



# Token actions will not win ENGINEERING CLAIM: CALL AN ALL-OUT

# STRIKE!

Even more engineering workers were out on strike this Monday in the second of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions series of three one-day token strikes on pay.

In every area virtually all the two million members in federated firms are out, as well as many workers in non-federated firms who usually follow the Federation's pay patterns.

But as the engineering workers get stronger, the union leadership tries to manoeuvre away from a confrontation.

AUEW leader Terry Duffy is now talking about maybe following up this action with "selective strikes".

This is a conscious betrayal of the struggle.

If only certain areas or firms are called out then the rest of the employers will finance those employers affected and through that try to demoralise the striking workers.

## Strength of feeling

No, what is required, as the only way forward, is all-out, indefinite strike action!

The last two Mondays have shown the tremendous strength of feeling amongst engineering workers in relation to their low wages and conditions.

This is a nationwide development. In Hull all federated firms are out as well as many non-federated; in Bradford all federated firms are out; and in Leicester all federated firms are out as well as several non-federated.

In Leicester Goodwin-Barsby which scabbed on the first strike came out on the second, and this is also the case in relation to the British Leyland Body Plant in Oxford.

In the latter case the right wing plant leadership tried to carry out only part of the Confed's limited action—calling only for the one day's strike.

Though they carried this policy through the stewards' committee they were voted down at a day shift mass meeting of over 3,000, who forced the platform to include the imposition of the Confed's overtime ban in the resolution—which was then carried by a massive majority.

## Forced to adopt

It was this kind of shop floor feeling that forced the Confed to adopt the claim for £80 skilled pay, a 35-hour week and for two extra days' holiday.

The same feeling was shown when Duffy tried to lower the claim. The AUEW national committee felt obliged to vote against this treachery—resulting in present battles.



PHOTO: Laurence Spahnam, IFL

Ford strikers: all-out action forced employers from 5% to 15%

This strength is a continuation of the winter battles against Callaghan's 5% pay policy.

Workers have proved they have the strength to win such struggles—by forcing out Heath's government and defeating Callaghan's pay laws.

The engineers' response surprised both the employers and the union leadership. It shows that the Tories and the press gloated too quickly about their election victory.

## Weakness

The Labour government lost the election because of its attacks on the working class, not because of Thatcher's strength.

Already television technicians and Talbot (Chrysler) workers have undertaken major battles on wages.

Other sections will soon be in action against the cuts in social services. And the whole trade union movement will also be forced quickly into struggle against the anti-union laws.

The employers and Tories realise the working class are in a fighting mood. This is why they are determined to try to hold back and defeat this movement.

The engineering employers have shown this by threatening to throw the firms that have settled the claim out of their Federation.

Workers have the same determination, but the problem facing them is their reactionary reformist leadership.

For four years TUC leaders told workers not to fight the Labour government—and even when they called action, they called such half-hearted actions as last winter's selective strikes in the public sector.

But now the Tories are in, and the union leaders who previously used the argument of 'saving the Labour government' are still taking the same attitude.

First they tried to compromise the claim. Then under pressure they called just one-day strikes and an overtime ban. Now the members have responded to this and the employers haven't conceded.

Duffy is in a corner.

How do these leaders respond to this? They talk only of "selective" strikes which led to a disastrous defeat when implemented by the AUEW seven years ago.

## Leadership

The only way to win the full claim is through indefinite strike action to force the employers to concede.

In fighting for this policy the Workers Socialist League fights for the development of a revolutionary leadership in the working class in opposition to the existing TUC and Labour leaders.

The possibilities for this are getting greater as the working class moves into action and the reformist union leaders are seen to betray—with uncritical support

from the Communist Party.

As part of our fight for a principled revolutionary leadership, the WSL is supporting the anti-Tory conference called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement on November 3 in Birmingham. This is part of the struggle for a new leadership.

We urge all engineering workers, television technicians and others to come to this conference and join us in the fight for a new leadership

## Bosses' figures show drop in living standards

If you get the impression that despite the Tories' pathetic tax handouts you are already worse off than last year, you are right.

The CBI has just issued guidelines to employers showing that the standard of living of the average wage earner with two children has fallen by a staggering 7.5% since last August.

The fall in real family income, says the CBI will range by the end of the year between 5.8% for families on £2,500 per year and 9% for those on

£10,000 per year.

The CBI's answer? They urge the TUC to keep next year's pay increases "well below" the rise in prices over the last 12 months—in order to avoid loss of jobs.

But, pay rises or no pay rises, Treasury forecasts predict unemployment at 2 million by next year.

Far from sacrificing living standards to preserve the profits of the employers, workers must take action to defend their own interests at the expense of British capitalism. Only a socialist planned economy can safeguard jobs and living standards.

for the nationalisation of basic industry and the banks without compensation under workers' management.

\*Prepare for united class action to bring down the Tories! Build councils of action in each area to strengthen and extend struggles on pay and jobs. Fight for the removal of those Labour and trade union leaders—left or right—that stand opposed to such a struggle.

CDLM Conference page 11



# Islamic bigots grapple with Iranian mass struggles

'Strike after strike, occupation after occupation, marches after marches, the spreading of one lying rumour after another.'

All these things displease 'God' and the Ayatollah Khomeini.

In a broadcast last week, Khomeini declared that under the dictatorship of the Shah such actions 'pleased God'.

But now that they threatened the Islamic government, they should be regarded as 'major sins'. 'If you support Islam and its principles of freedom you must cease opposition and obstructionism which weaken the government's work for the nation and its help for the poor.'

These desperate pleas and threats were wrung from the Ayatollah in the aftermath of the elections to the 'Constituent Assembly'.

## Debacle

That brief detour into the realms of bourgeois democracy has proved to be a disastrous debacle for the regime of Khomeini and Bazargan.

In exile and opposition, the Ayatollah had promised free elections to a constituent assembly.

But once installed as de facto head of state, Khomeini extended his attacks on 'Western' democracy, and abandoned any commitment to such elections.

Instead, the constitution of the 'Islamic Republic' was to be drawn up by the Revolutionary Council and then presented for approval before an appointed group of religious dignitaries.

The widespread hostility



Bakhtiar

which greeted this announcement forced Khomeini to concede some trappings of formal democracy.

The object of this exercise remained unchanged: to legitimise the regime by the sanction of some body supposed to represent the people of Iran.

The constitution had already been drawn up by Khomeini's aides: the assembly was intended to do no more than rubber-stamp their proposals, or at most introduce minor refinements.

But the religious leaders took no chances on getting the kind of assembly they wanted.

## Free to stand

All parties were theoretically free to participate and stand candidates.

The Stalinist Tudeh Party took full advantage of this, as did the guerrilla

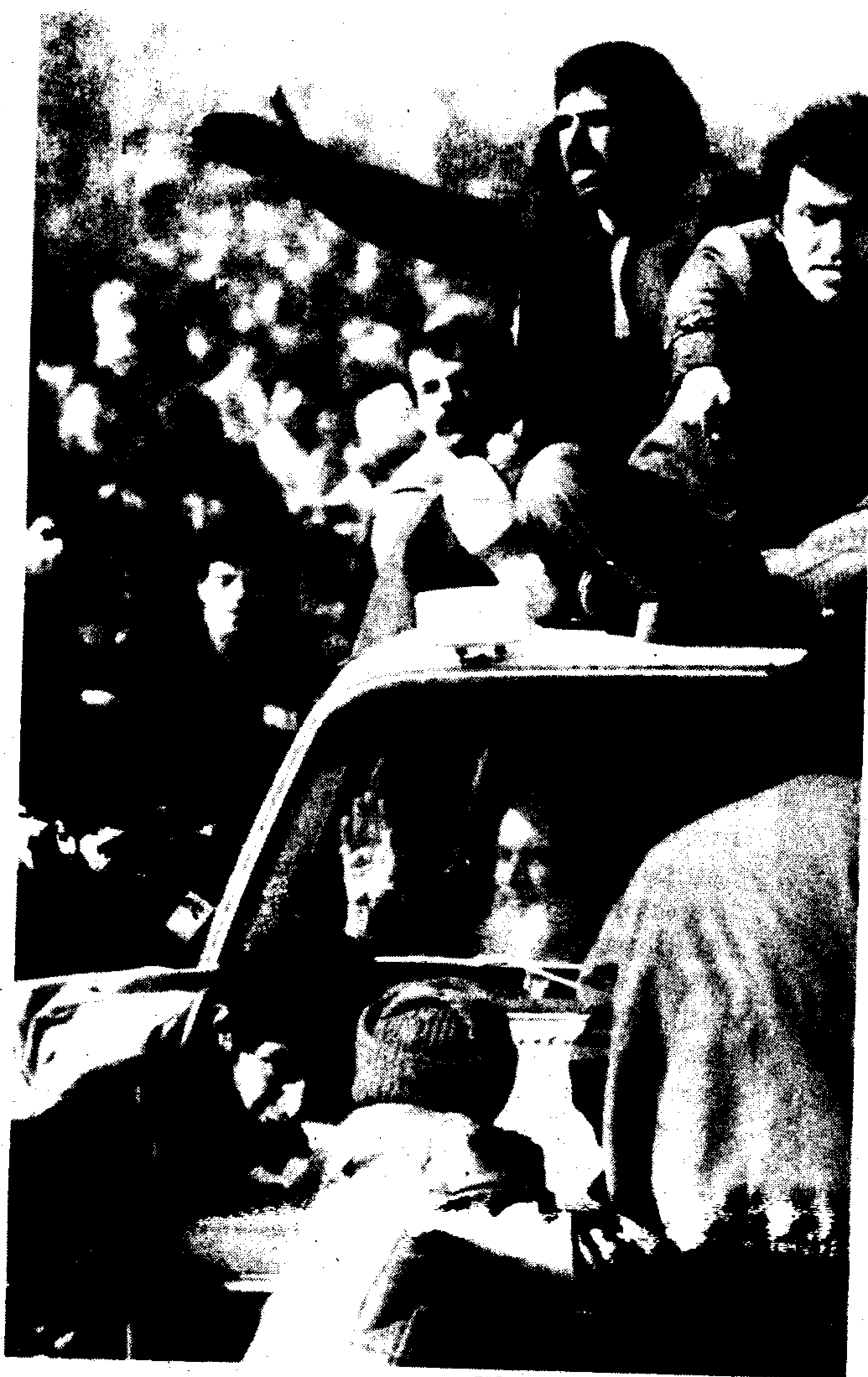
groupings of the Fedayeen and Mujahideen—early reports suggested that one of the Mujahideen's candidates had actually been elected.

But the nationalist organisations of the Kurds, and of the Arabs in Khuzestan, condemned the draft constitution and the proposed assembly calling for a boycott.

They were joined by all the main bourgeois parties except the Islamic Republican Party which supports Khomeini.

The National Front, National Democratic Front and Moslem People's Republican Party were brought to this position through opportunism and a difference of assessment with Khomeini as to how stability is to be restored for capitalism in Iran.

Their stance made little difference to the results. Khomeini urged the masses



Khomeini rides into town

to vote as part of the religious observations of Ramadan, and to select men learned in Koranic law and tradition.

## Rigged

In case the message was not clearly understood, the regime resorted to more direct methods and rigged the elections in the most blatant and incompetent way.

No lists of candidates were published—but posters advertising the states of the Islamic Republican Party were published inside the polling booths!

Suffrage was notionally universal for adults—but no registers of electors were available and in many areas no polling booths were to be found.

It was the scrutineers—

THE WRETCHED poor state of Equatorial Guinea has passed from the rule of one dictator to another.

One of the smallest and poorest states in Africa, Equatorial Guinea had been ruled by President Francisco Nacias Nguema since independence from Spanish colonialism in 1968.

But his bloodthirsty and parasitic tyranny was displaced last weekend by a military coup which brought to power his nephew (and former Vice-Minister of Defence) Lt. Col. Theodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo.

While the *Daily Telegraph* has shrieked its routine wild claims about Cuban troops, the Spanish government has been at pains to deny the obvious—that the Francoist regime had actively sponsored the coup in order to extend its strategy of developing a new economic and political form of imperialist exploitation of the African masses.

drawn from the religious establishment—who filled in the papers of the illiterate voters, and some 50% of the electorate is illiterate.

The final results are still far from clear, but it comes as no surprise that the Islamic Republican Party has probably gained 70 of the 73 seats.

This 'victory' solved nothing for Khomeini. Protests about 'irregularities' have been widespread, and the election has provoked a deepening split between Khomeini's supporters and the Moslem People's Republican Party which backs the Ayatollah Shariat-Madari.

Shariat-Madari favours the creation of a secular bourgeois democracy or constitutional monarchy, and this has led to disagreements with the Revolutionary Council in the past.

His considerable base of support is in Azerbaijan, and Shariat-Madari is now relying on this strength in thinly-veiled threats against Khomeini:

"All Azerbaijan knows me. If I declare a holy war, they will all rally behind me."

## Losing control

The urgency of such speeches comes from Shariat-Madari's awareness that Khomeini is rapidly losing control over the developing political turmoil.

It is no accident that the Shah's twin-sister Asheaf Pahlavi and his puppet prime minister Shapour Bakhtiar have recently surfaced to portray themselves as champions of liberty in Iran.

Such grotesque distortions

fool nobody. But these predators have scented their opportunity from afar, and are hopefully staking their claims.

## Dictatorship

Khomeini and Bazargan are driving ahead with their moves to impose a counter-revolutionary dictatorship in Iran.

The 'revolutionary tribunals' are continuing to mete out barbaric punishment both for real sexual offenders such as rapists, and for innocent victims of religious bigotry, such as homosexuals.

But the fanatical frenzy of this crusade has reached the pitch of paranoid hysteria where the so-called Justice Minister claims that the National Gay Rights Coalition of New Zealand is threatening to assassinate him.

Increasingly repressive press censorship has led to the closure of the oppositional paper *Ayandegan* and other publications.

But this has provoked pitched battles between Khomeini's 'revolutionary guards' and the print workers, and has driven the prosecutor-general to resign.

## Rebuild army

Bazargan has declared that to end arms contracts with the US would fundamentally damage the interests of the 'Iranian people', and the regime is forging ahead with plans to reconstruct the armed forces.

But troops have mutinied against the executions of officers condemned for their attacks on the mass mobilisations against the Shah's dictatorship.

Military leaders are resigning daily in protest at the limitations on their demands for massively increased powers.

Chaos is threatening to overwhelm the Khomeini-Bazargan regime as it struggles in vain to assert its reactionary authority over the working class in Iran.

This struggle cannot continue indefinitely—it must be resolved decisively in favour of one class or another, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie.

The workers of Iran have time and again displayed their strength and heroism.

## Conscious

But those qualities will not answer their needs if they are not developed by a conscious revolutionary leadership, armed with the Trotskyist programme that embodies the experience of the international communist movement.

There is only one alternative prospect to the task of building such a revolutionary party in Iran, and that is the certain brutal and bloody defeat of the Iranian masses.

Actions to perform that role are gathered in the wings in numbers which grow daily.

They are now preparing for the moment when Khomeini has outlived his usefulness before they step forward to seize the centre of the stage with a new barbarism of military dictatorship and absolute repression.

## Carter blunders on in US crisis

One word from the US President, and everyone does exactly what they like.

Seldom could this have been more true than in this agonising single-term administration of peanut king Jimmy Carter.

While Carter himself has launched a desperate election-eering drive designed to prop up his claim for the Democratic Party's Presidential nomination next year, his arch-rival Senator Kennedy was deftly leaking the news that his mamma Rose Kennedy had at last given him the OK to run for the Presidency.

## Spat out

In the House of Representatives, too, Carter's frantic energy programme was being slowly chewed over and spat out by Congressmen who have loaded down the authorisation for Presidential petrol rationing with so many amendments that it is now regarded as "unworkable".

In the Senate, Carter's pet \$88 billion synthetic-fuel programme was slashed to a mere \$20 billion budget.

## Profits tax

But this may prove to be a heavily-disguised reprieve if the Senate endorses a move to exempt all newly discovered US oil production and Alaskan oil from Carter's proposed "wind-fall profits" tax.

