

SOCIALIST PRESS



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DEFEND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AGAINST ISLAMIC REACTION!

The full power and violence of Khomeini's Islamic Republic is now being hurled against every force of open opposition in Iran.

The armed forces, the 'revolutionary guards' and organised mobs of Islamic fanatics are all engaged in a national offensive to secure the reactionary government.

Their aim is to crush the widespread and growing movement that seeks to develop the revolutionary struggles which overthrew the Shah's dictatorship.

Working class

But this campaign of repression is being directed with gathering intensity against the organisations of the left which claim to stand for socialism and to represent the working class and other oppressed masses of Iran.

Last week's mass demonstration against press censorship rallied tens of thousands in defence of democratic rights against the drive to renewed dictatorship.

But against the demonstration were ranged the most fanatical supporters of Khomeini's 'Revolutionary Council'; the extreme right-wingers of the Towhid and the Hezbollahis ('Party of God'); and armed thugs drawn from the enormous lumpen-proletariat which fills Tehran's vast shanty towns.

Full violence

The violent fighting of that Sunday continued throughout the week, with the Pasderan ('revolutionary guards') increasingly throwing their weight against the opposition forces and in support of the full violence of Islamic reaction.

The National Democratic Front (liberal party of the bourgeois intellectuals, which originally called the demonstration) has been driven underground.

The self-styled Marxists-Leninists of the Fedayeen have

Khomeini threat to Iranian revolution

had their offices ransacked and destroyed. They were subjected to further attacks as they marched in protest to bourgeois Prime Minister Bazargan.

The HKS (Socialist Workers Party, affiliated to the USFI) and the Stalinists of the Tudeh Party have suffered similar treatment.

Even the Mujaheddin have had to repel attacks from gangs and the Pasderan themselves although these 'Marxist-Leninists' claim to be Islamic and for all their criticisms have remained firm supporters of Khomeini.

The mob's cries of 'God is great' and 'Death to atheist communists' have found a shrill echo in Khomeini's speeches.

The vehement anti-communism of this fanatical bigot reached a new pitch of hysteria over the week, with talk of gallows at every street corner and extermination of enemies to 'the revolution'.

But Khomeini has been trying (successfully) to whip up reactionary violence precisely because of his fear that power and control of the Iranian revolution were already slipping from his hands.

Far from securely legitimising his rule, the elections to the Constituent Assembly actually provoked new criticism, protest and opposition. Arab militants have continued their campaign of sabotage in the oil-fields of the south-west.

Defying the betrayals of their leaders, the Kurdish people have once again risen up against the repression of the Pasderan, and come into battle with the army.

Their siege of Paveh has now been broken by heavy reinforcements, but fighting continues in Kurdistan.

Economic crisis

Behind all these developments looms the growth of the economic crisis. While Bazargan's cabinet makes its trade deals and contracts with imperialism, no section of the regime has any plan, however useless, for tackling the economy.

Food supplies are disrupted, industrial production stagnant in many areas and as inflation nears a rate of 30%, unemployment dominates probably one quarter of the whole labour



force. And still the working class maintains its occupations and has shown no signs of ending strikes just to please 'God' and the Ayatollah Khomeini.

This situation posed Khomeini with the task of creating a diversion from these material problems, while he proceeded to destroy the leadership of the proletariat before workers moved into open struggle against his regime.

The anti-communist hysteria and violence of the last week has fitted both parts, and laid the basis for future pogroms if necessary.

Khomeini did not confidently select these tactics—desperation forced them onto him. The limited democratic gains of the Iranian revolution will be destroyed utterly by Khomeini

unless they are defended resolutely by the working class, the only consistently revolutionary class in Iran.

But the fight against Islamic reaction and for democratic rights in Iran cannot be won within the perspective of bourgeois democracy held out by the Stalinists and petty bourgeois radicals.

Nor can it be won by any kind of accommodation with Khomeini, as the Fedayeen and Mujaheddin are finding.

The democratic rights of the Iranian masses can be secured only through the fight for a revolutionary programme to establish a workers and peasants government in Iran.

***An end to censorship! For full freedom of the press!**

***Lift the ban on demonstrations! For full freedom of political organisation and**

demonstrations.
***For the right to strike and form free trade unions.**

***For free elections with universal suffrage and social equality for all women and homosexual men.**

***For the right of self-determination and separation for the Kurdish people and all other national minorities.**

***Defend the workers committees! For the building of elected soviets.**

***Build workers militias against Islamic reaction and threats of imperialist restoration.**

***Release all those political prisoners not linked with the Shah's dictatorship!**

For the building of a revolutionary party, Iranian section of a reconstructed Fourth International!



New President Guevara (right) with outgoing President Padilla

Sandinistas turn away from socialist path

Tomas Borge, the new Minister of the Interior and leader of the 'Proletario' faction of the Sandinistas (FSLN) last week chastised his deputy Eden Pastora (Commandante Cevo who led the attack and occupation of the legislative palace last year) for suggesting that Nicaragua might seek arms from the 'socialist bloc'.

Why? Because this might give "pretex to feelings that we are aligning ourselves with them politically."

Arms will not be brought from Israel or Chile either 'for moral reasons'.

Instead Borge, the 'Marxist', goes straight to the dominant imperialist power because "there are serious indications that the US wants to change its attitude."

Useless

It surely does. Since the battle cruisers off Nicaragua's Atlantic coastline and Marines shipped to Northern Costa Rica from Panama proved to be use-

less in buoying up the Somoza dictatorship or cowing the FSLN the State Department has adopted another course.

Mass uprising

It is a course forced upon it by events, by the mass uprising within the country which proved uncontrollable, but it is also a course that is greatly facilitated by political developments since the overthrow of Somoza.

The popular frontism of the ruling Junta and the FSLN leadership feeds off the strength of the masses and their extended struggle against dictatorship.

That struggle cost tens of thousands dead and hundreds of thousands hungry, homeless and destitute.

400,000 are now close to starvation. 300 tonnes of food is needed daily to keep these people alive.

Now, when the US ships in a measly 150 tonnes, (having flown in 30 planes a day during the 1972 earthquake in the full knowledge that these supplies would go directly to the National Guard), Alfonso Robelo, millionaire member of the Junta, announces the imperialists to be "the greatest source of help".

The point needs to be laboured: within weeks of the overthrow of Somoza the hunger of the workers has become the plaything of Washington.

Impossible

This sad fact has as much to do with politics as hunger. The Junta, which was never capable of anything else, and the FSLN leadership have turned their heads resolutely away from a socialist path for Nicaragua.

The capitalist and 'social democrats' proclaim the democratic revolution in a country where democracy is palpably impossible under imperialism.

Vargar, the President of the Nicaraguan Communist Party, announced that the Stalinists will now fuse with the

No solution to Bolivian crisis

The political crisis in Bolivia after last month's elections has been 'resolved' according to the new President Walter Guevara Arze.

Guevara was 'elected' to the presidency by the new Congress after a stalemate between the two leading candidates—Hernan Siles Suazo of the UDP and Victor Paz Estenssoro of the MNR-Historico.

Neither had an absolute majority, but Siles claimed that he had been fraudulently deprived of 53,000 votes and began to mobilise his supporters for strikes and blockades to demand his inauguration.

This drew fears of a rightist coup and after several days of bickering and dealing Congress came to order and hurriedly appointed Guevara to take office for a year until fresh elections can be held.

Clearly the crisis is far from over—it shows every sign of becoming permanent.

Guevara's record is even worse than that of Paz and Siles. He was the leading figure of the right wing of the MNR even before the 1952 Revolution.

He was also the major instigator of attacks—political and physical—on the working class resistance to the 1956

Stabilisation Plan that heralded the reimposition of full imperialist control in Bolivia.

So great was Guevara's derision for even Siles' form of populism that he split from the MNR at the end of the 1950s to form the Partido Revolucionario Autentico (PRA) which actively aided the fall of the MNR and the establishment of the bloody Barrientos dictatorship in 1964.

Now Guevara has announced an 'apolitical' cabinet that excludes members of the UDP and the MNR-Historico.

Unpopular

The new Minister of Economy is the very far from apolitical Guido Hinojosa, former president of the Banco de La Paz, who now plans to introduce wage controls, tax increases, devaluation and rise in domestic fuel prices at the behest of the IMF.

These moves are so unpopular, that the two previous regimes have gone to considerable lengths to avoid imposing them, despite the fact that they were fully supported by the army.

Drastic remedies

Guevara and Hinojosa presumably believe that by allowing the Senate to press charges against former dictator Banzer

(for delivering militants up to Pinochet for summary execution) they will buy off trouble.

Nobody could argue with the charges against Banzer, except that they could be extended to 99% of the High Command, not to mention the MNR.

But the charges will do nothing to alleviate the crisis of the Bolivian economy and bourgeois political apparatus.

With elections once more on the horizon, with dozens of ambitious and disgruntled *politicos* out of work, with revenues from tin and oil falling disastrously and the working class awakened, angry and increasingly prepared to take action, Guevara and his lackeys will be required to take drastic remedies.

These remedies will have to be administered to the most militant working class in South America, a working class that over the last three decades has sought decisive political leadership for the establishment of socialism in Bolivia.

It is therefore critical that Trotskyists, who alone can provide such a lead, fight all nationalist and popular frontist deviations to build a mass party based rigorously on class independence, the Transitional Programme and the call for a workers' government.

GUYANA FACES SHOWDOWN

Acute political crisis has gripped the South American state of Guyana.

The 'revolutionary' government of the People's National Congress (led by Forbes Burnham) now faces a serious threat to its existence, and has begun a new wave of repression against the opposition.

The PNC government (notorious for its ballot-rigging and other corrupt election practices) has been responsible for implementing the 'austerity' measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund.

A wage freeze in the dominant public sector has in turn led to an explosion of militancy on wages which has been most violent in the bauxite industry.

After a local dispute had begun at one plant, all 5,000 members of the Guyana Mine Workers Union were called out on July 23.

While management argues

that to meet the claim would break the freeze, the union leadership is insisting that it has no intention of behaving so irresponsibly, and has found a way round the problem.

So far talks are still deadlocked and on Friday the government and union bureaucracy both suffered a further blow when workers in the sugar industry and throughout the public sector struck in support of the bauxite workers and against the wage freeze.

This situation has brought little comfort to the Stalinist 'Marxists' of Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party.

Discredited

The PPP can see its call for a 'national' government to include the PNC being discredited more day by day, while its own position as the major opposition party is challenged by the young Working People's Alliance.

Formed five years ago from

a group of left-wing intellectuals and politicians who has broken for various reasons from the PPP and PNC, the WPA has now emerged as a major pole of attraction for militants, especially youth and above all students.

Showdown

The Alliance has sworn to force a showdown with the government before the year is out.

Already it is the major force in a broader grouping of even less political clarity, which aims to launch a campaign of 'civil resistance and civil disobedience' to bring down the PNC administration.

Burnham has responded with threats of employing the National Security Act for the round up and imprisonment of opposition militants.

Already major steps have been taken to silence the opposition press with police

raids, seizure of equipment and blocking of newspaper supplies from the state monopoly.

Such acts have succeeded in provoking the opposition to a new level of violent determination.

Within this crisis, one factor which must alarm both Burnham and Jagan is the apparent success of the Working People's Alliance in breaking through the sectarian divisions which have characterised politics in Guyana.

Traditionally, the PNC has based itself on the communities of African ancestry and the PPP on the communities of Asian ancestry.

Support

But the WPA seems to draw its support from both sectors, so long driven into dangerous antagonism by their leaders.

Even if the WPA succeeds in coming to power through the downfall of the PNC and the

formation of a new coalition, such a new left government could offer no way forward for the masses of Guyana to achieve their needs and aspirations.

Temporary break

Alien to the principles of proletarian internationalism and locked in a nationalist perspective, the WPA could at best institute a temporary break with the dictates of imperialism.

Such an interlude can serve only as the introduction to new setbacks and defeats if it is not filled with the struggles to develop social revolution throughout Latin America and internationally.

Without the revolutionary Transitional Programme developed by Trotsky and the Fourth International, left rhetoric and socialist ideals will collapse under the pressure of national isolation and turn into their opposite.



Sandinista fighters hold guns aloft: but socialist programme now necessary

Sandinistas because "we believe that (their) victory has permitted the establishment of a pluralistic democratic government which is all we want at the moment."

Meanwhile the Simon Bolivar brigade established by the Colombian PST of the USFI is recruiting far and wide (even in Britain) so that it can "join in the tasks of reconstruction—in the interests of the workers and poor people", according to *Socialist Challenge*.

Such a reconstruction can only be socialist reconstruction; it can only be achieved by building independent organs of the working class and challenging the capitulation to imperialism by the bourgeois Junta and the FSLN leaders.

*As we go to press, news is coming in from Managua of the expulsion of members of the Simon Bolivar Brigade from Nicaragua.

Reuter reports that 500 are involved; but Agence France Presse puts the number at 60.

The Brigade is charged with agitation against the government, organising workers' militia groups, and organising the seizure of property.

It is not yet clear how the members of the Brigade will respond to the expulsions.

Fraser's attacks trigger off workers' resistance

After his spectacular performance at the Lusaka conference, Malcolm Fraser has returned from these heady delights and diplomatic triumphs to hard and dreary reality as prime minister of Australia.

Fraser's strenuous efforts to hog the limelight at Lusaka have not halted the growing hostility to the coalition of the Liberal and National Country parties still less reversed his own even greater personal unpopularity.

The root of this opposition lies in the deepening and totally predictable failure to resolve the manifestation in Australia of the

international economic crisis of capitalism.

While struggling to attack the strength of the working class the bourgeois coalition has pressed ahead with 'free market' policies akin to those proclaimed by the Tories in Britain.

Recently these have included a decision to sell off state holdings in the uranium mining sector, and draft proposals to revise the measures designed to protect the textiles industry.

Aimed at increasing "efficiency" and "competitiveness", these measures—like those of Thatcher in Britain—would not only accelerate the drive to speed-up and generate

new unemployment, but also force sections of the industry out of business altogether.

Moves to weaken the working class (by bans on demonstrations, and drastic penalties on strikers in the public sector) have not succeeded in blocking the resurgent militancy of Australian workers.

With unemployment already over 6% and still rising, the movement on wages in particular has reached a pitch that threatens to overturn the government.

The failure of the coalition to smash the strike wave has disillusioned many of its supporters in the petty bour-

geoisie.

At the same time, the Labour Party has sought to exploit the situation, and present itself as the only force which can cure the economic and social ills of Australia.

The social democrats of course offer no solution to the working class; reformist to the rotten core, they will simply attempt to defend capitalism with different (but scarcely less pernicious) methods than the parties of the bourgeoisie.

The construction of a genuinely revolutionary party, section of a reconstructed Fourth International, is the only road which can lead Australian workers to break through the



prison of bourgeois democracy and establish the basis for socialism with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Free Annette Bahner!

International Campaign Against Repression
Flat 1,
1 Maberley Crescent,
London SE19

Dear Comrades,

This letter is to draw your attention to the forthcoming picket and lobby of the East German Embassy planned for September 5.

This is part of a campaign launched by the International Campaign Against Repression in order to secure the freedom of Cologne SPD member Annette Bahner, who was arrested in East Berlin for her enquiries into the infringement of democratic rights in that area.

