation in the elections is part of an effort by both the British imperialist oppressors in the occupied six counties and by their lackeys in Lynch's government in the 26 counties to tie Ireland more firmly into the economic/military bloc of European capitalism.

This will have the effect of strengthening all those forces opposing the war of national liberation now carrying on in the six counties, and propping up

the bourgeois regime in the South.

Recognising this line-up, Sinn Fein has declared itself clearly for an active boycott of the June elections, and, according to the paper *An Phoblacht*, has made moves to internationalise such a campaign at a recent meeting in Turin.

The Sinn Fein delegate pointed out that the main effects of the EEC in Ireland have been to raise the cost of living, weaken native Irish industry at the expense of multinationals, throw open Ireland's fishing waters to superior EEC fleets and undermine Irish neutrality (Ireland being the only EEC country not a member of NATO).

## Hostility

And in turn the EEC brings NATO support for the British occupying army, and European pressure on the British government not to surrender to Irish liberation forces.

With hostility against the EEC rising amongst Irish people—particularly in view of the failure of promised

## Sinn Fein fights for EEC election boycott

help for small farmers to materialise—the boycott campaign can play an important role in the fight to break Ireland free of imperialist domination.

But to go further than a protest gesture the boycott campaign must be connected to a fight for a series of transitional demands pointing the way forward for the Irish working class and small farmers in their struggle with British, European and Irish capitalism.

Such demands must include the fight for the protection of living standards through a *sliding scale of wages*, providing increases to keep pace with inflation as assessed by elected trade union and housewives' committees.

They must include resistance to all redundancies and sackings through occupation of threatened factories; and the fight for the opening of the books of Irish and multinational firms to trade union committees to show the necessity for them to be nationalised, without compensation, under workers'

management.

And unemployment must be challenged through the call for a crash programme of useful public works, creating new jobs throughout the 32 counties of Ireland.

## Trotskyist party

Such demands, pointing to the need for a planned, socialist economy in a united workers' republic of Ireland, are of course unachievable without the removal of all British troops from the occupied six counties, and the Lynch government.

While the Sinn Fein campaign for an active boycott and their objective, which *An Phoblacht* describes as:

"... acting in cooperation with kindred organisations in Europe, to dismantle the EEC totally" is in general correct, it is necessary to build a Trotskyist party in Ireland capable of mobilising the working class in the struggle for a revolutionary socialist alternative to capitalism and the Common Market.

## 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

# Broad Left stifles fight in NUS

The National Union of Students annual conference has seen the development of the role of the Broad Left alliance of Stalinists, Tories and reformists.

Through bureaucratic bludgeoning which would cheer the heart of Citrine, Jack Jones or Len Murray, they have retained their hold—but only against a barrage of criticism of their policy of “responsible negotiations” and their failure to mobilise any students against cuts, unemployment or rent rises.

There is no doubt that sooner or later these reactionary bureaucratic careerists will be toppled.

But the question facing students is how and on what basis to do this, as they themselves move into action for higher grants and lower rents.

During the Executive report the Stalinists and their social democratic allies were continually attacked for their failure to respond or give a lead to students unions faced with attacks on their right to organise and their living standards.

The anger of militant students came to a head in the discussion of “catering and residence” when a series of students complained that they had been on rent strike since the beginning of term against increases in hall fees of up to 20% but had received no support from the NUS Executive.

These students condemned the EC for their refusal to coordinate this action, or even to circulate information on Hall fee actions.

Penny Cooper, Stalinist treasurer of the NUS responded by admitting “the National Executive did not attempt to coordinate the London actions”.

She blamed the membership for not giving her the information and said it was not the job of the National Executive to lead such actions!

In the grants and cuts debate, Cooper and Co. turned the argument around to say that they were trying to lead a campaign, but the members wouldn't respond!

The Broad Left policy on grants was eventually passed—with about one-third of the conference voting against.

This policy contained a

series of demands for grant increases and the abolition of anomalies such as discretionary awards. But it made no demand for grants to be protected against inflation.

Furthermore the strategy for campaigning on grants will continue to be restricted to publicity stunts and individual discussions with MPs and ministers of state.

The main opposition to this came from the IMG-led Socialist Students Alliance.