Meanwhile the rise in US wholesale prices reached an annual rate of 14%—led by food prices which are rising at a staggering 17.3% per year. Carter has responded by calling in representatives of the US food monopolies for a White House "carpeting".

They must be shaking in their shoes.

## Labour Party

But US workers cannot afford merely to spectate on Carter's political demise: their



Carter

interests can only be defended in the struggle to break the unions from their ties to the US capitalist parties, and for the building of a Labour Party based on a programme of socialist policies to defend jobs and wages.



INTERNATIONAL

# THATCHER ADOPTS LABOUR'S REACTIONARY PLAN FOR ZIMBABWE

The Commonwealth Conference has been another venue for the ongoing attempts by the imperialists to force a neo-colonial solution on the workers and peasants of Zimbabwe.

The agreement by the 39 nations of the Commonwealth to initiate negotiations for a new constitution and election was born out of the escalating pressures enveloping capitalism in Southern Africa and internationally.

The civil war in Zimbabwe is causing severe economic dislocation and political instability throughout Southern and Central Africa.

The prospect of the dragging on of the war is one that is causing increasing alarm amongst the petty bourgeois leadership of the "frontline states", and forces them to make common cause with imperialism and its staunchest defender in the area, the South African state.

The "Marxist" regimes in Mozambique and Angola are no less keen to see an enforced settlement which could end the war than are their frontline partners—Zambia, Botswana and Tanzania.

Besides depending on capitalist multi-nationals (some South African based) for her mining and oil operations, Angola's vital transport system remains acutely vulnerable to attacks and disruption from UNITA, the substantially South African-financed guerrilla movement.

The economy of Mozambique, facing mounting Rhodesian inspired sabotage, is heavily dependent on the South African economy—well over a hundred thousand workers from the north of Mozambique earn vital revenue on South African mines.

The problems posed by the lack of economic development in Tanzania are currently acutely exacerbated by the lack of foreign exchange (promoted by the costs of the invasion of Uganda) and a developing food shortage which threatens to unleash a wave of opposition to Nyerere.



Thatcher—last Tango in Lusaka with Kaunda

This, coupled with the diplomatic hostility orchestrated against Nyerere by Nigeria and Kenya in particular, means that a diplomatic "success" for home consumption, particularly one which would bring with it some relief to the food shortage by easing trade channels with the South, is desperately being sought by Nyerere.

## Commodities

Zambia is heavily dependent on South Africa for crucial commodities—and at the present time faces the threat of a massive crop failure if it does not receive South African fertilizer supplied through Zimbabwe.

The ruling clique around

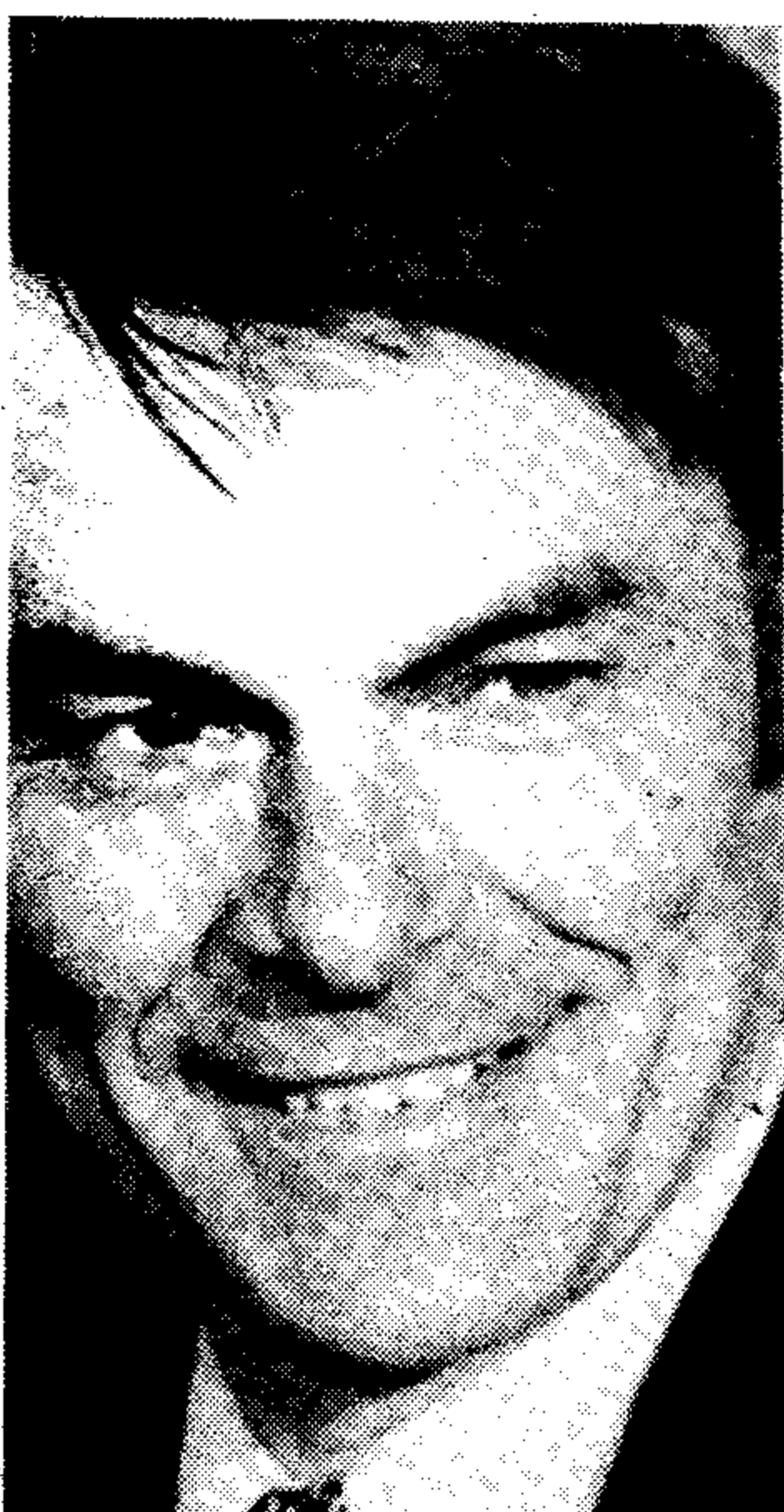
Kaunda is particularly concerned at the consequences of harbouring thousands of refugees and guerrillas at a time when economic crisis is being reflected in escalating struggle inside Zambia.

The continuing dependence of the frontline states on imperialism—despite the differing types of "socialism" to which they claim to adhere—means that they are now all forced to back the Thatcher version of the Owen-Young plan, in a desperate effort to restore political stability under the dominance of imperialism.

And whatever Thatcher may have wished, the continuing level of struggle inside Zimbabwe has made it clear that a simple British recognition and lifting of sanctions would be insufficient to restore stability.

Muzorewa's inability to alleviate the poverty and ultra-exploitation of urban and rural workers serves daily to undermine the support he could once muster.

The possibility of a dramatic growth of industrial unrest in the crucial urban areas remains ever present.



Owen

PHOTO: Derek Spiers, IFL

While white emigration escalates and the war claims more and more victims, the Muzorewa-Smith security forces have had to shoot scores of members of the armed gangs, loyal to rival 'internal' leaders, who have turned from intimidating political opponents to robbery and murder.

As *Socialist Press* has pointed out, the elections from the Smith/Muzorewa internal settlement were designed to provide Britain with conditions more favourable to securing a neo-colonial solution.

Capitalising on the zig-zags and equivocation of the Patriotic Front, and their failure to pose any political alternative based on the mobilisation of the masses in pursuit of their own interests, Smith/Muzorewa were able to use intimidation to ensure a large electoral turn-out.

Thatcher has now been able to make much use of this "new situation" of a "black majority vote" government in her efforts to win the public endorsement of the frontline presidents for the imperialist "solution".

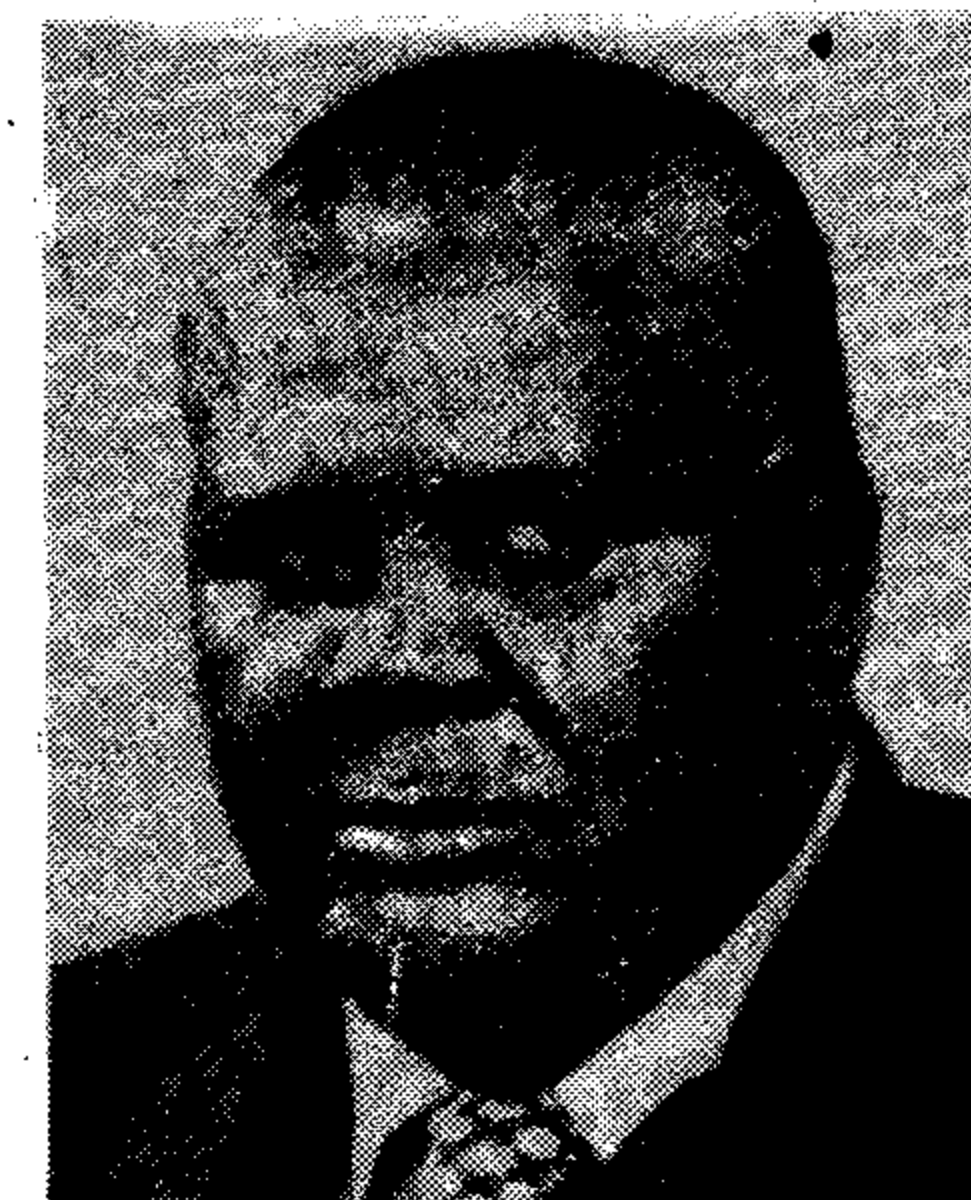
Thus for their separate but equally pressing reasons Thatcher, Nyerere and company are now forced to make common alliance.

Using the groundwork prepared by Owen and Callaghan in secret collusion with the frontline states, the Tories are well able with these and their more traditional right wing allies, to make an effective intervention in the affairs of Zimbabwe.

By focussing all criticism of the Muzorewa-Smith regime on purely constitutional grounds, everyone has been able to claim personal diplomatic victories for home consumption.

## Exploitation

Thus there was no mention of the system of ultra-exploitation that has reduced the workers and peasants to the most abject poverty, a system that will not be altered by giving the black petty-bourgeoisie proportionately more power.



Nkomo

The Patriotic Front bureaucrats have in common with these reactionary forces the desire to deflect the Zimbabwean working class from acting in their independent interests.

Left-wing militants of the Patriotic Front, whether in ZANU or ZAPU, perpetuate a dependency on this opportunist leadership by pursuing rigidly guerrillaist strategies.

## Clients

Seeking victory through military means, they not only become the political clients of those who supply the weapons, but are also unable to take forward the political struggle.

Militants are unable to defend and extend the interests of the working class while they are isolated from them inside Zambia or Mozambique—many of those who have tried have been imprisoned.

## Reforms

Armed struggle in isolation can only place pressure on the state for reforms, which, in the case of Zimbabwe, will be carried through under imperialist supervision.

If the Commonwealth agreement is able to remove their military basis, the Patriotic Front left-wing will be without any political base within the working class to take the struggle forward.

Under such conditions the continuation of guerrillaism would meet with crushing defeat.

Zimbabwean militants and workers must break with the generals, lawyers and bankers of the Commonwealth Conference, and expose the betrayals of the Mugabe/Nkomo misleaders of the Zimbabwean people.

Only by mobilising the entire working class in defence of their own interests can the grip of capitalist oppression be forever removed and the way opened up for a socialist Zimbabwe.



Carrington

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# CAPITALISM CANNOT END HOUSING CHAOS

Homelessness, soaring rents and a further lurch to recession in the construction industry are the most obvious fruits of the Tory's first 100 days of activity on housing.

£600 million in Tory cuts in local authority spending, including substantial cuts in housing subsidies have come on top of successive rounds of savage cutbacks inflicted by Callaghan's Labour government and an economic slump.

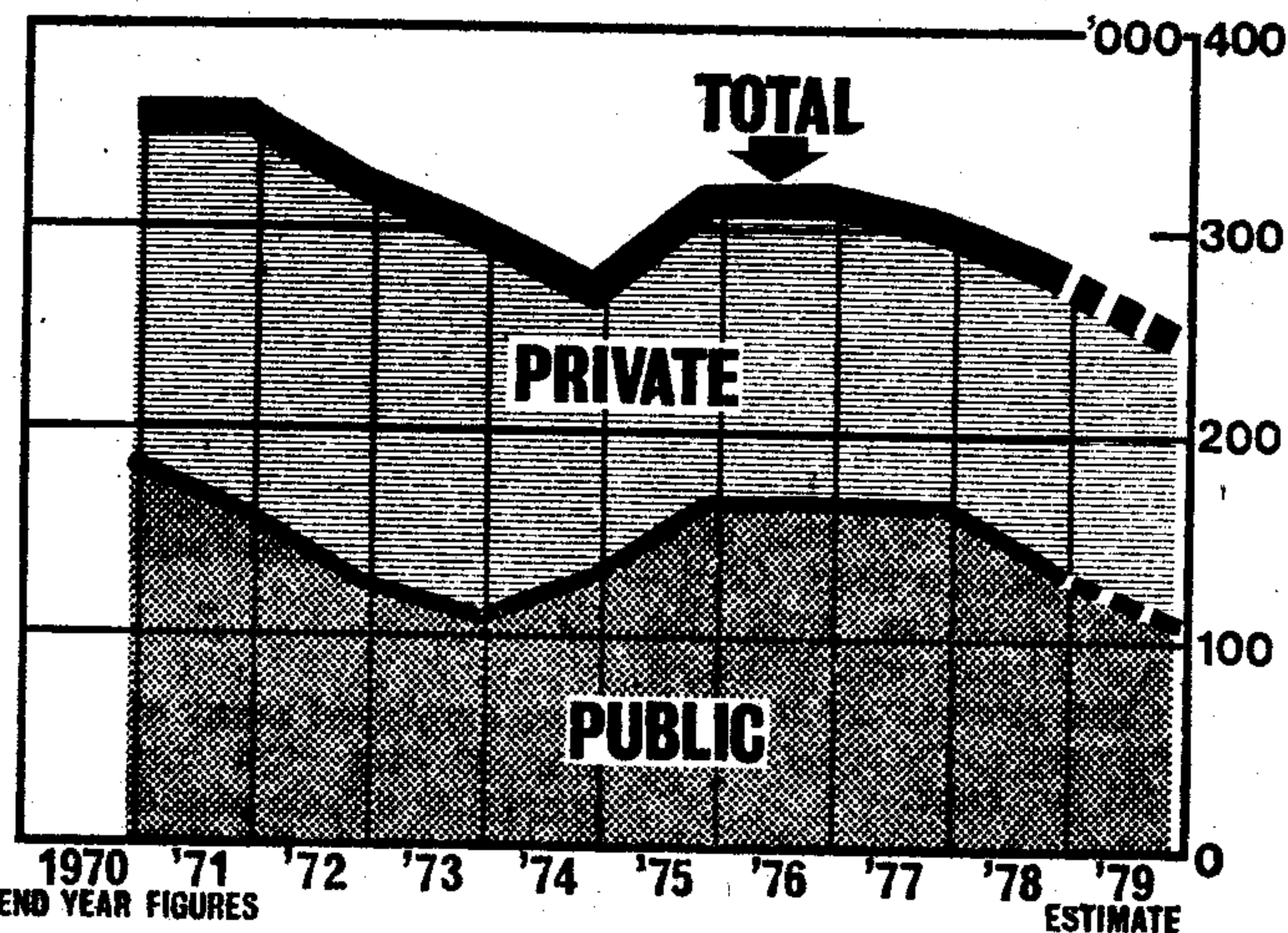
The outcome is a situation of total chaos for working class families and young people seeking a home.

