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Garner's ally
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ANL conference
maintains
pacifist line

There is a crying need for independent action by the workers' movement as a whole to crush the gangs of fascist thugs who are attempting to terrorise immigrant communities and labour movement organisations.

Yet the only policy arising from the largest anti-racist grouping, the Anti Nazi League, is one of handing out leaflets, badges and posters designed to combat the *deas* of the National Front.

The NF have for some time placed the use of the fist and the boot before the use of slogans. Vicious attacks on Asian and black workers are on the increase.

Guns used

In East London last week racist thugs attacked Asian brewery workers during a change of shift. In South London and in Wolverhampton guns have been used to intimidate black workers and youth on the streets.

In Hackney it is estimated that 150-200 violent racist attacks *per week* take place.

Meanwhile the NF has stepped up its action against workers' organisations. A Labour Party meeting in Manchester was broken up two weeks ago. Last week

ANSWER RACIST VIOLENCE WITH WORKERS DEFENCE!

end a Communist Party stall at Dagenham town show was attacked by fascist thugs.

Black youth and workers have not been slow to see the need to take action on their own behalf.

Years of harassment at the hands of the police and the state apparatus has taught the immigrant community to place no faith in these forces of "order".

And the sight of the Special Patrol Group and other detachments of police thugs attacking picket lines has confirmed this correct impression.

As a result in Hackney numerous self-defence associations have begun to spring up in immigrant areas, in an effort to combat the physical attacks of the fascists.

There are undoubted weaknesses in such groupings. In the main they have made no attempt to draw in the wider labour

movement.

They are not linked to any programme to put an end to the material conditions—poverty, unemployment and housing shortages—which provide the spawning ground of fascism.

Pacifist

But in offering a way forward for *independent* struggle against the fascists, these groupings are now far in advance of the Anti Nazi League, whose conference last weekend confirmed its pacifist course.

Ignoring the bitter lesson of the fire started by NF supporters which two weeks ago gutted the ANL's own headquarters the conference made no call for workers' defence, and offered no trace of a socialist policy to fight Callaghan-Healey's cuts in living standards.

The barrage of colourful anti-fascist publicity put out by the ANL has connected

with the radicalisation of layers of workers and youth who genuinely want to fight fascism and drive the thugs off the streets.

But the ANL itself remains dominated as an organisation by its list of sponsors who include union bureaucrats, Stalinists, liberals, starlets, and churchmen alongside self-styled "revolutionaries".

It is incapable of offering a clear policy to those workers and youth who turn towards it for leadership.

Its leaders know that one breath of socialist policies would immediately drive off many of the prosperous middle class personalities and capitalist politicians that have sponsored the ANL.

Rather than building a movement on the necessary policies, they tailor their policies to the most reactionary elements in the movement.