However, as Mick Archer, SSA Executive member admitted, their amendment did not contain any different demands to those of the Broad Left!

The only difference was more militant phraseology, and an abstract call for mass campaigning by linking the fight to the trade union movement.

In the debate on education and youth unemployment the Broad Left announced their full support for all the instruments used by the government to provide a smoke-screen for its policies.

Rejecting even the most tepid mobilisation against such policies proposed by the SSA and the SWP, they supported the Manpower Services Commission and all other available diversions.

## Mandate

The extreme of bureaucratic control was felt in a truncated discussion on Northern Ireland.

The EC had refused to carry out a mandate to support the International Tribunal on Britain's Presence in Ireland.

Their reasons, put by Deputy President Alan Christie, was that it was a “front” for the “sectarian Troops Out Movement”.

The clear dereliction of democracy was compounded by the Broad Left Stalinists who through a series of bureaucratic manoeuvres and regimented votes bludgeoned through their policy with only one brief speech being allowed against what they had done.

By centring the Irish discussion on the question of the Tribunal the IMG and others have now allowed the NUS to use the charge of “sectarianism” to move away altogether from any campaign in opposition to the military occupation of Ireland.



# NUPE MUST FIGHT SACKINGS

Last week the chairman, secretary and one other member of the West London Hospital NUPE branch were sacked.

The branch responded with all-out strike action (joined by AUEW members) with supporting action in the neighbouring Charing Cross Hospital.

This move by the hospital management represents the most serious attack in recent years on trade unionists in the health service, striking at the basic right of hospital workers to organise.

The sacked leadership of the branch—Stan Hunt and Alan Pinfold—have established a principled record in their time of office, defending their membership consistently against all management attacks, and leading the branch out on strike in response to the raid on Hounslow Hospital earlier in the year.

These are the underlying reasons behind the sackings, and it is vital that these militants are defended with immediate action throughout the London health service.

The sackings are the direct result of a long-running dispute over ‘clocking-in’ at the hospital which came to strike action in the summer when management

docked 10% of ancillary workers pay due to their refusal to return to the clock after a six-month experimental scheme.

After months of trailing through ACAS and the courts, the authorities had still not repaid the back-pay by November.

About a month ago the branch responded by shutting off the central heating at the hospital.

Management immediately embarked on a well-prepared plan to evacuate the patients to a nearby hospital.

## Sacked

Last week, with the patients all returned and the dispute temporarily settled it was announced out of the blue that the worker who allegedly shut down the boiler was to be sacked, along with the branch secretary and chairman—not for anything to do with the dispute, but because of their general ‘work record’.

It is obvious that these sackings are a blatant attempt at victimisation, and that the dispute itself is only a pretext used by management to get rid of the branch leadership who have consistently defended the working conditions of their members.

Other hospital groups in London have gone off the clock in recent months without the slightest hint of trouble and the plans for evacuation had been prepared well before the summer—which highlights the cynical disregard by management for the welfare of the patients when it comes to the serious business of victimisation.

This is borne out by the huge press and media campaign which has surrounded the strike, with front page personal attacks on the sacked workers in the national press.

An example of the orchestrated nature of the press witch-hunt was given on Thursday morning when a handful of women arrived at the picket line in a van, and paraded in front of the hospital with push-chairs for the benefit of the flotilla of bourgeois press reporters who arrived at the same time.

## Posed

They posed for the cameras for about 15 minutes—touting ‘patients before politics’ banners and then they left, along with the reporters!

It is obvious that the hospital management and Area Health Authority have deliber-

ately timed this attack on trade unionism to coincide with future action on pay in the health service unions.

This makes it vitally important that immediate widespread action is taken for their complete reinstatement.

Throughout the history of the dispute, the official NUPE leadership have repeatedly shown that they are both incapable and unwilling to defend these militants.

## Evacuation

Although the dispute has already led to two strikes and the evacuation of patients, the NUPE leadership has made no attempt to circulate health service branches and emphasise the central importance of the dispute.

They have repeatedly turned to ACAS, industrial tribunals and the bourgeois courts in a desperate attempt to find an individual solution to what is a class problem, affecting trade unionists throughout the health service.

Their scandalous record is highlighted by the fact that at present, they have refused to give full official backing to the strike.