Council housing targets had already plummeted to historic low levels.

Now the Tories, with their determination to force workers into the profitable private sector to rent or buy their houses, have ensured that the current 90,000 council houses built per year will be cut back to around 30,000.

As much existing council property as possible is meanwhile being taken out of the public sector in the Tories' "sale of the century" in which those workers well off enough to afford a mortgage are being urged to buy their council houses.

The result will inevitably be to lengthen the already huge queues for council housing—with all the misery and discomfort that this brings to working class families.



The Tories talk of local authority housing as a "dead duck" and regard the private sector as providing the answer.

Obviously private landlords and developers stand to make a killing as desperate workers are forced to pay extortionate rents and prices to get a roof over their heads.

## Rocketing

But the rocketing cost of houses and the high interest rates on mortgages, running alongside falling working class living standards mean that private developers are far from confident that they can sell an unlimited number of new houses.

Since production under capitalism takes place not to fulfil social need but purely for profit, and building firms need to borrow money in advance at high interest rates to build houses the risk is regarded as high.

As a result, even the most optimistic capitalist forecasts do not expect completions to exceed 140,000 this year or next.

This means that the supply of new houses available from both public and private sources will fall between 40,000 and 100,000 short of even the modest minimum figures required according to government and building industry assessments.

Capitalism, in other words, is incapable of fulfilling one of the most basic social needs of the working population—the provision of adequate housing accommodation.

## Rent hike

Meanwhile for those lucky enough already to hold tenancies in council accommodation, Tory policies will mean a massive rent hike of £2.50 to £3 during the next year.

This is due to the cut in housing subsidies. But the money does not go to finance new council building or repairs to existing housing stock: it is siphoned directly into the coffers of the banks and capitalist trusts, which in 1975-6 alone creamed off a staggering £1,400 million in interest charges from local authority housing departments.

Anything up to 90p in the pound of council rent goes straight into the pockets of the bankers.

## Interest

As the Tories' latest £600 million cuts hit home, councils will be forced to go to the banks for new loans, thus incurring still more massive interest charges.

Workers, however, will not regard the current situation as entirely the work of the Tories: indeed successive Labour governments by their rejection of socialist policies and abject



Heseltine

collaboration with the bankers and capitalist trusts have paved the way for the present crisis.

The only way in which the housing crisis can be resolved is through an uncompromising socialist programme based on the nationalisation, without compensation of the construction industry, the banks, insurance firms, building societies and major trusts, under workers management.

Only a planned, socialist economy can match production to genuine social needs.

To prove the necessity for such a strategy trade unionists and council tenants should form committees on a local level to open the books of local authorities and the construction industry.

This would show the real scale of interest payments and the profits made by private capitalists from the public sector.

Workers' inquiries should be established to assess housing needs and put forward a crash programme of public works to remedy the present crisis and provide much needed new jobs.

Such a campaign would also link up with the other struggles currently facing the working class, all of which point to the necessity for united working class action to bring down the Tory government and fight for the removal of the existing Labour leadership and establish a government responsive to the needs of the working class.

Joseph  
plans  
to tax  
sick  
pay

Sir Keith Joseph, the Tory minister who advised the thousands of unemployed workers on Clydeside to look for jobs or start up businesses of their own has decided to make it less appealing to be on the dole.

Carefully skating around the abysmally low wages that keep hundreds of thousands of employed workers below the government's own poverty line, Joseph has attacked the tax system, which, he says, means that it is "a miracle that millions of people still go to work at all", since the benefits of doing so are so low.



Joseph

The answer? Not, of course, wage increases for the low paid, but a Tory plan to slap a tax on unemployment benefit and even sick pay.

In other words the most downtrodden and poverty-stricken casualties of the capitalist crisis will find their meagre subsistence benefits slashed in order to provide them with the "incentive" to work.

Pointing out that it would take the Tories a few months to formulate and enact this vicious policy, Joseph stressed that it had been considered by the previous Labour government.

Meanwhile an indication of the bread-line wages that the Tories are keen to force the unemployed to accept was given by the announcement that even after a 25% increase in pay, 750,000 hotel and catering staff face a basic rate of between £41.70 and £50.

As GMWU "negotiator" Fred Cooper tamely commented this settlement—railroaded through the reactionary Wages Council set-up by an alliance of employers and so-called "independents"—will leave most workers in the industry claiming supplementary benefits in order to live.

TORY Environment Secretary, millionaire Michael Heseltine, has appointed a leading property shark, Tom Baron as a special advisor on housing.

Baron is chairman and managing director of Christian Salvason (Properties), which builds houses under the name of Wellmar, and in the name of profit.

# ACT NOW ON TURKEY!

## An open letter to the British Communist Party

Dear Comrades,

We are writing to call upon the British Communist Party to play a role in attempting to avert what threatens to be a tragic repetition of the Chilean catastrophe—the emergence of a military/fascist dictatorship in Turkey.

We believe that unless a sharp turn is made by the workers' parties and the trade unions in Turkey, there is a real danger that the current campaign of violent provocations by the alliance of extreme right wing and fascist forces will lead to a military coup with the aim of brutally crushing the Turkish workers' movement.

Faced by an insoluble economic crisis that has been worsened immeasurably by the recent oil price increases, the Turkish bourgeoisie is increasingly desperate in its attempts to increase the exploitation of the working class.

Despairing of the ability of Prime Minister Ecevit and his Republican Peoples Party to carry through "austerity" measures on the scale demanded

by the imperialist International Monetary Fund, sections of the Turkish bourgeoisie have consciously turned to the creation of a mass fascist party—with half a million members it is the biggest in the world.

The strategy of the fascists has been to use a mounting campaign of violent provocations against the workers' movement, both to intimidate militant workers and to force the Ecevit government into the imposition of savage martial law restrictions which are used almost exclusively against the unions and the left wing.

While 1800 workers and leftists have been murdered by fascists, Ecevit's martial law has led to the suppression of all workers' papers in Istanbul and Ankara, and to mass arrests of those trade union and political leaders that attempted to stage the traditional May Day demonstration this year.

The repression of the oppressed Kurdish minority in Turkey has been stepped up.

Meanwhile the desperate economic plight of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie has driven them increasingly to turn their backs on the empty promises and lies of bourgeois parliamentarians and seek a bold alternative course.

They find no such perspective from the working class. Instead the Turkish Communist Party, the Turkish Labour Party and the leadership of the left wing union confederation DISK continue to give uncritical support to Ecevit and his bourgeois RPP as the "defenders of democracy".

Yet it is precisely Ecevit, in alliance with the IMF and top army generals who is leading the attacks on the working class, and whose "austerity" policies are bankrupting the petty bourgeoisie!

As a result, growing layers of the oppressed masses see the working class not as a source of strength but as a mere appendage of Ecevit: for a solution to their problems they turn instead to the fascist gangs.

But rather than respond to this growing danger by mobilising the organised working class through workers' defence squads in united class action to crush the fascists and point the way for a socialist solution to the crisis, the TCP, TLP and union leaders cling on to the coat tails of Ecevit even as the right wing mobilise in Parliament to discredit and bring down the RPP government.

The stark lesson of Chile, in which the CP continued to support Allende's Popular Front

government (complete with generals) right up to the day of Pinochet's coup stands before all workers. Turkey must not become another Chile.

Defeat is not inevitable. The danger is great: but it is not too late to mount the necessary struggle.

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

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

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

We therefore call on the British Communist Party and its membership throughout the labour movement to lend its practical support and its voice to an international campaign to force such a turn in Turkey, based on the following policies.

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

\*Down with fascist-military repression in Turkey.

\*For a workers' militia in Turkey.



Pinochet

Pinochet's barbaric crackdown in Chile

# PRESS GANG



The press has been celebrating the rebirth of the Salesman. They have uncovered in the unlikely guise of a GEC computer salesman, a fable for our times, a story of virtue rewarded.

Rewarded to the value of £100,000—since this is the sum he picked up in commission last year.

After several days when the press did not quite know how to handle this superstar of the computer market it eventually decided that he was a paragon of the virtues of capitalism—a pinnacle that could be reached by all of us—if only we weren't so lazy, protected by the welfare state, etc.

The *Daily Telegraph* explained the principles of the market to its readers.

"When a salesman earns £100,000 a year, the operative word is earns. There is no room for doubt. The order books are the firm's order books.

"His commission is paid only after the ink is dry on the deal, and wheels begin to turn . . .

"How lucky we should consider ourselves that such a star performer was not among the elite tempted away by better opportunities and less tax in other countries.

"A generation back someone would surely have called him the Stakhanovite of sales-

men, when high production, at least in theory, was the in-thing in the Soviet Union . . .

"While not only does the unknown salesman earn, as distinct from merely drawing, his hundred thousand, hundreds of thousands of workers, managers and others in the nationalised and subsidised sectors draw wages and salaries but actually earn nothing at all; indeed they earn minus quantities, since the nation is made poorer by the existence of these parasitic growths, who live by milking the profits of successful firms."

Of course, such an absurd economics lesson is not left at an abstract level in the *Telegraph*.

The particular moral drawn is that the micro-chip industry should be returned completely to private industry.

The *Daily Mail* meanwhile pointed out that our computer Stakhanov had peaked too early.

If he had earned his £100,000 this year instead of last, the tax reductions in Chancellor Howe's budget would have ensured that take-home pay doubled from £400 to £800 a week—providing him with a real incentive.

The *Daily Express* however believes that the era where we can all earn our pile of loot

has already dawned. What do rising prices matter when you are living under the Conservatives?

A centre page feature entitled 'Maggie's 100 Days' printed a wide spectrum of views—ranging from a Tory housewife to a Tory businessman to a Tory teacher.

The housewife was surely the ideal domestic companion to Super Salesman.

"Sue Spice isn't concerned overmuch about price increases" the *Express* confided. "Experience has taught her that they can be no more than a minor irritant.

"To be honest I've never really worried about inflation", she says. "All I know is that our living standards have gone up steadily despite soaring prices . . . I tend to put them to the back of my mind. After all, we can't do anything about them . . .

"If you ask me if unemployment is worrying, I'd say it isn't. I look after Number One. That's what is important to me."

If only now the press could arrange for a marriage between Super Salesman and Super Shopper, they could surely begin to breed a new strain of Tory, one capable of responding to incentives and totally impervious to the effects of inflation, exploitation, unemployment and all the other incidental crises of capitalism that plague us lesser mortals.

# TUC analysis fails to shock Thatcher

The TUC economic committee is predicting that Tory policies will prompt a major financial crisis in private industry during the coming winter unless Thatcher changes course.

They point to the devastating impact of the "strong pound", high interest rates and a restricted money supply on small and medium-sized companies.

They could be driven to the wall, alongside major problems for large firms with heavy investment programmes, warns the TUC.

But this prospect comes as no surprise to Thatcher. Indeed Tory strategy for regenerating British capitalism depends upon a ruthless rationalisation in

which the least profitable sectors are consigned to the junkyard, the public sector slashed, and unemployment is driven up to 2 million and over.

The CBI, too, is conscious of the fact that a number of its member companies face a bleak future of bankruptcy and closures in the next period—but insists that the policy is necessary to restore profitability.

CBI leaders argue that the threat to the viability of companies means that workers' wage demands should be restricted. This reactionary argument has long been peddled by TUC leaders within the workers' movement.

But in reality the prospect of long term massive unemployment and economic devastation can only be averted by the

defeat of the Tories, the overthrow of their system of exploitation, and its replacement with a planned socialist economy.

## Dinner

For all their bleating and whining, nobody on the TUC economic committee is likely to propose this course of action at the forthcoming regular TUC/CBI dinner later this month.



# Inflation up again

As Thatcher's pathetic confidence trick, the "Standard of Living Index" struggles to get off the ground, there is renewed evidence of the galloping rate at which inflation is eroding wage packets.

While the Tories' mythical "average family" on its £140 per week may feel better off, real workers are feeling the brunt of a price explosion.

The July Retail Price Index seems certain to show a full 4 point increase to over 15% as a result of Thatcher's thumping VAT increases.

An inflation rate of at least 17% by November seems

certain. But the prices of British manufactured goods are surging ahead even faster, with a 2.2% increase during July alone.

Though half of this rise (which is equivalent to an annual rise of 27%) is attributed to the increase in oil prices, it does not yet include the VAT increases.

And while the popular press is busily trying to palm off the blame for rising prices onto the wage increases won by workers during the last pay round, the *Financial Times* admits that:

"It must also reflect a bunching of rises following the end of price controls as companies have sought to improve or maintain their profit margins."

For workers, the answer is plain. Wage demands must be formulated in such a way as to make good the losses caused by inflation this year, and to protect living standards against future price increases.

## Cost of living

This means fighting for every pay settlement to include a cost of living clause providing regular automatic increases in line with a working class cost of living index worked out by elected local committees of trade unionists, housewives and sympathetic experts.

# NAC drops key struggle for free abortion on demand

John Corrie's attempt to amend the 1967 Abortion Act is just the latest in a long line of reactionary attempts to restrict the availability of abortion.

However, the majority it received on the Second Reading, and the priority it has been given for parliamentary time indicate that the threat is greater now than on previous occasions.

## Labour Party

Only a vigorous campaign in the Labour Party and the trade unions, as well as a huge turnout on the demonstration on October 28, will be able to defeat the Bill.

The political leadership of that campaign will be vital, and in this context it is worth examining the positions that the National Abortion Campaign has developed over recent weeks.

## 'Broad based'

NAC's primary concern is to build a 'broad-based' campaign to defeat the Corrie Bill.

To this end with the full support of the International Marxist Group and the Socialist Workers Party they have decided to drop the slogan 'free abortion on demand' in favour of what they see as the more 'popu-



Lobbyist's eye view of Tom Jackson



NAC's sympathetic lobby

lar' slogan 'Defend the 1967 Act'.

The 1967 Act, of course, is in reality a restrictive law, which gives doctors complete control over abortion decisions.

Some doctors have interpreted it liberally and have authorised abortions to any woman who wants one, but others have blocked women's right to abortion. It remains up to the doctor.

## Eroded

And now health service cuts have eroded the availability of abortion even in 'liberal' districts.

IMG spokesman Penny Duggan defends NAC's

support for this restrictive law in *Socialist Challenge* by pointing out that NAC:

"was merely following the excellent example of the ANL which stated its opposition to Immigration Laws, but did not make that a condition for participating in its demos or joining a local ANL."

In other words, the IMG, true to its usual form, is defending in effect the complete abandonment of programme—in this case abandoning a basic democratic demand—for fear that it might put people off!