Campaign

This was part of her work for the Committee for the Defence of Democratic Liberties in the whole of Germany, East and West, work which has also involved her in the recent campaign for the release of Robert Havemann.

If found guilty of gathering information, the "crime" for which she was arrested, she could face a sentence of up to 12 years imprisonment.

I am sure that as internationalists you are aware of the significance which a successful campaign for the release of Ms. Bahner could achieve.

The issues raised by such an incident relate not only to the defence of democratic rights in the whole of Germany, but ultimately to problems which can only be solved by the unification of Germany under a socialist banner and the importance of that step in the struggle for a United Socialist States of Europe.

Consent

The fact that the SPD bureaucracy has shown extreme reluctance in fighting for the release of Annette Bahner is just one among many pieces of evidence pointing to the tacit consent which bureaucracies of both East and West give to the division of Germany and thus the world into two oppressive political systems.

I must stress the importance of rallying as many members and supporters of the labour movement as possible around this cause.

Further details of the campaign can be obtained by trade union branches and Labour Parties from the above address.

Yours fraternally,
Nicholas Phillips
(for the Committee for the Release of Annette Bahner).

Bank unions in battle

With a vicious court judgement, the Greek state last week extended its attack on the political rights of workers.

The courts ordered the bank workers union to call off its strike, and ruled that the union was financially responsible for the losses of the banks and so must pay each banking group £12,000 for every day that the strike continued.

To cap this blatant anti-working class decision, the court denied any right of appeal.

Forced resignation

While the union bureaucracy hastened to comply with this edict of bourgeois justice, the 32,000 members continued their strike action and so forced the resignation of the entire executive.

The immediate origin of the strike lay in a government order to alter the times of work of bank employees. (This measure was designed as an economy—to reduce city rush-hour traffic congestion, and so cut down on fuel consumption and lessen the effects of the oil price rise on

the Greek economy!)

But the attempt of the Karamanlis government to impose this bright idea arbitrarily on workers came at a time of mounting opposition to state wage controls.

Not only did the bank employees refuse to obey, and take strike action, but their cause became a focus of opposition to the government's policies and ruthless defence of capitalist interests.

As fellow trade unionists from the public utilities, along with students and the PASOK (led by Papandreu), gave their support to demonstrations called by bank workers, the government imposed bans on such activity.

Police attack

Hundreds of police savagely attacked a march on Athens university two weeks ago.

Not content with such repressive measures, Karamanlis moved to organise scabbing on the strike and decreed that the bank employees would be placed forcibly under military 'discipline'

Riots hit at Numeiri

Jaafar Numeiri, president of the Sudan, is one of the world's most skillful political operators.

At present he needs every ounce of that skill to rescue him from a dangerous political crisis in the Sudan and to maintain his place as head of the largest country in Africa.

Numeiri's latest problems have stemmed from the IMF's demands for 'strengthening' the capitalist economy of the Sudan. Last summer this produced a devaluation of the pound which boosted inflation.

This summer, Numeiri cut subsidies on several essential commodities and so brought about increases of one-third in the price of sugar, and two-thirds in the price of petrol.

These moves led to widespread rioting and loud demands for the president's resignation. Forced to retreat slightly on the price of petrol, Numeiri reacted with changes in his government.

Major Abul Gasim was removed from his posts as Vice-President and Secretary-General

of the Sudanese Socialist Union (created by Numeiri as the sole legal party after the army coup which brought him to power in 1969).

Into his place has stepped Gen. Abdul Magid Khalil, the Defence Minister—a move that clearly indicates Numeiri's intentions of relying more heavily on the army to bolster up his regime and crush the mass protests.

Although they have scarcely treated him with consideration or generosity, Numeiri has always been a faithful friend to the imperialists—even to the extent of supporting their armed invasion of Zaire last year.

As the strikes spread, and the demonstrations and riots continue in Khartoum and Omdurman, Numeiri is no doubt bending his thoughts to these international sponsors and considering what assistance they can give him.

Such reflections are not likely to increase his optimism and confidence.

Bishop opts out

ANXIOUS to dispel the anxieties of the imperialists, Maurice Bishop, Grenada's new prime minister, has firmly declared that the new left government "will not assist in any way to topple any government".

Bishop is leader of the New Jewel Movement, which came to power after organising mass mobilisations against the dictatorial government of Sir Eric Gairy, and then requested military assistance from the Cuban Stalinists to prevent the danger of a reactionary coup.

Bishop may have offered some consolation to the imperialists but his chauvinist treachery to the exploited masses of the Caribbean has not dispelled their fully justified fears of further upheavals in the region following the downfall of three reactionary regimes in as many months.

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FREE ANNETTE BAHNER!
Lobby and Demonstration at East German Embassy, Wednesday 5 September 11am-1pm.
Organised by the International Campaign Against Repression

Meanwhile in Czechoslovakia plans are going ahead for the show trial of ten "dissidents"—all members of the "Charter 77" democratic rights movement.

The ten range from Peter Uhl, an avowed revolutionary Marxist, to clergyman Vaclav Malý.

Socialist Press will carry an extensive interview with a leading Czech socialist exile next week, in which the background to the show trials is examined.

In the meantime, union branches and Labour Parties should take up the fight for the release of all ten victims of this latest Stalinist frame-up.

US imperialists press for capitalist 'solution' in Ireland

Father Sean McManus director of the US Irish National Caucus told a press conference held in London last week that "Until Ireland becomes an American issue there's going to be no breakthrough."

McManus announced that the Caucus, which claims responsibility for Carter's decision to cease the supply of American arms to the Royal Ulster Constabulary, is urging the 30 million Irish-Americans to support presidential candidates with the strongest line on the North.

Cut off arms

The Caucus, which is in favour of the withdrawal of British troops, plans to deepen its campaign by attempting to end the export of arms to both the UDR and the British Army.

At the press conference the Caucus indicated its support for the recent proposal from Governor Carey of New York for a conference in the USA—



Bourgeois spokesman—"Tip" O'Neil

supposedly designed to explore avenues for a "solution to the Northern Ireland problem."

The Irish government has expressed its agreement with such a conference providing it is supported by House of Representatives Speaker Tip O'Neill and Senators Moynihan and

Kennedy.

Carey claimed that he had received initial acceptance of his invitation from Northern Ireland Secretary of State Humphrey Atkins but a few days later the Northern Ireland Office issued a statement denying this.

The British government has

announced its willingness to attend a *private* meeting in New York to explain Tory government policy on Ireland but would not agree to any meeting to negotiate the future of Northern Ireland.

The Irish government is disappointed at the British response. Desperate to be seen as trying to do something to 'solve' the situation in order to defuse the national struggle in the six counties it feels that British attendance at such a conference would be a useful back-up to those in the US who are trying to fight the widespread enthusiasm within the Irish American population for the war of liberation in the North.

This problem is one recognised by the British ruling class which has loudly applauded the anti-republican mission to the USA by 'Broad Left' NUS President Trevor Philips.

The Tory government has itself said that it intends to make a trip soon to campaign against support for "terrorism" in the USA.

The British government is in

a desperate position in Northern Ireland.

The impact of support for a conference along the lines suggested by Carey on the Loyalists would be a dangerous one for a government seeking to prove against all the evidence to the contrary that its struggle against the Provisionals is meeting with success.

The only force in Northern Ireland which supports the Carey initiative is the widely discredited gang of touts in the SDLP.

The only policy the Tories can produce at present is continued repression of the Republican forces.

Last week's display of force by the Provisional IRA has been followed by a series of arrests and the threat from the UDA to launch a violent campaign against "the terrorists".

Thugs

Were the Tories to show any sympathy with Carey's conference it would undoubtedly prompt these loyalist thugs into new provocations for fear of

being 'sold out' by their imperialist backers.

While the moves within the American ruling class obviously reflect the needs of the approaching US elections, they also reflect the mounting support for the Irish national struggle there—support that penetrates not only the US Congress but also the trade union movement.

There is also a feeling that Britain cannot continue with its present policy of brutal repression by boot and bullet indefinitely.

Labour movement

As the pressure on the imperialists to find a bourgeois "solution" to the Irish crisis mounts, the British working class must come to the aid of the anti-imperialist forces in the North.

A massive movement must be built in the unions and the Labour Party to force the withdrawal of British troops from the occupied six counties and enable the Irish people to determine their own future.

PRESS GANG

Bolting the lid on the Irish war



Anniversary time: but not the usual glossy "look back" with which newspapers will greet any anniversary, however trivial.

Ten years of the British army on the streets of Belfast and Derry. Ten years they said couldn't happen. Ten years of temporary solutions. Ten years of ringing editorials, lies, and propaganda. Ten years in public relations for British imperialism.

It was little wonder that the 10th birthday celebrations for the troops were muted. Like grey hair it had crept up on the press when it wasn't looking.

The *Guardian* is a good place to start. There is

always something particularly loathsome about liberals who discover that their interests and those of the bourgeoisie are identical.

Critical

The *Guardian* has often complained over lack of civil rights, and at some points over the last decade has even taken in its news columns a critical approach to the army.

But its editorials have over the same period been a model of good Orange orthodoxy.

And in looking back over the decade, the *Guardian* was at pains to support the two main myths of the age—that British troops were sent in to "protect" the

Catholics and that by and large the Irish "do it to themselves".

Their Washington correspondent, who was in Northern Ireland in 1969, began his look back by lingering over a scene in which a Catholic family worked as a team to produce a quick petrol bomb to use on the Derry barricades.

While a massive onslaught against the Catholic population by the B specials and the Orange mobs was taking place, the *Guardian* memory bank turns this on its head by describing: "the whole city fallen into virtual anarchy, petrol bombs, bricks and bottles cascading around the men of the RUC".

The apprentice boys march through the Catholic quarter of Derry brings the memory that "you could smell the violence in the streets" and the "blame" for that violence erupting is put on a middle-aged Catholic with a catapult: "He stood in the jeering crowd of Catholics locked behind the police barricade in the city centre, and loosed off stone after stone at the marching Orangemen."

Such triviality is the stock in trade of apologists for the army. The *Guardian* also recalls Terence O'Neil as someone who made "humane and sincere efforts to right the grievances of the minority".

A gloomy piece from John Hooper in Belfast, however, finds that the army no longer claims many breakthroughs in getting information about IRA attacks, and that the feeling of impotence "which has characterised the army's mood over the past ten years" has been heightened rather than diminished.

Predictably, Hooper's only policy is that: "some form of political initiative is urgently needed if the security situation is not to go into slow but sure decline".

The *Daily Telegraph* ran a half-hearted look back from Colin Brady in Derry, which was eclipsed by the reports in the same paper of the IRA's August 12th show of strength.

"Most of today's troops were still at school a decade ago. Although no war officially exists and no battle honours can be won, 301 regular soldiers have been killed by bombers and gunners. . . ."

"On a warm, sunny evening in 1969 when men of the Prince of Wales Own

Regiment dismounted from lorries in Waterloo Place, Londonderry, with steel helmets, fixed bayonets and rolls of barbed wire, any forecast that a grisly decade lay ahead would have been treated with derision."

At that his rhetoric runs out. The rest of the article is a compendium of the *Telegraph's* favourite phrases:

"sinister para military gangs. . . steadily ground down the terrorists. . . public wearied and disgusted by the excesses of the terrorists."

Even the *Telegraph* does not pretend that the army's popularity has improved:

"The soldiers of 1969 would find Londonderry and Belfast unrecognisable today. There are no cups of tea or free beer in 1979, only the risk of a booby-trap or a sniper's bullet".

The leader writer does not share any complacency about "wearing down" the IRA. It celebrated the tenth anniversary with yet another call for the reintroduction of internment.

The only maverick in Fleet Street is the *Daily Mirror*.

Last year it announced its conversion to a policy of withdrawing the troops.

It used the anniversary to repeat the call "Bring home the troops" on its front page, and a centre page spread headed "Diary of Despair".

It echoes broadly the slogans around which the Liberals mobilised for the August 12 demonstration.

The *Mirror* mourns the dead soldiers and RUC thugs as "those who tried, in vain, to keep the peace."

The *Mirror's* position is staunchly pacifist on Ireland.

Beneath a picture of

helmeted and shield-carrying RUC men wading into a demonstration, they put sorrowfully:

"Police with riot shields face the hate of fellow citizens".

This stance is, of course, a chink in the unanimity of the press.

The *Mirror* refers to the failure of Northern Ireland to rate a mention in the election campaign. It even mentions history:

"Ulster remained part of the UK when the rest of Ireland was given its independence because of the cowardice of the politicians of the 1920s. Today's politicians have a chance to eliminate that legacy instead of once again passing it on".

But whether, like the *Mirror*, the press expresses horror at the ten year war, or whether, like the *Telegraph*, it is generally encouraged by the efficient fighting machine it has made the British army, there is not one glimmer of understanding of the causes of or responsibility for the war.



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





IRELAND

The heavy price of Loyalism

While it is the oppressed Catholic minority in the six counties of Ireland that suffers the full brunt of military and police repression, the worst unemployment and the worst housing conditions, the economic crisis is also taking its toll of the "privileged" Protestant working class.

The latest spending cuts announced by the Tory government include the axing of 2,000 jobs at the key Harland and Woolf shipyards—virtually all of whom will be Protestant workers.

And while masquerading as the political allies of the Loyalist population, the Tories will be seeing to it that the occupied "province" also suffers its full share of social service, health and education cuts—throwing thousands more onto the dole queues.

Profitable

The highly profitable face of unemployment and repression in the six counties was revealed last week by a report of the Low Pay Unit.

This showed that:
 *14,000 full time workers in the six counties are on a wage £40 below the "poverty line".
 *44% of the working population—140,000 people—earn less than £60 per week.

*The proportion of families on benefits is four times that in Britain.

*Minimum wage levels are anything up to £15-£20 below comparable rates in Britain.

While Protestant workers plainly feel themselves privileged in relation to their unemployed and oppressed Catholic brothers and sisters, it is clear that the sectarian divisions perpetuated by British imperialism and the mass unemployment that is endemic to the North combine to depress wages far below even the low standard of living faced by millions of workers in Britain.

But of course there is no way that these obstacles can be overcome without removing their prime cause—the preserva-

tion of imperialist rule in the North and the sectarian six-county statelet itself.

The working class movement in the South has for its part time and again shown itself ready and willing to struggle against Lynch's pro-imperialist regime in defence of jobs, living standards and basic rights—but found itself blocked by bureaucratic union leaders.

The lack of any credible political "solution" means that British capitalism sees military rule and the exacerbation of sectarian divisions in the North as the only strategy for stemming rising struggles which they fear could otherwise lead into a fight for a united Irish workers' republic.

Yet it is only when the Protestant workers in the North begin to grasp the extent to which their "loyalty" to British imperialism is producing a rod for their own backs in the form of cuts, unemployment and low wages that there is any hope of them making the necessary political break from the politics of Paisleyite reaction.

Such a development requires also the continued political strengthening of the anti-imperialist struggle in the North and the emergence of struggles in the South that confront both Lynch's capitalist regime and the stranglehold of the Roman Catholic Church.

Shake off

A clear political perspective, through which the Irish working class and small farmers can struggle for their independent interests and shake off the savage hold of imperialism North and South, is vitally needed.