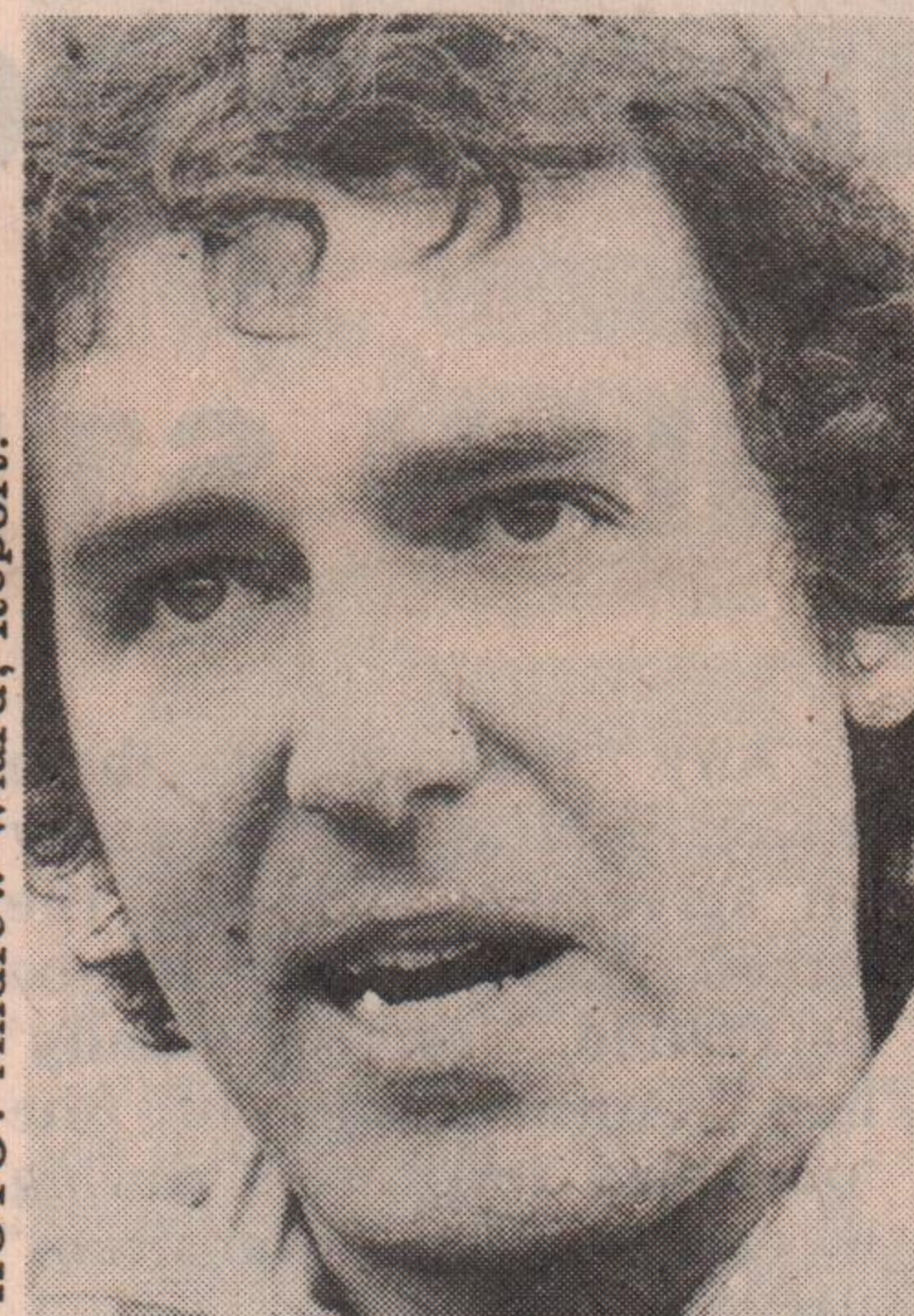


PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report.

ANL spokesman Hain

Leading ANL spokesmen have peddled illusions in the possibility that action by police and the use of state bans could assist the struggle against the NF.

Equally, the ANL has never at any point challenged the betrayals of the Labour and TUC leaders or their refusal to lead effective action against the

fascists.

The Workers Socialist League has consistently argued that the central issue in the fight against fascism is the fight to mobilise every workplace, factory, working class estate, political and trade union body and immigrant community in united defence squads trained to combat the fascists.

United fight

If any of the ANL dignitaries or the organisations involved in the ANL would fight for such a policy the WSL would fight alongside them on this question.

This, in our view, must be combined with the struggle to remove the right wing Labour leaders—whose treachery has opened the door to the fascists—and building a revolutionary party capable of fighting the Labour and TUC traitors.

March challenges Irish repression



WSL supporters on Sunday's march

Almost 2,000 demonstrators marched through the streets of London at the weekend in protest against the continued British occupation of Northern Ireland.

The demonstration had been called by Prisoners Aid Committee to focus on treatment of republicans in Long Kesh and other British concentration camps and to campaign for political status to be restored to the republicans. The march was also called under the slogan of Troops Out of Ireland.

There were a handful of trade union banners.

About 40 to 50 comrades and supporters of the Workers Socialist League marched. As well as the demands for troops out, political status for republican prisoners and the freeing of all political prisoners our slogans called for self-determination for the Irish people, to kick out Mason and the coalition cabinet

which organises and oversees the repression and a call for an Irish workers' republic.