## All-London strike

The only way to avoid the isolation of those victimised trade unionists is to force the leadership, by passing resolutions through Divisions, Area Committees and branches of NUPE, to sponsor an immediate, all-London health service stewards conference to plan a programme of London-wide strike action for the full reinstatement of the three trade unionists.

All NUPE branches in London must be circulated and informed of the seriousness of the victimisation, and its relation to future pay struggles.

It must be stressed again that the union officials cannot be trusted to instigate this action without the sharpest possible pressure from the dismissed branch officials and strikers.

# Why join the WSL?

Quite frankly, we're unique!

We're the only movement that fights patiently and relentlessly for the building of a Trotskyist party capable of mobilising the working class in the struggle for state power and the establishment of a socialist society.

In doing so, the WSL alone does not shrink from head-on battles with the existing leaders of the working class—whether these be ‘left’ talking Labourites union bureaucrats, or Stalinists of the Communist Party.

In these battles we set out to prove to workers both in theory and in practice the necessity for a new leadership and for a programme of transitional demands which, starting from today's problems and today's consciousness within the working class, lead workers in struggle to grasp the need for socialist revolution.

For this reason, though we are smaller than some self-styled ‘revolutionary’ groups, the WSL has featured in the forefront of pay struggles in British Leyland,

in the fight against the sale of jobs by TUC leaders, in the struggle against the cuts, in unionisation struggles, and in the fight against bureaucratic dictatorship within the unions.

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

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

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

the only really serious revolutionary movement.

When you look at the struggles now under way and the problems faced by the working class, the necessity for a principled leadership is unmistakable.