Such a movement cannot be built on the limited guerrillaist politics of the Provisionals, despite their courageous struggle against the British Army.

A conscious Trotskyist programme and leadership is needed.

But it would certainly draw the most advanced militants who at present are drawn towards the Provisionals as the only forces seen to be leading the struggle against imperialism.

CALLAGHAN READY TO SPLIT LABOUR PARTY



If Labour's National Executive succeeded in getting conference support for its proposal to take over the drafting of the Party's manifesto "it would be a major threat to the unity of the party", declared Callaghan last week.

"If we have to fight, fight we will," echoed Hector Smith, right wing leader of the Blast-furnacemen's union.

"We are not prepared to finance a party that is ideologically split", chimed in steel union leader Bill Sirs.

Unanimity

There was in other words total unanimity in last Tuesday's gathering of extreme right wing Labour and trade union leaders that any attempt by rank and file Labour Party members to determine their Party's election platform or its day-to-day policies will be met with the most tenacious bureaucratic obstruction.

Callaghan spelled out unmistakably his absolute refusal to be accountable to anyone:

"The Parliamentary Party cannot be put in the position of having to act upon the instructions of the NEC or any other body..."

But while the right wing draw their daggers for the fight—in the form of the witch-hunting "inquiry" into the Labour Party long advocated by GMWU leader Bassnett—the 'left' wing is confining itself to a timid whimper.

Party chairman Frank Allaun attacked Callaghan's attempt to downgrade the Party conference

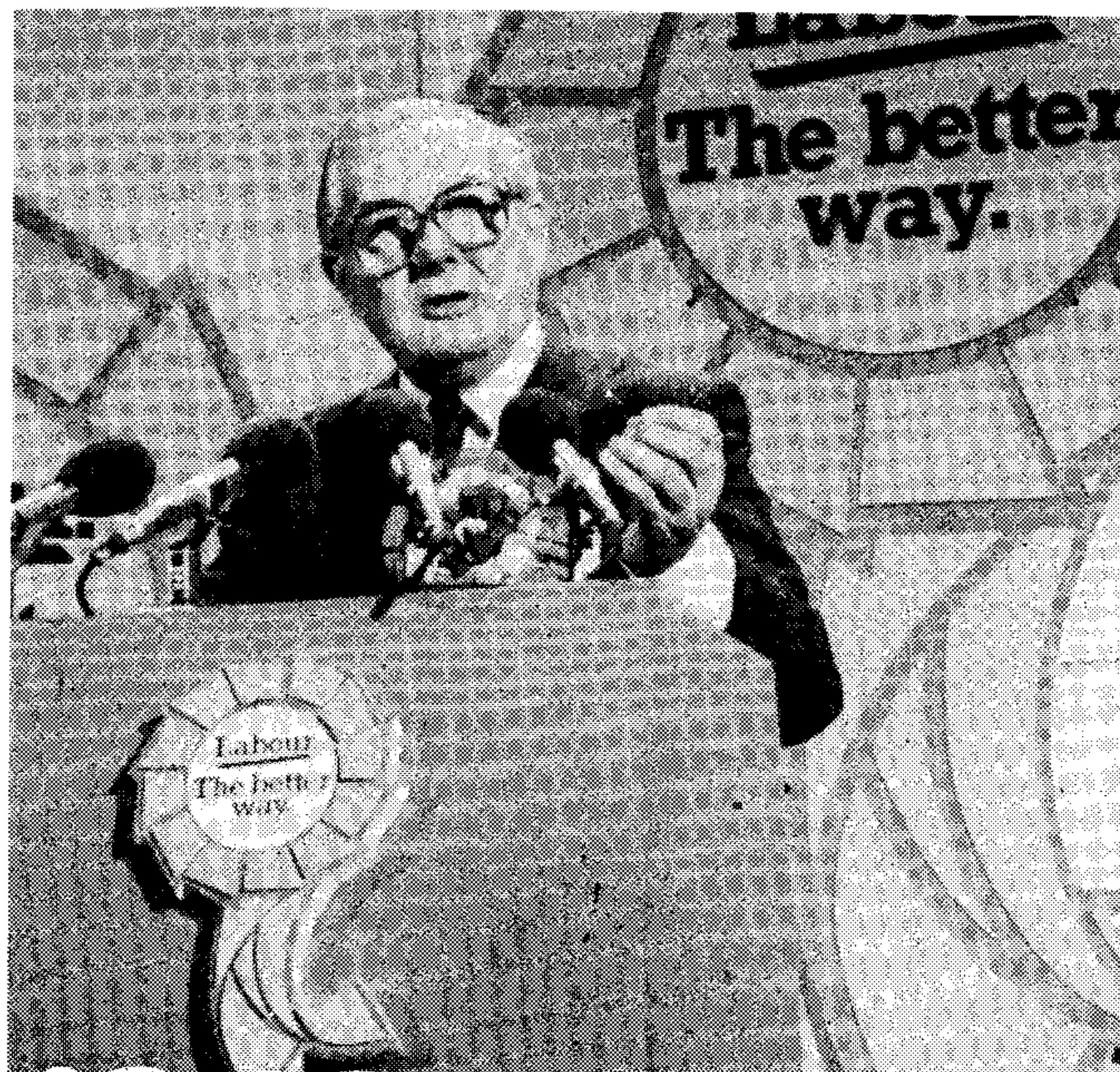


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Callaghan

to the level of simply an "expression of opinion"—equivalent to the impotence of the Tory Party conference.

But he went on to declare that:

"Jim Callaghan is, I think, underestimating the depth of feeling for further democratising the Party."

Guns blazing

Callaghan, on the contrary, is correctly gauging that this is a confrontation in which his only chance is to go in with all guns blazing against a 'left' wing that has time and again collapsed when posed with a real fight against his policies.

While the 'lefts' prattle innocently about 'democratis-

ing' the party, Callaghan is conducting an open and behind the scenes campaign to secure the union block votes against any accountability of MPs or the Party leadership.

He is utilising the press and the mass media.

He will not shrink from splitting the Party sooner than be bound by a single vote at conference. And he hopes that this together with Bassnett's, "inquiry" will lay the basis for a crackdown against the left wing.

But the 'lefts' have waged no parallel campaign for the ousting of Callaghan and his right wing leadership: they have spelled out no socialist alternative to the Labour government's reactionary programme of unemployment, cuts and wage

controls.

And while Callaghan talks vaguely about concentrating on "the main task"—opposing the Tory government—none of the 'lefts' have come forward to challenge his outright opposition to any action to bring down the Tories.

Callaghan has observed this closely and is calculating yet another humiliating collapse by the 'lefts' at this year's conference.

The agenda features a resolution from Thanet East CLP calling correctly for a vote of no confidence in and the resignation of Callaghan stating that:

"He is not competent to lead this movement to a socialist programme and should be asked to resign."

By where they stand on this motion it is possible to gauge the fighting capacity of Labour's self-styled 'lefts'. Labour activists should watch its fate with keen interest.

Wherever possible they should mandate conference delegates to vote in favour of it—and in report backs demand full details of the forces that are prepared to declare themselves openly in practice for the removal of Callaghan and the right wing leadership.



PHOTO: John Suroock, Report

Allaun

SOUTHALL: huge fines

342 defendants are being processed through a sequence of political trials in Southall following the events of April 23 this year.

On that day, 5,000 police defended and assisted 58 fascists in staging a deliberately provocative meeting in central Southall.

Not content with this, they also turned Southall into a police state and went on a vicious rampage against Southall's protesting commun-

ity. Blair Peach was murdered by the notorious Special Patrol Group and hundreds injured, many seriously.

One 19 year old boy had to have his testicles removed, such were the injuries inflicted, while two others were hospitalised on the critical list.

Many of the 710 people arrested that night were held at Beaconsfield Police Station until the early hours and left to walk back.

64 of the 342 actually

charged have so far been referred to Barnet Magistrates Court (well known for the stiff sentences passed on those arrested at Grunwick picket lines and Notting Hill Carnival).

There has been a conviction rate of 89% of these cases heard so far: 21 people have been fined to a total of £2,500.

Jail terms

The highest single fine was one of £525 and two convicted youths have been sent to prison.

Many of those appearing in September face more than one charge of a serious nature, i.e. grievous bodily harm and possession of an offensive weapon.

Two of those convicted have served a part of their sentences but are on bail pending appeals against conviction.

They are being harassed by being forced to report to Southall Police Station every midday.

The Southall Defence Committee has called for a mass picket of Barnet Magistrates Court at 9.30 am on September 10.

The London labour movement must oppose these political trials by turning out in force on this occasion with their banners.

Also a public meeting will be held at the AUEW Hall, 1 Woodlands Road, Southall from 11 am to 4 pm.

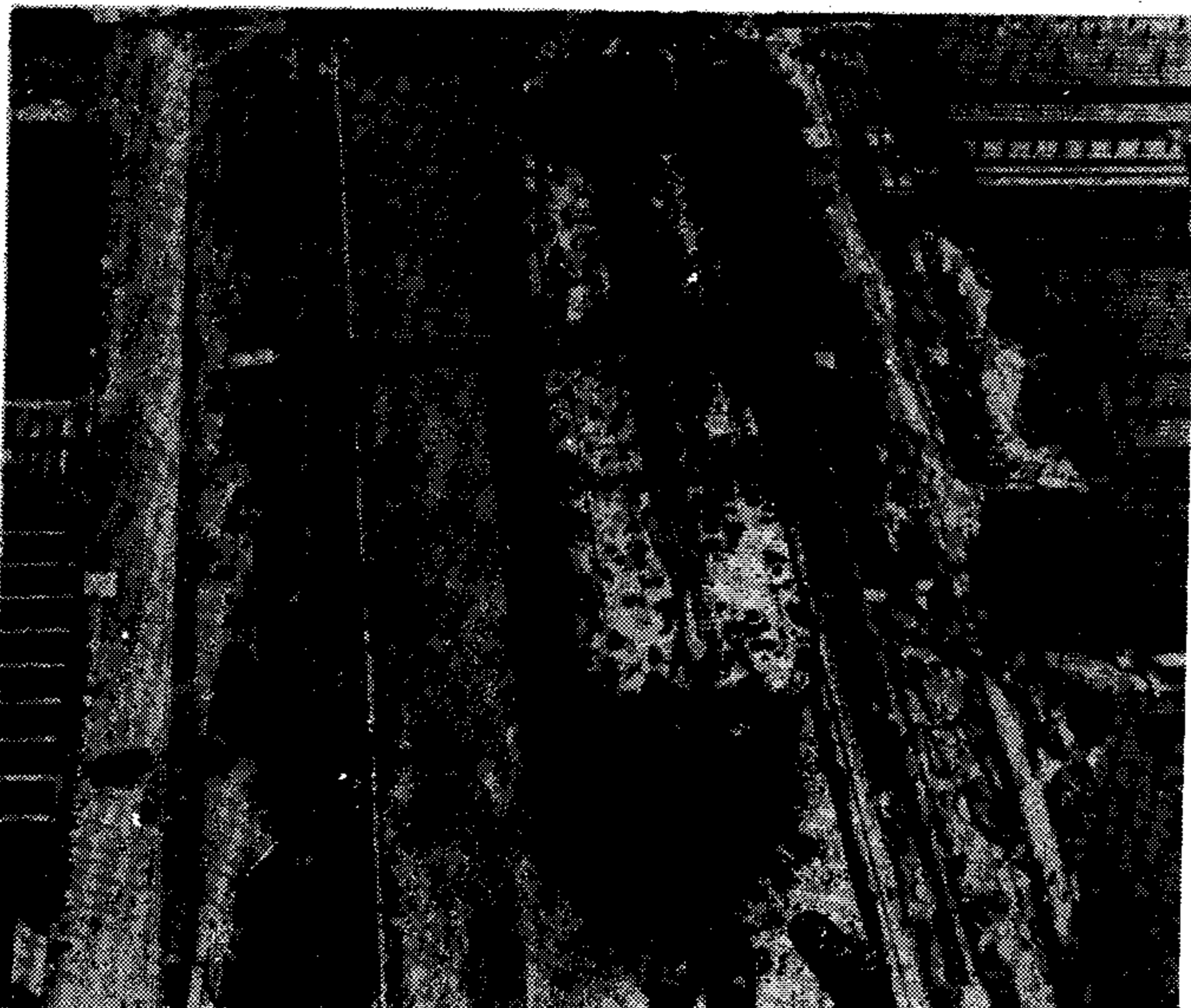
New police victim

A registered-disabled man from Southall was murdered by local police just five weeks ago.

Arrested at 10.30pm on July 13, Swaran Singh Grewal was found to be dead by 1.30 that night.

Both his wife and family doctor were denied the right to see his body for 9 days after his death, after which the doctor found "definite signs of assault" although the police claimed he had choked on his own vomit.

This police murder follows those of Liddle Towers in Newcastle and more recently Jimmy Kelly in Liverpool, and Blair Peach in Southall. It must not go unchallenged.



Harland and Woolf shipyard

Defend abortion rights! Fight the Corrie Bill!

Demonstration called by the TUC
 Sunday 28 October

Assemble at Speakers Corner at 11.30 a.m.
 March begins at 12.30 p.m. to Trafalgar Square for a Rally

PITFALLS OF SWP'S CAPITALIST' VIEW CAMBODIA

This is the third of a series of articles by HENRY PHILLIPS about the major political and theoretical crisis in the USFI, promoted by the recent wars in S.E. Asia.

In this article the contradictions of the US Socialist Workers Party's analysis of Kampuchea are analysed.

In arguing that the process after the defeat of imperialism in Kampuchea led to the establishment of a new form of capitalist state, the American Socialist Workers Party falls into numerous contradictions.

In some cases its "theoreticians" show some awareness of this by falsifying the evidence with which they support their case.

In this week's article we will look at these inconsistencies and falsifications as well as Ernest Mandel's critique of them.

But we will then go on to what is much more important—the theoretical positions which lie behind the inconsistencies and falsifications.

In these the SWP fails, in our view, to make any qualitative distinction between the creation of healthy and deformed workers states.

Apologist

And in failing to do this it acts as an apologist for the Stalinist bureaucracy.

As we shall explain, its position that the Kampuchean Stalinist bureaucracy is a part of imperialism is a vital part of a wholesale theoretical SWP revision of Trotskyism which effectively denies the counter-revolutionary nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy in general.

The SWP define Kampuchea under Pol Pot as a capitalist state.

Before looking at the arguments they use to support this we must reject one subsidiary argument: that if the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea had been a capitalist regime this would have given any justification to the Vietnamese invasion.

In producing this argument the SWP abandons all consideration of the question of national self-determination.

Though revolutionaries have correctly established the principle that the working class must defend even deformed or degenerated workers states against imperialism, they have never adopted the position that the revolution should be spread to capitalist states by external armed invasion—even by a healthy workers state, let alone by the actions of a parasitic bureaucracy.

Ukraine

When Stalin invaded bourgeois Poland arguing that he was going to unify Polish-ruled Ukraine with Soviet Ukraine, Trotsky denounced this.



Pol Pot

Trotsky declared that if the invasion achieved its objective the Ukrainian people would find itself "unified" not in national freedom but under bureaucratic slavery.

What was involved, he argued, was not the emancipation of an oppressed people but the extension of the rule of bureaucratic oppression and parasitism.