There were delegations of between 200 and 250 from both the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

Both the WRP and Young Socialist contingents marched behind a van which drowned most of their slogans with Irish republican songs and flew the Irish tricolour—the flag of the Irish bourgeois government.

The demonstration was important. It was the biggest in London against British imperialism in Ireland for many years and it reflected a growing tide of revulsion against the torture tactics carried out by the British army and the summary 'justice' used to lock up republicans for years with only a mock resemblance of a trial.

But it also reflected—particularly in its lack of trade union banners—a con-

tinuing failure to raise the issues in union branches and Labour Party wards.

Before the march set off almost twice as many demonstrators arrived in Hyde Park at the end of a demonstration against disappeared prisoners in Chile.

Here there were trade union banners in profusion.

The demonstration—which limited itself to the chant "Where are They?" and slogans of support for Allende's popular front government which failed to arm the Chilean working class against the reaction—had been given full backing by the

Stalinists. They felt safe mouthing slogans that made no demands on the labour movement over political prisoners on the other side of the world.

But the political disappearances in Chile cannot be parcelled off safely from the question of political repression, imperialist occupation and torture in Northern Ireland.



INTERNATIONAL

COMECON TAKES ON NEW ROLE IN KREMLIN PLAN

Last month's brief meeting of the COMECON economic alliance in Bucharest may well turn out to be a turning point in the role of this organisation.

Comecon was set up in the early years of the "cold war" as an organisation nominally to jointly plan the economies of Eastern Europe but in reality to ensure that the wishes of the Soviet bureaucracy were adhered to in the economic sphere.

'National interests' of the various workers' states were formally protected by the rule which said that all decisions of Comecon must be taken unanimously.

In the years of Stalin's monolithic control this created no problems for the Soviet bureaucracy. But in recent years a number of countries, especially Romania, have used the rule to thwart the plan of the Soviet bureaucracy to use Comecon to promote more



Brezhnev

integration of the East European economies.

One of the Soviet proposals to the recent session was to abolish this unanimity rule. It was not only the Romanian bureaucracy, however, which

objected to this proposed weakening of the position of the individual national bureaucracies. And in the end the USSR had to withdraw the proposal.

This is one of the factors which seems to have led to a

change in the whole conception of the Soviet bureaucracy about the uses of Comecon.

It has never been used as an instrument of real international economic planning. But now the bureaucracy's interest in using it even as a weapon of centralised economic control over a group of satellites has diminished in favour of a conception of Comecon as an instrument simultaneously of "peaceful coexistence" and of the Soviet Union's current political offensive in Africa and other part of the semi-colonial world.

Thus one of the significant decisions of the Comecon meeting was one to increase contacts between the organisation and the capitalist European Economic Community.

Another significant development was the presence at the meeting for the first time as a full mem-

ber of Vietnam. This is one of the developments which indicates the increasingly close alignment between Hanoi and Moscow.

Vietnam's membership of Comecon was one of the things used by the Chinese government last week to justify the stepping up of its campaign against Vietnam. Its latest move in an increasingly tense situation is the complete withdrawal of economic aid from Vietnam.

More surprising was the presence as observers at Bucharest of representatives of Angola and of the Ethiopian Derg (the ruling military dictatorship). On his return to Addis Ababa the Derg's economic minister claimed that Ethiopia was about to be granted full membership of Comecon.

If this is true it is evidence that the Soviet

conception of Comecon changing fast. Members like Ethiopia—and indeed Cuba which became a member in 1971—cannot have the same relationship to the organisation as the East European satellites of the Soviet Union.

In these cases Comecon ceases to be a framework for allocating industries and controlling trade between countries of a geographically contiguous bloc. It becomes a framework for the allocation of economic aid projects and an increasingly important symbol of the spread of Soviet political influence.

Capitalist market

New members or near members like Ethiopia and Angola are still much more a part of the capitalist world market than the Eastern European countries.

But the new looser Comecon also reflects the growing extent to which Eastern European countries in recent years have also developed their trade with the capitalist countries, welcomed investment in their countries by imperialist firms and encouraged the regrowth of a small-scale national capitalist sector.