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

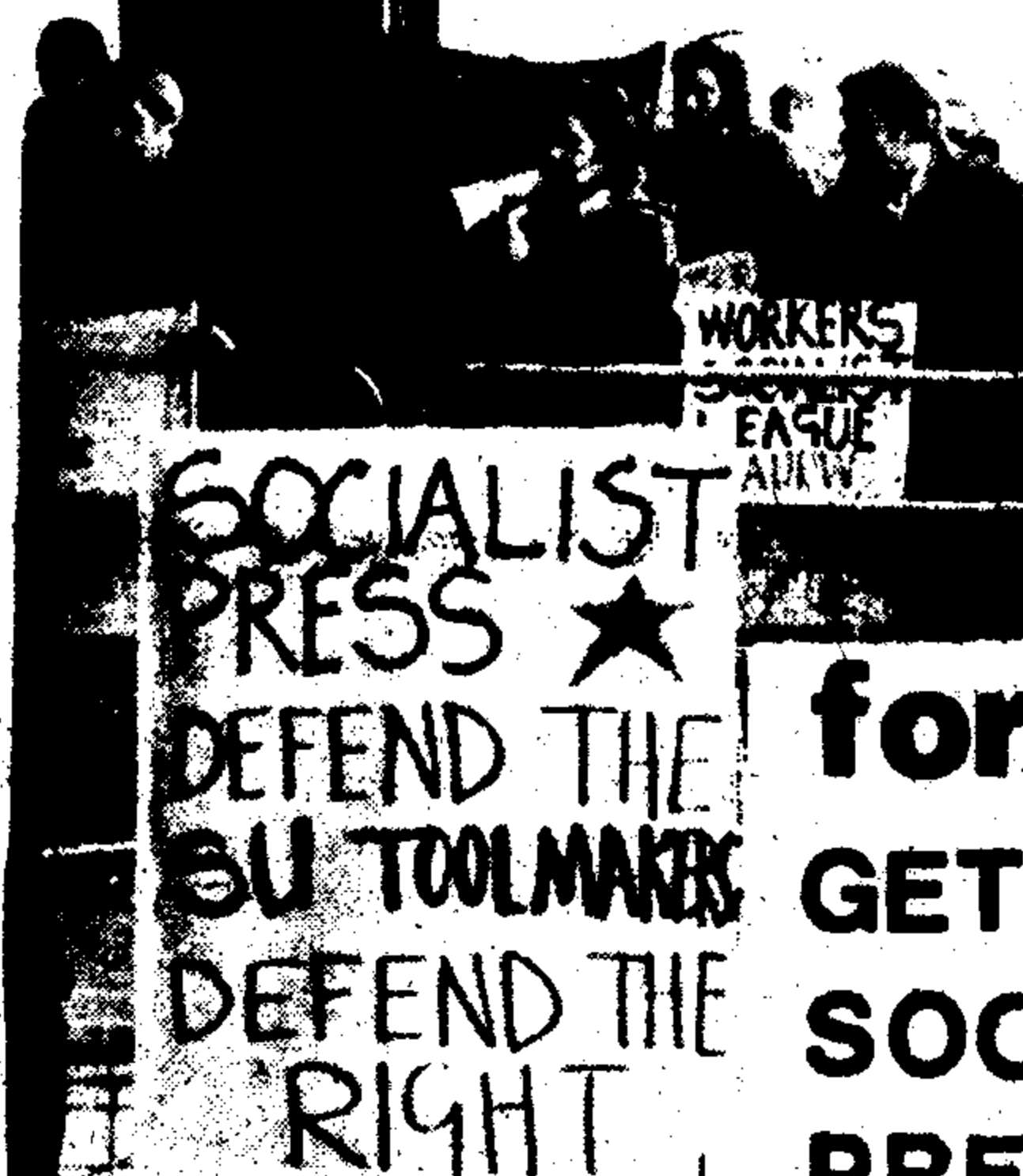
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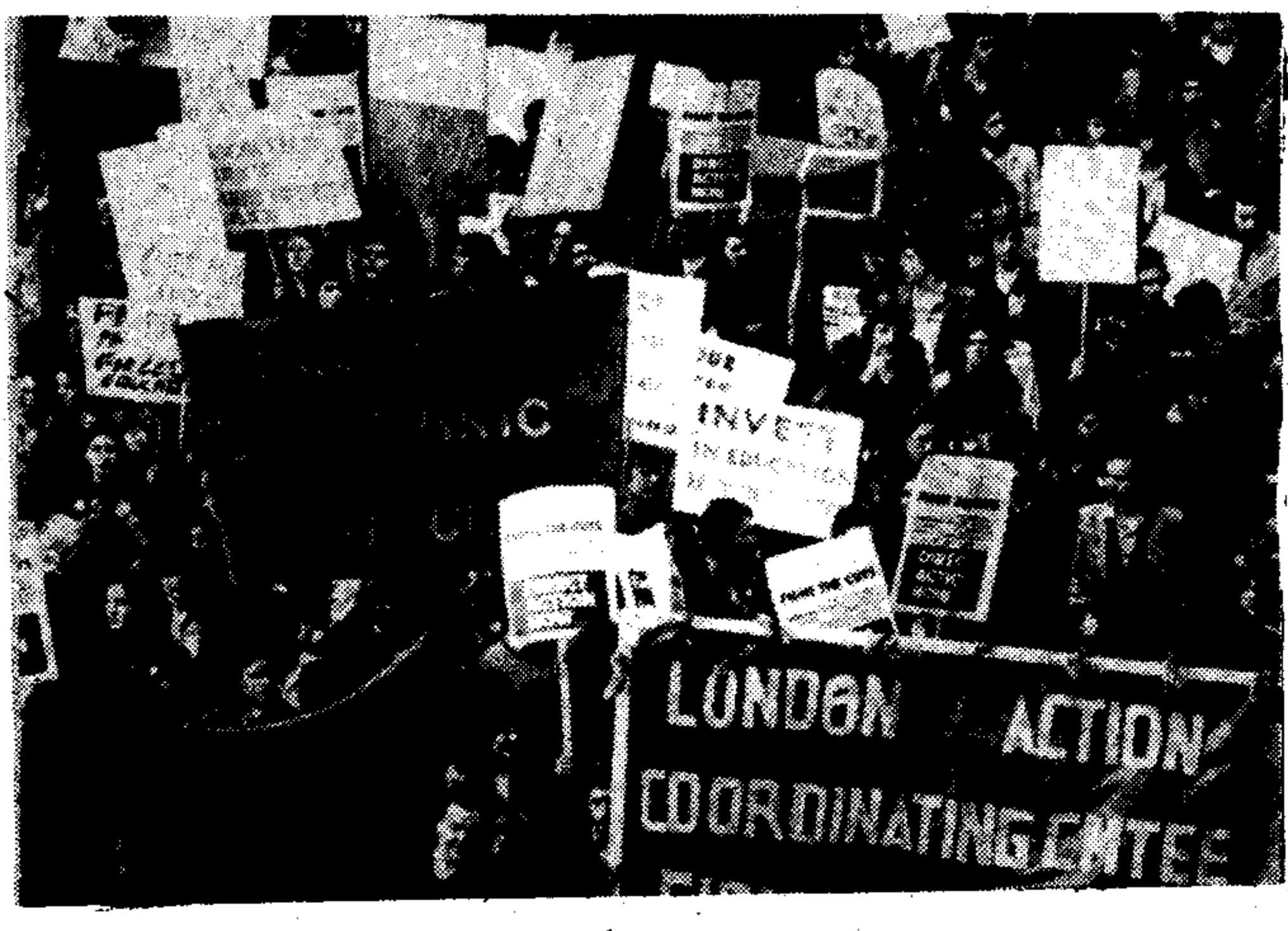
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# Oxford hospital fight