The SWP's support of the invasion of Kampuchea is, of course, inseparable from its view that Pol Pot was acting in alliance with Peking as a tool of imperialism.

This "fact" is one of their arguments that Kampuchea was a capitalist, and not a bureaucratically deformed workers' state.

On this point the SWP is, to put it generously, loose in its use of evidence.

The SWP never makes clear, for example, that the attempt by Pol Pot to develop friendly relations with imperialist forces was not a permanent feature of his policy.

Rather it was the result of a sudden turn in 1978, when Ieng Sary, the Kampuchean Foreign Minister, toured the countries of the regional pro-imperialist alliance, ASEAN, seeking alliances.

Diplomacy

This exercise in opportunist diplomacy was in fact a mirror image of almost identical moves by the Vietnamese Stalinists.

While it is true that the tension on Kampuchea's border with Vietnam intensified after this point, it had been an ongoing problem

for two years prior to this.

And as we showed in the previous article, the hostility between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean bureaucracies had very deep and material historical roots.

It can in no way be exclusively or even primarily laid at the door of the Kampucheans.

The date of the conflict, therefore, does not support the SWP's opinion that Vietnam, by invading Kampuchea, was simply defending itself against an imperialist-backed attack.

Nor does the attempt by the Pol Pot bureaucracy to find pro-imperialist allies go any way to defining the Kampuchean state as capitalist.

If that argument were valid, then all the degenerated and deformed workers

states would be capitalist—including the USSR and Vietnam.

For at more or less the same time that the Kampuchean Foreign Minister made a tour of the ASEAN states, seeking friends, so did the Foreign Minister of Vietnam!

But the SWP's final "proof" of Kampuchea's supposed collaboration with the imperialists concerns the role of China.

World analysis

The SWP presents an utterly false and misleading world analysis that portrays the basic political alignments today as being between imperialism and its allies—including China—on the one side, and the revolutions of Vietnam, Cuba and their backers on the other.

This is a superficial and dangerous conception which we will go on to analyse critically in a later article.

Meanwhile we must turn to the other set of arguments by which the SWP seeks to prove that Kampuchea under Pol Pot was a capitalist state—the arguments relating to Pol Pot's internal policies.

The recent articles by four leading SWP members Clark, Feldman, Horowitz and Waters (to be referred to as CFHW), is the most complete and developed statement on the subject so far.

Reply to Mandel

For this reason we will develop the criticisms of the SWP leaders' position largely on the basis of this article.*

The article itself is a reply to Ernest Mandel's critique of the same SWP writers.

Coming to the end of a summary of the nefarious policies produced by the Pol Pot regime, Mandel had concluded:

"It is one thing to say that an inhuman despot used barbaric methods which we, of course, condemn fully and without reservation, and which are unable to further the building of a classless socialist society—in order to suppress private property. It is something else again to present this despot as a 'counter-revolutionary capitalist.'" (ICP, April 9 1979, p.336)

We agree with Mandel's point here. He is pointing to the fact that the class nature of a regime or state

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

cannot be decided, as the SWP leaders are in effect partly doing, by moralistic references to the methods which its rulers use.

The point, however, is not only one of the implicit moralising of the SWP leaders' arguments. Mandel is able correctly to draw attention to the fact that the policies pursued by the Pol Pot regime are obstacles to the pursuit of a socialist society.

But he fails to draw out the argument sufficiently.

The point is that in Kampuchea, in an extreme way, the Stalinist bureaucracy pursued policies against the masses which held back the socialist revolution in the very act of overturning property relations.

Hold back

In doing so they were behaving in accordance with all Stalinist bureaucracies, which pursue policies which politically hold back both within their own countries and on a world scale the socialist revolution.

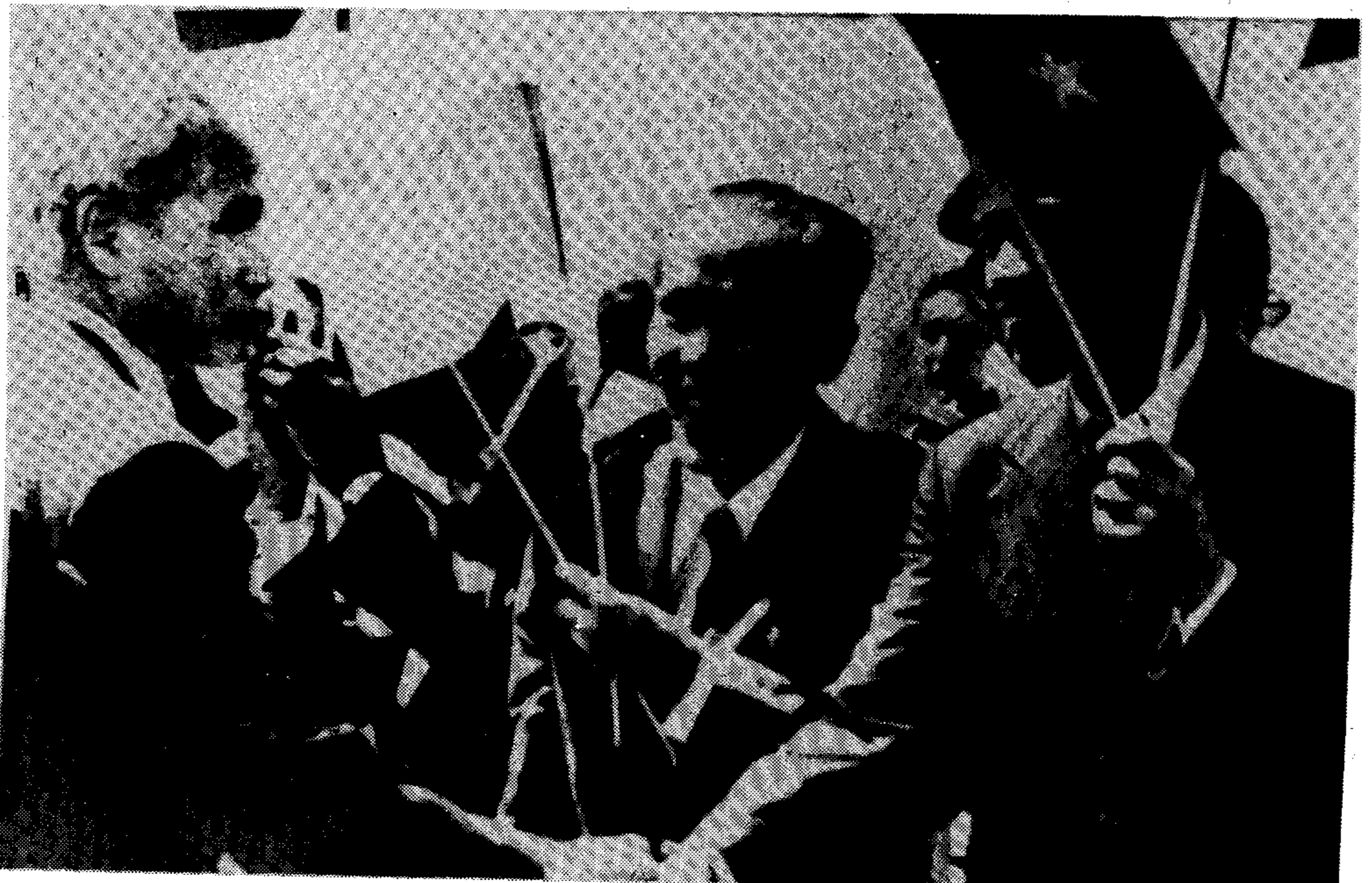
In other words the Stalinist bureaucracy is a reactionary force—but one which feeds parasitically on new, non-capitalist, property forms.

Let us see how CFHW react to this. Referring to Mandel's summary of Pol Pot's policies they say:

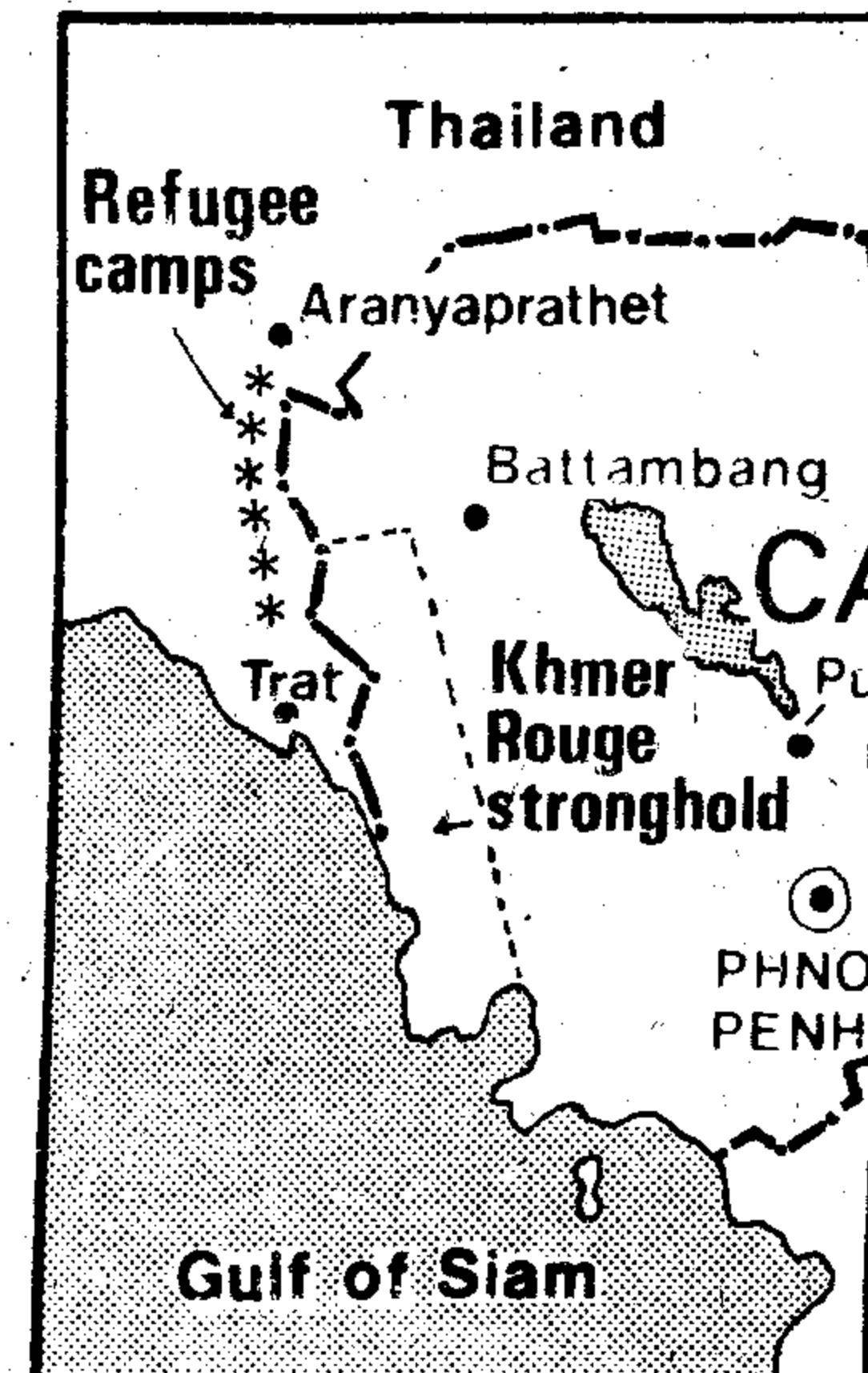
"Contrary to Comrade Mandel none of these policies are the tasks of the proletarian revolution . . .

It is not a revolutionary policy to "physically eliminate" participants in the bourgeois state apparatus. . . It is not a step towards a workers state to eliminate "the lower middle classes . . .

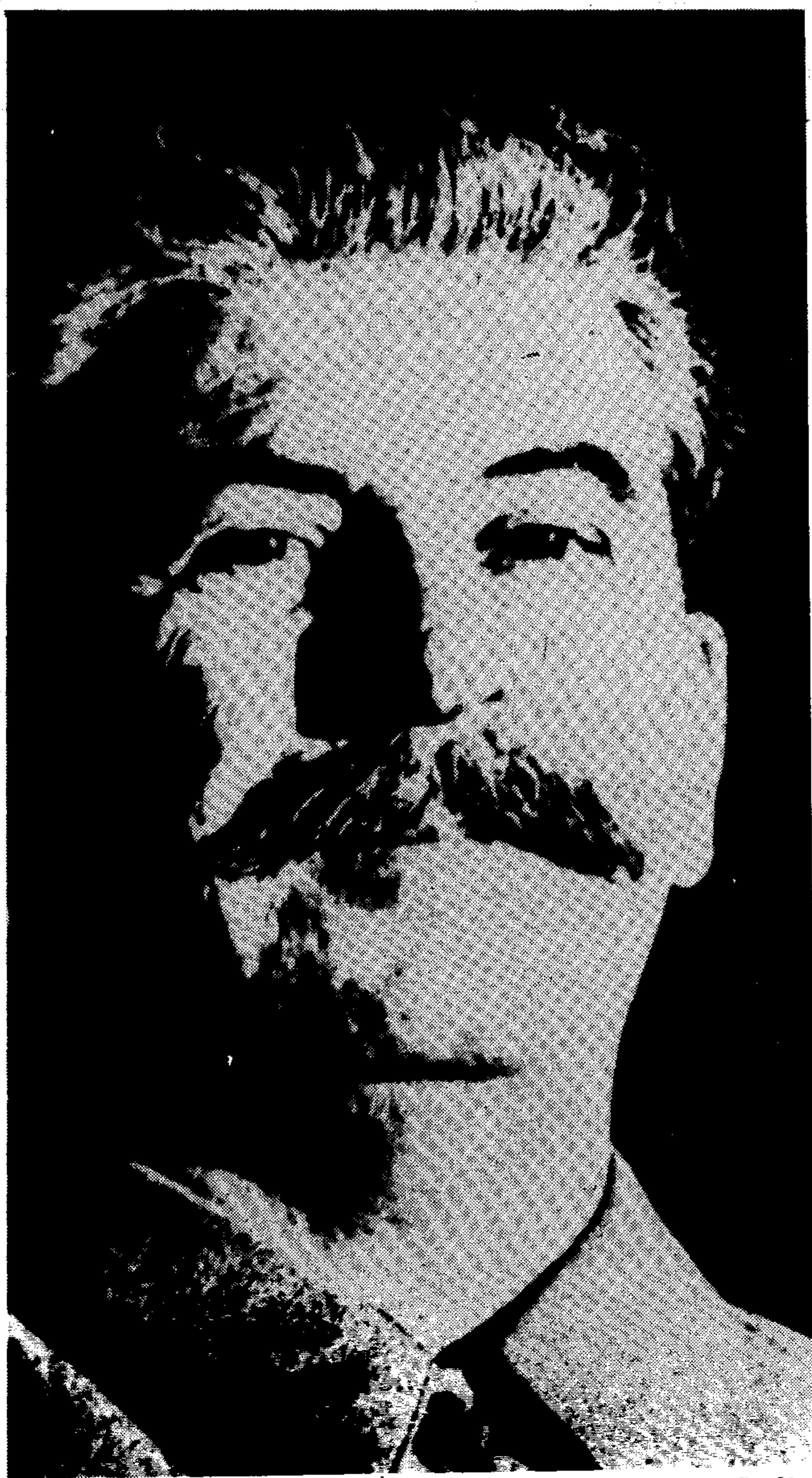
Wholesale slaughter has never accompanied a socialist revolution—not even when the revolution was dominated by Stalinist parties . . . it is not a task of the proletarian revolution to force peasants . . . into what Comrade Mandel delicately



Setting the pace in opportunist diplomacy, Vietnamese Stalinist leaders were feted by Thai bourgeois puppet regime in 1978.