US delegation

It is perhaps of some significance that it was in the same week as the Comecon conference that Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader chose to announce to a visiting delegation from the United States that Cuba too would soon be offering facilities for foreign capitalist investment.

NEW BIDS TO CONTAIN PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

President Sadat of Egypt spent last weekend strutting round Vienna in discussion with various social democratic messengers for imperialism including Austrian Chancellor Kreisky and Israeli 'Labour' leader Shimon Peres.

He was hammering out the discussion in preparation for the forthcoming 'peace' talks at foreign minister level due to take place in London shortly.

These are sponsored by the US imperialists and were carefully prepared in the recent Middle East visit of US vice-president Mondale.

The proposals on which these talks will be based, published last Friday, have been portrayed in the capitalist press and in Israel as 'hard line' from the Palestinian point of view.

Any reading of them makes it clear that they rely on 'agreement' whereby the Israeli bandits are to be persuaded to 'gradually' hand over some of the 'occupied territories' during a five year 'transition' period.

All that is being promised to the Palestinians is the usual Bantustan state with 'agreement' from Israelis, Jordanians and Egyptians.

If the Palestinians can hope for little from these talks, they are also misguided to express joy at the violent attacks now being carried out by the Syrian 'peace-keeping' force in Lebanon against the right wing para-military forces.

Killed

Over the last week hundreds of fascists and other right wing militia men have been killed by the same Syrian forces that saved



Sadat

them from the Palestinian and leftist fighters during 1975-6.

The increasing inability of the 'native' bourgeoisie in Lebanon to establish any kind of viable state has clearly compelled the Syrians to intervene in an effort to establish their proprietary rights over an area they have always seen as part of 'Greater Syria'.

This in turn has led to Israeli jet fighters appearing over the battle areas in Beirut to show their concern for the fate of their allies in the Lebanese fascist movement.

The Syrian massacres are aimed to establish the kind of political strength which the Zionists fear.

The Syrians have always proved more successful than most other Arab regimes in fighting them.

However a strong 'Greater Syria' tied probably to the counter-revolutionary strategy of the Kremlin bureaucracy, will not be concerned to further the Palestinian struggle against Zionism and imperialism.

It will instead use its hold over Syria to impose more effectively a 'compromise' of the sort being planned by Sadat and the Americans.

French strike wave continues

Strikes and occupations continue to sweep across France, although the dispute of the government dockyard and munitions factory workers has now been settled.

The state employers were forced to put an end to regional differentials, to guarantee employment levels, and to make substantial concessions on wages in a complex deal.

Workers at eight of the Moulinex factories are still on strike, although deals on the wage claim have now been made at some plants.

In Northern France, injunctions have been taken out against the strikers at Gravelines, where pickets have blocked all access to the construction sites at the nuclear power plant.

The court orders have been met with the threat of a general strike in the Dunkirk region.

EUROCOMMUNIST CPs SHUN BAHRO CASE

On June 30 Rudolph Bahro, the East German dissident economist under house arrest since last August, was sentenced to eight years imprisonment. His crime? 'Treason' and 'espionage'.

The trial was conducted in secret, as it no doubt needed to be. Bahro was a member of the SED (East German Communist Party) from when he was 18 in 1952 until his resignation in August 1977.

A graduate in philosophy, he worked on the collectivisation of agriculture and then in journalism.

From 1967 onwards he held responsible positions concerned with industrial rationalisation and the scientific organisation of production.

His 'crime' is in fact to have written and published a book entitled 'The Alternative—A Critique of Real, Existing Socialism'.

This 'socialism' Bahro considers to be "right now so far from communism that a real revolution is necessary to set it on the road again".

The book is an attempt

to gain an understanding of what the 'real, existing socialism' really is and also "what we could hope for from the entirely different premises of true socialism".

It lays bare the whole rotten system of privilege surrounding the bureaucracy.

It calls for a political revolution to be built through the fight for a legal communist opposition, because "today's party is the gravedigger of the party idea and of the individual party consciousness".

