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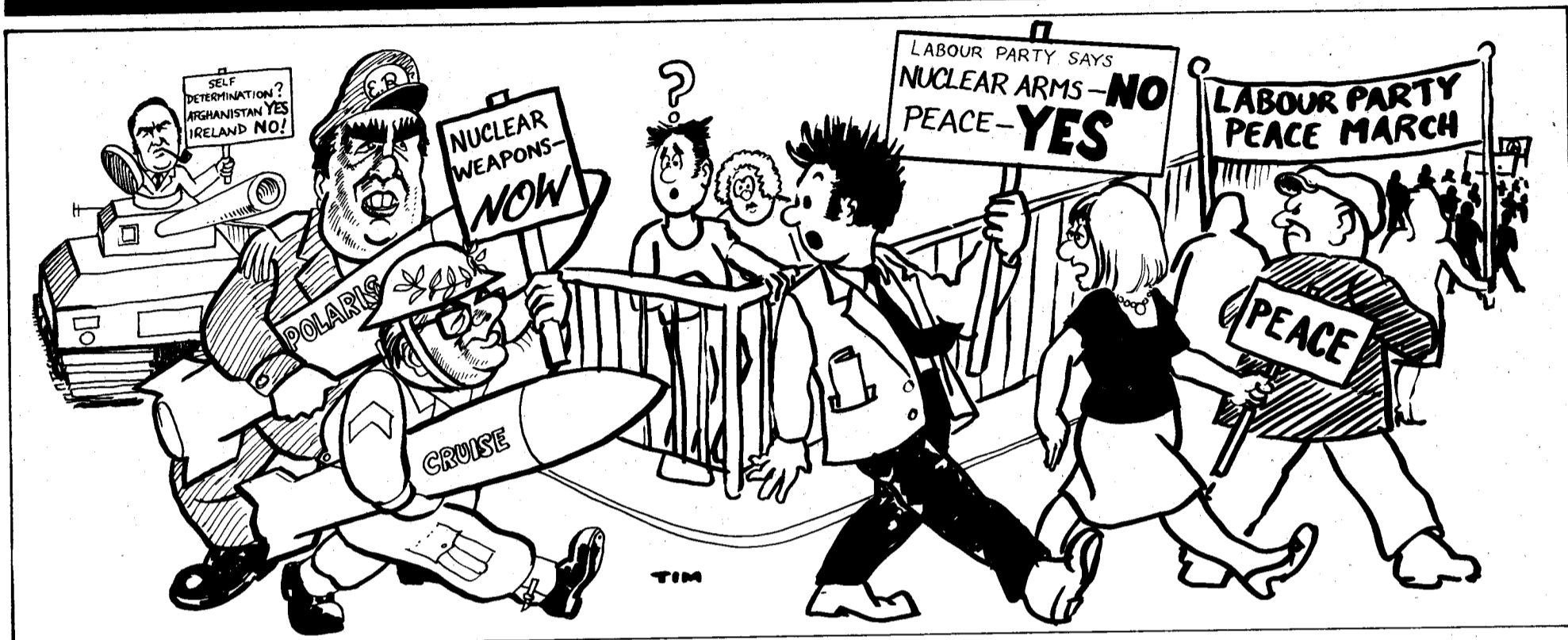
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NO CRUISE MISSILES! Demonstration

SUNDAY 22 JUNE

Assemble 12 noon
Belvedere Road, South Bank,
LONDON

Called by the Labour Party



CAPITALISM MEANS

WAR!

As part of a massive military build-up, President Carter has proposed siting 570 Cruise missiles in the NATO countries of Europe.

The decision of the Labour Party to call a march in opposition to these war moves is an undoubted step forward.

But the Party offers workers no answer to the basic questions that arise in this situation.

Why is it that a point in history when science and technology for the first time offer mankind the chance to live in peace and plenty, a majority of the world's population is starving and the threat of war hangs over the heads of us all?

Why is it that as men and women and children suffer and die from the lack of the most basic food and everyday necessities, the EEC spends billions destroying mountains of "surplus" foodstuffs and the NATO powers spend tens of billions on nuclear weapons and more sophisticated means of military destruction?

The answer lies in the very essence of the capitalist system. It is an unplannable system of production for private profit which rests on the brutal exploitation of the international working class by those that own the means of production.

Hostage

To maximise such exploitation, the capitalist seeks to drive down wages in the advanced economies, and to ensure that the underdeveloped economies throughout the neo-colonial

world remain the hostage of the multi-national banks, monopolies and the IMF.

As workers and peasants throughout the world take up the struggle to liberate themselves violent means are used to crush their resistance.

Major problems

Where the power of native dictatorial regimes is insufficient to contain the struggle, CIA intervention or open military occupation by the imperialist powers are the stock response—as in Vietnam, Chile, Angola, or the six counties of Ireland.

Yet the imperialists face major problems in this vicious global pursuit of profits.

*The capitalist economy on a world scale is in a severe recessionary crisis.

*Defeats inflicted on imperialism in Vietnam, Angola, Iran, Nicaragua and Zimbabwe have encouraged the masses and disrupted former military outposts, and weakened capitalism's ability to police its investments in the neo-colonial world.

*As imperialism has found itself weakened, so the oppressed masses in struggle have been driven to the Soviet Union and deformed workers' states for assistance. While these leaders cynically exploit certain of these struggles for their own advantage—in the context of preserving a balance of forces with imperialism—this involvement of the Stalinist bureaucracies has made it more difficult for the imperialists directly to intervene.

This is why the foreign policy of Carter, Reagan and Thatcher while aimed at containing the struggles of the international working class is now dominated by the fostering of a Cold War hysteria against the Soviet Union and the deformed workers' states.

Historic gains

At the same time the imperialists find themselves drawn towards distant hopes of possible reconquest of the lost markets and exploitable labour force of these Stalinist-led states in which the means of production remain nationalised.

These historic gains achieved as the result of the October 1917 Revolution in Russia must be defended against all forms of imperialist attack.

Such a principled opposition to imperialism requires an international, revolutionary perspective. Yet the Labour Party is a national, reformist party.

The Callaghan leadership has no real basis on which to oppose the Carter/Thatcher war moves.

Indeed, successive Labour governments despite the savage lessons of two world wars have shown time and again their commitment to preserving the capitalist system which spawns war and perpetuates exploitation.

They have refused to nationalise the banks and monopolies, whose lust for profit are the main motive for police/military repression in Britain and internationally.

They have themselves sent troops to Ireland and backed imperialist wars all over the world.

Agreement

They lifted not a finger to halt the barbarism of US bombing in Vietnam. They support the Zionist state of Israel against the demands of the Palestinian people.

And, far from standing for unilateral nuclear disarmament, the Callaghan leadership has itself presided over the expansion of the British nuclear arsenal.

Callaghan and Rodgers actually gave agreement in principle to the siting of Cruise missiles in Britain!

Now—despite the Party's paper resolution declaring that the Labour Party "refuses to permit" the deployment of Cruise missiles in Britain, Callaghan is calling on Thatcher's Cold War cabinet to refuse to accept the new Cruise missiles *only if* the Soviet Union agrees to withdraw its SS20 missiles from Eastern Europe!

But it is not only Callaghan who is bankrupt. Some 'left' MPs—such as Eric Heffer—shy



Callaghan

away from the necessary struggle for unilateral nuclear disarmament, and immediate withdrawal from the anti-Soviet NATO alliance.

Indeed the Labour left's nationalistic economic policy of import controls to save "British" jobs from "foreign" competition lines up entirely with the chauvinist propaganda peddled by Thatcher and the Tory press.

They fail to grasp that the working class is an *international* class and must unite *internationally* against the common enemy—the capitalist class in each country.

What is needed is not simply radical sounding phrases about 'peace' from MPs and union bureaucrats and protest marches detached from practical action: the struggle against the imperialist war drive must be linked to the fight to *bring down* the Thatcher government and drive out Labour's pro-imperialist leadership.

*Prepare a general strike to bring down the Tories!

*Kick out the Callaghan/Healey leadership! For a workers' government!

*Britain out of NATO: for international action to break up imperialist alliances!

*No Cruise missiles: no US troops in Britain! For unilateral nuclear disarmament in all imperialist countries.

*British troops out of Ireland.

*Defend the USSR! For a political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and deformed workers' states!

BRITAIN OUT OF NATO!

USA week by week

See if the President is senile

It was Hollywood 'nice guy' Gary Cooper who once said "From what I hear about communism I don't like it because it isn't on the level".

What is frightening today is that there is a distinct possibility that someone with Cooper's political 'sophistication' now has every chance of becoming President of the United States.

It is testimony to the depths of degeneration to which the US ruling class has sunk that someone like Ronald Reagan can seriously be contending for office in the White House.

In the last week Reagan—who, if he wins in November, will be the oldest person ever to be sworn in as President promised to have himself watched carefully for signs of senility, and assured the American people that he would give up the Presidency as soon as any such signs appeared!

If this was not enough to sap confidence in someone who at present appears to be the candidate with the most solid popular base, it emerged later in the week that 'Ronnie's' campaign advisers are also US representatives of the interests of the reactionary capitalist enclave of Taiwan.

Great dangers

Reagan himself supports recognition of Taiwan, even if it threatens the USA's relations with China which have developed as a centrepiece to imperialism's world policy.

Reagan clearly represents significant conservative layers in US society, and as such would be useful to the US ruling class, which needs a President who has widespread respect.

Some of his policies, however, together with his obvious ignorance and his age suggest that there would be great dangers to the ruling class in having such a person in the White House.

Unfortunately for American capitalism the disastrous record and image of Jimmy Carter took another battering this week when the President visited the scene of the Miami riots and his car had to speed away in a rather undignified manner followed by a hail of rocks and bottles.

The ruling class in the USA have a real crisis on their hands economically and socially and they can't find a candidate who can begin to answer their problems.



Reagan

Begin bitter at EEC bid for Arab rulers

The timid opportunist moves last week by European heads of state towards a limited recognition of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation have led quickly to an attack from all sides.

From the increasingly beleaguered Zionist regime itself—internally riven by political splits and facing mounting resistance from the dispossessed Palestinians on the West Bank—came an angry rebuke.

The Venice summit proposals were "a second Munich" claimed Prime Minister Begin, branding the PLO as an "Arab SS", supposedly dedicated to destruction of the Jewish nation.

Notorious

Of course the forces actually in league with fascism are the Zionists themselves, whose links with the fascist Lebanese militia

of Major Haddad are notorious.

The fact that Begin went on to give a vigorous defence of the supposed divine right of Zionist oppressors to settle anywhere in the 'Biblical land of Israel' however spells out once again the almost insurmountable problems faced by US imperialism in securing a compromise settlement based on the Camp David agreement.

Overture

The European initiative was designed both as an alternative route towards such a compromise and its courtesy towards the PLO was intended as a diplomatic overture to the bourgeois leaders of Saudi Arabia and other Arab states for whom the Palestinian issue is a major embarrassment.

But it has been quickly rejected by the PLO, which has pointed to its failure to accord any actual recognition to the Palestinian leadership or their right to self determination.



The London picket

South African struggles grow

June 11 marked the 16th anniversary of the jailing of South Africa's best-known political prisoner, Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress.

He is one of 21 prisoners serving life sentences mostly, like Mandela, on Robben Island.

Hundreds of others are in jail for political "crimes". In the last few weeks, as school students and workers have launched new boycott and strike waves, hundreds more militants have been arrested.

A small picket took place outside South Africa House on June 11.

It was organised by Anti Apartheid and supported by representatives of the Communist Party, the IMG, the WSL, the RCG and the RCT as well as individual opponents of apartheid.

From June 16 (the fourth anniversary of the Soweto uprising) there will be two weeks of anti-apartheid activities.

These will culminate in a march in solidarity with South African and Namibian political prisoners and detainees, on Saturday June 28 setting out at 2.00 p.m. from Temple Place, (Embankment), London.

Caribbean cauldron of class struggle

The size of the Caribbean islands which stretch over the 2,000 miles of sea in the crook of Central and South America belie their strategic importance.

This is due not only to their significance for international shipping but also because surprisingly they provide two-thirds of the bauxite and refine 25% of the oil required by the US.