In line with the concern to build the broadest possible movement, NAC supporters attacked the

WSL members and supporters present at the recent lobby of the TUC General Council for allegedly "antagonising" the trade union bureaucrats.

## Sympathetic

NAC wanted a sympathetic lobby—believing that they could win the support of these bureaucrats to their 'broad-based' movement.

Besides pulling back from a fight against the trade union bureaucracy, who remain the greatest block to an effective labour movement campaign on abortion rights, NAC has also abandoned any campaign in the Labour

Party for a 3-line whip to make Labour MPs obey Labour Party policy and vote against the Corrie Bill.

NAC's argument is that the Tories outnumber Labour in parliament anyway, and if Labour put on a 3-line whip the Tories would do the same, and it would be ineffective.

Trapped in the confines of single-issue politics, NAC fails to see the political importance of calling so-called representatives of the labour movement to account for their actions.

## All-party

Instead NAC relies on individual pressure on MPs

of all parties—letter-writing, visits to surgeries and so on.

Such classless forms of protest (applied to Tory, Liberal and Labour MPs alike) will never mobilise the labour movement against the Corrie Bill.

## Expose

They will never expose for what it is the hot air that labour leaders spout on the question of women's rights.

They are simply a diversion from the fight in trade union and Labour Party branches for the demands and policies that advance the fight for women's rights.

If NAC continues to emulate the Anti Nazi League and refuses to give a lead in the campaign against the Corrie Bill by failing to confront the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour MPs, then the Corrie Bill is as good as law.

## Friends

Instead of dropping the demand for 'free abortion on demand' they should be asking their friends at Congress House what they have done to fight for this demand.

As a start they could ask Clive Jenkins why Harold Wilson, who voted for the Corrie Bill, is still sponsored by ASTMS.

# How Kampuchea became a deformed workers state

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

In this article the process of social transformation which occurred in Kampuchea after the withdrawal of American imperialism from South East Asia is described.

The tendency of both parties in the present USFI dispute over Indo-China to minimise the difference between a healthy and a deformed workers state is closely related to two important questions for Marxists.

First, is whether the social overturns that have taken place since the Second World War can be explained individually in relation only to events in the country where they took place or do they (as we would argue but as again both sides in the USFI seem to deny) require to be explained in relation to the overall international line up of forces between imperialism and Stalinism?

## Stalinist role

Second, what is the role of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the formation of a deformed workers state? The SWP, in minimising the difference between the formation of a healthy and a deformed workers state (and thus minimising the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy) argue that mass mobilisations have always been crucial in the process of social overturn. And in order to do so they are obliged to stoop to crude historical falsification.

Mandel, as we shall see, has little problem in demolishing the falsifications of the SWP on this point. Yet Mandel and the USFI majority also emerge from the present discussion with a position on the Stalinist bureaucracy which in its essentials is little different from that of the SWP.

## Progressive

We intend to show how both sides express a position which grants to the bureaucracy a conditionally progressive historical role, a



Pol Pot

position which sees the bureaucracy primarily as a force which advances the forces of production and the struggle for socialism rather than holding them back. Such a position underplays or is necessarily ambiguous about the need for political revolution and the construction of independent revolutionary Trotskyist parties in the degenerated and deformed workers states.

In addition, both Mandel and the SWP argue a similar line on the outbreak of inter-bureaucratic wars in the recent period—that they do not seriously endanger socialised forms of property already established.

The sharp differences, which are producing a new political crisis in the USFI, are of great importance.

But beneath them in our opinion lies a basic underlying theoretical similarity, which leads in both cases to a position of adaptation to the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy. In other words, the present discussion in the USFI is showing just how deeply rooted are its Pabloite politics, and just how far the USFI has strayed from the method of Leon Trotsky.

The purpose of these articles is to develop the points we have sketched above through a detailed examination of the polemic now raging inside the USFI and to open the discussion of theoretical and political alternatives which can advance the fight to reconstruct the Fourth International.

## The defeat of imperialism

For imperialism in IndoChina, the final debacle, after years of war, came very swiftly.

On April 17 1975 Phnom Penh fell to the forces of the Communist Party-led Khmer Rouge guerrilla army which had surrounded the city for weeks, squeezing the reactionary military dictatorship of General Lon Nol and his American backers into submission.

## Open war

The victory marked the end of five years of open war between Lon Nol and the imperialists on the one hand and the Khmer Rouge on the other.

Lon Nol had seized power from the hereditary ruler Prince Sihanouk in March 1970 in a coup directly assisted by the CIA.

The United States had come to view the rule of Sihanouk as a danger in spite of his undoubted anti-communism. During the Vietnam war, and especially after the Tet offensive of 1968, Sihanouk had tried to practice an opportunistic "neutrality"

## Territory

While he did not verbally support the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam he did connive at the use of Cambodian territory by the forces of North Vietnam and the South Vietnamese NLF.

In domestic politics Sihanouk tried to preserve his credentials for "neutrality" by ruling through a series of class collaborationist coalition governments in which were included both sections of the anti-communist far right and members of the Kampuchean Communist Party.

The presence of its members in the government in the 1960s notwithstanding, the KCP was the victim of systematic repression throughout this period by Sihanouk's army and police since the illegal section of the party was conducting guerrilla warfare in the countryside during most of the period.

## Hallmark

The class collaborationist politics of the KCP, a hallmark of its Stalinist politics continued to show themselves in the period after the Lon Nol coup.

The KCP joined Sihanouk and his supporters in the Kampuchean National United Front (FUNK).

Sihanouk was however soon politically marginalised in the front and retired to exile in Beijing (Peking), where he did little apart from banqueting and making broadcasts.

The KCP itself had nominally been a part of the Indochinese Communist Party set up largely by Vietnamese Stalinists in the 1930s.

After World War II the national parties were split. But the Kampuchean party was virtually buried by the Geneva accords of 1954 which had ended the war with the French imperialists and which recognised the rights of the imperialists in South Vietnam and Cambodia.

The agreement was accepted by Moscow, Peking and also the Vietnamese CP.

The objections of the Kampuchean Stalinists arose not from any principled objection to such deals with the class enemy but rather from an objection to such deals being done on their behalf by the Vietnamese.

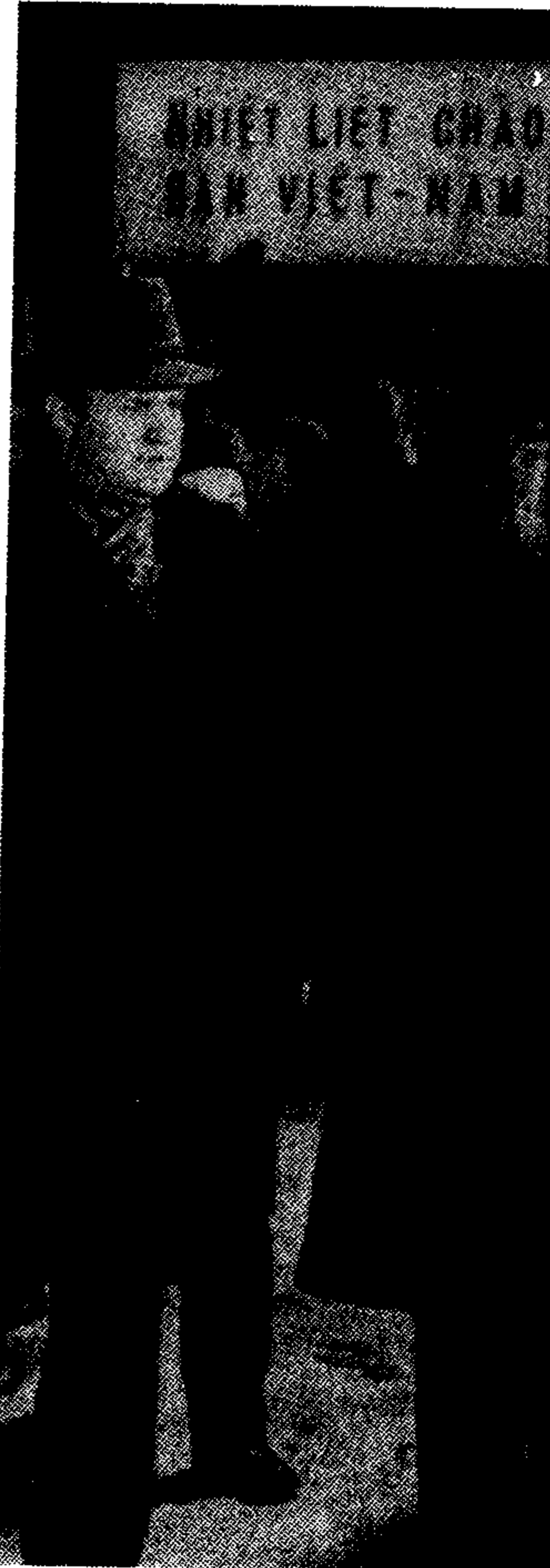
From this moment the Kampuchean CP lived out a form of phantom existence as an isolated leadership in exile, dependent on the hospitality of Hanoi.

But in 1960 the KCP in Kampuchea itself was in effect re-founded. The exiles in Hanoi played a part in its refounding but the dominant force were young intellectuals who had returned from France where they had been recruited to Stalinist "communism". They had never been part of the old unified Indochinese CP.

## Pol Pot

This group (which included Pol Pot—then known as Saloth Sar—Ieng Sary and Khieu Samphan) dominated the party from the beginning and were to increase their control later through periodic purges of the forces in the party who were regarded as pro-Vietnamese.

Their position was always a chauvinist one, but their chauvinism had been fuelled by the treacherous and cynical betrayal of Kampuchean interests displayed by Soviet, Chinese and Vietnamese Stalinist



leaders in 1954 and subsequently.

And 1954 was only the beginning of a long series of further betrayals from the same sources.

In the early 1960s the Peking Stalinists formed a long-lasting friendship with the anti-Communist Sihanouk.

Both Peking and Hanoi were opposed to the KCP's launching of rural war against the repressive Sihanouk regime.

Later, in 1970, Moscow was one of the first governments to recognise the new, even more repressive, dictatorship of Lon Nol.

The KCP, however, especially after the massive American invasion of Kampuchea which started in May 1970, began to defend itself by building up a large peasant base and establishing control over sizeable 'liberated areas' in the countryside.

## Risings

In 1972 attempted risings by the working masses in the cities of Kampuchea were put down by Lon Nol and the imperialists.

Then in 1973 came the Paris agreements in which a shameful political compromise was mapped out between the Vietnamese Stalinists and the imperialists who were by now desperate to find a way of withdrawing the troops in the face of military defeat and growing domestic political opposition.

The Paris accords looked to the formation of a coalition government in Vietnam known as the National Reconciliation and Concord Council which would be composed of the South Vietnamese puppet government, the Provisional Revolutionary Government and some bourgeois 'third forces'.



# came 's' state



Vietnamese delegation with Brezhnev in Moscow

This accord was presented by the Stalinists as a great victory over American imperialism (and indeed welcomed as such by many forces including the then International Majority Tendency of the 'Trotskyist' USFI).

The Vietnamese leadership tried very hard to force the same settlement on the Kampuchean CP, which was pressured to enter a coalition government with Lon Nol and Sihanouk.

## Suicide

The KCP refused, not for any principled opposition to collaboration with Lon Nol and Sihanouk which they had often enough been ready to carry out before, but because they knew that it would at that stage be a step towards political, and probably literal, suicide.

At this point the Vietnamese cut off material aid to the Khmer Rouge armies—just at a time when, as a result of the Paris accords, the Americans substantially stepped up their bombing of Kampuchea and temporarily reduced that of Vietnam. This was the moment at which the already very great political and material isolation of the KCP became almost complete.

This experience undoubtedly helped to determine, though not to excuse, the policies which were later followed by the Khmer Rouge bureaucracy.

At this stage in the war (1973 onwards) the KCP already formed the nucleus of a state bureaucracy in the expanding liberated areas.

## Repressive

Some of the exceptionally repressive policies which were later followed were already being developed in order to exercise rigid control over the peasantry in the interests of

the Khmer Rouge army. This control may help to explain some of the mass migration which then began to take place from this time until the fall of Phnom Penh in 1975.

But the main force which drove hundreds of thousands of peasants into the towns was the extreme ferocity of the American bombardment of the rural areas, especially those believed to be under Khmer Rouge control.

The population of Phnom Penh more than trebled in three years.

The effects of the bombings were contradictory. While they terrorised some into flight—thus possibly provoking the Khmer Rouge into squeezing more supplies out of the remaining peasantry—no doubt they also helped to confirm the Khmer Rouge in the eyes of others as the liberators from the ruthless and murdering imperialists.

## Real base

The Khmer Rouge undoubtedly obtained some real base of peasant support during this period.

On this they based their success in the war against the imperialist-backed Lon Nol regime.

Victory came very swiftly and was, of course, intimately connected with the sweep through Vietnam of the NLF forces spearheaded by the North Vietnamese regular army.

The imperialists and their puppets fled from Saigon a few days after they had left Phnom Penh.

The Kampuchean capital was taken by the Khmer Rouge from the outside, from the rural areas.

The KCP had played little or no role in the working class and other urban mobilisations which hastened the end of Lon Nol.



Khmer Rouge troops—liberated Phnom Penh from outside

The Khmer Rouge armies entered the cities as liberators: but they found many of the factories and other key economic centres occupied by workers over whom they had no control.

The old state apparatus had completely disintegrated and most of its personnel had fled—some clinging desperately to the last American helicopters.

The masses had already spontaneously begun to organise themselves into committees.

But some sections of the urban masses were either wary of the Khmer Rouge or actually hostile to it, having earlier fled from its rule in the rural areas.

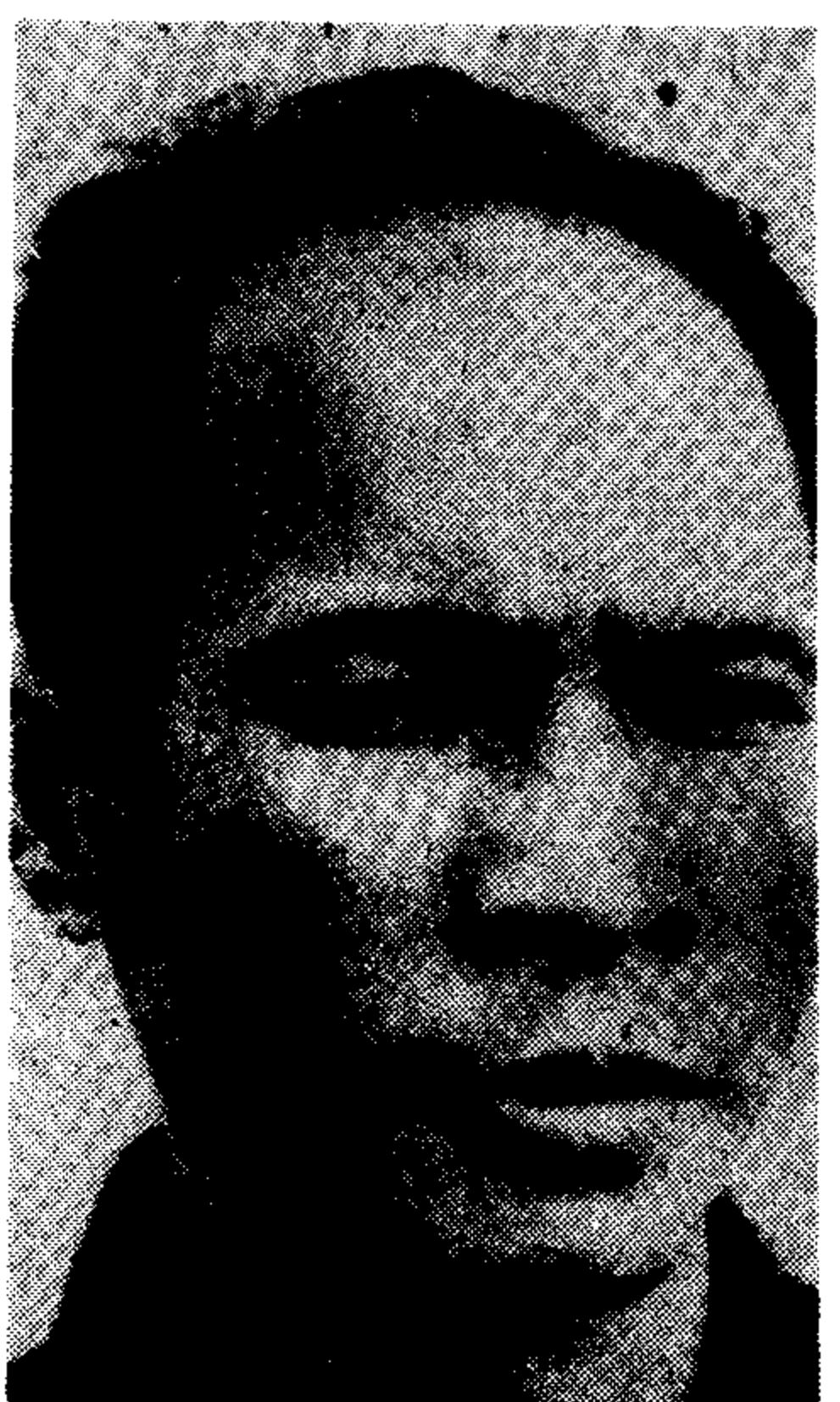
This was the political situation which the KCP found on taking power in Kampuchea.