It calls for fundamental reorganisation of production, without the subordination which results from super-organisation.

He returns to Marx's notion of the 'free association of producers' whereby unified social organisation can be maintained through co-ordination and juxtaposition.

An essential element in this would be 'university education' for all—though not in the elitist, academic sense.

Having tried for years to work for change through internal criticism in the party, Bahro concluded the need "to be daring enough to spread our ideas through every means possible".

He therefore published the book in West Germany, and, on August 23 1977, was interviewed on West German television. The following day he was arrested by East German security police.

His eight year sentence coincides with the resurrection of the ghost of Ulbricht, leader of the SED from 1950-71, at a grave-side commemoration attended by a full turnout of the SED political bureau.

Butcher

Ulbricht, one of the worst butchers in Eastern Europe, most slavish follower of the Moscow line and responsible for the ruthless suppression of the Berlin uprising in 1953 has been a forgotten name since his death in 1973.

It is now ten months since Bahro's arrest. So far none of the main Eurocommunist parties has come out in support of him or taken up the political issues raised by his book.

After Stalinist individuals have sponsored the Rudolph Bahro Defence Committee, the silence of their parties shows the hollowness of Eurocommunist 'liberalisation'.



NALGO leader Drain at the head of last weekend's protest march demanding information on whereabouts of disappeared Chilean political prisoners.



Eritrea's historic liberation fight

David Whitfield traces the history of the struggle of the Eritrean people for self-determination against both imperialist powers and a succession of repressive regimes in Ethiopia. Part Three

The British Labour government's policy of sabotaging and plundering the economy of Eritrea produced immediate and predictable results.

Already by 1944 the cost of living had increased to six times the level of 1940, while wages had risen by only 60%.

To add to this uncontrollable inflation, massive unemployment and wide-scale starvation developed in the towns during the post-war years.

This was intensified by the arrival of thousands of impoverished peasants and landless labourers from the rural areas, where the process of change had been no less dramatic.

During the period of industrial growth, the flight of villagers from rural poverty to the relative benefits of wage-labour had been more than offset by the internal growth in population and the arrival of nomads to settle.

Intense strain

The land originally seized by the Italian settlers had been greatly added to by the concessions of the British.

Not only were more Eritreans concentrated on less land, but that land was the poorest for cultivation.

The strain on the weak rural economy was intense, and a great mass of peasants became heavily indebted to landlords and money-lenders.

By 1944, whole villages had mortgaged their crops before they were even sown.

As unemployment came to the towns, remittances no longer came back to the families in the villages. Poverty, debt and starvation held sway.

With the colonial society ravaged by such crisis, a great upsurge of political development was inevitable.

But the speed at which imperialism had transformed the old, divided feudal society, and the efficient repression of Italian rule, made it equally inevitable that the Eritrean population had almost no experience of organised political activity.

Banned

Trade unions and all labour organisations had been banned by the Italian administration.