High inflation

Most of the newly independent islands in particular are relics of old plantation economies with scarce resources and a chronic unemployment which runs between 30 and 50%. The oil has in fact partly contributed to the decline in agriculture and high inflation in these countries.

Only Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, with the help of hefty US investment, have achieved relatively high per capita incomes and can be regarded as politically stable imperialist lackeys.

There has been a long-standing US, French, British and Dutch military presence in the region plus about 200 Peace Corps workers.

But since the contrived alarm over Soviet troops in Cuba and the stepping up of the cold war, Carter has increased US navy patrols and military manoeuvres in the area and a combined services "task force" headquarters for Caribbean operations has been set up in Florida.

Much of this is also due to US paranoia over 'communism' on their doorstep after the coup in Grenada in March last year.

200 poorly armed members of the 3,000 strong People's



Bishop with Castro

Revolutionary Army seized the radio station and the army barracks and overthrew the repressive regime of Eric Gairy.

Mercenary force

Gairy was granted refuge in the US where he immediately set to recruiting a mercenary force from the Mafia and the right wing Cuban exiles' Condor Group.

The pleas of the new Prime Minister Maurice Bishop for international military and economic aid were ignored by the imperialists, foolishly driving him into the arms of the Cubans by offering an insulting \$5000 and refusing to extradite Gairy.

20 people were eventually arrested in November after the cracking of a plot involving three US boats and 100 mercenaries in Miami.

Cuba recognised the new regime almost immediately and granted \$9.2 million in cash and equipment for a new airport, 250 Cuban experts and shipments of arms and ammunition.

led by George Odum but the right wing reneged on the powersharing deals it had agreed and the government is in severe crisis.

In Dominica a new 'left' government expelled two of its ministers for holding 'communist views', a stipulation laid down by the US as a condition for the massive aid desperately needed after the ravages of hurricane David.

The Dominican Republic and Haiti are clearly considered "safe" by the imperialists and it is worth remembering that in 1965 there were more American troops in and around Santo Domingo than in Vietnam.

Nowadays power is exercised just as crudely through feeding aid to the right and by multinationals such as Gulf and Western—recently hauled up in the UN for buying the services of thousands of itinerant slave workers from their cronies in Haiti, a flourishing trade despite the officially closed borders.

In Jamaica, Michael Manley's People's National Party faces a strong challenge from the right wing Jamaica Labour Party led by Edward Seaga.

Indictment

The possibility of a Seaga victory—a standing joke in Kingston is that a JLP cabinet meeting would be one of the Chamber of Commerce—is itself an indictment of Manley, whose left talk boiled down to severe public spending cuts, high inflation and unemployment and an economy in the stranglehold of the IMF.

The collapse of the sugar market and recent floods have also contributed to an eight year period of 'austerity'.

Guyana leader killed

The brutal murder of Walter Rodney of the Guyanese Working Peoples Alliance in the early hours of Saturday 14 June is just another indication of the thuggery which characterises the regime of Forbes Burnham's PNC.

The population of Guyana consists of peoples of both African and Asian origins and its politics have been bedevilled by ethnic rivalry.

The two main parties are Cheddi Jagan's PPP which represents the Asians and the PNC representing the Africans.

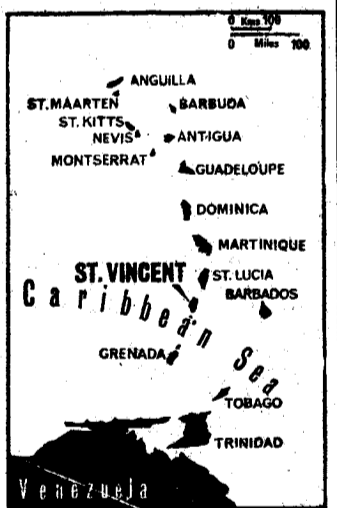
The bauxite, clerical and mining workers are African as are the urban police and the army, while sugar and rice workers are Asian and there is a rising class of petit-bourgeois Asians training to be tomorrow's technocrats replacing the role traditionally played by the European bourgeoisie.

The WPA was formed last year from four organisations of both ethnic groups and is attempting to build links between the two communities to challenge the government.

Last year saw a general strike which brought tremendous recruitment to the WPA but it was unprepared, organisationally and politically to overthrow the PNC regime.

Unemployment is high—35%—as elsewhere in the Caribbean and yet 95% of the economy—and the mass media—are in the hands of the state, so the question of state power immediately arises in any confrontation.

Messages condemning the murder of Walter Rodney should be sent to the Guyana High Commission.



The ousting of prominent lefts from their positions in the PNP has strengthened the Stalinist Jamaica Workers Party, led by Dr Trevor Munroe, which unsuccessfully sought an electoral alliance with Manley for 1981.

Seaga favours the 'Puerto Rican' model of industrialisation by invitation which failed dismally in the late 50s and early 60s.

Foreign investment was lured in by generous incentives, provided a tiny fraction of the jobs promised and saw 160,000 Jamaicans emigrate to Britain alone in that period.

The Caribbean itself reflects the crisis of leadership for the working class and poor peasantry internationally and the specific economic features of backward capitalist countries where the most backward modes of production coexist with the most highly sophisticated oil refining technology, because their economies are deformed by their dependency on imperialism and therefore respond to its needs alone.

Yet from this situation it is only Trotskyists who point to the necessity for a programme and a proletarian leadership directed towards the overthrow of capitalism.

'MARXISTS' RETREAT IN MOZAMBIQUE

By Jim Farnham

"The word 'proletariat' has been degraded to a mere phrase. To make this phrase effective it was necessary to describe the petty bourgeoisie as proletarians so that in practice it was the petty bourgeoisie and not the proletarians who were represented. The actual revolutionary process had to be replaced by revolutionary catchwords".

MARX

In a speech to the nation recently Mozambique's so-called 'Marxist' President Samora Machel said:

"On September 25, 1964 we declared war on the foreign enemy—Portuguese colonialism. Here today March 18, 1980 we declare war on the internal enemy. We are going to flush them out by the end of the year".

The "internal enemy", according to Machel are the: "opportunists and petty bourgeois radicals who have encouraged ultra-democracy and leftism in an effort to break down authority, create confusion and harm the revolution".

In Africa, where reformism finds its expression in the petty bourgeois nationalism of the national liberation movements, Mozambique's Machel has proved a past-master at substituting revolutionary catchwords for the actual revolutionary process.

Under the pressure of mounting class struggle, it is not only the Stalinists but all manner of reformists who invoke the language of Marxism to placate and confuse the revolutionary masses as to the real content of their treacherous class-collaborationist politics.

The neo-colonial regimes throughout Africa have repeatedly shown that, having once come to power, the petty bourgeoisie is incapable of wielding it independently. It is compelled either to surrender it to the working class if it is strong enough to seize it, or to become a gendarme of imperialism in the region, with the big bourgeoisie wielding real power.

Weapon

In Mozambique, whilst it was once the workers and peasants who looked to Machel's Frelimo party as a weapon of struggle against imperialism, it is now imperialism which looks to Machel's state bureaucracy as a weapon to attack the working class and establish the control necessary for profitable capitalist accumulation.

Trotsky captured the gist of the process that unfolded in Mozambique when he wrote:

"At first one gets the impression that the petty bourgeoisie with sword in hand is turning upon the bourgeois regime, but its revolt ends with it handing over to the big bourgeoisie, through its own chiefs, the power it had seized by travelling the road of bloodshed... The deeper had been the illusion of petty bourgeois socialism and patriotism and the more impetuously they had been mobilised in conditions of economic and parliamentary impasse, the more brazenly, cynically and "suddenly" would the victorious chief of this movement fall down on his knees before the big bourgeoisie with the request that they "crown" him."

(1932 Writings, pp160/62)

The imperialists, anxious to stem the burgeoning mass struggles in an area as critically vital to their interests of

Southern Africa, did not hesitate to "crown" Machel.

No sooner had British imperialism's Lord Soames—with the active connivance of Machel—succeeded in installing ZANU (PF)'s Mugabe at the head of the capitalist state in Zimbabwe, than he turned his attention to countries bordering Zimbabwe, in particular, Mozambique.

Mozambique has remained, in the five years of neo-colonial independence, a vassal of imperialism and primarily of South African imperialism.

The 'Big 5' imperialist powers have been reluctant to really extend their interests in Mozambique as long as the war in Zimbabwe threatened to completely destabilise the whole region.

Reliable

However, in the temporary breathing space opened up by the halting of the Zimbabwean war and with Machel having proved himself a reliable imperialist agent in helping force through the Lancaster House agreement, finance capital is seeking to consolidate its hold over Mozambique, mainly through the support of capital.

The depth of the crisis wracking world capitalism has forced the imperialist powers to tighten their control over the backward countries.

The export of capital is crucial for imperialism to counteract the effects of the crisis of profitability by expanding foreign trade and exerting still more direct control over prices and supplies of raw materials in the backward countries.

Machel's ruling bureaucracy have demonstrated, in their most recent opportunist manoeuvres, that they will do all in their power to further imperialist interests in the region.

Following Lord Soames' four days of secret negotiations with the Mozambican leadership in Maputo, Machel has, in several major speeches, combined declarations of war on working class militants with overtures to imperialism to strengthen its hold over Mozambique and her people.

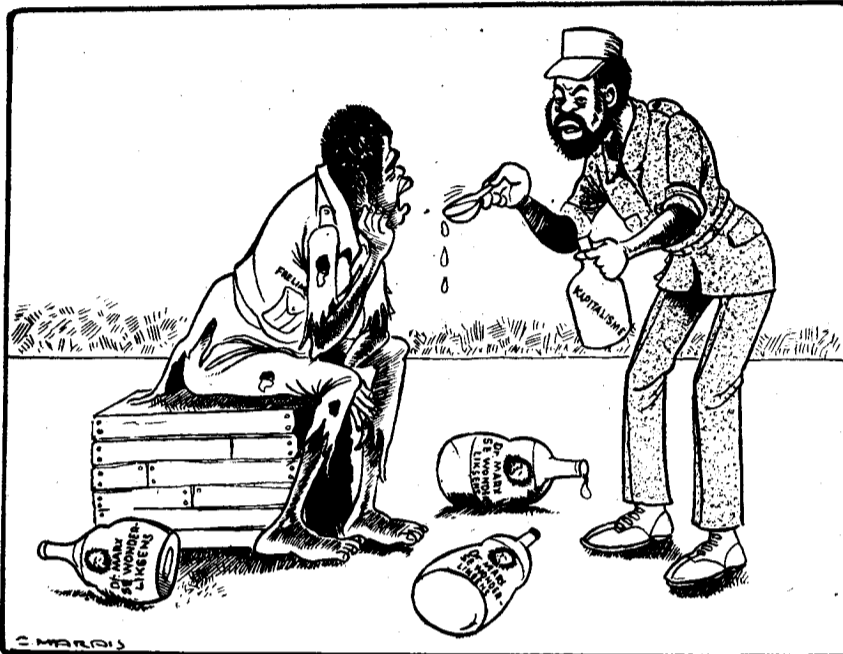
As part of the process of flushing out worker militants and extending control over the working class, Machel declared in March that the bureaucratic hierarchies through which workers are controlled should be made more rigid and authoritarian.

End egalitarianism

He demanded an end to "informality", "the principle of egalitarianism" and "the practice of calling everyone comrade", while revising Frelimo's much vaunted concept of "People's Power" to mean:

"The establishment of the authority and prestige of the director as representative of People's Power so that it is not the workers' collective that takes decisions but the director who decides".

In April, shortly after the



Samora Machel: "Well it may not be a beautiful bottle, but I'm afraid it's all that will pull you through"

'Down with capitalism' sign at Maputo airport was removed, a delegation of 30 capitalists from 23 multi-national firms arrived for a four-day meeting with the Mozambican fledgling bourgeoisie.

The decisions taken have remained secret, but after the meeting the head of the delegation and former agricultural secretary in the Kennedy cabinet, Orville Freeman, summed up the tone of the discussion:

"We told them bluntly that they must understand that we are primarily interested in making profits. We told them that we want to be able to take our profits out, to bring in experts and did not want to be stifled by restrictive red tape".

The bourgeois authorities in Mozambique described the meeting as "very successful" and made a point of allaying the imperialists' fears over the repatriation of profits.