3 'STATE OF



Stalin

inconsistencies. These basically concern two points.

Firstly, there are plenty of historical examples of regimes which CFHW appear to recognise as Stalinist bureaucratic regimes in power in deformed or degenerated workers states that have pursued policies which clearly parallel those of Pol Pot; and second there are plenty of examples of the formation of what CFHW accept as workers' states without the "intervention of the workers" in mass mobilisations.

Mandel argues correctly in relation to Pol Pot's policies of rural collectivisation:

"The obvious parallel which comes to mind is the severity, scope and extreme terrorism of Stalin's forced collectivisation in the Soviet Union..." (ICP, April 9 1979, p.336)

Soviet Union

He might have added many other instances of Stalin's policies of terror against the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union—which the SWP still defines as a degenerated workers' state.

Certainly there were parallels in periods of Chinese history since the revolution of 1949 of similar policies being pursued.

For example when the Peoples Communes were suddenly established in 1958-59, the Chinese bureaucracy, like Pol Pot, went so far as to suppress for a time all private agricultural production, and introduced compulsory communal dining halls.

Yet the SWP still accept that China is a deformed workers' state—though they now curiously bracket it with imperialism in their

world line-up of forces.

There is also a parallel for the mass slaughter carried out by the Pol Pot bureaucracy not only in Stalin's Russia but, for instance, in Enver Hoxha's Albania which on the basis of all CFHW's criteria would also presumably have to qualify as a reactionary capitalist state.

Castro

More worrying to the sensibilities of the SWP leaders would be the parallels which undoubtedly exist between Pol Pot's policies and some of the economic policies pursued by the government of Fidel Castro (which the SWP regards as a revolutionary and not a bureaucratic leadership).

As a result of the economic policies of the Cuban government in the 1960s Cuba, too, came very close to the abolition of money in the economy and the distribution of goods by administrative fiat (certainly it was not by rational economic planning).

Such close parallels between Pol Pot's policies and those of capitalist states would be hard to find. But examples of parallels with the policies of Pol Pot from other deformed workers states could be multiplied almost without limit.

Related

And that, for us, is no surprise. Because we are dealing with qualitative, related social and historical phenomena: whether these be the initial bureaucratic, Stalinist degeneration that followed the one socialist revolution which took place under a truly revolutionary leadership, (namely the USSR), or the subsequent processes of abolition of



Deng Xiao-Ping

capitalist property forms in a deformed way under the leadership of a parasitic, counter-revolutionary Stalinist caste, under the military protection of the existing Soviet state.

Of course, Kampuchea—like all the other examples of this phenomenon—had its distinctive peculiarities.

Those, however, as we outlined in the previous article, can be explained in relation to the motive of Kampuchea's extreme economic backwardness combined with the destruction of the war and with the history of (legitimate) suspicion and hostility between the Pol Pot leadership and the other Stalinist bureaucracies.

No mobilisation

CFHW's final, and to them apparently most decisive, argument as to why Kampuchea was not a workers' state is that there was no workers' mobilisation to achieve the expropriation of the bourgeoisie in Kampuchea, whereas in all other workers' states the social overturns were carried out under conditions of mass mobilisation.

It is hard to understand how CFHW expect to get away with such obvious historical invention.

Even Mandel has no difficulty whatever of disposing of this argument:

"If in order to have a workers' state one needs to have the bourgeoisie expropriated by the workers, how can one then have a workers' state in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and North Korea where, by no stretch of the imagination, could these expropriations be interpreted as having been carried out by the workers themselves (a few street demonstrations by rigidly controlled workers in support of these expropriations are obviously something less than expropriations by the workers)?" (ICP, April 9 1979, p.339, emphasis in original).



Mandel rightly goes on to argue against the SWP that:

"A case could be stated in favour of the thesis that in Kampuchea there were actually more mass mobilisations against the capitalists and landlords than in most of the East European countries."

(*ibid*, pp.39-40).

Mandel's demolition of the internal inconsistencies and falsifications of the SWP argument is generally speaking successful.

Less specific

This is confirmed by the fact that the only arguments that the latest article from CFHW can put up against Mandel consist of an even less specific and concrete version of what they said before and the even more explicit statement of the theoretical and political positions which lie behind their historical frauds.

The weakness and limitation of Mandel's argument, however, is that he is not able to uncover these positions and reveal the way in which the SWP's historical positions are intimately tied up with their attributing in effect a progressive, historical role to the Vietnamese Stalinist bureaucracy.

That, of course, is because Mandel, well aware of the gigantic theoretical Pandora's box which the new USFI dispute has opened, continues to argue on the basis of appealing to the SWP leaders to reexamine their positions and see the way in which they now violate positions which, he claims, all sections of the USFI have held in common since 1963 or even before.

In a later article in this series we shall expose how the inadequacies of Mandel's theoretical resistance to the SWP's new line results from the inadequacy of these 'common positions'.

Cynical

But the key point to make now in rejecting CFHW's absurd denial of the parallels between Kampuchea and other deformed workers states is not the cynical disregard for historical truth which they display but the more important theoretical and political position which lies behind these examples of historical fraud.

That position involves the rejection of the idea that there is a fundamental, qualitative difference between the establishment of a healthy workers state and the establishment of a bureaucratically deformed workers state.

For the SWP the foundation of the deformed workers states is qualitative-

ly the same kind of process as the formation of the healthy workers state in 1917 in Russia.

It is always in their view the masses who are the active determinant of change.

It would of course be "better" if they did not have a bureaucratic leadership. But essentially in the SWP's view, capitalist property is expropriated because bureaucratic leaderships are pushed to go further than they intended.

Even though the SWP continues formally to argue that the bureaucratic leaders must be overthrown, they believe that the actions of these leaders nonetheless can (as in the case of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea) be progressive:

"Regardless of Hanoi's intentions—which were not revolutionary—did its action in Kampuchea lead to strengthening the workers' state in Vietnam; Did it pave the way for advances of the workers and peasants in Kampuchea and elsewhere in Southeast Asia?"

Our answer... is yes." (ICP, July 16 1979, p.710)

The same conclusion emerges from the negative arguments as to why Kampuchea was not a workers' state. We are told by CFHW that because of the reactionary policies of Pol Pot, Kampuchea did not conform to "the tasks of the proletarian revolution" (see above). The only possible implication to draw is that in other cases, where workers' states were formed, the policies of the bureaucratic leaderships did conform to the tasks of the proletarian revolution!

For CFHW, all workers' states, however they originated, lie along a continuous spectrum from healthy to very deformed. Bureaucratic deformation is a question simply of quantity.

All workers' states are in their view formed only by the mobilisation of the masses, even if sometimes the bureaucracy stands as a partial obstacle to this.

For CFHW, all workers' states, however they are formed, represent an unambiguous step forward for the working class on the road to socialism.

The formation of a workers' state, however bureaucratically deformed, advances the material conditions and political possibilities open to the masses.

For CFHW therefore, ultimately, the Stalinist bureaucracy must either not be an obstacle on the road to socialist society or actually open the door to it!

"Stages"

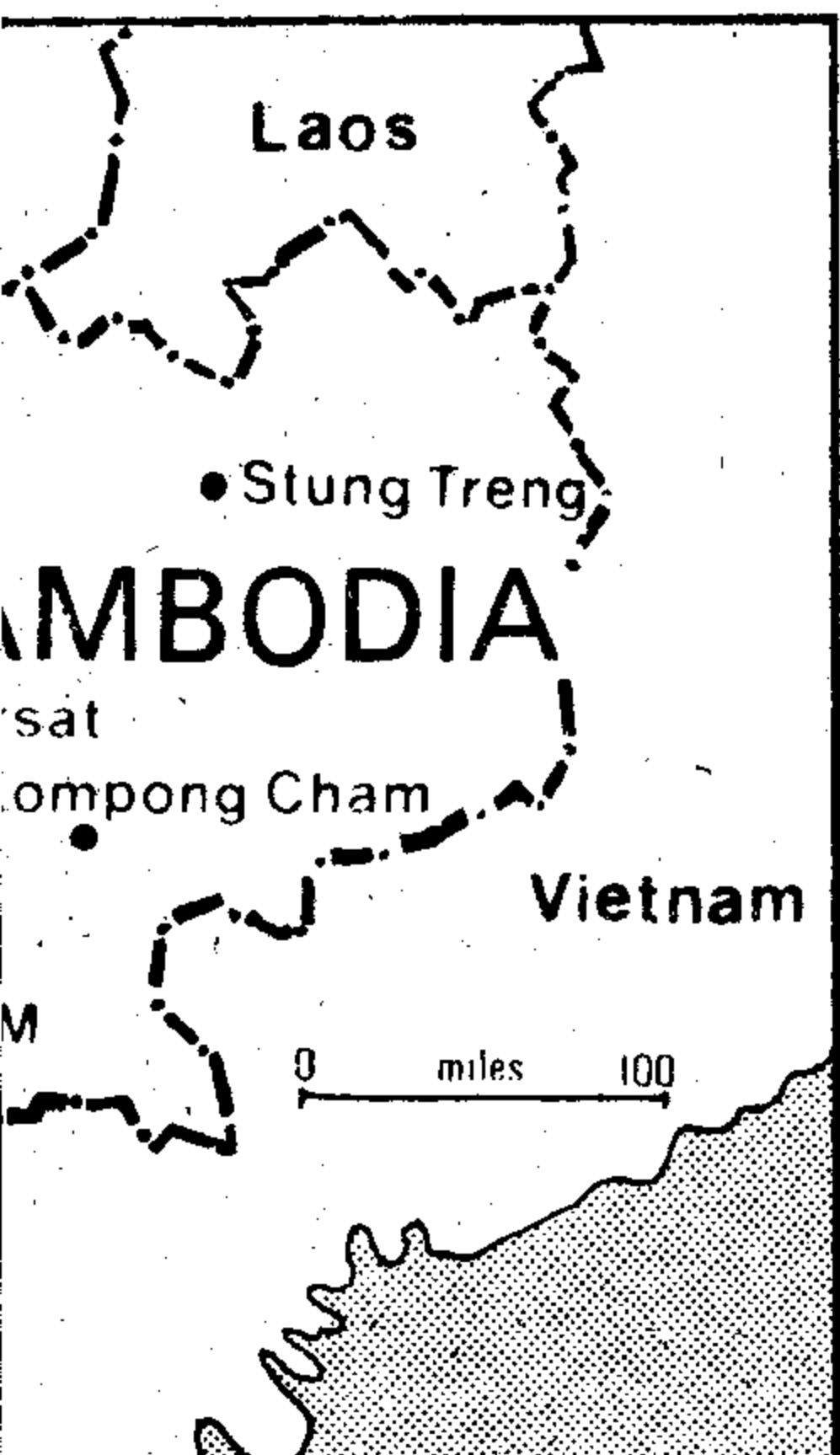
What CFHW point towards is a new "stages" theory of revolution—where first the Stalinist bureaucracy leads the struggle against imperialism and then opens the way for the proletariat to complete the tasks of the proletarian revolution.

This is a position which is the reverse of that struggled for by Trotsky and the founders of the Fourth International as the continuation of the revolutionary socialist tradition of the Bolsheviks.

It is a position which, by denying the counter-revolutionary role of the bureaucracy, calls into question the very need for revolutionary Trotskyist parties and a revolutionary international.

It is a new version, but in our opinion even more explicit than ever, of the Pabloite poison which has so often and so long infected the forces which claim adherence to Trotskyism.

Continued next week



TREE OF WOODEN CLOGS

By
Peter
McIntyre

"Tree of Wooden Clogs" is one of those films which by painstakingly avoiding overt political statements, manages to charge itself in every pore with class positions.

It is Elmondo Olmi's brilliantly moving spectacle of Italian peasantry in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, a film which demonstrates the material weakness of the peasantry in its ability to confront its exploiters; the stranglehold of the Catholic church and, like a distant scent of gunpowder, the newly emerging strength of the proletariat.

Lombardy

The film follows the lives of four peasant families—living in a midway stage between extended families and single units—in a single farm complex through a six month period.

The film is set in Lombardy, and Olmi makes full use of the lush countryside and the stark contrast in the weather between summer and winter to produce a strikingly photographed backdrop.

The film undoubtedly romanticises the peasantry.

The four families are

shown, for all their poverty and exploitation, to be full of a kind of indomitable spirit which prevents them from wallowing in their own misery.

This joy through nature has more material basis in Olmi's psyche than in the realities of the lower peasantry.

Inevitable

But this is an almost inevitable concession—and it is the only one that Olmi makes.

The church is represented, not by evil, but a benign genial priest who is ready to bring comfort.

The skill of the film is that it uses this method yet still manages to show how the church exploits the peasants and keeps them in backward ignorance.

Even this takes a contradictory form. It is the priest who insists that one family send their child to the local school (twelve miles away) because his intelligence is a 'gift from god'.

Pair of hands

The family thus loses an extra pair of hands to help bring in enough food.

Another of the families, left without a father, struggles to survive.

The priest offers to take

two of the younger children to a nunnery, a 'solution' treated by the family with complete hostility.

Prayers

Almost everything is preceded by some kind of incantation or prayer. But Olmi shows that the line between this orthodox religion and all other forms of superstition is a very unclear one for the peasants.

When one of the old men is thought to have fallen ill (in fact he is apoplectic with rage because he has just lost a gold coin he had hidden) the local witch doctor is brought in with equal amounts of religious chants and pagan rites.

'Holy water'

It is only the power and authority of the church which gives Catholicism the edge over other superstitions.

This scene of the woman with her 'holy water' is immediately followed by one in which the newly schooled child explains to his dumbfounded family that the water they drink is full of living organisms.

In the background hovers the image of the landlord. Taking two thirds of every-



Catholicism—has the edge over other superstitions

thing the peasants grow, he is leaving more and more of the work to his bailiff.

Slowness

Again Olmi uses a few simple images to portray the changing face of the Italian landowning class—more interested in listening to his phonograph than checking in the crops.

Despite the apparent slowness of the film it never becomes boring. Incidents such as the ritual killing of the pig have the same stunning impact as they would if the blood was splashing onto the audience's shoes.

The one real 'event' in the film is the visit on honeymoon by a young couple to Milan.

They travel on a swiftly moving barge along a narrow river and as they approach the city the

peasants see smoke rising from the nearby towns. Someone remarks that it is the military firing on demonstrators.

Immediately one of the peasant women whispers sympathy for her proletarian cousins, while the priest next to her tutts impatiently about those who no longer have respect for other people's property.

When they arrive at Milan the couple are almost mown down in the street by the galloping horses of the army and stand in silence as the demonstrators are brought in in chains.

Nunnery

Again the church is brought in in the shape of a nunnery where they stay, which makes up a bridal suite in the middle of a deserted children's ward.