## Isolation

Their international political isolation was scarcely less than it had been two years earlier, though the Chinese bureaucracy had opportunistically begun to make overtures to them—seeing them as a possible counterweight to the Vietnamese CP which was closer to the Soviet Union.

But there was no sign that any economic aid would appear from China or anywhere else.

And the productive capacity of Kampuchea itself—one of the most backward economies in the world—had been shattered by the effects of the prolonged war.



Vietnamese puppet Samran

The infamous set of policies which the KCP Stalinist bureaucracy unleashed at this point can only be understood in the context of this material and political background.

Otherwise they appear simply as arbitrary policies determined only by the whims of the murderous KCP leaders—or even more improbably, —and as the US SWP explains it) as part of an "imperialist plan" against the Kampuchean masses.

The KCP leaders immediately nationalised not only all the capitalist property which had been seized by workers but also expropriated virtually the whole of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

Working class and petty bourgeois masses, including the exiled peasants who had grotesquely swollen the population of the cities, were forcibly dispersed to the countryside where agriculture was collectivised and the masses set to work in state farms which have been compared to forced labour camps.

The KCP-ruled state established a total monopoly of international trade and also virtually suppressed the internal market.

Food and other goods, when available, were distributed by bureaucratic decree and money was virtually abolished.

## Savagery

All of this was clearly carried out with exceptional savagery. Tens, if not hundreds of thousands of the masses perished. The regime came to rest politically on nothing but its systematic repression.

What did this process amount to? The American SWP leaders argue that it amounted to the establishment of a new reactionary capitalist regime.

They claim that at the culmination of the anti-imperialist upsurge of 1975 in Indo-China the KCP leadership was able to re-establish a capitalist state after the previous, American backed, capitalist state had been destroyed.

This is a crucial plank in the SWP's argument that the Kampuchean regime was the aggressive weapon of US imperialism against the Viet-

namese revolution.

From this premise they conclude that the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea at the end of 1978 was justified and should be supported by revolutionary socialists.

We believe, on the contrary, that what took place in Cambodia in 1975 was the overthrow of the capitalist state apparatus.

## Nationalisation

This was combined with the nationalisation of all capitalist property and the establishment of state trading; and the forcible demobilisation of the masses and the imposition of the rule of a repressive, counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy with a monopoly of political power.

In other words what took place was the creation of a bureaucratically deformed workers' state, a counter-revolutionary workers state or, for short, a Stalinist state.

Kampuchea demonstrated a variant of a process which has taken place in various ways in a whole series of countries since World War II—in many of the Eastern European buffer countries, in Yugoslavia, in China, in Cuba and most recently in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

This process of creation of bureaucratically deformed workers' states involves a major contradiction.

In those states a progressive event has occurred (capitalism has been destroyed); but this progressive step takes place within an overall development which is reactionary.

## Reactionary

It is reactionary in two senses: on the one hand it is based on the usurpation of power by a reactionary and parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy; and this bureaucracy continues both before and after the overturn to operate on a world scale in alliance with imperialism to divide political power on the basis of "peaceful coexistence" or international class collaboration at the expense of the independent interests and

organised power of the working class.

In relation to Eastern Europe in the post war period this contradictory process has been described and analysed well by Tim Wohlforth in his important essay *The Theory of Structural Assimilation*.

In supplementing that analysis, Adam Westoby wrote (in *Communists' Against Revolution*, Folrose Books, pp.100-1):

"If we wished to express the paradox of the last three decades in a nutshell it would be this: that the Stalinist cancer which infested the proletarian social revolution has not been destroyed by the extension of the revolution but, on the contrary, has extended with it.

"Not only that, but Stalinism has made itself the organising instrument of destroying capitalism and forming the post-war workers' states ...

"For three decades two fundamental opposed forces, those of the proletarian social revolution and the bureaucratic political counter-revolution have found themselves coupled together."

Of course, the events in Cambodia were different from those in which Stalinist states were created in other countries—as indeed each of the countries concerned exhibited certain peculiarities.

The peculiarities of the Cambodian variant were:

\*The political and economic isolation of the KCP bureaucracy from the overt protection of the bureaucracies of more powerful, already established deformed or degenerated workers states (though the creation of a deformed workers state in Cambodia took place in the world framework of the defeat of imperialism and advance of Stalinism in Indo-China).

\*The exceptional economic backwardness of Kampuchea to which was added the appalling economic destructiveness of the war.

\*The extreme chauvinism and subjective isolation of the Kampuchean Stalinist bureaucracy which was partly provoked by the betrayals already mentioned by the Moscow, Peking and Hanoi bureaucracies.

\*The extreme speed with which the (exceptionally extensive) measures of nationalisation followed the overthrow of the old state apparatus.

\*The exceptional (but not, as we shall see, unique) brutality with which the measures taken by the bureaucracy were carried out.

But, in our opinion, none of these exceptional aspects of the process alter the fact that a process analogous to those of Eastern Europe, China or Cuba and Vietnam took place in Kampuchea.

## SOURCES

M. Caldwell and Lek Tan, *Cambodia in the Southeast Asian War*, Monthly Review Press 1973 (useful source on the war until 1972, although very uncritical of Sihanouk).

Stephen Heder, "Kampuchea's Armed Struggle: The origins of an Independent Revolution", *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 1979 No. 1 (indispensable source on relations between the KCP and other Stalinist parties).

William Shawcross, "The Third Indo-China War", a review article of three books about Kampuchea, *New York Review of Books*, April 6 1978.

# An interview with a Palestinian Trotskyist

In our issue number 115, of 6 September 1978, we published an interview with a member of the Workers League of Palestine, which at the time allied itself with the OCI-led Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International. Since then there have been major developments in the OCRFI also reported in our columns. As a result the Workers League sent a representative to the WSL's International Summer School, whose views we publish here.

How would you describe the main developments in the political situation in Palestine since the Begin-Sadat agreements?

We would say that during the past year, the chief development has been a growing crisis in the Zionist regime.

This has been a crisis of the bourgeois governments of the entire area, but for the Zionists it has meant on the one hand increasing pressure from the US imperialists to make serious concessions to the Arab bourgeoisie which in general they refuse to do, and on the other hand the growth of mass movements in Palestine itself.

The Iranian revolution, which forced the rapid conclusion of the Camp David accords between the Zionists and the Egyptian rulers under the patronage of the US imperialists, also after an initial period of hope among the Jewish masses unleashed a new period of disillusionment and a series of struggles in Palestine itself.

## Demonstrations

There have been big demonstrations of young Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, and strikes among many groups in other parts of occupied Palestine, notably among building workers, nurses and teachers.

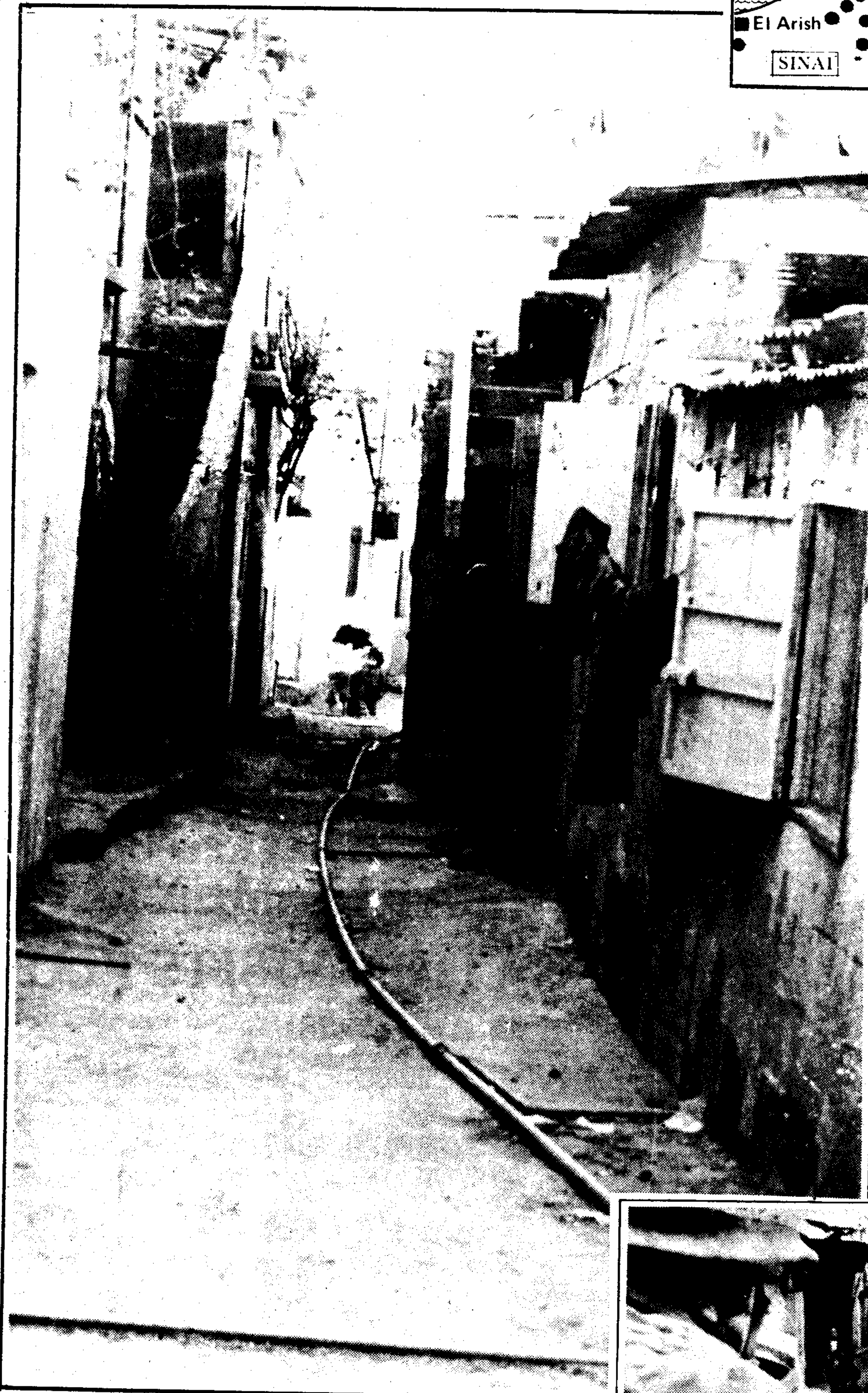
The teachers actually called off their strike for a time after the Camp David accords, but resumed it when they discovered that the agreements had changed nothing.

There have also been a number of movements particularly of oriental Jews, who are the most oppressed amongst the non-Palestinians, against rapid rises in rents and shortage of housing.

These, for example, took the form towards the end of last year of large scale boycotts of the municipal elections in Jerusalem.

There have also been newly formed tenants organisations, and other manifestations of discontent on these questions.

The background to all this has been that prices in general have doubled over the last year,



Palestinian refugee camp

and rents have tripled.

How will the Zionist rulers of Palestine react to this?

They can only do so, as always, by increased repression.

It is important to understand that for the Zionists, it is impossible to arrive at a 'peace treaty' in the same way as other bourgeois rulers.

They exist by the exclusion of the Palestinians from their state, and by a continual expansion of their territorial claims.