Handed back

As if to prove their capabilities to imperialism, Machel immediately announced that the 50 or so shops and small businesses, nationalised after

their Portuguese owners fled when Frelimo came to power would, along with considerable state aid, be handed back to their previous owners if they returned or given to aspirant petty capitalists.

At the same time, in a further sop to imperialism, he sacked his three cabinet ministers most sympathetic to the Kremlin Stalinists and, in a cabinet reshuffle, brought in eight new white ministers to bolster his policy of increased foreign investment and capitalist initiative in Mozambique.

When Sergio Vieira, President of the Bank of Mozambique, cabinet minister and leading Frelimo ideologue, returned from Western Europe last month with pledges of over \$200 million of investment, he said that:

"You must not look at the present offensive as a turning point for us, but merely as a new phase in our revolutionary process."

In reality the 'offensive' is, of course, a new phase in the imperialist-sponsored counter-revolutionary process in Mozambique.

Under conditions of rotting capitalism internationally, the extension of capitalist develop-

capitalist social relations (by driving labour power even further below its value) at the same time as it develops the most advanced forms of capitalist production (latest technology imported from the advanced capitalist countries).

In a country where trade unions are illegal and strikes are outlawed, the material conditions facing the working class and poor peasantry are barbaric.

Out of a population of 12 million, 90% live in rural areas where subsistence production has to be supplemented by food imports and the agricultural production is less than it was at independence five years ago.

Reservoir

The objective reality of the situation is that the poor peasantry, the overwhelming majority of the rural population, constitute a vast reservoir of labour—primarily for the South African gold-mines which employ 30% of Mozambique's biggest export commodity, labour power.

The crisis in agricultural production has led to thousands of people flooding to the cities in a bid to stave off starvation.

Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, now has a population of 1.2 million whereas it was 500,000 under Portuguese rule.

Production down

But industrial production is still lower than at the time of independence.

With a balance of payments deficit of £100 million, amounting to more than the country's total exports in 1978, the economy is propped up by foreign aid.

The Mozambican masses in the cities, face no prospect of employment, a virtual total absence of housing and social services, a chronic food crisis (which has led to hugely inflated prices for the most basic commodities) and a repressive bureaucratic regime which spent 26% of the total budget on defence in 1979.

They are bound to move into struggle to defend their very lives as the crisis sharpens.

"Socialism"

While the Mozambican regime continues to perpetuate the myth that "socialism" will be constructed on the basis of the development of agricultural production, Marxists point to the fact that the only material basis for socialism can be the development of industrial production capable of reorganising agriculture along mechanised lines.

For this to be done, the productive forces have to be released from the stranglehold of capitalist social relations created and perpetuated by imperialism.

For Marxists, the absence of an economic basis for the independent construction of socialism in Mozambique does not mean that the socialist revolution is impossible.

It means that the workers' struggle is international; that the development of the struggle in Mozambique and the building of a workers' government able to carry through a massive programme of socialist development will require not only the complete nationalisation of the means of production under workers management but also the practical solidarity and aid of the international working class. The socialist revolution in Mozambique can triumph finally only as a link in the world revolution.



Machel

ment in Mozambique is the perpetuation of capitalist decay.

For profitable investment, finance capital requires massive technological investment (which can only exacerbate the already chronic unemployment in Mozambique) and the cheapening of the labour power of the Mozambican workers who already struggle to survive on starvation wages.

Thus imperialism must both develop the backwardness of



Frelimo forces: armed struggle not enough to secure socialism

Mobilise for CDLM conference July 5

The bitter lessons of recent betrayals and political preparation for the struggles to come will be the keynote of the conference called by the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement on July 5.

The agenda will include discussion on three major topics: the steel and BL strikes; the struggle against the cuts; and the fight for democracy and socialist policies in the Labour Party.

Disaffiliated

Among the speakers will be witch-hunted Labour Party socialist Ted Heslin, leading militants from the steel and BL unions, anti-cuts campaigns and Dave Hallsworth, secretary of Tameside Trades Council—which was disaffiliated by the

TUC for convening a conference on Ireland!

With applications for credentials now coming in from TGWU, ASTMS, AUEW and other trade union branches, it is clear that the conference will be considerably bigger than the CDLM's last conference in October last year.

The CDLM has a long record of campaigning for independent demands to defend working class living standards and jobs against Labour and Tory cuts, closures and wage controls.

With the Thatcher offensive gathering pace and moves towards a 10% pay limit throughout the public sector it is clearly vital to hammer out a clear programme around which workers can combat the treachery of their existing trade union and Labour leaders, and mobilise mass action to bring down the Tory government.

The CDLM conference to be



Ted Heslin

held at Digbeth Hall, Birmingham, offers a forum to debate such a programme. It is open to both delegates and to individual visitors from labour movement organisations, student unions and to unemployed workers and housewives.



CAMPAIGN FOR DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

Conference

After Steel and BL strikes:
NEW LEADERS NEEDED TO DEFEAT TORIES

DIGBETH HALL BIRMINGHAM
Saturday JULY 5, 11am-5pm

Details and credentials (£1) available from
G. Webster, 169, Barclay Road, Warley, West Midlands

Growing voices for British withdrawal

Hundreds of delegates packed the main hall at Conway Hall for last weekend's "forum in Northern Ireland" entitled "Voices for Withdrawal".

Though the conference had been convened via the Youth Office of the National Liberal Club, the vast bulk of the audience were labour movement delegates and visitors from a wide range of anti-imperialist organisations committed to the fight for a withdrawal of British troops from Ireland.

United fight

Chairman Mick Martin (Hammersmith Trades Council) pointed out the TUC's ban on debate on Ireland, and called for a united fight in the labour movement on the issue.

Platform speakers included Desmond Greaves (editor of the Irish Democrat), Anthony Coughlan (Trinity College, Dublin), playwright John Arden and Marie Mulholland, a member of Provisional Sinn Fein, speaking on behalf of the "Armagh 11".

In the period for questions a Socialist Press supporter drew applause by calling upon platform speakers to say where



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

Peter Hain

they stood on the 800-year Irish war of liberation.

John Arden and Marie Mulholland declared themselves firmly for an immediate withdrawal of troops.

But when the same Socialist Press supporter asked whether there were any Young Liberals present there were neither hands raised nor any sound from the hall. He then called upon the organising committee to switch

its address from the Liberal Club to one connected with the labour movement.

In the afternoon session solicitor Alistair Logan pointed to the ways in which the law and the powers of the state have been used to reinforce imperialist control.

In 1923, for instance, no less than 20% of the male population of the six counties were policemen, drawn from Protestants!

Logan went on to list the battery of measures used in recent years against the nationalist population—internment, Diplock Courts, the Emergency Provisions Act, and the "Prevention of Terrorism" Act, "an intelligence gathering act", under which only 1% of detainees are charged.

The conference loudly applauded a message from playwright Margaretta D'Arcy, currently imprisoned for 3 months after refusing to pay a fine following her arrest outside Armagh Gaol.

Former army captain Michael Biggs underlined the fact that the British Army are the real "terrorists" at work in the six counties and that the media reports are censored to suppress the real situation.

It is necessary to fight in Trades Councils, trade unions and to press Labour MPs to adopt a policy of withdrawal, he argued.

Peter Hain, calling on delegates to "build a momentum for withdrawal", emphasised that Britain's presence in Ireland actually reinforced sectarian divisions: but he went on to oppose the demand for immediate withdrawal of troops.

"We must not demand Troops out Now, although I support it. We need a broad, credible campaign", argued the former Young Liberal—failing to grasp that the absence of non-labour movement contingents at the conference or on last August's Young Liberals demonstration prove that there is no uncommitted "middle ground" to be won to a 'broad campaign'

on the question of Ireland.

As if to underline the point, Ruth Addison, a former chairman of the Young Liberals, presented a platform speech which warned that repression in Ireland brought the threat of repression in "our country" too!

So long as the organisers insist on operating in tandem with the Liberals, they will pull back from the necessarily sharp fight for the policy of immediate withdrawal of British troops.

A Workers Power leaflet distributed at the conference correctly challenged the Socialist Workers Party, with its alleged 4,500 members, on its failure to mount any struggle whatever in the labour movement for its avowed intention last year of building:

"a genuine movement inside the British working class which can put real muscles into the struggle for a complete British withdrawal, political, economic, military"

Instead the SWP, in harness with Young Liberals, has now thrown its weight behind the general 'human rights' demands of the "Charter 80" campaign for political status for the republican prisoners in the 'H' Blocks—introduced at the conference by pacifist Pat Arrowsmith.

While Charter 80 should be supported by all socialists, it must be taken up in the context of a tenacious fight to mobilise the strength of the labour movement in action to force the immediate withdrawal of British troops from the six counties of Ireland.

This is the importance of the ongoing campaign by Tameside Trades Council against its disaffiliation by the TUC and for the policies of troops out now, self determination for the Irish people, repeal of the PTA and political status to Irish PoWs.

Further details can be obtained from D. Hallsworth, 186, Kings Road, Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire.



IRELAND



OOPS! Letter

Comrade Editor,
I write to draw the attention of Socialist Press readers to an unfortunate printing error that occurred in last week's paper (SP202, 11.6.80) in the centre-page article on Tanzania. In setting out the elements of the revolutionary programme for agriculture that the working class must advance to secure the support of the poor peasantry, the article wrongly calls for: "expropriation under workers' control of agricultural workers and poor peasants".
Of course, this should read:

"expropriation (without compensation) under workers' control of the big capitalist farms, and nationalisation of the land under the control of agricultural workers and poor peasants."
Hopefully, readers of SP202 realised that there was a printing error, and that the WSL and TILC would never call for the enslavement of farmworkers and the confiscation of small peasant plots!
Fraternally,
SP supporter

JENKINS LAUNCHES 'DINNER' PARTY

By John Lister

The story so far:

Woy Jenkins and the wight wing are disgruntled. Weds and Wadicals in the Labour Party are waising questions about Bwitain's welations with Europe—talking of possible with-dwawal! Some are even against Cwaise missiles and the nuclear detewwent!

William Wodgers and Shirley Williams are wigowously thweatening to wesign if things get out of hand.

The pwoblem for the top-wank weactionaries is that they know they have little support among Labour's gwass woots. Now read on!

One thing Roy Jenkins, food mountaineer extraordinary, can do is throw a good lunch.

His gastronomic reputation, already, a scandal when as deputy Labour leader he was a significant figure in British politics, has suffered nothing for his well-paid sojourn at the EEC headquarters in Brussels.

So it comes as no surprise that he can attract an ever-

ready platoon of well-oiled parliamentary journalists to hear him reel off a "significant" after-lunch speech attacking the Labour Party.

But Jenkins had nothing to say. The all-time general without an army, he made well-financed noises about his disenchantment with existing British party politics, while carefully avoiding any definite statement that might frighten off potential right wing Labour supporters or the second-string capitalists of the Liberal Party.

The main line that came through was his fear of redundancy after four years of tax-free jet setting—and his high hopes that his bourgeois friends and allies—such as GEC job-slasher Arnold Weinstock—will come forward with big cheques to help construct a pretend political party that will keep him in the style to which he is accustomed.

Meanwhile one accurate statement by potential Jenkinsite "Centre Party" recruit Williams is that, as presently floated in the press,



PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Jenkins

the new party would have no principles and no values.

But there can be little doubt that if Labour's crypto-Tory right wing lose the battle against Party democracy at the October conference, sections of them

will look increasingly towards Jenkins to lead the defence of the "principles" of self interest and the capitalist "values" they hold so dear.



The occupation of the Third Feather Youth Club at Earls Court reported in last week's Socialist Press continues. The club has been occupied by youth and staff in protest at the sacking because he is gay of youth leader Richie McMullan.

Honours for press barons

The twice yearly spectacle of the British ruling class rewarding its favourite sons and daughters has thrown up a couple of particularly choice items.

Amongst the birthday honours can be found two public relations officers for the Thatcher government.

Elevated to the House of Lords—where he can bring his wisdom to bear on the closed shop legislation—is Victor Matthews—the owner of the Express and the man for whom his own news pages are always open.



Victor Matthews

Borrowed rags

Knighthood for his services to Thatcherism is Larry Lamb, editor of the Sun.