But again its real material face is to force the newly-married couple to take one

of the founding children back home with them, which they do, accompanied by a book of instructions as to how little the church will help out with its upkeep.

The climax of the film is the eviction of one of the families for having chopped down one of the landlord's trees to make a pair of shoes.

Averted eyes

As the bailiff comes to remove two-thirds of everything the family possesses, and as the father packs their few belongings onto the back of the cart, the other families urge their children not to stare out of the window at them.

Unable to offer any material help, the peasantry is reduced to averting its eyes.

Sexism crucial to boosting 'family'

If EEC "surveys" were to be believed, 50% of women in the Common Market are happy to stay at home as housewives, and 60% regard housework not as a chore, but as "very pleasurable."

More important than those absurd statistics, however, is why the hard-boiled capitalist leaders of the EEC saw fit to spend good drinking money on commissioning such a survey.

The reason is clear. As the capitalist economic crisis forces employers onto the offensive it becomes increasingly important for them to split and divide the working class to minimise its resistance.

Racialism, nationalism and sexual discrimination are crucial means to this end.

And as social services crumble, education and nursery facilities are axed and hundreds of thousands of women workers find themselves forced out of employment through closures and cuts, the most conscious sections of capitalist ideologists recognise the necessity to bolster up the flagging argument that "a woman's place is in the home".

This reactionary line was taken up during the 1979 Election in the emphasis placed by both Tory and Labour leaders on the importance of the individual family unit.

But not even the most rabid sexist in the Labour or Tory party has yet reached the level

of hysteria attained by Irish Professor Louis Smith, who has developed a theory that spells out beyond all doubt the interconnection between peddling the 'values' of the bourgeois family unit and the repression of homosexuality.

Lesbianism

According to Professor Smith, only single women should be allowed to work.

A married woman's place, he says, is in the home.

Indeed if women are allowed any form of economic independence of their husbands, there is "a real danger [!] some may develop lesbian tendencies."

In the view of Professor Smith—who has six children—the growing tendency of wives in Ireland to go out to work could have serious consequences for female sexuality, breaking down the "team concept" in marriage.

His evidence? Well, of course such a "case" composed as it is of mediaeval superstition and sheer bigoted ignorance doesn't really need evidence.

But Prof. Smith has decked out his pronouncement with a pretence of authenticity by referring to San Francisco.

Irish women beware

That city, he said, has one of the highest incidences of working wives in the world. And homosexuality (obviously assessed by the same EEC team)

had reached a reported 38%!

Of course Prof Smith did not refer to the USSR, where an even higher number of working wives runs alongside official figures which "prove" the absence of any homosexuality at all!

But lest anyone should miss the political significance of his arguments, Prof Smith spilled the beans.

It is hardly worth working, because women who work earn on average only 60% of male earnings, he stressed. And because of these low wages few can afford adequate child care.

Stay at home

His message is clear: women should *not* fight for adequate wages, but tamely stay at home, rearing children and shouldering the burden of domestic labour in total isolation, contenting themselves with the fact that they are helping to uphold what Smith sees as "normal sexual relationships" between men and women.

Our message is equally clear: those reactionaries like Smith and others who seek to repress homosexuals and intensify domestic oppression of women must be exposed in their true colours—and the echoes of their arguments must be challenged wherever they surface within the ranks of the labour movement.



Prof. Smith's ideal family unit?

'COMPARABILITY' AND THE FRAUD OF "FAIR PAY"

Whilst the public expenditure cuts dominate the headlines at present throughout the media, there can be little doubt that for many trade unionists the question of wages is looming ever larger.

With inflation already running at 16% and spiralling rapidly upwards, working class families face the immediate threat of massively reduced living standards with the much vaunted Tory 'tax cuts' swallowed by price rises before they arrive.

In this situation it is important to draw up a balance sheet of last year's pay struggles in order to prepare the way for action over pay in the coming months.

Buried

Undoubtedly, the crucial achievement of last winter's wages offensive was the smashing of Callaghan's reactionary 5% limit.

The determined strikes at Ford's, amongst transport drivers, and later in the public sector, buried the last remains

of the social contract and the continued actions in the Hospitals and Civil Service ensured that its heir apparent, the 'Concordat', was stillborn.

This was the response of the organised labour movement to 3 years of wage freezing.

This considerable victory was in no way attributable, however, to any change in the thinking of the leadership.

The largest single strike wave since 1926, which saw whole areas like the North West almost at a standstill, came in the teeth of constant opposition from both union leaders and officials to any attempt to make the actions effective.

This was particularly clear in the case of the transport drivers' picketing, where the TGWU attempted to impose a code of conduct, and in the public sector claims where the leadership steadfastly refused to call all-out, united action.

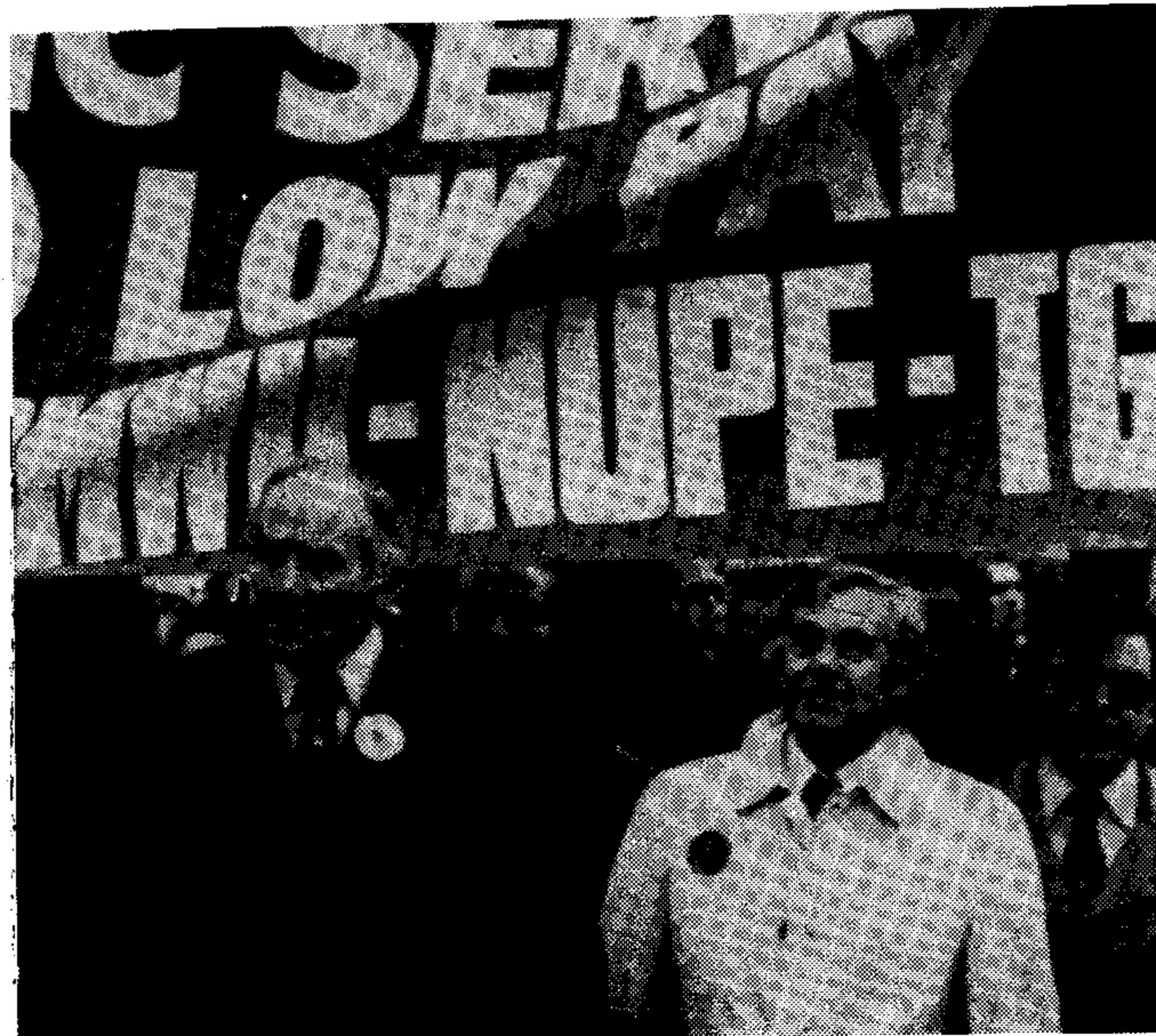


PHOTO: Laurence Spatham, IFL

Public sector bureaucrats—ducking fight

Throughout the winter, in fact, the Trade Union bureaucracy, notably 'lefts' like Fisher, set out to defuse the mounting anger amongst rank and file members by dabbling in the realms of economic mythology.

Central to this was the emergence of the miserable bosses' Trojan Horse of minimum wage, "comparability", and its fellow exile from the knacker's yard, "fair pay".

Thus the National Union of Teachers' wages campaign, for example, was fought around the meaningless slogan, 'Fair Pay for Teachers'.

Although the idea of 'comparability' had been used before for flag waving in the public sector, it only became a smoke-screen for the abandonment of tangible claims when Callaghan's hopelessly compromised right-wing Labour government plucked the Comparability Commission out of their collective political conjuror's hat.

Final swipe

It was their final swipe at the labour movement.

Under this new innovation, the 'justice' of individual claims would be weighed by the Commission's 'independent' experts—who were appointed by the government!

The public sector union leaders immediately rushed to form a queue at the door. Here was a means of "settling" wage disputes outside of the realms of confrontation with the government, and completely away from the prying eyes of the membership.

Nor would the strength and combativity of that membership, which represents the key threat to their positions as leaders, be the single, crucial determining factor in the fight for the claims.

Faced with a tide of militancy over wages which threatened to sweep them aside, the public sector union leaders gratefully took wages out of the class struggle and into the academic realms of a debate on 'natural justice'.

The Clegg Commission was from its beginning nothing more than a new means of selling out each dispute by leaving the final say with paid servants of an anti-working-class government.

That is why the Tories were only too pleased to allow the

teachers to follow the council workers into this spiders' lair.

The immediate, rapid hiking up of inflation since Thatcher's election, coming as it did in the company of massive tax and currency transfer concessions for the rich, and coupled with slashing attacks on all public spending have exposed the reality of comparability.

Taken literally it is the right to end up in the same boat as everyone else, or putting it another way, to be comparably WORSE OFF!

Council workers and teachers cannot claim comparability with the Royal Family even though they are all paid from the public purse, because comparability is no more than the comparison of one exploited section of the labour movement with another.

The 3% awarded to the council manual workers by Clegg speaks for itself—since the 'comparison' involved was with the most downtrodden section of workers in the private sector.

There is, however, more to comparability than that. Not only does the concept of comparability take wages out of the harsh world of economic realities like inflation and cuts, but it also subtly contributes to the sectionalisation of the wages struggle.

Increasingly, the emphasis is upon differentials, upon higher rewards for special skills (as determined by Prof. Clegg) and upon the Tory philosophy of rewarding "talent" and "initiative".

Rifts

The divisive nature of this emphasis on differentials is well illustrated in the opposition to the Confed one-day strikes by Roy Fraser, leader of the skilled toolroom workers in British Leyland.

The Tories hope to widen and build on every division that exists now, and create new rifts wherever possible in order to smash the capacity for united action of the working class.

Thus the council workers awards ranged from 3% to 23%. And this was, in the words of the Tory economic textbook, 'fair pay'.

If you only got 3%, then that was all you 'deserved'. Not only, therefore, do we have in comparability a scheme to



Clegg

depress wages across the board by referring them to an arbitrary league table of 'who deserves what' while inflation is let rip, but we also have a further lever for playing off one section against another.

In practice, which is what counts, there is no such thing as 'Fair pay'. There is only what you have got, what you want, and what you are prepared to fight for.

A worker is not paid according to the value of what he produces, for his actual labour, but rather the minimum needed to ensure he turns up each week for production—his labour power.

Surplus value

The difference between what he is paid and the actual wealth he produces is appropriated by his employer as surplus value, part of which reaches the company balance sheets as profits.

Wages received are, therefore, no more than the minimum an employer can get away with paying in order to convince the workforce to come back and do it all again next week.

The amount of wages is determined not by what is 'fair' but by how much the working class can extract from employers by using its industrial strength.

This becomes crystal clear when we consider the miners' strike of 1974.

The miners restored themselves to the top of the so-called 'wages league' not through the generosity of the National Coal Board, nor by any honest recognition of the 'justice' of their claim in high places, but rather as the result of prolonged, massive industrial action which defied Heath's government and eventually brought it down.

It was their willingness to fight for the claim using all-out strike action which extracted more money.

Similarly, the high wages achieved in the car industry in the 1960s owed nothing to metaphysical concepts like 'justice', but a great deal to the shop floor organisation and

combativity of the workforce.

And, returning to last winter, the Ford workers smashed the 5% limit not with a sensible and just claim, but by immediate and tenacious strike action in support of what they wanted.

After saying all this, it is hardly worth repeating that it was only in Camden, where the local council workers took all out action, that the full £60/35 hour week claim was all but conceded whilst elsewhere selective actions met a wall of silence.

Reject

Thus, in preparing for the coming pay struggles, it is important that the lessons of last winter are learned and taken into the formulation of each claim.

Fundamental to this must be the rejection of all talk both of "comparability" and of pay awards which are 'self financing'—whether through cuts in manning or services, or through productivity schemes which extract more work as a price for workers hoping to compensate for inflation.

If any "comparisons" are to be made, they should be between what was earned last year, and what is needed this year to make up for current inflation and to keep pace with rising prices.

Nor should wage claims be based on spurious arguments about the 'viability' of the employer.

While Plessey workers over the past two years have faced continuous redundancies, the police have been called in to investigate massive financial irregularities in the company. That is 'viability' in a nutshell.

The task of trade unions is to look after its members, not the employers.

What is vital now is not the maintenance of differentials between boilermakers and fitting out trades in the shipyards, or between semi-skilled and skilled in engineering, but the maintenance of ALL wage levels in the face of the attacks upon living standards.

Basic rates

Alongside this the lowest paid layers must organise to fight for the improvement of basic rates.

To do this, the central demand must now be for basic rate increases linked to a sliding scale of wages tied to the real rate of inflation.

Inherent in such a claim is the need for a labour movement index of prices compiled on a local level by elected committees of trade unionists and housewives, which takes account of the real rise in the cost of living facing workers and their families.

Only around such demands can the Tory offensive be defeated.