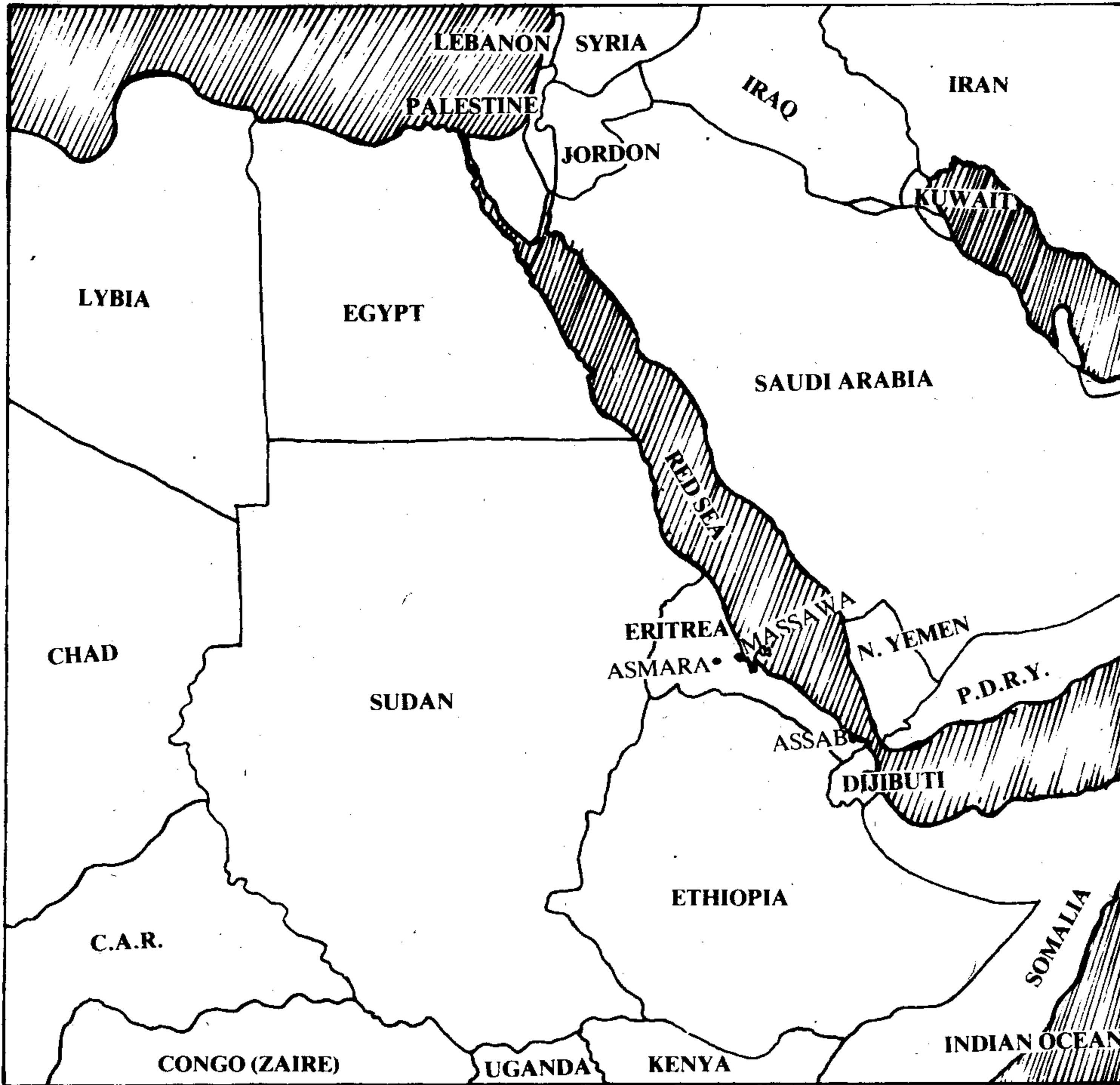
The young proletariat was only now beginning to emerge into self-consciousness and to grasp for its political identity.

Workers looked to the intellectuals of the urban petty bourgeoisie for leadership.

Despite their massive grievances, the peasants were still politically dominated by the feudal chiefs and landlords.

Neither peasants nor proletarians were to dictate the political development of the national movement at this stage.

In 1940 the Mahber Fekri Hager had been



Eritrea holds a strategic location in the Horn of Africa and the Middle East.

formed. This 'Patriotic Organisation' was originally created in opposition to Italian rule, but after 1941 the party held to no clear political direction.

Radical splits developed under the pressure of rival imperialist designs on Eritrea, the incompatible interests of different sections of the bourgeoisie in its leadership, and the increasing demands of the Eritrean masses.

Artificial unity

The artificial unity of the Mahber Fekri Hager was exposed by the gathering tension of class forces within Eritrea.

Along with a number of smaller parties and factions, three major political tendencies emerged: the Unionist Party, the Moslem League and the Liberal Progressive Party.

The Unionist Party was shaped and financed by the Ethiopian monarchy; its aim, of course, was the union of the two countries.

The British government had promised Haile Selassie a free hand in Eritrea, but the emperor had strong grounds for suspecting that honour would not be observed between these imperialist thieves.