Between them these two must have put in more hours than the prime minister's own

Street. Their champagne parties were slightly punctured by the Guardian (whose editor did not get anything).

Political hacks

It quoted from the Express (February 1977):

"What is the point of honouring an outstanding citizen . . . in the end he is to be put on the same list as a lot of time-serving political hacks, old mates of whoever happens to be Prime Minister and a retinue of comedians and actors? . . . The human appetite for honours is a sad and embarrassing fact."

And from the Sun (May 1978):

"This paper has never had much time for the boring farce of buttons and bows and garters and knightly nonentities".

Until now that is . . .

PRESS GANG



The television cameras stayed obstinately on the sight of England and Belgium puffing after the ball while in the background Italian police baton charged the crowd and fired tear gas in all directions.

The commentator tried his best to make some connection between the pedestrian events on the field and the frenetic activity on the terraces.

In tones of somber condemnation he set the scene for the attack on the fans that was to reverberate around the pages of the press.

This can be summed up by saying that sections of the English fans were thugs and animals—in the words of England manager Ron Greenwood—"They should put all the hooligans in a ship, take it to the middle of the ocean and sink it".

In short the fans received the treatment from the press usually reserved for managers of England teams that have lost.

It is not the first time and it won't be the last for fighting to break out on the football terraces.

It must, however, be the first time that a European Cup match has been stopped because

the goalkeeper was blinded by tear gas (which TV interviews managed to suggest had been thrown by the fans).

What started as a scuffle which would have seemed tame on any first division ground ended with manic violence on the part of the police and an atmosphere of revenge whipped up in which one England fan was stabbed as he left the ground.

If the fans reacted with a charge down the terraces when Belgium scored, the press might like to consider who had helped to whip them into that state of frenzy.

The gutter press has long since stopped treating soccer as a sport. It has become a symbol of national pride and, reflecting the fact that all big sport is big business, a life or death matter.

The fans simply translated the hyperbole of the sports pages into action.

Of course this is not confined to the British press or to British fans.

For days before the game, fights had been breaking out between English fans and Italians and camping sites were filled with fans who had made the journey from Britain only to huddle together for protection.

That ability to divide young

workers from different nations over a football match is just a pale reflection of the national divisions which the press deliberately whips up in every field.

Once the police had charged however the press made a qualitative leap from national divisions to class alliance. Unanimously they were on the side of the helmeted baton wielding thugs in uniform.

Boasted

They praised the Communist mayor of Turin who boasted of the number of extra police he would call in, and who threatened to stop the match between England and Italy.

The headlines (Soccer's Shame . . . England on Trial) were part of the attempt to pacify the outraged sensibilities of the Italian bourgeoisie and their CP allies.

As the fans pour through the turnstiles and fork out extortionate amounts of money for travel and for the matches they should realise that they do not have any united interests with the business machine they have come to cheer on. It is ever ready to bite the hand that feeds it.

TROTSKYIST INTERNATIONAL LIAISON COMMITTEE

DISCUSSION BULLETIN No. 2

Articles on Nicaragua, Parity Commission, and TILC Declaration

Price 40p plus 15p p&p from WSL, BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX

Union invites top cop

In tune with their deeply reactionary education and social policies the National Association of Schoolmaster/Union of Women Teachers last week gave a platform to Britain's youngest Chief Constable, Alan Oliver (aged 40) who heads the Central Scotland Police Force.

At a conference held in Birmingham to launch an appeal for £750,000 to pay for an Outward Bound centre, Oliver argued that a central cause of "teenage violence" was the influence of Communist teachers.

These teachers are apparently undermining parental authority and encouraging the defiance

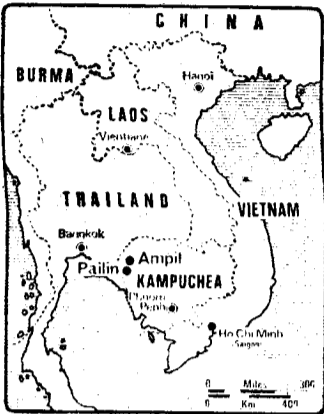
of authority. "We must weed out the so and so's who are spreading discontent", he said.

It is absolutely disgraceful that a trade union should give a platform to the capitalist state to launch its witch-hunt; but it is not surprising that it should be the NAS/NWT that does it.

Faced with a social crisis which derives from bankrupt capitalism, the forces of the state recognise that if the youth revolt takes on a political dimension then capitalism really is in trouble.

The trade union movement must condemn the appearance of leading police officers on trade union platforms and assert the right of teachers to have whatever political views they like.

INSIDE STORY ON VIETNAM DEFEAT



"Decent Interval" is a gripping inside account of one of the greatest events of post-war history: the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam.

Frank Snepp, a CIA analyst at the US Saigon embassy during the last days of the Thieu regime, writes as a man disgruntled not because he is a socialist but because he is angered by the way imperialism's agents and supporters in Vietnam were let down by the US ruling class.

His story describes the processes that brought the defeat of the most modern and sophisticated weaponry and the best intelligence network in the world.

It shows that for all the spying, the bugging, the torture and brutality available to obtain information for the imperialists, what is done with that information is a political decision.

Too late

American Ambassador Martin, for example, as supreme US representative in Vietnam, believing that the Soviet and North Vietnamese Stalinists would negotiate a settlement, brushed aside intelligence reports and refused to allow an evacuation of US forces by fixed wing aircraft until it was too late.

Indeed he refused to allow a helicopter airlift until he personally had been down and seen the impossibility of using fixed wing aircraft.

He even instructed Snepp and other analysts to gear their intelligence reports along certain lines!

Snepp is able to show the political decisions that predominate over the intelligence material: but he is unable to grasp the economic reality that underlies the political decisions.

Crisis

The very fact that a number of dissident ex-CIA agents have emerged reveals the crisis of US imperialism. Some, such as Snepp, remain committed to the capitalist system while seeking to 'rectify' the CIA; but others, like Philip Agee, show that it is possible for even sections of the most corrupt agencies of imperialism to break from it and reach out towards socialism.

Agee is thus able to fill the gap left in Snepp's account:

"Reforms of the FBI and the CIA, even the removal of the President from office, cannot remove the problem. American capitalism based as it is on exploitation of the poor, with its fundamental motivation in personal greed, simply cannot survive without force—without a secret police force. The argument is with capitalism and it is capitalism that must be opposed with its CIA, FBI and other security agencies understood as logical, necessary manifestations of a ruling class's determination to retain power and privilege.

Now, more than ever,



GIs load US bombers at Gulf of Tonkin

indifference to injustice at home and abroad is impossible. Now, more clearly than ever, the extremes of poverty and wealth demonstrate the irreconcilable class conflicts that only socialist revolution can resolve. Now, more than ever, each of us is forced to make a conscious choice whether to support the system of minority comfort and privilege with all its security apparatus and repression, or whether to struggle for real equality of opportunity and fair distribution of benefits for all of society, in the domestic as well as the international order. It's harder now not to realise that there are two sides, harder not to understand each, and harder not to recognise that like it or not we contribute day in and day out either to the one side or to the other".

Inside the Company, p.597 US imperialist leaders had taken the decision that they could not afford to allow any kind of political independence in South East Asia. They were determined therefore to defeat not only the liberation struggle in Vietnam but also the bourgeois nationalist regime of Sihanouk in Cambodia.

The masses of Vietnam and Cambodia refused to submit to such repression: but imperialism had one vital ally—the Stalinist bureaucracies of Moscow, Hanoi and Peking.

These leaders recognised the profound impact that a defeat for US imperialism would have on the balance of class forces both in S.E. Asia and on a world scale.

And, as a parasitic bureaucracy balancing between the strength of the masses in the deformed and degenerated workers' states on the one hand and the strength of imperialism on a world scale on the other, the Stalinists fear above all any disruption in their carefully arranged "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists.

Upsurge

This could be seen to be true in the immediate post war period, when the Vietnamese Communist Party headed off a revolutionary upsurge and welcomed the arrival of occupying imperialist troops; it was shown to be true in the treacherous Geneva Conference agreement which partitioned Vietnam in the wake of the defeat of French imperialism at Dien Bien Phu in 1953.

Though the Vietnamese Stalinists could easily have carried through the liberation of the whole of Vietnam they instead agreed to the installation of US imperialism in the South.

Snepp's book, drawing heavily on material from a book

by General Van Tien Dung, who led the final North Vietnamese offensive, clearly shows the continuity of Stalinist sabotage of the liberation struggle after the 1954 Geneva agreement.

He describes for instance the situation in 1968 when the Americans had just restarted the bombing of North Vietnam.

"His (Nixon's) declaration exploded on the nation like a bombshell, setting off a wave of public protest. But significantly, the indignation did not seem to extend to the Soviets themselves. The summit in Moscow was held on schedule, and during the final sessions Kissinger took advantage of the cordial atmosphere to mount a new peace initiative on Vietnam. The United States, he told the Soviets, was now prepared to halt the bombing of the North, even before the release of all our prisoners, if Hanoi would back off its anti-Thieu plank.

As Kissinger had hoped, the Soviets were impressed and offered to convey the message to Hanoi. On 15 June, Soviet President Podgorny flew to the North Vietnamese capital with the new proposal in hand. Almost simultaneously Communist troops in South Vietnam began receiving detailed briefings on the prospect for a settlement. Since the CIA had agents plugged deep into the

Tony Richardson reviews "Decent Interval—The American Debacle in Vietnam and the Fall of Saigon" by Frank Snepp, published by Penguin Books in paperback at £2.95.

Communist high command, our intelligence reports quickly registered this development.

By mid-July such indicators of a change in Hanoi's policies had reached seismic proportions.

According to agent reports, Communist troops were already discussing plans for an imminent cessation of hostilities—possibly without Thieu's prior removal. CIA circuiting also revealed that the Chinese had just advised Hanoi to soften its political demands to facilitate an accommodation."

(p.35)

In the Paris 'peace talks' the North Vietnamese delegation dropped the call for the removal of puppet President Thieu.

But as Soviet, Chinese and Hanoi Stalinists piled the pressure for a settlement onto the NLF forces in the South, there were two unresolved problems.

One was that the imperialists were unable to stabilise the corrupt and economically dislocated Thieu regime without the liquidation of the NLF forces in the South—thus perpetuating the civil war.

The other was that the Hanoi leadership was far from confident that after a negotiated "compromise" its borders would remain safe from an imperialist-backed counter-attack.

For the Soviet and Peking bureaucracies of course—well away from the battleground—such problems were of only incidental interest. They continued to press for a deal at all costs.

How far they were prepared to go to stop anti-imperialist struggles in the region is revealed starkly in the book on the Cambodian war by Norodom Sihanouk entitled *My War with the CIA*.

He points out that his regime was actually overthrown and the CIA-sponsored Lon Nol government installed, while Sihanouk himself was in Russia.

Kosygin assured him:

"You can have absolute confidence in the Soviet Union's backing of your struggle. We will support you—to the end. You will see how it will be with the Chinese. They helped you while you were in Phnom Penh but now you are no longer in power, you will see what they will do". (p.27)

Sihanouk went on to China, and then asked Moscow to recognise his government-in-exile. The Soviet bureaucracy replied that since he was in China it was now up to the Chinese to do so first.

Peking duly *did* recognise Sihanouk's regime, in speeches made by Chou En Lai in North Korea. The Soviet Charge d'Affaires then blandly denied that this was recognition, since the statements "were not made on Chinese soil".

In the event only two East European states (Yugoslavia and Roumania) recognised Sihanouk's government-in-exile.

The Soviet bureaucracy not only refused to recognise Sihanouk, but maintained its embassy in Phnom Penh until the very moment that shells from the Khmer Rouge liberation forces began falling all

around it.

Moscow leaders even criticised the North Koreans for withdrawing their embassy from Cambodia!

This was not simply a matter of diplomatic niceties. The Soviet support for Lon Nol was more than a token effort, involving financial backing and even, according to Sihanouk:

"medical and surgical equipment to patch up the troops of Lon Nol whom we have put out of action, so they can attack us again." (p.34)

In this overall context it is no surprise that Snepp can show the way the Soviet bureaucracy pressed for a settlement in the area short of victory for the liberation forces.

They used the supply of arms to the North Vietnamese as a cynical bargaining counter to force them into line.