# Confusion reigns on new BL pay ballot

The Longworth Hospital Support Committee which is campaigning to save the local geriatric hospital from the axe of the Oxfordshire Area Health Authority is holding public meetings in Witney and Oxford this week, with a demonstration through Oxford on Saturday.

This demonstration starts at 1 p.m. outside the Cowley Road geriatric hospital whose closure by the AHA has already been announced.

A meeting of Oxford's health service trade unionists last week, chaired by Pat Ward, chairman of the NUPE branch which covers the Cowley Rd. Hospital, decided to set up a support committee for Cowley Road similar to that at Longworth.

This was an obvious embarrassment to Ward, who, along with NUPE Executive member Betty Ward (a part-time worker at Cowley Road) has previously claimed that Cowley Road workers have "accepted" its closure.

The Longworth Support Committee hopes to mobilise health service workers throughout Oxfordshire as well as other trade unionists

Mass meetings at Leyland's Cowley Assembly Plant last week were strongly recommended to vote 'No' in the company's ballot which is taking place this week.

It is quite clear from these meetings that Cowley will register a strong 'No' vote—since the implications of voting 'yes'—to acceptance of a new grading structure and the loss of 7,000 jobs—have been explained.

But the overall vote in Leyland is likely to be for acceptance because of the complete lack of information at Longbridge (where the workers are being recommended to vote in favour) and at the other major plants.

### Not settled

But the question will not be settled by this vote as far as many workers opposed to the grading structure are concerned.

Bob Fryer, the TGWU senior steward at the Assembly Plant in Cowley told the mass meetings that he would be calling together production workers to fight the splitting of production workers into two grades.

He also promised to back any section acting to defend its manning standards.

### No lead

In the neighbouring Body Plant, however, the leadership is giving no lead over the loss of jobs.

As a result the management

is succeeding, in some time-work areas, in getting rid of labour without replacement.

But mass meetings in that plant of 3,500 production workers voted, with only four votes against, in support of the stewards' position of opposing the introduction of two grades of production workers.

Similar mass meetings of Body Plant forklift truck drivers voted unanimously to oppose their position in the grading structure.

# Yorks union fight

An unofficial strike by nine delivery men is taking place at Cooplands bakery in Scarborough, the North East coast holiday resort.

Drivers, all members of the TGWU, took this action after a year's frustrated efforts to get management to recognise the union.

The strike began on 8 November when three drivers were sacked after refusing to carry out extra deliveries brought about by the then impending bakers' strike.

After their dismissal, six other delivery men came out in support responding to threats by management.

# STALINIST ARRESTED IN GARNERS DAY OF ACTION

Tom Durkin, a member of the Communist Party and a leading member of GLATC was arrested last Friday.

His arrest—for being the 7th person on the picket line at Garner's Haymarket restaurant—is the direct responsibility of fellow Stalinist and TGWU Regional Secretary Sid Staden, whose agreement with the police to limit the picket lines

to six-strong has given scabs and police a blank cheque to harass and intimidate strikers and supporters.

The consequences of this scandalous agreement, was exposed throughout the 'Day of Picketing' called by GLATC and the Region 1 of the TGWU.

The police, clearly acting on strict instructions to prevent anything resembling a mass picket to form, resorted to vicious attacks on pickets to enforce their restrictions of six per restaurant.