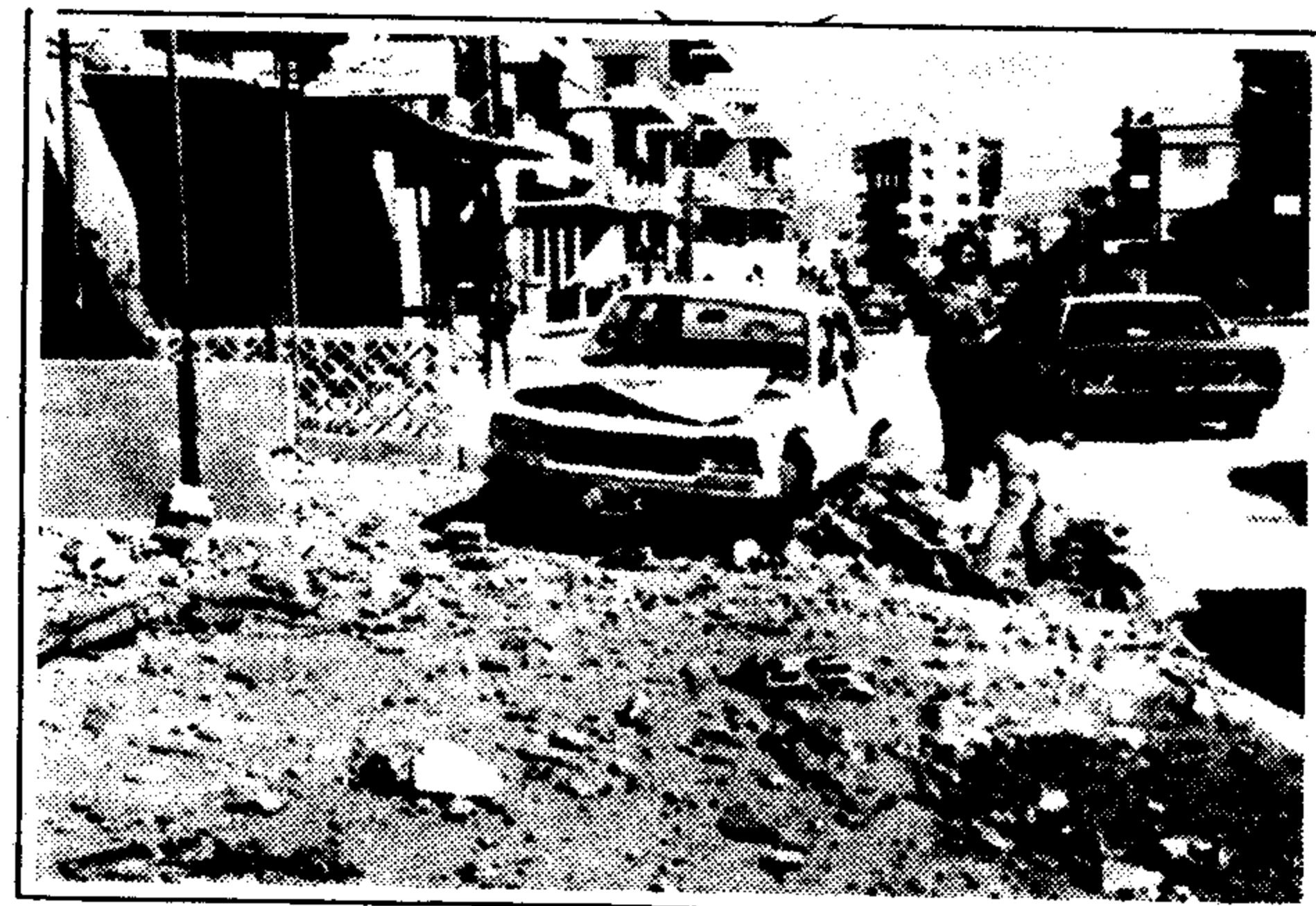
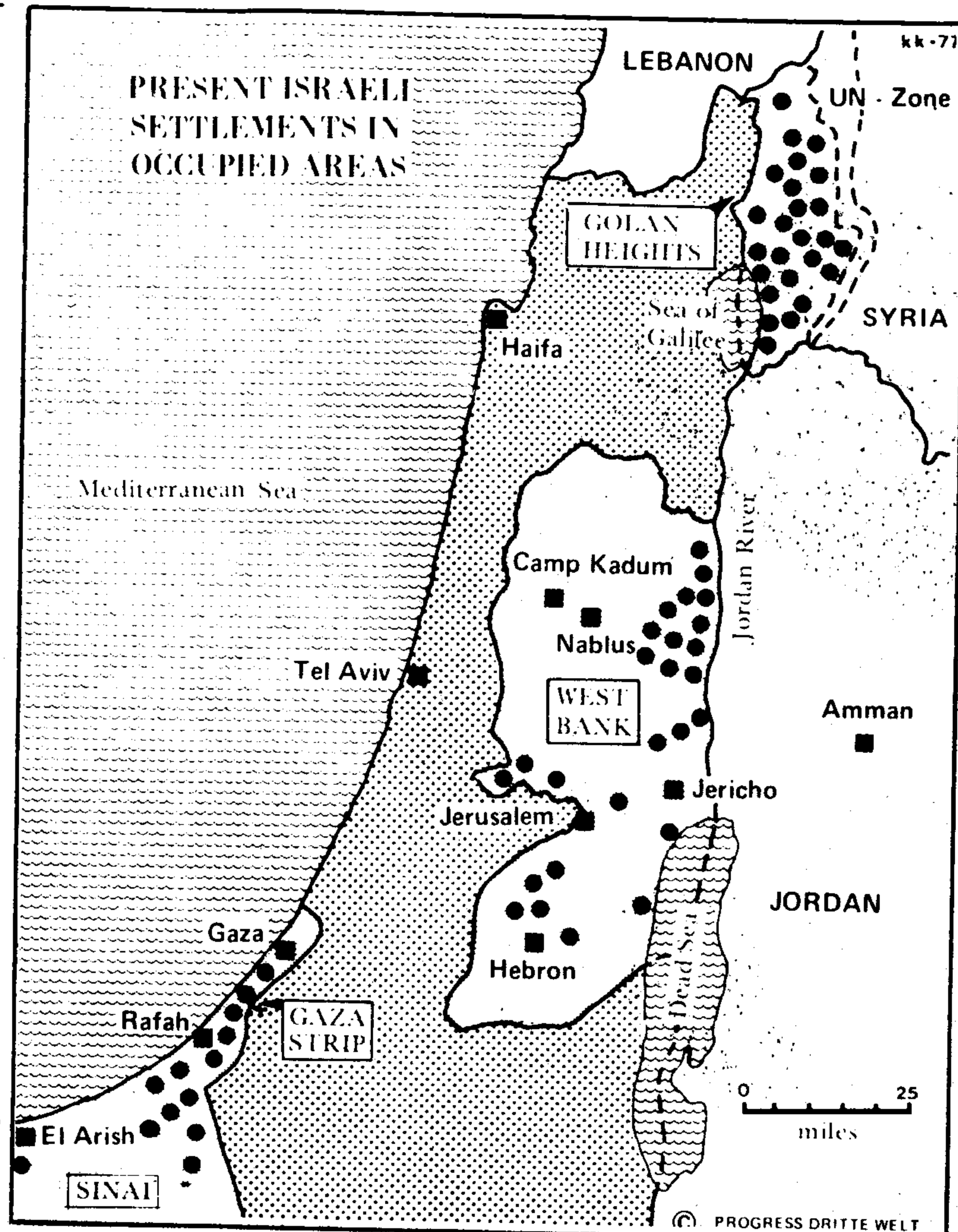
They have refused to make concessions of any sort to Arab bourgeois regimes other than Egypt, despite US pressure.

They have not even pretended to carry out the agreement reached at Camp David to suspend the setting up of new settlements on the West Bank.

## Bantustan

Although the imperialists are determined to establish a bantustan state for Palestinians on the West Bank, the Zionists refuse to accept anything of the sort.

They are quite incapable of taking a single step in the direction set out for them under US pressure at Camp David.



Zionist bomb damage in Lebanon

What are the main developments amongst the anti-Zionist forces in Palestine during the recent period?

The most notable feature has been the growth amongst the Palestinian youth of the nationalist organisations, as against the Rakeh (the Palestinian Stalinist Party).

Since 1976 there has been a great politicisation of this youth layer.

Although this is a large movement, existing in the Arab villages and also in the universities, it does not have any fixed ideology beyond a complete hostility to the Zionist state.

This new movement, which has developed precisely because the Stalinists of Rakeh showed themselves prepared to make compromises with the Zionists, identifies itself with the PLO, but goes beyond the policies of Arafat and the other leaders.

## Not satisfied

The Palestinian youth are not satisfied with the concept of a 'Palestinian entity' on the West Bank, but speak openly now of the destruction of the state of Israel.

In the universities of Tel Aviv, Haifa, Beersheba and Jerusalem, the nationalists have presented lists for student elections which were capable of challenging and at times defeating, the previously unchallenged strength of the Stalinists.

Similarly, the nationalists ran big demonstrations on May Day when the Stalinists postponed theirs in deference to Zionist commemorations of their war dead.

The Pabloites of the Revolutionary Communist League, official section of the USFI have completely adapted to these nationalist trends.

They correctly take part in demonstrations, movements for the freeing of imprisoned nationalist militants, those expelled from the universities and so forth, but they refuse to put forward any independent policies, to take forward the socialist tasks of this movement.

What are your general political policies now for Palestine?

As we explained in our



Zionist military terror





Arafat

previous discussions we call for the destruction of the Zionist state and the establishment of a single democratic Palestine.

We do not place conditions on this struggle that it needs to be socialist, though we put forward transitional and socialist demands within it.

In particular we call for the setting up of a constituent assembly in which all the Jewish masses and all the Palestinians, including the refugees, are able to vote to set up a new state for Palestinian and Jewish people.

#### What are the main activities of your movement in these struggles?

In the tenants' struggles we put forward the slogan of a crash programme of public works to build houses to rent at low prices.

We also fight against all rent increases and against the system of temporary tenancies, when at times the landlords can within months evict their tenants or sharply increase their rents.

In the villages we take part in all nationalist mobilisations, on democratic questions against the new settlements.

We call for the withdrawal of the Zionist troops from the military installations they have built in the areas captured in the 1967 war and for an end to all the occupations by their withdrawal from all the areas inhabited by the Arab population.

We put this forward as an immediate democratic demand in combination, of course, with our general aim of the disbandment of the Zionist army and its state.

We are also proposing at the moment to set up in alliance with sympathisers, with nationalist militants and others a magazine in Arabic to discuss the main questions at this stage of the struggle.

#### Independent

In the factories we call for the setting up of organisations independent of the Histadrut, the state run and state-sponsored colonialist organisation sometimes regarded as a sort of trade union.

We call for factory committees and common committees of Arab and Jewish workers.

We support wage demands and call for a sliding scale of wages.

We also intervene in the democratic struggles in the universities for the rights of Arab students to set up their separate organisations on the campus, against the Israeli bombings of refugee camps, for the freeing of political prisoners and other democratic issues.

We take part in the women's movement in Israel, which consists of small groups of petty bourgeois Jewish women to take up the issue of free abortion on demand which is very restricted in Israel, the separation of and state and in particular to turn this movement towards the Palestinian women who face compounded forms of exploitation.

When we last discussed with a comrade from your organisation about your international orientation you said that the continuity of the Fourth International flowed through OCRFI (the international grouping led by the OCI).

Since then there has been a series of expulsions and walk-outs from that organisation in which you were involved. How do you now see the problem of rebuilding the Fourth International?

We always fought against our exclusion from the OCRFI because we considered that we had to be part of an international organisation and it seemed to us that only Lambert's organisation was trying to maintain the continuity of the fight against Pabloism.

However we were always critical of their refusal to take the necessary steps in the building of a democratic centralist international.

We regarded the exclusion of the Argentinian comrades from the OCRFI as hastening the degeneration of that body and showing its inability to be an organising centre for the rebuilding of the Fourth International.

We consider that it is essential now to take further steps in building a democratic centralist international in alliance with these sections, especially from Argentina and Bolivia who are now outside the OCRFI, as well as healthy tendencies within the USFI.

We are certainly prepared to continue a dialogue with the WSL and its international co-thinkers towards this end.

In his previous films, German director Werner Herzog has managed to create striking images with his characters.

In "Aguirre, Wrath of God" the most memorable image was of the leader of an expedition in the midst of the most incredibly difficult jungle conditions in South America.

#### Enigma

In "The Enigma of Kaspar Hauser" the story centred on a man who appeared in a German village, from out of nowhere.

He couldn't speak and appeared to have grown up in the wild.

Herzog presented the simple materialistic philosophy of Kaspar as a devastating contrast to professional philosophers.

The actor in this case was Bruno R, someone who had never acted before.

His simplicity of character, directing "back to nature", was so striking that Herzog used him in his next film on America.

Now in his latest film, "Nosferatu", Herzog has turned to the vampire legend.

#### Pointed ears

And yet again he has selected an incredibly striking actor to take the lead.

Klaus Kinski has a long drawn face, eyes that seem to be hanging out of his head, pointed ears and a bald head.

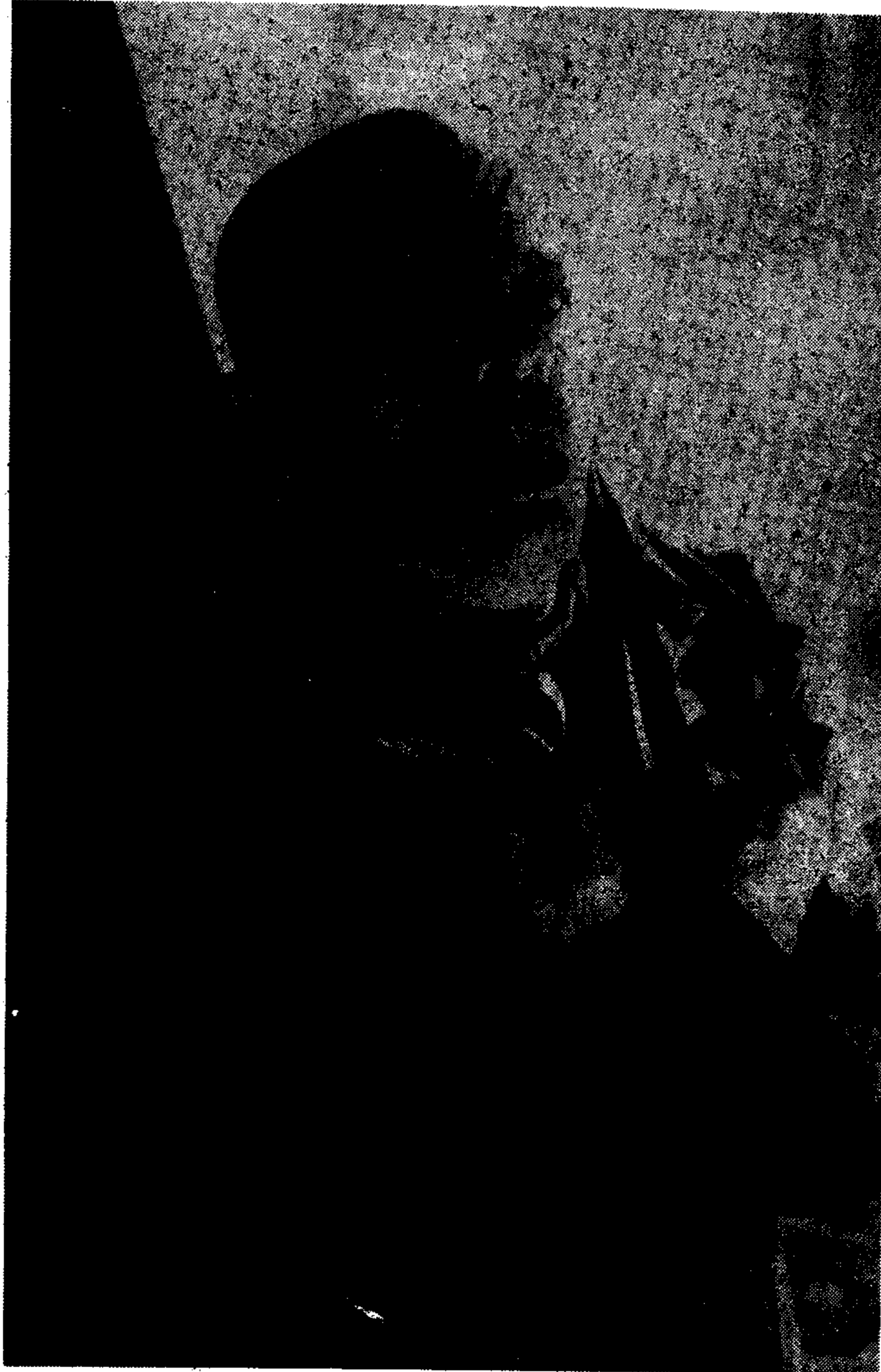
These physical features are combined with the pallor of his face and two small pointed teeth right in the front of his mouth. This alone produces a striking effect.

#### Image

Our first glimpse of Dracula seems just like a painting, a picture that conjures up so much.

Like a picture by William Blake, it presents tortured images that don't need

TONY RICHARDSON reviews "Nosferatu, the Vampire", directed by Werner Herzog.



describing, because they draw on our innermost fears.

#### Developed

This is exactly what the Vampire story is supposed to be; the dread fear of a living death.

But Herzog has developed on this. When Kinski speaks in the dubbed version it is with a soft, agonised voice.

This is the finest piece of dubbing I have seen.

It gives the impression both with the words as well as the way they are said that

being a vampire is the most miserable existence imaginable.

Apparently Herzog bases his film on an early German film "Nosferatu, a Symphony of Horrors". By developing on this original he has created a minor work of art.

At the present time there are a number of new vampire films.

#### Ridiculous

No doubt many of them will be as ridiculous as most of those produced in the last 20 years or so.

Such films as "Dracula's Bride" and "Son" show that both he and Frankenstein had a touching respect for bourgeois social relationships—and for the needs of the box office.

#### Spoofs

Most of these films have either been sheer "horror" films or "spoofs", the best of which was Polanski's "Dance of the Vampires".

But because they were so ridiculous they could not be clearly seen for what they are.

In Herzog's film the attacks on science and the implicit defence of the religious notions of "hell" are explicit.

All the way through the film the scientist keeps saying that "science explains", and that we have to deal with the problem with "scientific thoroughness". We are living in an "enlightened age", he declares.

#### Clerk

The wife of the unfortunate clerk who ends up taking Dracula's place, keeps insisting that Dracula is a vampire.

"I believe what I see with my own eyes" she declares as if Dracula is some kind of miracle.

The scientist proves to be completely wrong and the woman proves to be right.

At first the clerk is quite keen on going to Transylvania. He is fed up with "canals that go nowhere", and bored with his existence.

But we are soon cautioned to be happy with our "canals" by what happens to him. Dracula gets him.