Communist Parties throughout the world were mobilised to combat those who argued for





Liberation forces ride in triumph into Saigon in 1975

"Victory to the NLF" and instead to press the call for "Peace in Vietnam".

The Peking bureaucracy held a similar position—throwing its support behind Sihanouk only as a counter to the influence the Soviet Union had acquired over the Vietnamese Stalinists.

Yet despite the efforts of both imperialism and Stalinism a 'compromise' settlement proved impossible. However deformed and degenerated, the social system of the workers' states, based on nationalised property relations, is incompatible with that of imperialism.

Repression

Capitalism in crisis is driven to seek new markets and to intensify exploitation and repression in its existing orbit. It cannot risk an upsurge of the super-exploited masses of Asia. In response to such move-

ments the leaders of imperialism are forced to take political decisions of global importance. It is in this context that the politics of individuals (Johnson, Nixon, Carter, Thatcher, Reagan) can shape the lives of countless millions.

Snepp's book ably illustrates the way in which the actions of individuals who have never been elected by anyone—such as Kissinger and Ambassador Martin—can be central to the development of world history.

At the same time individuals take their decisions at each point under material and political pressures.

Within the USA, for instance, the mass anti-war movement emerged out of the defeats on the battlefield and the determination of the Vietnamese to struggle against imperialism.

The anti-war movement eventually not only enforced a US withdrawal, but created the

material conditions for the Watergate revelations.

By 1973 the US imperialists desperately wanted to negotiate a face-saving "peace" that preserved their puppet regime in the South.

But at this point another individual made his presence felt. President Thieu was determined to hang on to as much as possible.

As Snepp points out:

"As the Summer came to an end, he therefore launched several ambitious military operations, ostensibly to clear NVA (North Vietnamese) units out of base camps in the delta and along the Cambodian border north of Saigon, but in fact to eliminate any lingering American doubts about his capabilities.

"With the pressure mounting Hanoi's military leaders, General Giap and his chief of staff General Van Tien Dang, began clamouring for a response in kind. But their arguments foundered on the reticence of Hanoi's chief patrons.

Neither the Soviets nor the Chinese would guarantee massive new military aid in the summer and fall of 1973, and though both agreed to increase economic assistance, they insisted on attaching all sorts of strings to ensure it was used wisely.

In view of these constraints, the Politburo decided in early October that it had little choice but to move cautiously and conservatively on the battlefield. Instead of striking at Thieu's army in the months ahead it elected to target Saigon's weakest spot, its pocketbook, launching a series of hit and run attacks—'strategic raids'—to further unsettle the economy and to frighten off foreign investors."

In the next month, as Snepp shows, each move made by the North Vietnamese and NLF forces to strengthen their negotiating position brought them easy victories.

As a result the North Vietnamese were carving themselves out a "buffer" area. As Thieu persisted in his refusal to compromise, they went from one victory to the next.

With the ease of the victories, General Dung proposed a change to the Hanoi leadership.

"The decisions he was urging



Butcher Nixon signs communique in Moscow, 1973

on the leadership pointed clearly towards a monumental shift in strategy. What had begun only weeks before as a limited military campaign, focused on the highlands and carefully calibrated not to over-provoke the United States or detract from reconstruction at home, was now being expanded towards the threshold of a multi-front 'general offensive', with all the uncertainties and hazards that implied."

(p.146)

It was this general offensive, spurred on by collapse after collapse of the puppet forces, which eventually brought the fall of Saigon.

But the decision to press forward was not simply dependent on the balance of military forces. The Hanoi bureaucracy had also recognised the continuing threat they would face as long as Thieu or a similar puppet regime held power in the South.

Snepp's book also includes what could be subtitled a "history of evacuations"—charting the spread of panic in towns and cities as the North Vietnamese army approached; the desperate fights for seats in the last planes, as the US took the decision to pull out; and the tens of thousands that were left behind.

In Saigon, where only 140,000 were evacuated, active supporters or collaborators with the puppet regime were estimated to total (with families) some one million.

In the light of such figures, the subsequent numbers of Vietnamese "boat people" can be seen more in proportion.

"Half measures"

Meanwhile it is important to underline the dangers that also flow from the major defeat inflicted on US imperialism in Vietnam, and the subsequent setbacks for imperialism.

The CIA station chief in Vietnam is quoted as saying that the problem was "niggardly half measures" by the US administration.

Ronald Reagan, with open talk of using nuclear weapons to enforce US control on a world scale, echoes these views. Carter, too, with his arms build up and cold war offensive shows the harsh reality that a wounded imperialism is no more ready to give up its power and possessions than the far more self-confident imperialism of the 1950s and 1960s.

The only answer to such threats is a revolutionary answer: international action by the working class to overthrow capitalist property relations, and remove the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies in the deformed and degenerated workers' states.

Imperialism and Stalinism stand together in opposition to such movements: only Trotskyist parties, as part of a reconstructed Fourth International can lead the necessary revolutionary struggles.



Bitter legacy of US saturation bombing



Vietnamese refugees

Painters of man and nature

Henry Phillips reviews two current exhibitions of painting in London by Andrew Wyeth at the Royal Academy of Arts, Picadilly until August 31 and by Zoran Music at the 12 Duke St Gallery, St James's SW1 until the end of June.

If they did not both have exhibitions of their paintings in London at the same time, there would be little reason to compare Andrew Wyeth and Zoran Music.

That is, apart perhaps from the fact that they are of a similar age (Wyeth was born in 1917, Music in 1919) and neither of them can be placed in any recognised "school" of contemporary paintings.

Both men have created paintings of an extremely individual kind. And their paintings express and reflect their very different lives.

Ancestry

Andrew Wyeth has lived all his life in two places—Chadds Ford in Pennsylvania and Cushing, Maine on the coast of New England.

Though clearly proud of his German and Swiss ancestry, he has scarcely travelled.

Zoran Music has seldom stayed still. Born in Gorizia in Northern Italy, he has constantly travelled throughout Europe, except when forcibly prevented from doing so between 1943 and 1945 when he was imprisoned as an anti-fascist in the Dachau concentration camp.

In the thirties he was in Spain until the outbreak of the civil war when he went to Yugoslavia and then to Venice, where he was arrested by the Nazis and where he still spends much of his time.

It was in the Venice Biennale of 1956 that Music first won the Grand Prix which brought him to international fame in Europe, if not so much in Britain.

At this time no-one, not even the painter himself, knew of the effect which his two years in Dachau had had on Music's mind and art.

In Dachau he had secretly made 200 drawings of the horrors he saw around him.

Only 35 of these still exist, mostly in the painter's possession.

After his release he resumed his career, painting especially dry, rocky landscapes in Umbria (Italy) and in Dalmatia (Yugoslavia). Some of the results can be seen in the present exhibition.

Evocative

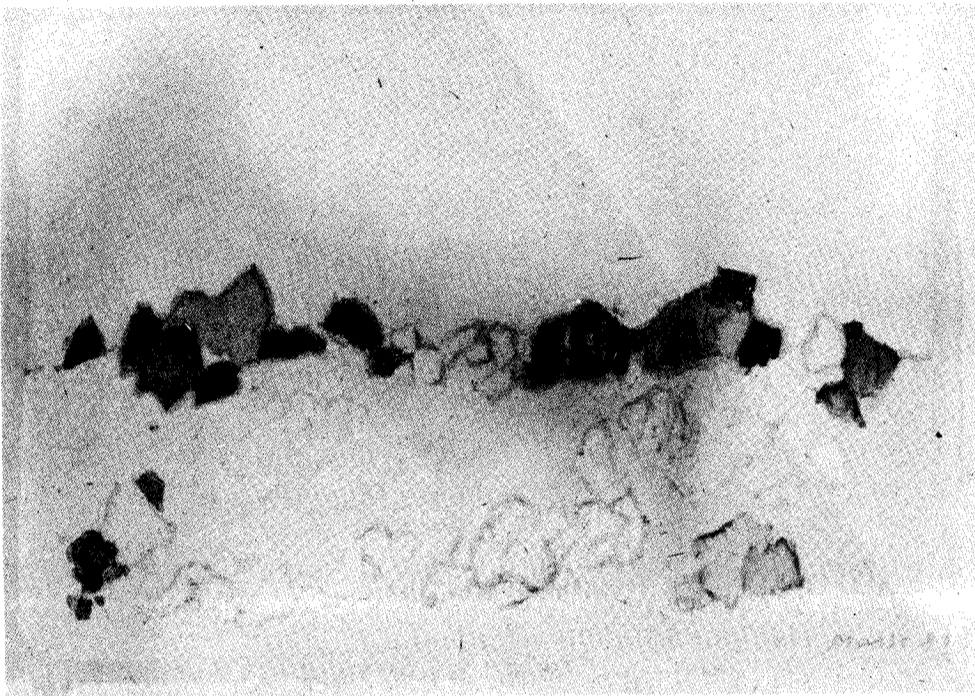
They are strong and evocative paintings but by themselves present only a limited aspect of the art and mind of Music.

In the mid-1960s he suddenly found himself unable to continue painting such pictures—a condition of artistic paralysis which lasted five years.

It was suddenly broken in 1969 when, tormented by the memories of Dachau, Music began to paint a series of terrifying images of mass death. "I was extremely unwell and unhappy" he has said, "and the corpses started to come out".

None of these horrifying and intensely moving paintings and drawings are on show in the present exhibition (though the gallery has a few and will show them to interested visitors).

The gallery intends to hold a further exhibition in the future devoted to the Dachau paintings and drawings.



Zoran Music: 'A Landscape with Rocks'

But the rest of his output cannot really be appreciated without relating it to the Dachau paintings.

This is true personally since Music's new surge of creative activity in 1969 and 1970 also enabled him to resume and develop his landscape painting.

Tragic beauty

But it is equally true artistically. He himself describes the Dachau paintings as expressing "the tragic beauty of whole landscapes of corpses". They taught him, he has said, "to strip everything down to the essential".

This illuminates his more recent paintings of which a major example is on view in this exhibition—a long series of watercolours entitled "Landscape with rocks".

Superficially similar, they are in fact constant variations of colour, light and arrangement.

Together they have an obsessive quality—like the Dachau paintings.

And on a closer look their structure too is similar. The rocks and the skulls seem almost interchangeable.

When in 1960 Music describes his native area of the Karst he already seemed to prefigure the connection with the terrors of Dachau which have later become so much more obvious in his painting:

"Imagine a great plain of stones relieved only by little round hillocks . . . a poor area, dry and monotonous, without trees . . . it almost never rains and the whole plateau is habitually racked by the *bora*, a horrible wind as ferocious as the Mistral . . . the place has become such an obsession with me that I no longer know whether I'm describing the landscape or my paintings of it."

Obsession

It is clear that he could today say something similar of Dachau. It is this combined obsession which makes both parts of Music's work, and the interconnections between them, so powerful.

And this gives a fascinating

example of the total interpenetration of art and experience in a great painter.

Though it appears in an extremely different way, that same interpenetration is also a central feature of the work of Andrew Wyeth.

Wyeth is also above all a landscape painter—but not a painter of landscapes.

That is to say, he is a painter of his own rural surroundings in Chadd's Ford and Maine—but not as "scenery" but as the environment in which people live.

And the people concerned are particular ones, largely Wyeth's neighbours—the Kuerner family in Chadd's Ford and the Olsens in Maine.

They themselves, their typical eastern seaboard old, wooden-built houses, and Wyeth's own house and their surroundings are the subjects of most of Wyeth's paintings.

It may seem, as a result, that Wyeth's work is very parochial. In fact, however, it is much more universal than the subject matter would suggest.

Interrelation

Wyeth's theme is not so much the trees or grass or faces or wooden houses or animals which he paints with such painstaking care and figurative detail.

His real theme is the universal one of the interrelation between man and nature.

His landscapes, even when, typically, there are no human figures in them, invariably carry the evidence of humanity—sometimes in the form of buildings, at times semi-ruined ones being clawed back by nature; sometimes in the form of a story of which the painting is an episode.

Probably his best-known painting called "Christina's World"—unfortunately not in the present exhibition—shows a woman (Christina Olsen, Wyeth's neighbour in Maine) half-sitting, half-lying on a grassy hill, propping herself up on an apparently deformed arm, and gazing towards the brow of the hill, over which her house can be seen.