However, by arresting the bewildered Durkin along with 14 other pickets, the ruling class has arrogantly thrown down a challenge that parallels the arrest of Scargill and Audrey

Wise at Grunwicks.

If the Grunwick strike taught the employers new methods of struggle it is clear that the 'left' bureaucrats Staden and Shorter are determined to continue their record of sabotage in this strike.

Repeating their scandalous level of support for the Day of Action on October 7, Shorter and Staden managed to mobilise only one delegation out of 1,600 TGWU branches for Friday's action.

### Shattered hopes

However, the large turnout of over 400 on Friday evening including a delegation of 31 from Sussex University, shattered their hopes that the Day of Picketing would be a dismal failure.

Moreover with the arrest of a leading Stalinist it is now difficult for the Regional leadership to dissociate the TGWU from Friday's picket.

Leading members of the labour movement have suffered the consequences of Staden's betrayal in full view of wide layers of workers and in the glare of the national media.

The crisis that is now opening up in the Regional leadership of the TGWU and implicating the Communist Party is reflected in the announcement that Ron Todd is returning to conduct the strike.

The strike committee can draw strength from Friday's action in the knowledge that Todd's reappearance signals the inability of the Regional leadership to easily sell this strike out.

All militants in the TGWU must now take up the campaign through the branches and shop stewards committees for a national TGWU delegate conference mandated to support strike committee policies.

All trade unionists should send resolutions condemning Staden's agreement with the police through branches to Trades Councils and the TGWU Regional Committee.



Durkin

# AN EPITAPH FOR A STOOGEE

One time right wing convener and darling of the Daily Mail, Reg Parsons, left the BL Cowley Assembly Plant last Friday, isolated, discredited and defeated.

He had been given voluntary redundancy payment by BL management.

It is understood that he is to join the management of Rank Hovis McDougall under Geoff Whallen, formerly Industrial Relations Director of BL, and now a director of RHM.

Parsons was a renegade from the Trotskyist Socialist Labour League. He became a noted witch-hunter and strike breaker.

He climbed to notoriety in 1974 when TGWU

Deputy Convenor Alan Thornett was victimised by BL management.

When Thornett's section struck, Parsons called a meeting of the paint shop, where he was steward, and denounced Thornett in an anti-communist speech—soon to become a familiar theme.

After supporting the reactionary "Cowley wives" strike breaking stunt, Parsons penned the witch-hunting letter to Jack Jones which triggered a chain of events leading to a Regional Inquiry and the calling of fresh convenors' elections under the spotlight of a national press campaign against Thornett and the plant convenor Bob Fryer.

Parsons, the chosen

nominee of the press, the TGWU bureaucracy and the company, was elected convenor and became the idol of the reactionary gutter press and the television channels.

Enjoying the full support of TGWU General Secretary Jack Jones, Region 5 Secretary Brian Mathers and Oxford District Secretary David Buckle, he set out to "drive the Trotskysts out of the plant".

In the summer of 1976 he victimised four stewards and claimed that "he had put the Trots to bed for good".

A year later, and yet another Regional Inquiry later, Parsons set up another new TGWU branch in the plant in an attempt to destroy the 5/293 which

was now chaired by Thornett.

But since 1974 things had changed. The majority of members refused to move.

When Parsons banned Alan Thornett from stewards' meetings he was heavily discredited as Thornett's whole section struck and turned up for the meeting.

Shortly afterwards, in December last year Parsons found himself voted out of office.

Fryer was re-elected convenor and Alan Thornett his deputy.

The reply of Parsons and the TGWU bureaucracy was to trump up charges against them and seven other militants (the Cowley 9) and recommend that they

be barred from office or expelled from the union.

Parsons' departure from the factory comes at a time when it has become clear that the victimisation campaign has floundered and action against Thornett or Fryer near impossible because of the mass support they retain in the plant.

Involved is not the demise of an individual anti-communist.

Parsons' departure symbolises the end of a determined attempt by the TGWU bureaucracy together with management over 4½ years to destroy the principled leadership built in the Cowley Assembly Plant, an attempt which has failed.

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE OXFORD**

Public Meeting

"The Fight Against Phase 4"

NUJ speaker

Friday 15 December 8.00 p.m.

East Oxford Community Centre, Princes St.