PHOTO: Laurence Spatham, IFL

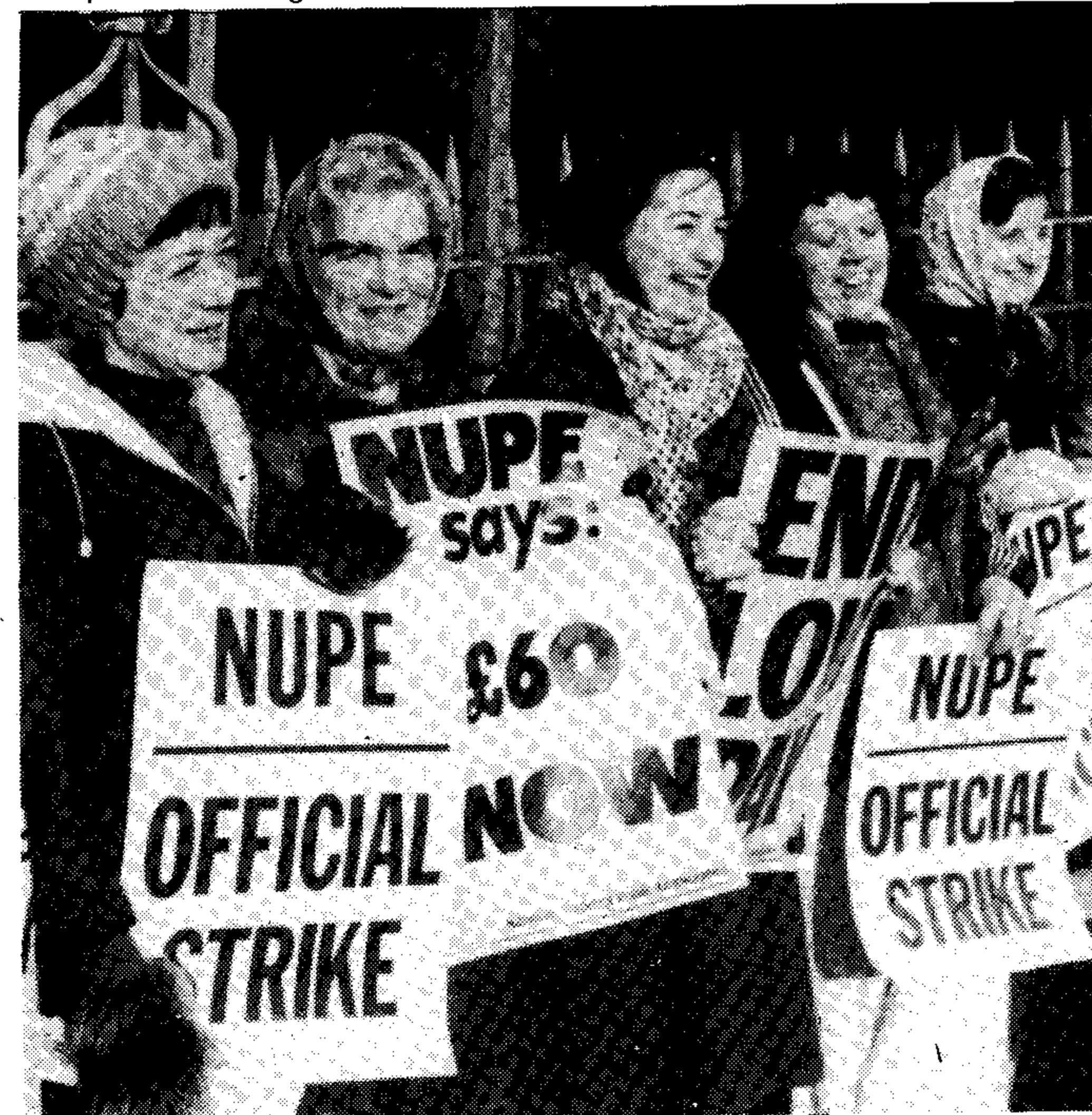
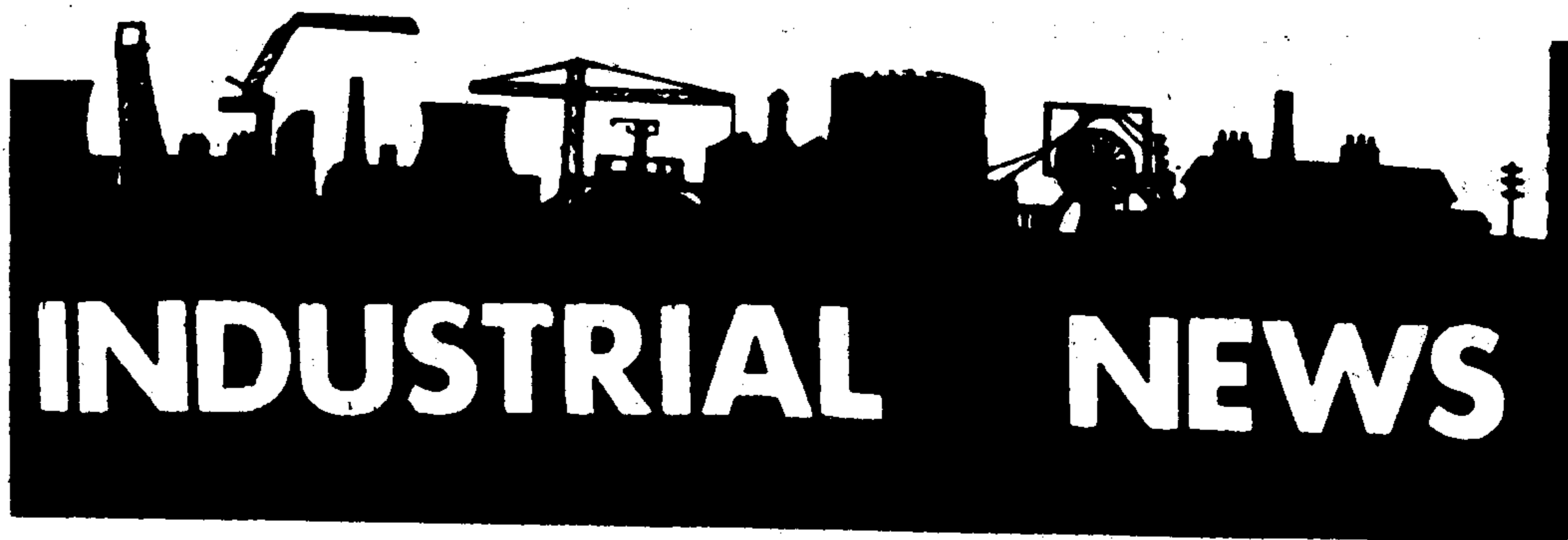


PHOTO: Derek Spiers, IFL

NUPE workers fighting for a £60 minimum wage



HULL CUTS IN LEAKED PLANS

Hull trade unionists have obtained copies of a confidential memo from the city's Director of Education that lays out a strategy for slashing expenditure in the current year by £2,469,000.

At risk are the equivalent of 565 full time jobs—but cuts that will in practice affect up to 1,000 part-time workers.

Exclude from meals

The plan would cut school cleaning staff by 5% with the loss of 60 jobs. It would involve a reduction of the number of children taking school meals "either voluntarily or by a system of exclusion", and a 3% cut in staff.

A 3% cut is also planned for school ancillary staff, and non-teaching college staff, while the Adult Education and Youth service is to be clobbered by a 10% cut, on top of a 35% cut in part-time teaching hours and 35% cut in Youth Leader sessions.

School teaching staff is to be slashed by 185 full time posts, while the nursery building programme will be abandoned: yet all these and many others still fall short of the cuts target by some £385,000!

Similar plans

The revelation of the Education Committee document is a clear warning that similar plans for savage cuts are being drawn up by other sections of the council.

The Hull Trades Council has recently formed a special sub-committee with the task of fighting the cuts.

It is essential that this sub-committee which is well placed to coordinate action in the city gives the lead in spelling out to trade unionists throughout the area the scale to which these, and the next, even more devastating, round of Tory cuts, will demolish public services that have previously been taken for granted.

With thousands already on the dole in the Humberside area

Hull trade unionists cannot afford to stand idly by while union officials collaborate in the axing of hundreds more public sector jobs.

Public sector unions must unite in action alongside trade unionists in the private sector to halt this attack.

Talbot: fight for blacking

Workers at Talbot's Ryton plant last week voted with only 10 against to continue their strike, already in its seventh week, until the company offered worthwhile talks on pay.

At the mass meeting TGWU Convenor Pat Fox described the company offer as an insult. "We won't go back for 5½%" he said.

The management had sent personal letters to all the workforce, arguing that the 5½% was all that could be offered and that any increase would need to be based on an incentive bonus scheme.

The mass meeting was followed by a march on Talbot's Research and

Management plant at Whitley.

Some three to four hundred joined the march which ended in a mass picket.

The Convenors were told that management was at Linwood and that no discussions could take place.

Since Wednesday's mass meeting and march there has been a regular picket at Whitley.

The pickets turned away from the gates a van bringing in wages and as a result management refused to pay out the tax rebates due to strikers this week.

Management's reaction to the mass meeting and extension of the picketing has been to threaten loss of jobs.

It had been intended to assemble the C6—a four-

door version of the Alpine—entirely at Ryton.

Now Peugeot/Citroen have decided that half the production will be in France.

These sort of moves should not intimidate Talbot strikers.

The claim is for 25% and that is what must be fought for.

There should be no weakening in relation to management's proposed 'incentive scheme'.

The way to fight for the 25% is to turn towards other sections of workers coming into struggle.

Played around

The Convenors at Talbot must take steps to impose the blacking of Talbot cars coming in from France.

The officials have played around with this since the beginning of the strike. Talbot workers must make a direct approach to the docks.

GDLM CONFERENCE TO DEFEND UNION RIGHTS

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.

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 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 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.

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 crack-down in the occupied North of Ireland.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

WHEN IT LOOKS LIKE THERE'S NO WAY OUT



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ITV unions forced into action

As the strike against ITV companies was stepped up this week the management threatened to lock out remaining technicians.

Three major branches of NATTKE, the biggest union in TV, struck from Monday after management threats that they would be locked out.

They joined picket lines manned by ACTT members who have been out since August 9, after they were faced with a lockout for taking action over their pay claim.

Electricians belonging to the EETPU also faced a lock-out from this Wednesday.

Ditched claim

The action has been willingly taken by the members at each stage of management threats.

But the union leadership has already ditched the full 25% claim.

Times sell-out rejected

NATSOPA chapel members on The Times have thrown out the agreement between their officials and management.

And the corner they are now in demonstrates why an occupation of the Times was essential.

During the nine month lock-out management have installed and programmed computers which they are demanding NATSOPA members work—with job loss built into the programming.

The Clerical chapel, faced with this has rejected the proposal.

Machine room workers also rejected the formula.

NATSOPA chapels have an agreement that none of them—there are 20 chapels involved—will go back unless all are satisfied.

The need for NATSOPA members is now to follow through rejection of the sell out accepted by their official leaders with a campaign for a new leadership to represent their interests.

into action

While rejecting a 15% offer, ACTT official Jack O'Connor has been pressing for the claim to go to arbitration.

Arbitration

Both he and ACTT General Secretary, Alan Sapper, have also been pressing for arbitration on a cost of living index linked claim lodged last year and frozen by the Labour government's 5% pay policy.

The courts have already intervened in the dispute.

A sympathy strike by ACTT members at Molinare recording studio in Soho was declared illegal by the High Court last week.

No challenge has been made by the union against the injunction.

Officialdom

The dispute has also highlighted the character of union officialdom.



Sapper

Southern TV is not only in dispute with its technicians but has also locked out its journalists.

Lock-out

Southern TV's personnel manager, who took action against the journalists for refusing to work without the locked out technicians, is none other than Tim Fell, who this time last year was 'Brother' Tim Fell, the NUJ's full time organiser for broadcasting!

Glasgow pay fight

Roanoid Plastics is a small firm on the Hillingdon industrial estate in Glasgow, employing around 300 people, three-quarters of whom belong to the TGWU.

On Monday 13 August these unionised workers came out on strike for a 20% wage claim to offset the ravages of Tory inflation.

Speed-up

The claim had been in negotiation since the beginning of July. The management had offered a miserable 10% plus an 8% productivity deal which would mean speed-up and rationalisation by 'natural wastage'.

The firm is claiming, without much conviction, that if it paid the 20% it would make a loss.

The only answer to such a claim is for the workers to demand an elected committee be given access to the financial books of the firm.

Picketing

The current totally successful picketing must be kept up and links established with other workers in Prestcold's next door and workers in the Glasgow shipyards that are threatened with closure.

In this way if management threaten sackings a policy of occupation can be carried out under the organisation of a council of action composed of elected representatives from each struggle.

BL grading sell-out

A massive betrayal has been perpetrated against the BL car workers who have been preparing to fight against the iniquitous new five grade wage structure shortly to be forcibly imposed by management.

The betrayal came from the F&GP of the Confed, who have intervened in support of the management ultimatum—due to be executed in the next few weeks.

Last Friday the Confed won support for their treacherous exercise from the trade union side of the Leyland Cars National Joint Negotiating Committee.

The vote was 9-11 in favour of the Confederation—after 3 members of the committee who could have been expected to vote against the new grading structure had left the meeting.

The Confederation argued that they had made a big

advance in the form of an appeals procedure which can be used after the new grading has gone in.

The appeals committee is to be comprised of equal numbers of management and trade unions.

This of course gives management a substantial built-in majority, since the skilled sections' convenors consistently vote with management against the vast majority of production workers.

It is unlikely that workers will fall for this ploy.

The new grading is highly contentious. It means, for example, production workers being down-graded from grade one to grade three.

There is hardly a section of workers prepared to accept the grade into which they are to be forced.

But workers are placed in a very difficult position.

Nearly all British Leyland plants are currently responding

to the call from the Confed for one day strikes and overtime ban in support of the wage claim.

On the 3 and 4 September they are being asked to step this up to two days in addition to the overtime ban.

But now it is clear that only a few days before that they will be faced with the need to strike against the Confed on the grading structure.

Straightjacket

Nevertheless the grading plan—a straightjacket that threatens to restrict for all time the pay levels that can be won by each section—must be resisted by BL workers.

In developing their independent struggles on this issue, carworkers can lay the basis for winning the major pay increases contained in the Confed pay claim, and for pressing home their own demands in BL's annual pay review this November.

ALL OUT TO WIN CONFED CLAIM

Embarrassed and frightened by the massive and growing response for each of their one-day national strikes, the Confed leadership has attempted to wear down the militancy of engineering workers by calling not an all-out strike, but simply for an endless series of two day stoppages.

While this strategy is unlikely to break the intransigent stance of the vicious Engineering Employers Federation, its complete lack of perspective for a serious fight holds dangers as media attempts to create scabbing 'back to work' moves are growing in intensity.

2 million

The reality of course is that not only did nearly two million workers follow Monday's strike call, but in many instances

where handfuls of scabs have defied the one-day strike call they have been the cause of continuing stoppages and protests by workers who subsequently refused to work with them.

Bradford demand

The two-day stoppages will now create many of the problems of leadership posed by an indefinite stoppage—but without the industrial impact.

The growing mood for all-out action was reflected in a recent meeting of 300 Confed stewards in Bradford, where a demand for the Confed to call an all-out strike on the claim was carried with only one vote against.

And Birmingham on Monday saw a 1,200 strong demonstration and mass meeting of strikers in Digbeth Hall give massive support to those attempting to carry a resolution for all-out action.

The mood of the meeting swung dramatically. It began with standing ovations for official Confed speakers while those WSL members and supporters who heckled demanding all-out strikes were in a small minority.