Christina Olsen was in fact



used "Christina's World" in their propaganda as the symbol of their own struggle.

In their posters a balloon came out of Christina's mouth saying simply "Strike!"

In another respect Wyeth is sometimes accused of being reactionary because he is also fashionable among those who see his paintings as symbolising a "back to nature" perspective.

But this also represents a complete misunderstanding of Wyeth's view of nature.

His landscapes and interiors are not cosy or idealised. They are sombre, mysterious, often menacing as the titles of some of the pictures in the exhibition show—"Witching Hour", "Distant Thunder".

Nature to him is both beautiful and awesome.

Wyeth is also criticised as reactionary because of his detailed, figurative "old-fashioned" style.

It is an absurdly formalistic allegation.

Figurative, representational painting is not a single style. In different forms it has appeared just like different forms of abstract art, at various points in the history of painting.

Though he recognises the influence of Durer and the 19th Century leading German painter Caspar David Friedrich, Wyeth's style is copied from no-one.

It is an individual style developed in order to express the particular combination of "beauty, power and emotional content" which in his own words he wants to be the content of his paintings.

I find many of the paintings in this fine exhibition have enormous beauty, power and emotional content. This is true, not only of seascapes which create for the viewer the illusion of feeling the wind and tasting the salt but it is also true of the portraits.

One of his best portraits is that of his Chadd's Ford neighbour Karl Kuerner wearing the helmet which he wore when fighting in the German army in the First World War.

It combines Wyeth's unsentimental friendship with Kuerner and also (another curious parallel with Music) his haunting by the horrors of the First

World War, which he had not himself experienced.

In the excellent television film on Wyeth which was shown on the South Bank Show on June 8, Wyeth revealed the influence on him of King Vidor's 1925 film "The Big Parade" which shows the degradation and horror of trench warfare from the point of view of an "ordinary American soldier".

Wyeth has not expressed this influence openly but hints at it through allusive references to the evidence of militarism in the Kuerner household.

The same helmet that Karl wears in his portrait, which makes him look in Wyeth's words "severe, more like a U boat captain than a farmer", also appears in another painting "Pine Baron" as a receptacle in which Kuerner's wife collects pine cones.

This is typical of the subtle way in which Wyeth portrays the interaction of man and nature—small everyday things often bearing echoes of great but distant historical events.

Another, almost obsessive, feature of this interaction is Wyeth's use of windows which appear in virtually all his paintings.

Windows mediate for him between the interior man-made world and the exterior natural world.

His landscapes are often seen through windows from houses, his interiors sometimes seen from outside.

Windows in one direction admit light and wind—and in the other longing for or fear of what lies outside.

Wyeth has become famous and fashionable in the USA, frequently for the wrong reasons.

The excellent exhibition at the Royal Academy is the first opportunity to see a large selection of his paintings in this country where up to now they have been little known.

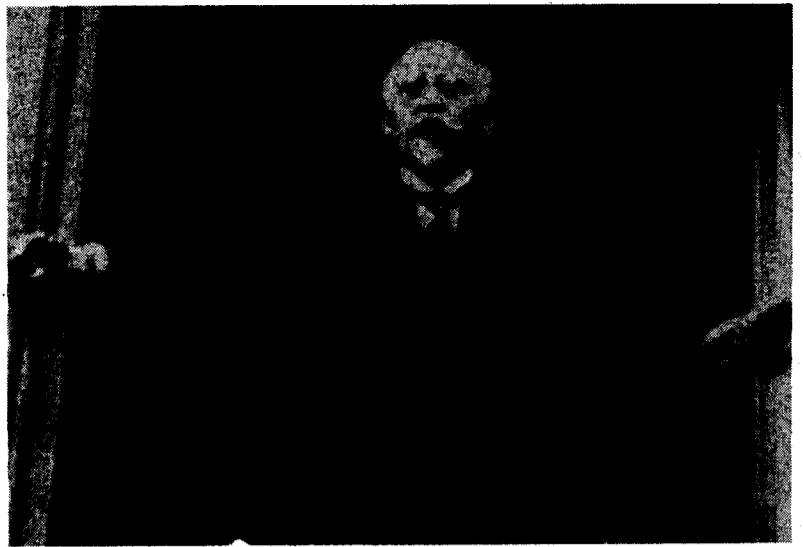
Both this and the Zoran Music exhibition offer good opportunities both to see many fine paintings and to gain an exciting insight into the creative and emotional life of two great contemporary painters.



Andrew Wyeth: 'The German' (1975)

'SOCIALIST' HANGMEN WHO CRUSHED A REVOLUTION

By Colin Morrow



Scheidemann

Germany at the end of the first imperialist world war, was reduced to economic and political ruins.

The defeat of its armies led inexorably to the sort of internal class struggles which posed sharply the question of the working class taking the power.

Workers councils

The Kaiser was thrown out and a republic declared; workers' and soldiers' councils sprang up.

On the streets, groups of armed workers began the struggle to overthrow the last vestiges of bourgeois rule.

Only the social democrats, pushed into power on the wave of insurrectionary struggles, stood between the working class and the German revolution.

Yet these reformists clung desperately to power and sought at every turn to find new ways of restoring 'order' within the continuing framework of capitalism.

Fought against

They not only shrank from the tasks of revolution, they actively fought against it.

By December 1918 much of Berlin was in the hands of groups of armed workers, demobilised soldiers and the spontaneously created People's Naval Division.

The Social Democrats, recognising that control was slipping out of their hands, set out to smash the revolution.

On December 23 Ebert, the



Chancellor, called in the remnants of the old imperialist army command to crush the armed workers.

Time to act

"The government is made prisoner.., he told Major von

Schleicher. "You have always said that if such an event took place you would come to our assistance. Now is the time to act."

This open lining up with the last vestiges of the old imperialist state machine in fact failed.

The army was routed not by

fire power but by the mass mobilisation of the local proletariat, who convinced the ordinary soldiers, not to fight.

But what did the reformists conclude from this: that they should join with the workers?

Not on your life! They looked for more reliable forces

who would not shrink from suppressing the mass of workers.

Gustave Noske, a right wing social democrat, was brought in as defence minister and charged with the task of defeating the revolution.

"Someone must become the bloodhound", commented Noske, "I won't shirk the task".

The counter-revolutionary policies of Noske and Ebert appear almost inconceivable in today's situation until we remember that it was a Labour government that sent troops into Ireland, introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Act, scrapped political status in Ireland and used the SPG and the army to break strikes from Grunwicks to the Firemen.

Reformism is still reformism. For the Labour leaders, just as for Noske and Ebert, what is acceptable is determined by what is necessary for the preservation of capitalist society.

In January 1919, Noske and Ebert in a last desperate act lined themselves up with the private armies of German capitalism, the Freikorps, to smash the leadership of the revolutionary movement and hold back the working class.

In nine days of bloody suppression from 6-15 January, the leaders of social democracy sat back while the 'Freikorps'—the elite, brutalized shock troops of German capitalism—engaged in an orgy of murder

Noske with Freikorps thugs and violence against the German working class.

The leaders of the young German Communist Party, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, lacking as yet the necessary mass proletarian organisation to actually smash the bourgeois state power, were rounded up, beaten and murdered.

Ebert, like a good democrat, was suitably upset by these excesses:

"We have kept warning the troops to proceed with caution", he informed the government.

This service to capitalism did not, however, win these savage traitors any gratitude from their masters.

As General van Lustendorff, one of the imperialist war leaders, was to comment on his return from exile in Sweden three weeks later:

"It would be the greatest stupidity for the revolutionaries to allow us to remain alive. Why, if ever I come to power again, there will be no pardon."

"Then with an easy conscience, I would have Ebert and Scheidemann and company hanged and watch them dangle".

The spokesmen of capital are by no means lacking in class consciousness and class hatred for even the most wretched and bankrupt spokesmen of the workers' movement.

Relics of Vichy France

In June 1940 after a brief campaign the discredited Third French Republic surrendered to Hitler's armies.

The country was to be nominally ruled by a new collaborationist government under Marshall Petain (First World War hero) based in Vichy.

But the north-eastern area of the country was occupied by the German army.

The new regime abolished the revolutionary slogan of "Freedom, Equality and Brotherhood" and replaced it with "Work, Family and Fatherland".

A small but interesting exhibition of posters and political leaflets produced in Vichy France is on show (until June 30) at the Imperial War

Museum near the Elephant and Castle in London.

One set of government posters concerns "The Relief", a project of Laval (the Vichy Premier) under which he agreed with the Nazis that for every three French workers who "volunteered" to work in Germany, one French prisoner of war would be released.

The posters are addressed to potential volunteers:

"By working in Germany you will be the ambassador of French quality."

"You have the key of the camps. French workers, you free prisoners by working in Germany."

The scheme failed and was eventually replaced by forced labour.

The French CP (whose General Secretary today, George

Marchais, is currently being accused of volunteering under Laval's scheme) was in the first year of the occupation tolerated by the Nazis since they supported the Hitler-Stalin pact.

After the invasion of the USSR in June 1941, the Stalinists of course joined the Gaullists and other French nationalist forces in the resistance to German occupation and the Vichy regime.

The exhibition contains some good examples of how this change did not alter the extremely reactionary political nature of the Gaullist-led resistance.

One 1943 resistance poster produced in Algiers accuses the Vichy regime of losing parts of the French empire.

"Indo-China is missing from the Empire—Frenchmen think

about this".

But even though the CP accepted and indeed contributed to the reactionary character of the politics of the resistance, the presence of the CP allowed the Vichy regime to convert all its anti-communism of propaganda into a massive tirade of anti-communism of which there are several interesting examples in the exhibition.

Despite a Gaullist-nationalist orientation, the exhibition is worth a visit in order to gain, not a complete political picture of Vichy France, but some useful direct first hand insight of the political struggle in France in these all-important years—at the end of which Stalinist betrayal prevented the possibility of social revolution.

By Enrique Alvarez



Musicians strike

As part of its declared policy of cutting back expenditure by 8% across the board, the BBC proposes to scrap 5 (i.e. 45%!) of its resident orchestras and put 172 (about 35%!) of their musicians on the dole.

ted by the BBC cuts) has not called strike action.

A failure to call all-out national strike action if any of their members were disciplined for upholding agreements would be a scandalous betrayal.

It is also important that other unions black the BBC,

refusing all deliveries, post and so on.

The Musicians Union is also calling for contributions from other unions to the Strike Hardship Fund. These should go to Jack Stoddart, Musicians Union, 60/62 Clapham Road, London SW9 (tel: 01-582 5566)

St Mary's: unions fight on

The strong opposition to the rundown and closure of St Mary's Hospital, Harrow Road, London was shown at a public meeting called by the defence committee on Wednesday June 11 at Paddington School.

In the wake of a massive demonstration and lobby of the Area Health Authority on May 14, about 80 local supporters and trade unionists attended the meeting.

The main platform speaker was Arthur Latham, a Tribuneite ex-MP for Paddington, defeated narrowly in the General Election.

His contribution offered no way forward—apart from emphasising how much harder it is to fight the cuts with a Tory government and a local Tory MP, he said very little that was constructive or even encouraging.

His only practical suggestion was that a local referendum should be held to see what

health facilities the people wanted.

He was not aware that precisely such a referendum had been organised by the Community Health Council only a year ago.

Joe Beckles, secretary of the hospital defence committee and TGWU Branch chairman emphasised how the resistance to closure had begun under a Labour administration and would continue no matter what government was in office.

He outlined the current stage of the fight, saying that recent assurances by management that no rundown would take place until next spring must not be heeded.

The constant attack has brought manning at the hospital to a dangerous level, he said, and is beginning to have an effect on employment in the whole area.

From the floor speakers stressed the active support from local trade union branches and the community.

A NUPE steward from St.

Mary's Paddington argued the need to combine with other threatened hospitals and stressed that strike action amongst hospital trade unionists was the only policy to defend the health service.

The meeting showed clearly the strength of the opposition at St. Mary's, Harrow Road. The day to day task of resisting the rundown of the hospital must be combined with mounting a general campaign of action against Tory health cuts.

The main danger to St Mary's lies in its isolation from other anti-cuts struggles in the London area.

Public sector trade unionists and activists must work to combat this isolation with the maximum support from the official leadership and the Labour Party.