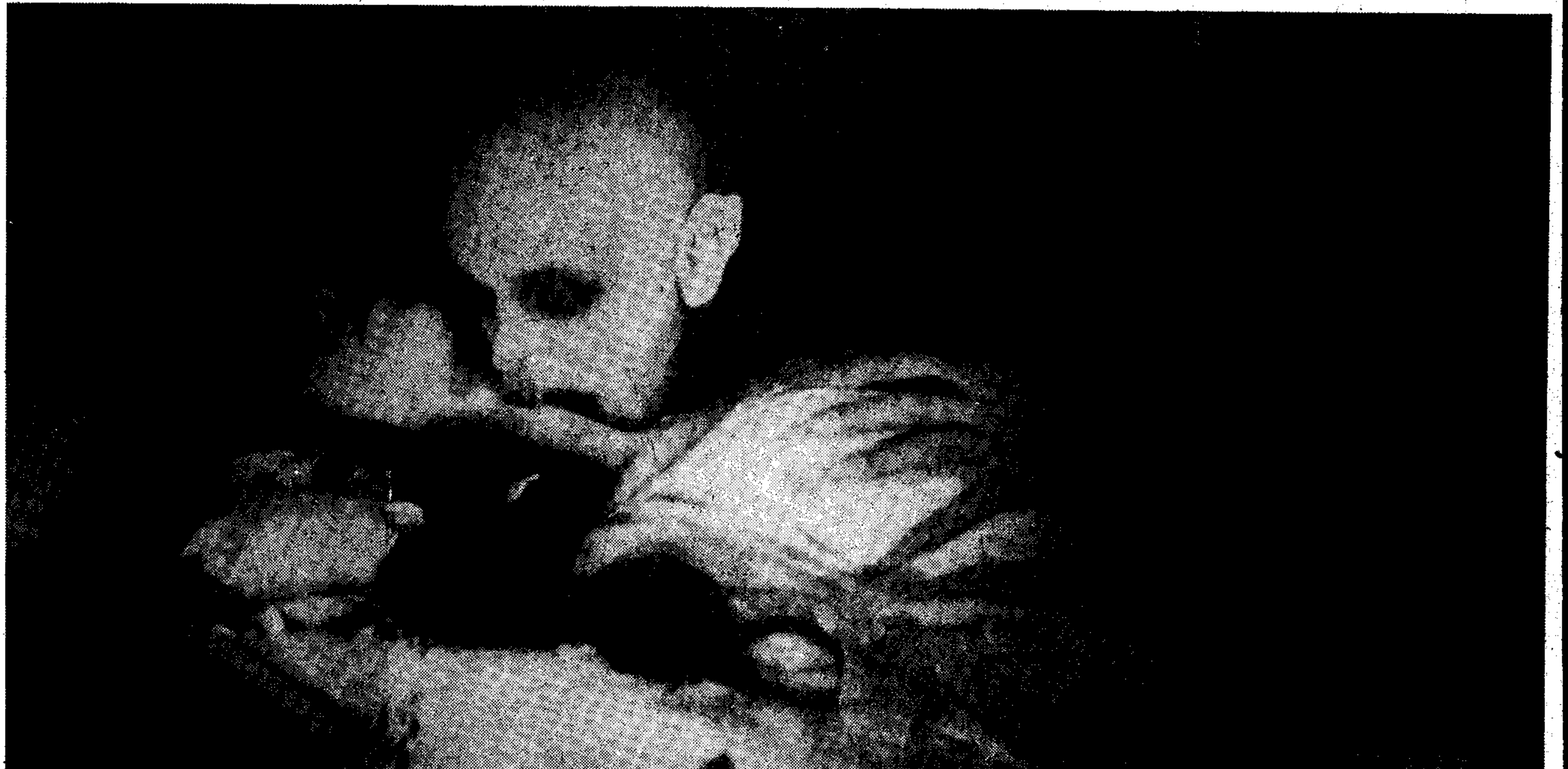
#### Sacrifice

Although his wife kills Dracula by sacrificing herself (Jesus?) and keeping him out until after the first rays of daylight, it is the clerk who takes his place.

So he ends up with that existence that Dracula has described as "much worse than death, the inability to die", the existence of "Nosferatu the Undead".



Zionist leader Begin with Carter in New York



# INDUSTRIAL NEWS

## TUC hot air over Shotton

**ITV union leaders forced to act**

# Convenors cramp Talbot struggle

Leaders of the 6,000 independent television technicians whose strike has blacked out ITV screens all over the country have been forced into action.

National negotiators for the EETPU and NATKE had recommended acceptance of the employers' "final" 15% offer—but found it thrown out by their members.

And ACTT organiser Jack O'Connor stressed the "reluctance" with which he had called out his members in response to lock-out moves by the employers, who are hell-bent on clinging on to the windfall profits they have built up during three years of pay restraint.

### Combativity

But the militancy of these television technicians plainly reflects the growing combativity of the whole working class on the wages issue, and there seems little doubt that if the employers do not concede they face a mounting loss of advertising revenue in a prolonged and solid strike.

Workers at the Talbot (formerly Chrysler) plants in Coventry, on strike for six weeks now, are getting increasingly bitter at management's refusal to improve on the miserable 5.5% pay offer.

Last Friday, following a mass picket at the Ryton plant, strikers marched three miles to the Whitley site (centre of management and research) demanding a statement from the company.

Some 300 strikers had responded to the call for a mass picket. This had been made two days previously when, despite promises to the contrary, the staff unions APEX, ASTMS and TASS had crossed the picket line for the first time. Until that time only

senior management had gone into work.

The mass picket went ahead despite the fact that the foremen, clerical workers and technicians did not go in on Thursday.

On Friday morning pickets waited for the usual convoy of cars bringing in senior management.

### Other gate

But they waited in vain—the management convoy had gone in by another gate.

The convenors, who had trusted the management to come through the main gate were outraged at what they saw as a "provocation".

Clearly a good deal of this reaction was due to the fact that they were made to

look so foolish.

It is rumoured that the convenors had an arrangement with the police who had promised the other gates would not be opened.

If this is true it shows the complete bankruptcy of the strike leadership.

The ABC of picketing is that you organise it yourself. Every single strike in which the police have been involved has proved consistently the class role that they play.

### Sat down

The reaction of the strikers was to march on the Whitley plant where they forced their way through the gates and sat down while the convenors went in

to see management.

With no response from this action and as we go to press there was another march planned for Monday.

The militancy displayed by the Ryton workers is in sharp contrast to the leadership being given them.

There has been little effort to bring the membership forward and a complete avoidance of carrying out the tasks required to win the strike.

No strike pay has been paid out—under the excuse no doubt that it would affect social security payments.

This is little comfort to those who don't qualify for social security and those who spend large amounts of money travelling to the picket lines each day.

Even worse, after weeks of "pressure" on the national officials there is still no blacking of Chrysler cars coming into the country from France.

This is the key question in the strike. The officials have now proved they will not impose blacking at the docks: the stewards should therefore make an immediate direct approach to the docks stewards themselves.

By the time *Socialist Press* comes on sale, the Linwood plant should be laid off.

The staff unions should also be called on to come out on their pay demands alongside the shop floor.

A united fight would really challenge the Peugeot management's 'wait and see' attitude.

Steelworkers are likely to draw little comfort from the fact that the TUC last week pledged its support for the fight against the closure of the Shotton plant in North Wales.

The TUC's notion of "support" is likely to be as far away from tangible action as the policy adopted by Iron and Steel Trades Confederation leader Bill Sirs, who has consistently ducked a call by a Corby mass meeting for national strike action against the steel cutbacks.

Sirs and his TUC cronies will no doubt be delighted at the line being adopted by Shotton convenor Monty Hughes who last week called not for a workers' inquiry into BSC's figures, but for the *Tory government* to question the case for closure!



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Without a clear perspective of plant occupation coupled to coordinated national action by the steel unions, the obvious militancy and willingness of Corby and Shotton workers to resist the closures will be whittled away by these bureaucrats and the way opened up for a frontal attack on every section of workers in the industry.

With 10,000 jobs at stake at Shotton alone, resolutions must be fought for in every steel union demanding that the TUC steel committee break off all talks with BSC management until the closure threat is lifted, and instead outline a programme of all-out industrial action to defend their members' jobs and working conditions.

## JOIN OUR FIGHT AGAINST TORIES!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report



## WHEN IT LOOKS LIKE THERE'S NO WAY OUT



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# CDLM Conference called to fight Tory offensive

# St Mary's workers face AHA deceit

The scale and scope of the Tory government's offensive against the working class has made clear that traditional forms of non-political trade union militancy are inadequate to offer any way forward in the coming struggles.

Tories, prepare to force them out! Remove the Labour and trade union leaders who won't fight!  
\*No Tory laws on the trade unions! Prepare mass strike action!  
\*Fight the cuts! Occupy to defend all jobs! Work sharing on full pay!  
\*Defend wages! Cost of living clauses in all agreements, indexed to elected workers' committees' figures.

\*Unite strikes and occupations as a step towards building councils of action.

Union branches and labour movement organisations

Workers need a political programme of demands that not only correspond to the problems of the present period, but which point to the necessary socialist solution to the crisis.

### Head off

And at the same time the utter failure of TUC and Labour bureaucrats to offer any perspective for a fight against the employers and the Tory government is combined with their bureaucratic attempts to head off militant resistance from the rank and file.

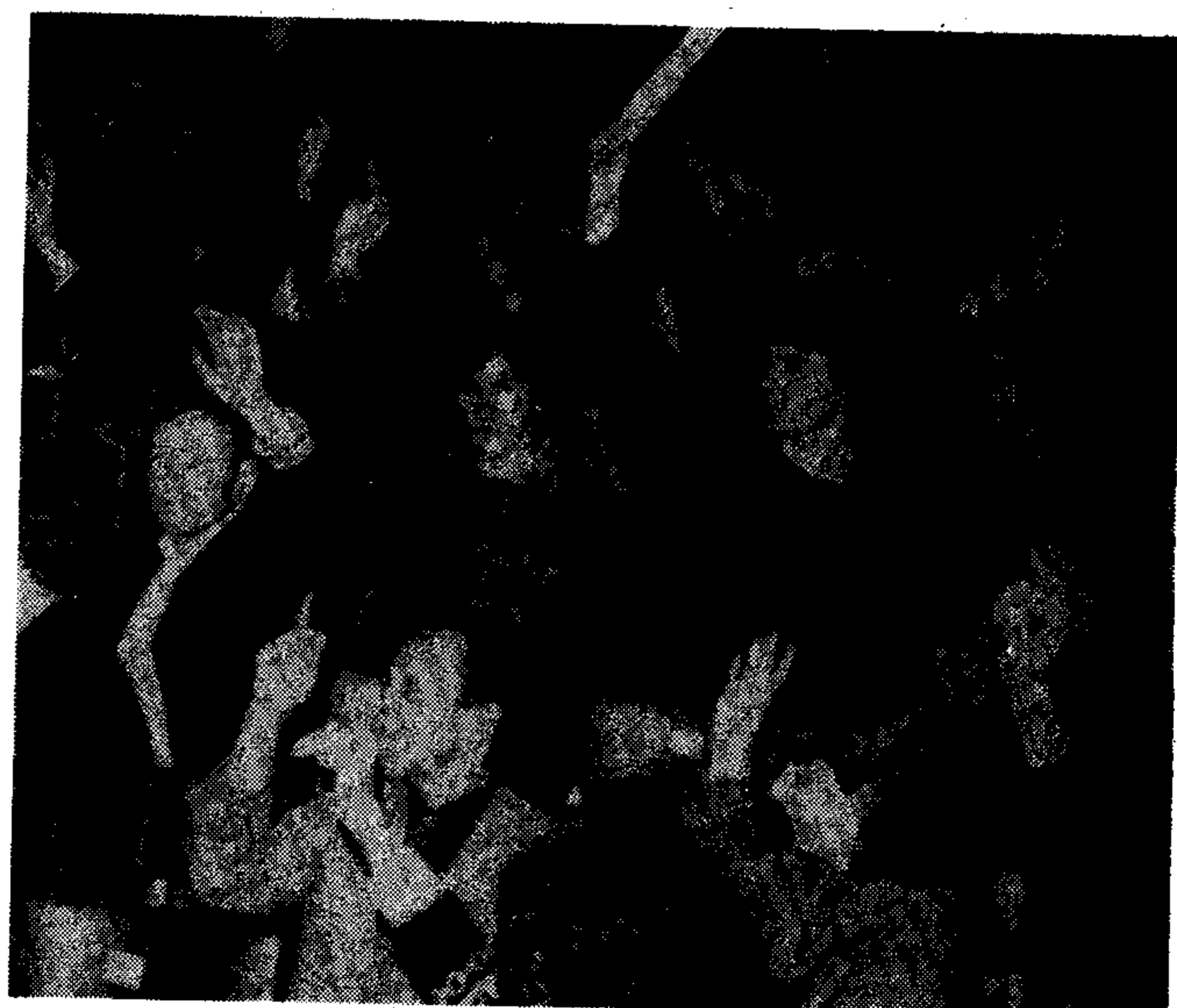
The fundamental problem confronting the working class is one of an absence of principled leadership capable of analysing and combatting the manoeuvres of the trade union and Labour leaders.

### Social contract

With this in view the steering committee of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement—which championed the political struggle against the TUC-imposed wage controls under Labour's "Social Contract"—has called a conference to draw out the political implications of the mass struggles that are already breaking out against the Thatcher government.

The conference, to be held in Birmingham on 3 November (10.30 am to 5 pm) will discuss the fight in the workers movement for the following policies:

\*No talks with the



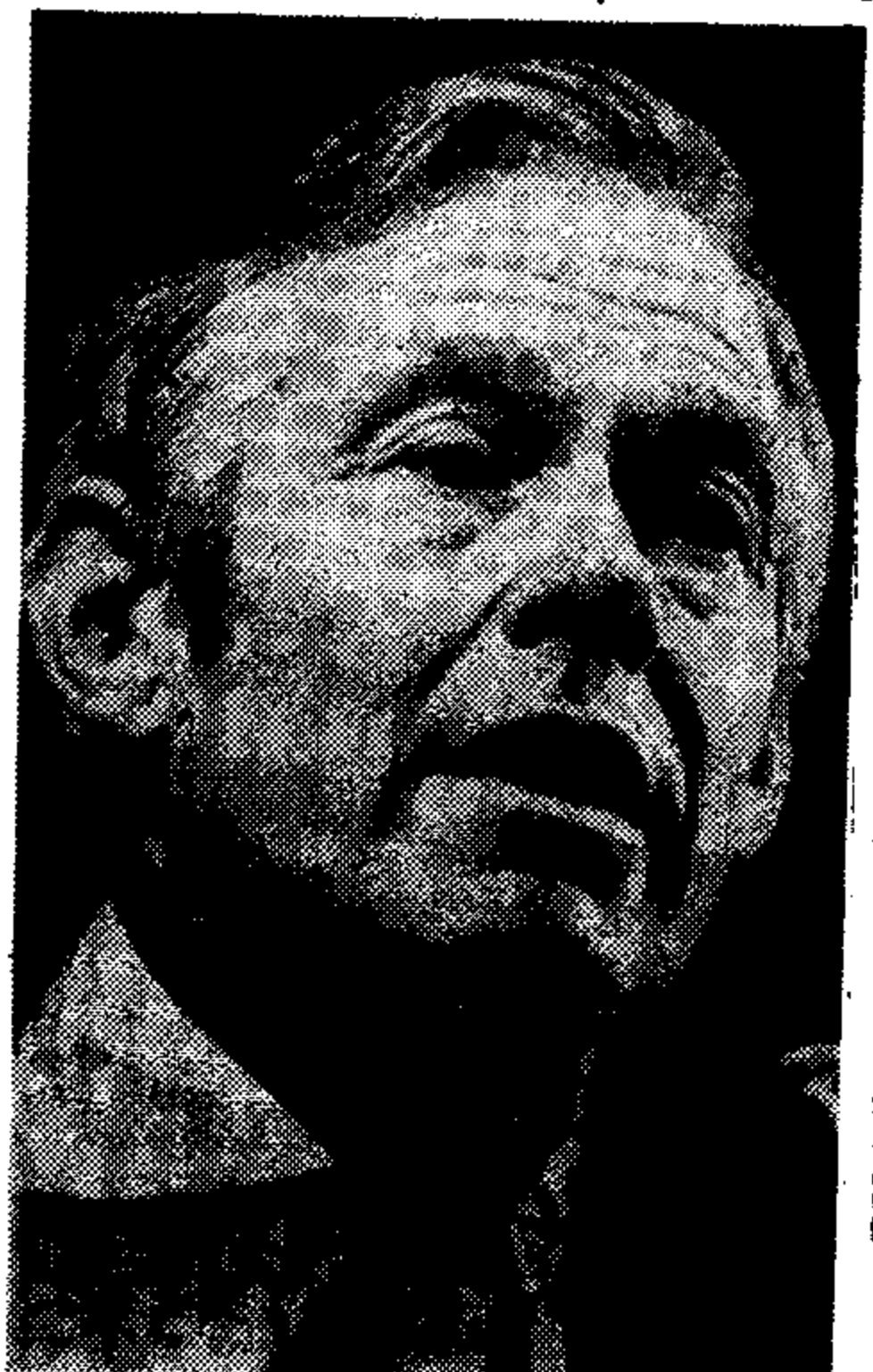
Delegates at a previous CDLM Conference

tions are invited to elect delegates to this conference, which will also be open to all union members and unemployed. Credentials are £1 per delegate, 50p for unemployed.  
The Conference Secretary is Godfrey Webster, 99, Barclay Road, Warley, West Midlands.  
More details including letters for union branches can be obtained from this address.