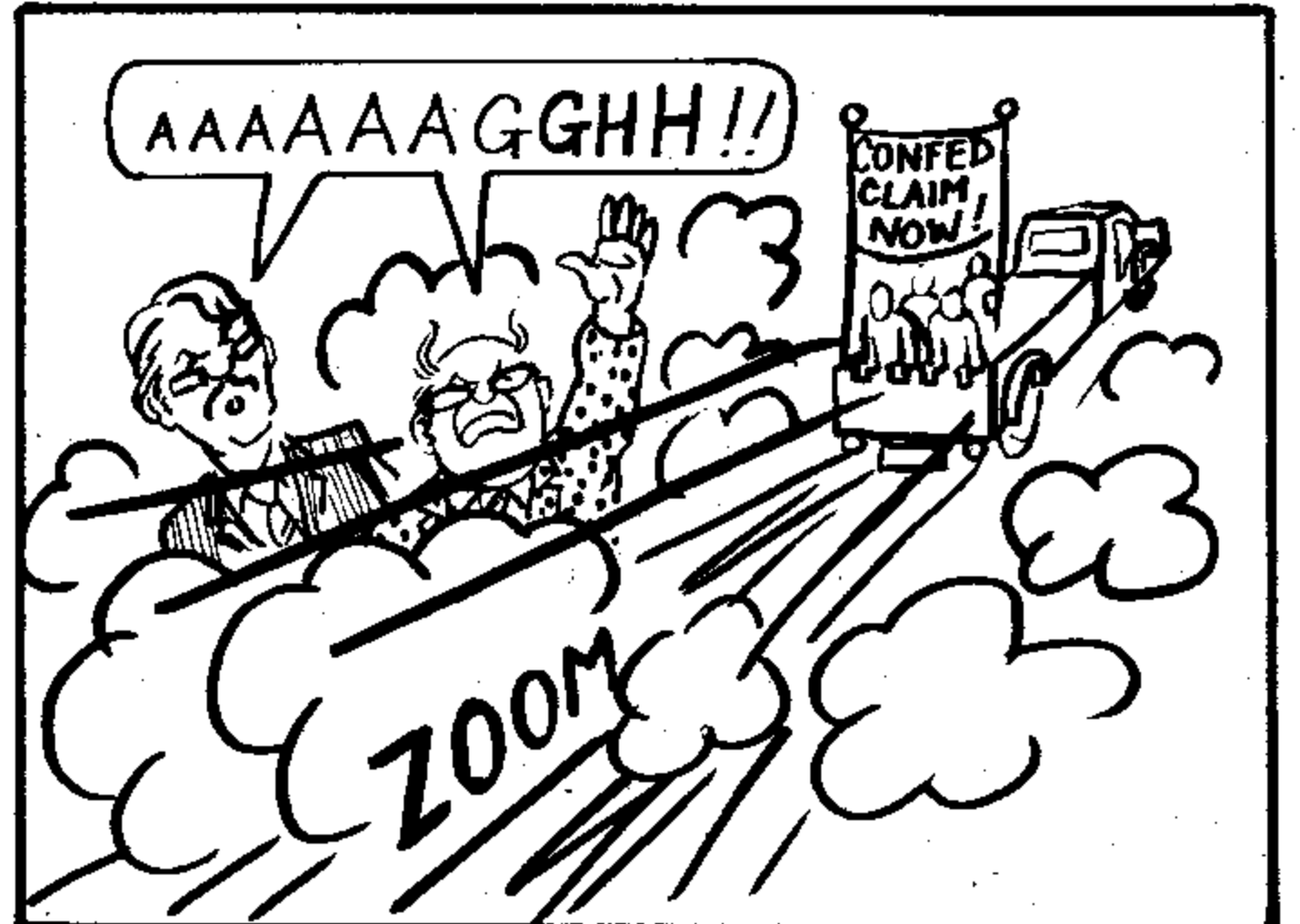
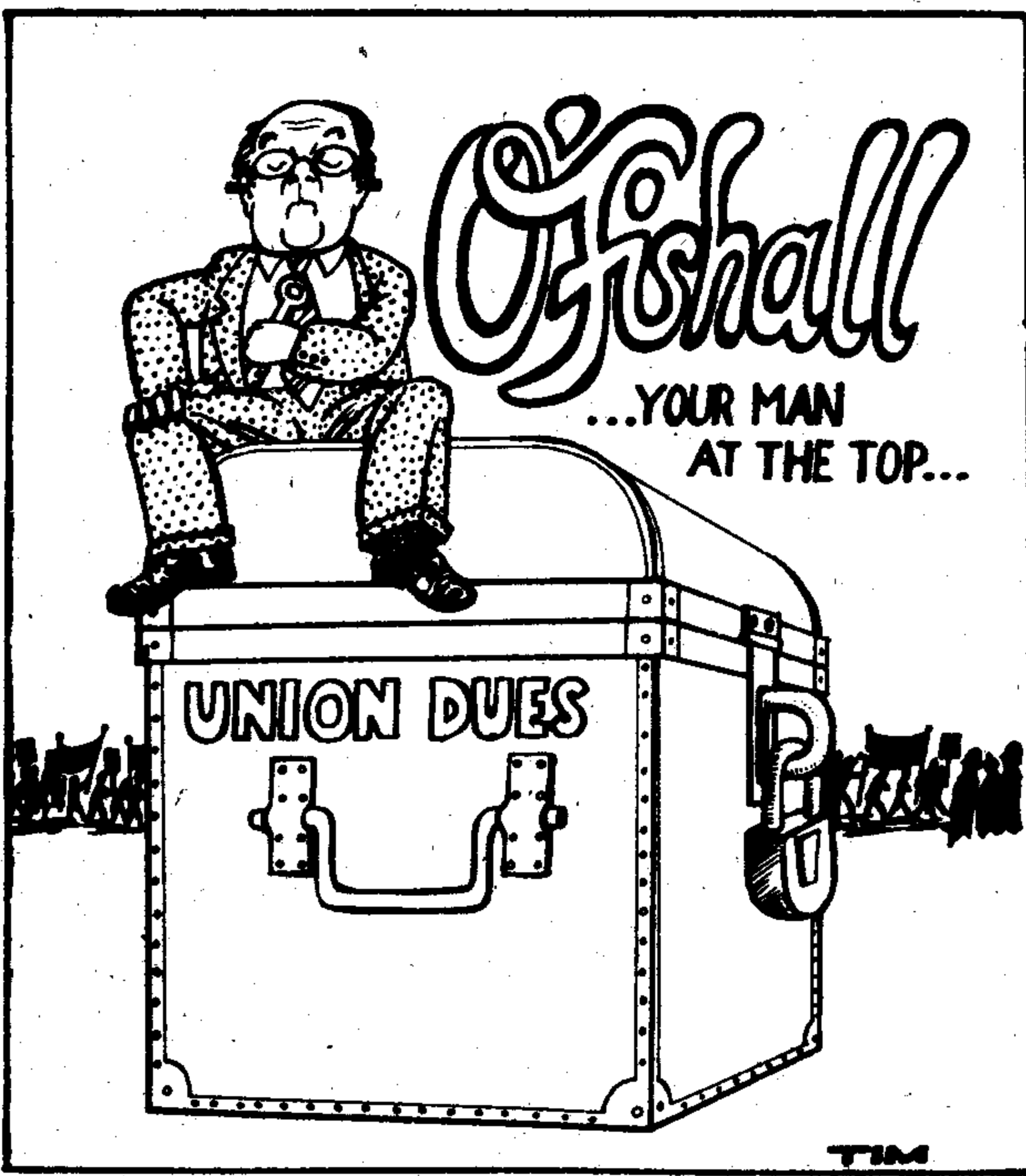
But speakers from the floor began calling for all out action. And when Alan Thornett, deputy convenor of BL's Cowley Assembly Plant called for a motion to be passed demanding the Confed call an all-out strike, the mood shifted rapidly in favour of the militants.

The platform however refused to accept such a proposal as an amendment, and closed the meeting without putting it to a vote.

Engineering union branches and stewards' committees must step up the fight to turn the token two day actions into all-out indefinite strike action to win the full £80/35 hour week claim.



The Birmingham mass meeting



SOCIALIST PRESS



LOBBY THE TUC!

FIGHT THE ANTI-UNION LAWS
Called by the Campaign for Democracy
in the Labour Movement
Wednesday 5 September, Winter Gdns, Blackpool

Police computer rigs jury

Special Branch officers are vetting jurors who might be called to sit on a trial of six alleged anarchists next month.

Anyone with left wing connections will be barred from sitting on the case and all names have been run through a police computer.

There is no information as to whether the police have shown preference to those linked to right wing political activity.

This whole vetting procedure, which indicates the kind of information stored on police files about ordinary citizens, was first revealed during the Aubrey, Berry, Campbell trial and is stoutly defended by all kinds of bourgeois "democrats"!

It demonstrates that those who prate most about "democracy" are the first to abandon any pretence of democratic rights.

RIP for TPI?

AS THE Tories launched their already discredited Tax and Prices Index amid a barrage of openly sceptical news coverage and hostile trade union responses, government spokesmen and CBI leaders alike rushed to urge workers not to base claims on either the new TPI or the Retail Price Index—now showing annual inflation of 15.6%.

Even the most extravagant cooking of books could not get the new TPI lower than 13.2%. But what is the real rate of inflation as it affects workers?

Neither index gives the answer.

Only the election of committees of trade unionists and housewives to compile a workers' price index can show the real impact of Tory inflation on the working class, and only cost of living clauses can protect against it.

FUND

After a good start to the month there has been a slowing up this week which means that the total to date stands at only £340.66 towards a target of £600.

The impact of inflation has forced us to raise the target for our monthly fund from next month to £750 so it is important that we not only raise the fund this month but go well over the top as we begin to seek out new sources of income for the fund in preparation for the higher fund target in September.

In the meantime, donations to the August Fund should be sent to:

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

WORKERS READY TO DEFEND JOBS



The announcement by British Shipbuilders of a programme of 6,000 redundancies was met by a virtually immediate mass meeting decision for an overtime ban and a protest strike by 5,000 workers at Scotstoun Marine and Govan.

The mass meeting called on other shipyard workers to call a "national campaign of resistance" to management plans for closures and redundancies, the bulk of which are concentrated in Scotland.

Three yards—including Scotstoun Marine—are scheduled to close, and a fourth to be "mothballed" on a care and maintenance basis.

Redundancies are planned at other shipyards in Scotland and England. These include the loss of 550 jobs and the cessation of shipbuilding at North Sands, Sunderland, and the slashing of 1,000 jobs at Cammell Laird on Merseyside.

10,000 jobs lost

These cutbacks come on top of redundancies and closures announced earlier in the year, and bring the total loss of jobs to 10,000.

And with the tacit collaboration of union leaders the "nationalised" corporation had already cut the workforce in merchant shipbuilding from 38,000 in 1977 to 28,000 prior to these announcements.

Now, under mounting pressure from the shop floor to combat these sackings—all of which come in areas of mass unemployment—the leaders of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions has called a delegate conference in Newcastle for Thursday.

But the conference is not likely to be offered much in the way of perspective from bureaucrats who have until now slavishly accepted every management move for "viability" and rationalisation.

And while Govan and Scots-

toun workers vividly demonstrated their willingness to fight in defence of their jobs, it was only a few months ago that their convenors were railroading through vicious no-strike agreements—and even getting workers to sacrifice their holidays—to complete an order for ships to Poland.

UCS lessons

Convenors and officials alike have drawn lessons from the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders 'work in' under the Heath government, which was turned, under the leadership of the Communist Party away from the necessary direct challenge to the Tories, into a union-subsidised protest that turned out finished ships for the liquidator to sell off.

UCS veteran Jimmy Airlie (now an AUEW official) and

Sammy Barr are still on the scene, and behind a thin facade of 'left rhetoric are prepared once again to head off the necessary policies:

*occupation of the threatened yards;

*struggling to open the books of British Shipbuilders to elected trade union committees;

*the figures revealed would show the real profits made from this "loss making" industry, and provide the basis for a useful programme of public works that

could utilise the productive forces otherwise to be junked in the doomed shipyards.

*spelling out the necessity for the nationalisation of British Shipbuilders' private suppliers and the banks without compensation and under workers' management.

*fighting for supporting strike action throughout the engineering industry and the public sector unions where Tory cuts threaten thousands more jobs.

*linking this to the struggle for mass action of the trade union movement to bring down the job-slashing Tory government.

On the basis of such a programme of demands shipyard workers could rapidly win the sympathy and support of the whole working class in the struggle to defend jobs.

Coventry cuts 'stand'

Coventry's Labour Councillors burst into the national headlines last week with the statement that they would lead a national fight against the Tory cuts.

The reality of the stand of these people, however, is very different from the way it has been painted.

The cuts which Coventry Council are proposing to fight are to be implemented next year.

That cut is 5% of the Council budget. However as Councillor Arthur Waugh senior (the leader of the council) has pointed out, that cut in real terms is 20%.

Unavoidable

The annual budget totals £96 million of which £73 million is taken up in 'unavoidable expenditure', which includes staff wages and charges paid to banks.

A 5% cut would therefore be 5% of £96 million—something like £4½ million which

would then be taken from the £23 million left over after the payment of the 'unavoidable expenditure'.

Two points should be made about the Council's so-called "stand"

Sacrosanct

Firstly, Councillor Waugh and the others assume that the interest payments to banks are sacrosanct.

They have made it absolutely clear that they have no intention of taking a real stand.

They want a carefully controlled propaganda exercise, far removed from class action.

Secondly, the Labour Council are using the propaganda smokescreen about next year's cuts to cover their determination to implement this year's cuts.

On September 11 a Council Meeting where this year's cuts will be announced will be met with a mass picket against the cuts, organised by the Trades Council.

Trades Council delegates

have been circulated with details of the proposed cuts, which include £2 million off education (of which £1½ million is to come off salaries) and £½ million off social services.

The Public Sector Liaison Committee of the Trades Council has proposed a campaign to force the Labour Council to refuse to implement these cuts.

Centralise

This was taken up by the full Trades Council meeting which drew up plans for the production of a local bulletin to centralise information on the cuts and decided to issue a call to the Labour Party and local confed for a conference to discuss a united fight-back.

The plan for a conference is a major step forward. Central to the deliberations

of this conference must be the need to take up a struggle for strike action against the cuts and the formation of a Council of Action to unify the struggle.

Despite the real nature of the Labour Council's 'stand' and the dangerous diversion that their campaign against the cuts is designed to be, the stated opposition to the cuts can be used.

Demands on the Labour Councillors must centre on the demands that no cuts be made in services and instead the massive interest payments should be cancelled.

Sinn Fein raided

POLICE BACKED by British occupation forces raided the Belfast headquarters of Sinn Fein on Friday, the day after the British army commander apparently had 'cased the joint' in a surprise 'friendly visit'.

Chief butcher Lieut. General Sir Timothy Creasy, clad in combat gear, strolled into the shop attached to the republican HQ on Thursday, and staged a chat about business—to the subsequent enagement of Loyalist and SDLP politicians alike.

But the next day police raids inflicted serious damage on the offices, along with two other Sinn Fein offices in Belfast.

LONDON

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE
Public Meeting

DON'T LET TURKEY BECOME ANOTHER CHILE

Conway Hall
Tuesday September 4
7.30 p.m.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE
COVENTRY
Public meeting
The fight against the cuts

Elastic Inn
Near Pool Meadow
Thursday August 23
7.30 p.m.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE
PUBLIC MEETING
THE FIGHT AGAINST THE CUTS
7.30pm Thursday 30 August
Belgrave Neighbourhood Centre
LEICESTER