A lobby of the AHA has been called for 4.30 p.m. on Wednesday June 18 at Bishopsbridge Road, W2. A big turnout is needed to force the authorities once more onto the defensive.

BBC musicians have been on all out strike since June 1. The BBC's reaction has been contemptuous and arrogant, epitomised in a letter justifying the cuts sent to the *Financial Times* by radio chief Aubrey Singer and distributed to all BBC employees.

The BBC is filling its silent hours by violating agreements limiting "needle time" (using gramophone records) and repeating BBC recorded programmes.

The strike is strong and solid—but its success depends crucially on support from other unions.

The Association of Broadcasting Staffs has pledged support. But the test for this will come when the BBC takes action against any ABS members who refuse to cooperate with efforts to repeat BBC recorded material more than once (the limit established by agreement).

It is already a serious weakness that the ABS (whose members are also severely affected

IAN BURGE, ASTMS member at the London Hospital, and a supporter of the Militant tendency, died recently at an early age due to an illness.

Bro. Burge contributed strongly to the fight against hospital closures in the London area and nationally over the last year, and his death is a sad loss.

Socialist Press sends condolences to his family, friends and comrades.



St. Mary's campaigners on May 14

JOIN THE WSL!

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 rocketing upwards.

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

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

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

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

But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles in the winter of 1978.

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.

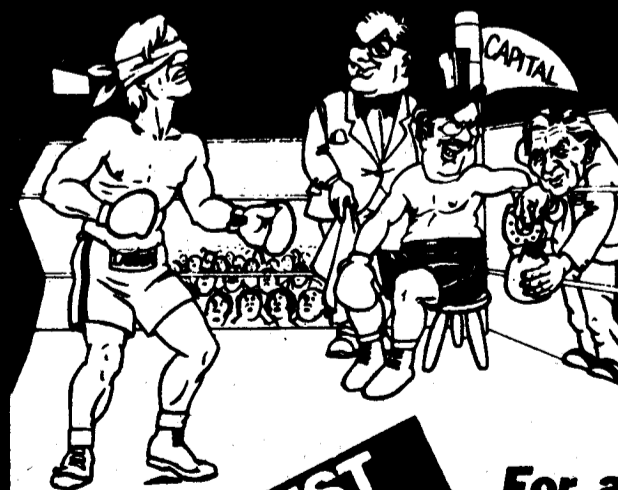
And it must fight on an international basis—mobilising solidarity for anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles—whether in Ireland, South Africa or elsewhere throughout the world, and drawing strength and political lessons from revolutionary upheavals such as that which ousted the hated Shah in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

To this end, the Workers Socialist League is affiliated to the Trotskyist International Liaison Committee which fights to reaffirm and develop the method and principles of the 1938 Transitional Programme, and for full discussion in the world Trotskyist movement.

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

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

DON'T GO INTO THE FIGHT BLINDFOLD!



GET SOCIALIST PRESS For a clear lead in the struggle against wage control, cuts and redundancies

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*THE FIGHT FOR A TROTSKYIST YOUTH MOVEMENT

*RECONSTRUCT THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Evening meetings on additional topics, films and social events.

The school will be attended by delegations from the organisations affiliated to the TILC and members of the WSL. A special invitation is being extended to supporters of the WSL to take part in the discussion and learn more about the WSL and the TILC.

Details are available from any WSL branch or from: WSL, BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX.

Cost: £12 including accommodation for the eight days. A cheap meal will be provided at lunch time and there will be a pooled fare arrangement. Crèche facilities.

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Adwest strikers face BL tactics

Frank Waller is big business. After Lew Grade, he's the highest paid director in the land.

He's on the board of over 50 companies, owns a Rolls Royce with a chauffeur, an ocean-going yacht and lives in a mansion in Reading. It's big but no bigger than Blenheim Palace.

Frank Waller likes football, so he bought himself a football club: Reading F.C. They're looking for a striker.

Danny Broderick is a striker: but not the kind Reading FC want to buy.

He's the TGWU convenor at Adwest Engineering, Reading, who along with 50 other workers (including all but one shop steward) have been locked out and sacked for holding a mass meeting.

Personal friend

The man behind the lock-out is Frank Waller, chairman of Adwest.

Waller has friends in important places: Peter Walker had to resign from the board so he could join Thatcher's vipers' orgy in the Tory cabinet, but still keeps in touch.

Ray Horrocks, managing director of British Leyland Cars and hit-man for King Edwardes is a personal friend of Frank Waller.

Frank Waller admires Michael Edwardes so much he has decided that his own workforce at Adwest should be encouraged to participate in the benefits of an Edwardes-style economic strategy.

Accordingly, the Adwest workforce of some 200 TGWU and AUEW members were told that it would be in their interests to accept an offer meaning a 15% cut in real wages, accept a new grading structure, be subject to complete mobility and sign away their trade union mutual-ity agreements.

The response of the workforce wasn't encouraging: through Danny Broderick they told Waller where to put his offer.

Undismayed, Adwest took the second leaf out of the Edwardes manual: organise an fear and smear propaganda campaign and carry out a secret ballot, accompanied by a message from the boss saying something along the lines of "If you don't vote yes to the offer you'll have to lose your job".

Lost the vote

This is what Adwest did, and despite the campaign, like Edwardes, they lost the vote. 80% of the workers voted

against the Waller plan and started working to rule.

Next lesson: if things aren't going your way, move against a well-known trade unionist.

Six weeks ago, Martin Kaufman, AUEW militant at Adwest was summoned to the manager's office, informed that he was drunk and sacked on the spot.

His money had been made up the day before.

Put into action

Kaufman is a militant; Derek Robinson, convenor of Longbridge wasn't, but the strategy is the same and so is the effect: diverting some workers' attention away from pay and onto personality.

A campaign to discredit Kaufman had already been prepared and was now put into action.

Danny Broderick isn't a very typical TGWU convenor.

He's in his late twenties, looks a bit like David Essex but tougher, and lives in a room in a house full of rented rooms in Reading which is where we went for a cup of tea after hours on the picket outside Adwest.

I asked him what action he'd taken after Martin Kaufman was victimised and sacked.

"We had to act fast because they did him on the Friday before Bank Holiday Monday, and Tuesday would have given them more time to spread the dirt."

"As chairperson of the Joint Shop Stewards Committee I called a meeting and from that called a mass meeting of all TGWU and AUEW members."

"When management heard of this, they made the move they had prepared: they refused permission for the mass meeting—like Leylands did—and foremen told all the workers that anyone attending the mass meeting would be sacked."

Strike action

I called it outside the gates with about half the workforce present; the rest were too afraid of losing their jobs.

"I recommended immediate strike action over Martin Kaufman's victimisation."

"Any trade unionist knows—or damn well should know by now—that if you don't act straight away on a witch-hunt sacking you've blown it."

"If you sit back and wait for an enquiry you may as well have a whip round, shake hands and say cheerio."

"As it is, that strike motion was carried and fifty of us set up a picket outside Adwest with Brother Kaufman on that picket line. Then management said we'd all dismissed ourselves and

it became a lock-out".

"But we're fighting back. Just like Leyland workers will fight back."

"We know we're not just fighting Frank Waller or Michael Edwardes. We're fighting a government determined to smash the living standards of the workers."

"As trade unionists it's our duty to preserve and improve our standard of living and work conditions to increase democracy in the workplace and create systems of worker control."

"We see this strike as a strike for the working class against the capitalist system. This is why we must win it and will win it."

"But we need support: apart from official backing, we need volunteer pickets and financial aid. Every little thing helps."

"Some of us can't afford to eat anymore but we are fighting on because we're going to win."

ADWEST DAY OF ACTION
MONDAY 23 JUNE at 7.00 a.m.
Adwest Engineering, Headley Road East, Woodley READING

TGWU RULES CONFERENCE

The sixth rules revision conference of the TGWU takes place in Weymouth from June 24-26.

The conference, which takes place once every six years, is the only body which can change the rules of the union.

Once again a major issue at the conference will be the fight to end the system of appointing full time officials and the introduction of elections.

Almost 50 motions call for this in various ways—including a call for deletion of the infamous rule that the General Secretary "shall hold office during the pleasure of the union".

Other important motions, moved by Cowley 5/293 branch concern ballot and discipline measures.

The first of the 5/293 motions calls for reform of the notorious balloting procedures for the election of Regional Committees, General Executive Council and the General Secretary.

The current practice of sending bulk quantities of ballot papers without numbers or identification to branch secretaries who have simply to fill in a return form and send it back to Region—lends itself to corruption.

Last year saw the case of Alan Law, a branch secretary and Regional Official in the Midlands who filled in the whole of the 13,000 ballot papers for his branch himself, arguing that he never had time to get them to the members!

Law, who publicly announced that he "would do the same again", was not alone. Many such scandals have hit the TGWU over recent years.

The 5/293 motion proposes



TGWU leader Evans

new procedures to ensure such practices would be eliminated.

The adoption of the motion would be a major step forward for democracy in the TGWU.

The second of the 5/293 motions arises from the struggle against the witch-hunting attacks on the 'Cowley 9' during 1978/9.

Then, 9 TGWU members at BL's Cowley Assembly Plant, many of whom had only just been elected into leading positions by shop floor ballot, were subjected to disciplinary hearings within Region 5 on a series of trumped up charges.

They were given sentences including expulsion from the union—sentences which were only eventually withdrawn through pressure from the membership.

During the hearings the defendants were denied the right even to be present to hear the "evidence" being given

against them—an elementary right in anything other than a kangaroo court.

The amendment calls for the right of any member charged to be present throughout the whole of the proceedings and hear all the evidence presented.

An important group of motions call for full provision to be made to organise unemployed workers within the union.

Other motions call for rule changes to allow the GEC to call a strike of the whole union, and the deletion of the rule preventing this behind which the leadership hides whenever demands are placed on them for all out strike.

But TGWU members should not get too excited. On past form, this highly bureaucratized conference of only 150 delegates is unlikely to adopt many of the 566 motions on the agenda.

SOGAT NEC keeps up 'left, right' march

This year's SOGAT Conference was once again largely composed of Branch Secretaries and other paid officials, who appeared to thrive on the Annual Holiday Binge atmosphere, and the lavishly expensive social events at which they appeared with their partners and relatives dressed in expensive suits and evening gowns.

In some areas, branches did not even hold meetings to elect delegates: instead they were 'selected', and had little interest in the conference proceedings.

It was not surprising under these conditions that the NEC and the right wing completely dominated the conference, ably supported by a very large contingent of Communist Party Stalinists and the Militant group.

The first 3½ days were taken up by proposed changes in the rule book. Many of them were of a minor nature, but allowed some leading, long-standing delegates once again to monopolise the microphones.

As a result, all the more important policy and political resolutions were crammed into the last two days, with the time factor severely limiting discussion.

A total of 33 motions were composed by agreement between the Standing Orders Committee, the NEC and several large branches, particularly the largest branch (London Central) with its Stalinist leadership, into a general resolution led in by

Bill Keys.

This deplored the Tories' economic and monetarist policies, the destruction of productive industry and the welfare state, the increasing unemployment, rising inflation and cuts in public expenditure.

Shopping list

It called for 'measures' to stop the cuts, repeal of anti-union laws, a "change of course" by the government, measures to re-nationalise without compensation, the introduction of a 35 hour week to combat loss of jobs arising from new technology and withdrawal from the EEC.

Its shopping list also included the diversionary call to fight redundancies in industry through selective import controls as well as demanding the introduction of retirement at 60 years for both men and women.

During the debate it was difficult to distinguish the Stalinists and the Militant from the right wing.

The Stalinists were generous in their praise of the General Secretary and the NEC over the agreement reached with the employers in the annual pay negotiations, which were sold out for less than the £80 'united' claim with the NGA and NATSOPA.

There was no mention at all of Bill Keys' involvement in the steel strike sell out.

A motion calling for pursuit of a basic minimum wage of £90 per week was carried, but another asking for a fifth week's annual holiday was remitted at

the request of the NEC.

An Oxford branch motion calling for a sliding scale of wages to keep pace with inflation attracted some support but was strongly opposed by the NEC and defeated.

Also defeated was a resolution calling for the future election 'every five years' of all full time officials. This motion was criticised at length by the NEC.