# WSL to campaign on cuts

As the full impact of the Tories' £4,000 million cuts package begins to make itself felt throughout the public sector, Workers Socialist League branches are taking up a campaign designed to spell out a clear programme on which workers can fight back.

A national leaflet is being prepared which explains the



Fisher—no call for action on cuts

economic and political context in which the Tories are driven into their attacks on the working class, and highlights the inability of token action and verbal protests to stem Thatcher's wanton destruction of hard won rights and vital services.

It points to the way in which Thatcher's cuts have been able to build on groundwork laid by Callaghan's right wing Labour government—and Callaghan's categoric opposition to mass political struggles designed to halt or bring down the Tories.

And in highlighting the refusal of Lambeth AHA to implement the health service cuts, it goes on to stress that AHAs and RHAs are themselves merely non-elected arms of management, which in any event need to be challenged and replaced by elected trade union representatives.

Arguing strongly that only direct action at the point where closures and cuts are threatened can stop the Tory wreckers, the

leaflet emphasises the importance of establishing elected committees to demand full access to the books of public sector management.

The figures revealed would not only point to the huge profits being made from the public sector by private contractors and suppliers, but would also highlight the way in which public expenditure lags far behind inflation—being adjusted by less than half the real rate of inflation annually.

This evidence must be used to back up the struggle for a sliding scale of spending to protect the public sector against the effects of inflation.

WSL branches and areas will be holding public meetings in the next few weeks to discuss the fight in the labour movement for the policies put forward in the leaflet, and the ways in which such struggles must link up with the struggles on jobs and wages in the private sector to create the conditions for bringing down the Thatcher government.

The struggle against the closure of St. Mary's Hospital, Harrow Road, London is reaching a crucial stage.

The Kensington, Chelsea and Westminster AHA have planned to shut the hospital completely within 18 months, and have reverted to the most callous and underhand tactics to bring about the closure.

Working through their agents in the hospital administration they have begun to close wards and facilities using trickery and lies.

They closed Ward 3 by moving the patients out when most of the staff were having their lunch break.

Their other tactics include withdrawing the funding for junior doctors' contracts, and stopping payment for agency medical staff.

In this way they are following the example of their colleagues on the Camden and Islington AHA who achieved the removal of patients from the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital by gradually running down the medical cover.

The St. Mary's Hospital Defence Committee and local District Joint Shop Stewards

Committee, who have so far successfully led the opposition to the closure must now think seriously how to counter these latest management manoeuvres.

The resistance inside the hospital—mainly based in the TGWU, GMAU and NUPE branches—is continuing to grow. Over the past few weeks nurses and theatre staff have pledged their opposition to the closure.

It seems likely that sections of medical staff will follow this lead in the near future.

The Tories' sacking of Lambeth and Hounslow AHAs has ensured that opposition to the cuts has begun to spread even into professional and administrative layers of health service workers as the devastating effects of the cuts is recognised.

Hospital management are losing the respect of any section of staff as they stand exposed as open agents of the AHA working night and day to close down their own place of work and destroy the NHS.

The St. Mary's Defence Committee must now prepare the ground for confrontation with management, and take steps towards a full-scale occupation of the hospital in which health workers must take over the administration of the hospital.

Only such an occupation can prevent the gradual rundown of the hospital through piecemeal ward closures.

The EGA experience has shown, however, that occupation alone is not enough to save St. Mary's.

The only way to defeat the tactics of the AHA is through linking occupation to a full-scale programme of strike action throughout the NHS and public sector in London and nationally to confront both the AHA and the Tory government.

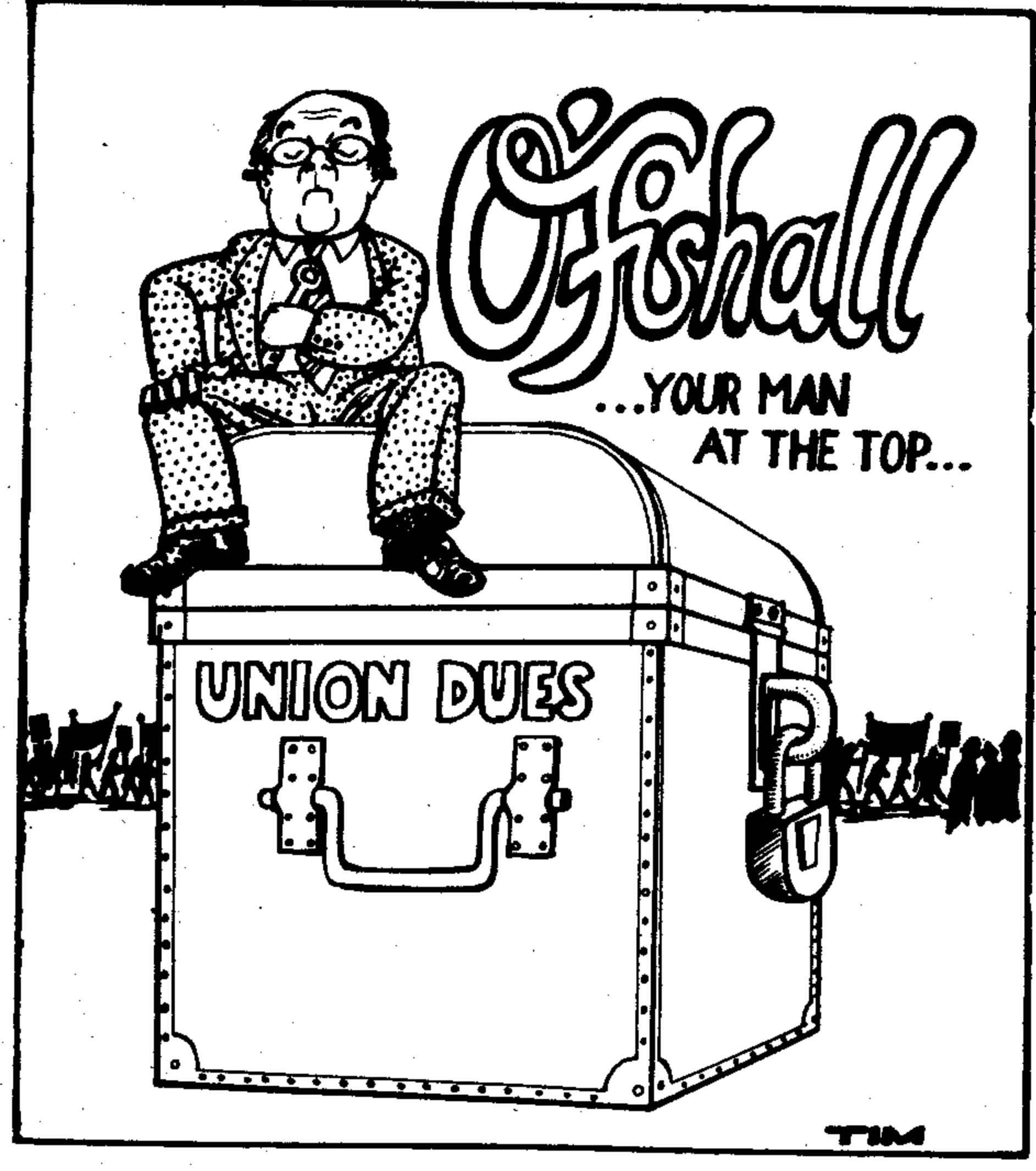
Resolutions have been passed by the DJSSC and the St. Mary's NUPE branch demanding that the London NUPE leadership call a delegate conference to prepare action against the cuts.

So far the NUPE bureaucracy has, like other public sector union leaders, maintained a stony silence on action to stop the cuts.

All trade unionists in the public sector must step up the demands for all-out official action to halt the cuts—and for the removal of those union leaders who are tacitly supervising the dismemberment of the public services and the wholesale sackings of their own members.

**WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE COVENTRY**  
Public meeting  
The fight against the cuts  
Elastic Inn  
Near Pool Meadow  
Thursday August 23  
7.30 p.m.

*"How to Fight the Cuts"*  
Workers Socialist League Pamphlet  
Price 40p including postage from WSL,  
31 Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR



# SOCIALIST PRESS



## Sahara fighters' step forward

The desert war in the Western Sahara has taken a sharp new turn.

Last week the military government of Mauritania signed a peace treaty with the Polisario Front, and formally renounced its claims on the territory of the former Spanish colony.

This latest development does not in any way signal the end of the war. But it does mark a dramatic shift in the political situation within the Maghreb (Arab-dominated north-west Africa).

Faced with the prospect of humiliating military defeat and a developing economic and political crisis within Mauritania the military dictatorship which came to power last year has been driven to break ranks with its dominating ally, Morocco. In name, the Mauritanian government held the southern third of the Western Sahara, the Tiris el-Gharbia.

The treaty did not specify whether this territory should be relinquished with some form of referendum, or simply passed over to the exile government of the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic established in Algeria by the Polisario Front.

In either case, the major problem of the Moroccan army still remains.

King Hassan II has declared that his 8,000 troops will be withdrawn from Mauritania itself.

But he has no intention of renouncing the war for the Sahara at this stage.

The Moroccan occupation forces will remain in the Saguia el-Hamra, the northern two-thirds of the Western Sahara with their massive deposits of phosphates.

But in reality it was also Moroccan forces who dominated the occupation of the Tiris el-Gharbia.

Hassan has now been forced to seize direct control of Tiris el-Gharbia in order to prevent the Polisario Front using it as a new base for their operations.

This will certainly not make conditions any easier for the Moroccan dictator to wage a war which is yielding diminishing returns in victory and glory, while it grows as an economic and political burden on Hassan's regime of 'revolutionary monarchy'.

# Labour movement must lead 'troops out' fight

If the British government needed persuading that talk about defeating the IRA was whistling in the dark it received dramatic confirmation at the weekend.

On a wet afternoon in Belfast more than 5,000 republicans publicly identified themselves with the armed opponents of the British army by attending a rally at Casement Park where the IRA paraded its arms, and some of the most wanted republicans on the army's list spoke without fear.

In Britain the demonstration through London called by the Young Liberals was attended by between 5,000 and 6,000—about half of whom had formally adopted a policy of immediate withdrawal of troops.

## No support

The WSL, who brought a contingent of about 120 onto the march, made it clear that it offered no political support to the pro-imperialist positions of the liberals.

It is clear that in signing the liberal platform the IMG and the SWP were not making an 'error'.

For them the march is the beginning of a cross class alliance in which their activists will fall in behind the liberals' plan for extricating the troops without disturbing the oppression or upsetting the British imperialist grip on the Northern Ireland state.

That is why the SWP, whose record of failing to support solidarity action against British



Sinn Fein supporters clad in blankets to draw attention to Long Kesh prisoners

imperialism has been notorious, suddenly supported this march with an enormous contingent of 1,500—many of them youth drawn around the Anti Nazi League.

Even the British Communist Party, which for years has scabbed on the Irish war of liberation, seeking only a withdrawal of troops to barracks and a 'Bill of Rights' from the British imperialists, felt able to sign the platform demands, and turn out on the march.

The question all those who claim to support the Irish struggle for liberation must answer is how the defeat of the British army and British imperialism is to be achieved.

Liberals—with a large or small 'l'—feel unhappy that Britain is one of the world leaders in torture and repression and look for ways to mitigate these systems.

Not only do they have no ambition to break up the Orange state but they have no prospect of achieving their

limited aims.

The British state—under Labour or Conservative governments—has long since abandoned any feeling of embarrassment.

That does not mean that the liberation struggle in Ireland cannot be materially aided in Britain.

It does mean however that the only class capable of forcing the removal of troops from Northern Ireland is the working class, under a principled working class leadership.

There is no short cut to building inside the British working class a powerful movement for the defeat of British imperialism in Ireland. Nor is there any way socialists can avoid this vital task.

Demands must be taken up inside the trade unions and the Labour Party to commit bodies to an anti-imperialist position—not just in words but in action.

Such a fight will come up hard against the leadership of the unions, who have consistently supported British rule and British oppression, and the leadership of the Labour Party who have been responsible for carrying that policy out.

## Blacking

It means fighting to remove from office those who stand in the way. It means identifying those areas where blacking action can be taken against supplies for the British army—and fighting for blacking action.

It means fighting for political stoppages against repression and in support of those forces fighting the British army.

Within the context of such a solidarity campaign—for the immediate withdrawal of troops, for political status and the release of republican prisoners and for the smashing of the whole apparatus of imperialist repressive legislation workers must also go further.

They must demand self determination for the Irish people as a whole and the smashing of both the Stormont state and the bourgeois state in the South.

# TORY RACISTS STEP UP DEPORTATIONS

The sanctity of "family life" loses its value to the Tories when they come to deal with black immigrants.

Young children can be separated from their parents by deportation or imprisoned in detention centres with no more than a fleeting crocodile tear from the high priests of motherhood and domestic bliss.

## Harassment

But such recent newsworthy cases of vicious and inhuman treatment are only the tip of a monstrous iceberg of harassment and intimidation of the black (especially Asian) communities in this country by the immigration officials and police.

Timothy Raison, Secretary of State at the Home Office, is now complaining at the burden of work placed on him by the 7,000 appeals which MPs make to him every month on behalf

of immigrants threatened with arrest and deportation.

Raison's answer of course is to rationalise the procedure so that the racist immigration laws can be imposed more efficiently without the nuisance of the existing appeal system—in itself a grotesque mockery of justice even by the standards of the bourgeoisie.

Already the Tories have advanced plans for a new computer system to monitor all immigration and centralise information on 'illegal immigrants'.

## Terrorise

Along with this scheme to extend the capacity of the police and immigration officials to raid and terrorise black workers, they will be putting proposals in the next session of parliament to restrict even further rights of entry into Britain.

It is not simply their racism which drives the Tories to build on the repressive powers developed by both Tory and Labour governments in the past.

## Divide workers

They are consciously seeking to cultivate racism in order to divide the strength of the whole working class and divert workers away from the tasks of socialist revolution posed by the growing crisis of capitalism.

Appeals on legal or compassionate grounds are doomed to defeat: the immigration laws are racist by design.

The only answer to such increasing attacks lies in the building of a campaign in every sector of the labour movement to repeal the racist immigration laws and establish for every worker the right of free entry into this country with full rights of citizenship.



Oxford labour movement bulletin on Ireland - issue 1 includes speech by Brendan Gallagher. Copies are available (25p incl postage) from Socialist Press.

# FUND

With half the month behind us we are just about on target with our £600 monthly fund. Contributions this week pushed the total so far to £291.25, just short of the half-way mark.

But with all the indications suggesting an accelerating rate of inflation in the second half of this year we cannot overemphasise the importance of not only achieving this modest target but if possible of exceeding it.

Readers and supporters should explore every possible source of income for Socialist Press.

Donations should be sent to:

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# WOMAN WORKER

Issue No. 2 now out! Articles on the fight against the Corrie Bill, the cuts, how the Tories are trying to drive women back into the home, interview with Danish Trotskyists and more.

Available, price 6p plus 9p postage, from WSL, 31 Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.