The platform also persuaded the conference to reject a move against the wording on ballot papers which over many years has recommended acceptance of pay settlements, regardless of the degree of success against the employers.

Among slightly brighter notes, conference did pass resolutions in opposition to any form of incomes policy, and for consolidation of supplementary payments into basic rates for overtime, extra payments for working unsocial hours and the implementation of a national sick pay scheme for the industry.

There was a demand for a more rigorous campaign on equal pay for women. On abortion, after lively and interesting debate with a "Life" supporter, a motion for 'a woman's right to choose' was carried by a large majority, along with a call for paternity rights of leave for men.

One union

SOGAT is also now committed to a speedy orientation to achieve the objective of one union for the print industry.

A further resolution calling for British withdrawal from

NATO and the banning of nuclear missiles was also passed, as was a call to start a campaign within the trade union and labour movement for the disbandment of the Special Patrol Group.

But a Stalinist motion for SOGAT to reaffirm its commitment on Northern Ireland to adopt the TUC's reactionary Better Life for All campaign was also carried.

The total domination of SOGAT by the right wing and the Tribunites, tailed in everything by the fake revolutionaries of the Communist Party and Militant group emphasises the absence of any substantial Trotskyist presence within the union able to wage a principled fight for the defence of the interests of the working class.

MINERS . . . from p.12

interest to British miners where the capitalist class goes shopping for its coal: the sole issue at stake is the defence of the interests of the working class.

The Scottish NUM went on to unanimously endorse a 35% pay claim, seeking a £100 minimum wage—a figure likely to be carried at the national conference next month.

The threat to miners' jobs is not new: but the strength and self confidence of the NUM has grown by leaps and bounds since the struggles of 1972 and 1974.

In fighting for a leadership capable of defending their interests, miners are urged to join the trade unionists attending the July 5 conference of the Campaign for Democracy in the Labour Movement (details p.4).

West Midlands bus cuts

West Midlands Passenger Transport is making a 10% cut in services and increasing bus fares by 15% in August.

With a figure of 10 hours a week reduction in each driver's work week it is clear that jobs will be going.

This is certainly the case with 170 white collar jobs which are being phased out over the next period which means a cut of 15%.

And craft workers are being asked to make a 15% improvement in productivity.

The background to the cuts is a progressive reduction in subsidies from central govern-

ment and more importantly the West Midlands County Council (WMCC).

In 1977/8 revenue from the WMCC covered 25% of costs. In 1980/81 it covered only 14%.

New buses are at present purchased with a subsidy from central government. Last year the subsidy was 50%, this year it is 33%, in 1984 it will be nothing at all.

The attacks on services and the jobs of people supplying them come at a time when the government's Transport Bill will open the way for private companies to compete with local services—leading to further cuts and job losses.

SOCIALIST PRESS



TORIES TURN SCREW ON PUBLIC SECTOR

Plans to impose a 10% wage limit on workers in the public sector are just the latest indicators of an intensifying Tory attack on public services and nationalised industries.

The Tories are plainly determined to use the public sector as the centrepiece of a drive by the ruling class to drive down real wages in the midst of a rising tide of inflation.

Last winter saw steelworkers and BL carworkers singled out for attack: public service

manual workers, too, have been forced to settle for far less than the rate of inflation.

Even now nurses' unions are debating whether to take action to improve their insulting 14% pay offer. But already Tory ministers are proposing to inflict a further cut in their living standards.

Meanwhile, Tory Environment Secretary Michael Heseltine has sent out a blunt order to local authorities to cut back their spending by £700 million—and stressing the need for this to be reflected in cuts in manpower.

Recognising that their proposed increased powers to direct council spending will not take effect until next year, the government is using the threat of a wholesale cancellation or moratorium on building programmes in order to bludgeon councils into cutting other spending and axing their workforce.

Backers

It seems likely that Thatcher has only pulled back from such steps because they would harm her backers in the big building monopolies.

So far Tory cuts have ensured a historic slump in the construction industry, with new starts in both public and private sector housing plunging ever downward.

But for all their qualms the employers continue to support the Thatcher government, seeing it as offering a determined lead in their struggle to drive up the rate of exploitation of workers throughout industry.

Key to this are the vicious speed-up and productivity proposals being rammed through in the Post Office, in British Rail, in British Leyland, British Shipbuilders, the British Steel Corporation and now proposed in the National Coal Board.

Even Civil Servants now face the prospect of their annual pay awards being replaced by a "payment by results" system dreamed up by Marks and Spencer whizz-kid Sir Derek Rayner.

For workers employed in the public sector, and for the countless millions that depend on public services, the answer to these attacks must be to prepare for a confrontation with the Thatcher government.

This means strike action and occupations to defend jobs, services and working conditions, fighting for supporting strike action from other workers in the private and public sectors.

It means extending ad-hoc and single issue cuts struggles and pay battles into the formation of *councils of action*, drawing together delegates from trade unions, working class political parties and other labour movement bodies, and fighting to prepare for general strike action to bring down the Thatcher government and wage the struggle for the removal of Labour's right wing leadership.

Only a *workers' government* committed to the construction of a planned socialist economy through the nationalisation without compensation of banks and basic industry, can today offer protection to workers in private industry or the public sector or hope of employment to the growing army of workers on the dole.

Strikes halt Russian car plants

The news that strike action had halted the two giant Soviet car plants at Togliatti and Gorky must have dismayed both the Kremlin bureaucracy and the imperialists.

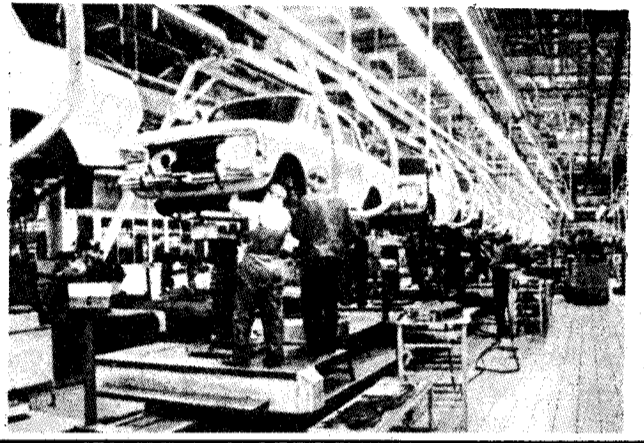
For the Stalinist leaders, the strikes—beginning among factory bus drivers, but apparently spreading into the 370,000 workforce in the two plants—indicate that the Soviet working class is increasingly willing to resist the attacks on its living standards brought about by the bureaucratically mismanaged nationalised economy.

These are precisely the kind of class movements which the bureaucracy has hoped to forestall with its vicious repression of isolated petty bourgeois dissidents and of the small

numbers of socialists who have fought for free trade unions in the USSR and in Eastern Europe.

Imperialist leaders who under the guise of 'human rights' so readily espouse the cause of capitalist-leaning intellectual oppositionists in the Soviet Union are unlikely to argue strongly in defence of the right to strike.

The very last thing the bourgeoisie wish to see is a mobilisation of the toiling masses in the Soviet Union in struggles that could bring about the political overthrow of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the resurgence of a government based on workers' councils.



Star blackleg

Among the list of sponsors of the *Morning Star's* 50th Anniversary festival at Alexandra Palace was one John Baldwin OBE—general secretary of the construction section of the AUEW.

Baldwin's most recent claim to notoriety was of course his well publicised ride with a bus full of scabs through the GMWU picket line at the Isle of Grain power station.

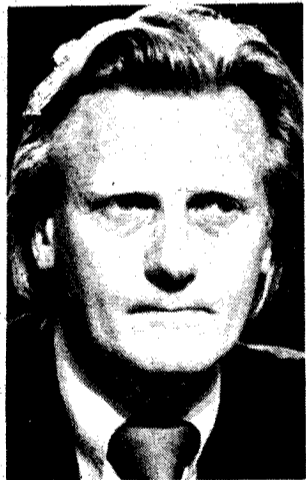
The *Morning Star* has of course politely held back from any condemnation of this blacklegging by one of its esteemed sponsors.

Perhaps this is also because Stalinist George Guy, leader of the sheet metal workers on the site, has connived at scabbing by his members on the same six-month struggle by GMWU lagers.

Embarrassing

And perhaps it is also because a group of CP members on the Grain site continue to cross the picket line each day to clock in for work!

While the Communist Party, in time-honoured Stalinist fashion, seeks to suppress such embarrassing facts, the continued plunging sales of the *Morning Star* suggest that they are fooling less people than ever before.



Heseltine

Miners face renewed attacks

In the run-up to next month's NUM conference in Eastbourne it is clear that miners face not only the need to defend their wages and living standards, but also a growing threat to their jobs.

The Tory government has demanded that the NCB meet stringent new financial targets by 1983-4.

It is clear that to achieve this the NCB will need to axe up to 50 of the less profitable pits and seek thousands of redundancies.

Already a press campaign has been launched to promote redundancy payments which, it is claimed, will offer a miner of over 55 £20,000 and substantial handouts to younger miners who sell their jobs and thus assist the war on working conditions.

And the first threatened pit—Tymawr Lewis Merthyr Colliery near Pontypridd—has been only temporarily reprieved while a management/union inquiry investigates ways and means of making it profitable.

In the words of Joe Gormley, who negotiated this holding operation:

"I hope we can prove that we can make the pit viable".
"I would like to see South Wales and every other area viable and making a profit".

While Gormley, a part-time company director, clearly identifies with the capitalist class in wishing to extract profit from the labour of his members, the defence of jobs and wages requires a fundamentally different approach.

Yorkshire NUM President Arthur Scargill, in putting forward his challenge for the leadership of the union when Gormley retires, has nailed his colours to the mast of defending all jobs, the fight for a four day week for miners ("promised as long ago as 1919") and an annual wage of £10,000.

Standing ovation

Such a stand is clearly correct, and Scargill's announcement that he will "stick by his principles" despite the attacks of the media won him a standing ovation from the Scottish NUM conference last week.

But in a situation of mounting trade war internationally Scargill must also state where he stands on nationalist demands to ban imports of coking and other coal as a "solution" to the threatened closure of British pits.

It must be made clear that, so long as no NUM jobs or wages are lost, it is of no

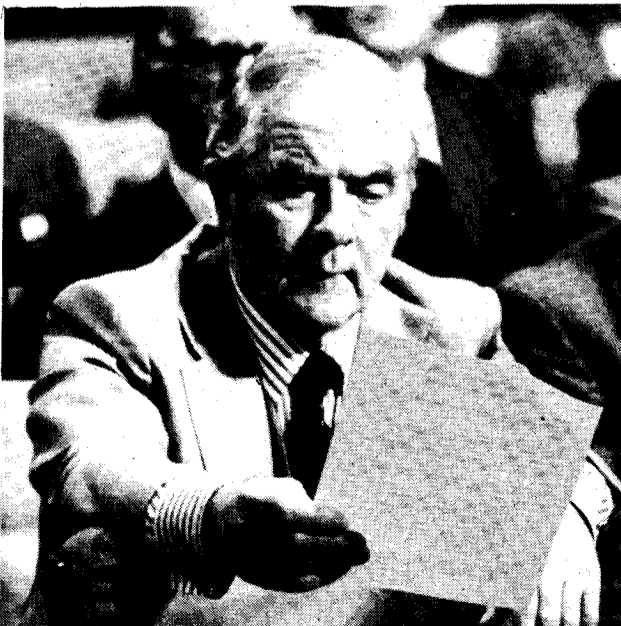
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FUND

A meeting of the Workers Socialist League National Committee last weekend discussed among other things the continued shortfall on the monthly fund and the growing problems caused by 22% inflation. It was decided to raise the monthly fund to £850 from July and detailed proposals were worked out as to how this money could be raised. It was coupled to a renewed appeal to all our readers and supporters to come forward with donations to the monthly fund, to enable us to maintain our paper at the same time as expanding our work into other areas both nationally and internationally.

So can we begin this drive to improve our finances by ensuring that we achieve the current £750 in full this month. Our total, half way through the month stands at only £280.20 leaving us with just under £500 still to raise.

All donations should be sent to:
Socialist Press Monthly Fund
BM Box 5277, London WC1V 6XX



Gormley: keen to make profits