Haile Selassie first moved to win the Coptic Church to his support. The Italians had dispossessed the church of its rich lands, and the British refused to return them.

Agent

By 1942, every bishop and priest had become an energetic agent of Ethiopian imperialism.

The Unionists had two other main bases of support. Firstly, those sections of the urban petty bourgeoisie who had gained privileges by services to the Italian

administration were attracted by the promise of a comfortable niche in the state bureaucracy of an expanded Ethiopia.

Secondly, large numbers of the feudal aristocracy assisted Haile Selassie's plans, particularly in the western lowlands.

Rebellion

Here the total power of the landlords was broken during the 1940s by the extended rebellion of the serfs.

The considerable gains made by the serfs, and the British colonialists' policy of appeasement, drove the feudal landlords to the Ethiopian autocracy as the only force that could restore their former might.

It was this powerful anti-feudal movement that gave a base to the Moslem League, founded in 1946

under the leadership of Ibrahim Sultan, a petty bourgeois intellectual.

The League supported the serfs' demands for land, proclaimed that Moslem and Christian Eritreans were brothers, and demanded national independence.

In the next year, the Liberal Progressive Party was formed out of the 'Eritrea for Eritreans' movement.

Although this group could count on some support from the urban proletariat, its main strength lay amongst the rural petty bourgeoisie.

After some wavering in the earlier period, the intellectuals in the leadership came out in 1947 with the demand of independence for Eritrea, to be united with the neighbouring lands of the Tigrai in Ethiopia.

These developments were a major setback to the



Unionists. Previously they had been able to present unity with the 'free', non-colonised state of Ethiopia in opposition to the continuation of European colonial rule.

In fact Haile Selassie had been installed entirely by the power of British and American imperialism, and could not have survived for a month as Emperor without it.

As American finance poured into Ethiopia, the

Ogaden was suppressed, and the revolt of the Tigrai smashed by British fighter-bombers from Aden.

Even in their own wildest flights of exaggeration, the Unionists never claimed the support of more than 40% of the population.

With the rapid spread of the independence movement, their mood became desperate.

In Asmara Unionists launched terrorist attacks against leading figures of the Moslem League and the Liberal Progressive Party.

Escalated

Over the next few years this violence escalated in the rural areas, with savage attacks on the lives and property of those supporting independence.

Amongst other murders, five Eritrean men had their heads cut off with swords in front of their families.



Two faces of repression: Attlee (top) and Mussolini



British troops garrisoned there brutally crushed the opposition of rival autocrats, dissatisfied liberals, and above all the risings of the masses who had no desire to see their struggles against Italian colonialism end in neo-colonialism and a despotic dictatorship.

The Unionists' propaganda tasks became more difficult after 1943, when the national liberation struggle of the Somalis in the

It was the Ethiopian government which financed the barbarous atrocities of the Shifta, as they were known. Only false charity could describe these gangs of hired thugs as guerillas.

But they found a bizarre ally in Sylvia Pankhurst. Her chequered career had by now led Pankhurst into dedication to Haile Selassie. In the pages of the *New Times and Ethiopian News*, which she edited, the Shifta were described as 'patriots'.

For most of this period, the victorious imperialist powers and the Soviet Union were engaged in arguments over the re-division of the post-war world and the establishment of a new balance of forces.

Divided

The disposal of the former Italian colonies was one aspect of this bargaining on which the Allies could not agree—their fate was later to be imposed by the United Nations.

The imperialist powers were divided by their own interests, variously proposing at different times a vast range of 'solutions'.

But whether they proposed the partition of Eritrea, its federation with Ethiopia, a return to Italian rule or whatever, the last people ever to be consulted were the Eritreans themselves.



Disease—the legacy of imperialist exploitation

The sky's the limit for parasites' pay!

As if deliberately flaunting the fact that the "nationalised" industries in Britain are run by capitalist managers for capitalist enterprise at the expense of the shop floor workforce, the Callaghan government has decided to implement astronomical pay increases for top nationalised industry executives.

And a whole string of key servants of the employers—judges, senior civil servants and Armed Forces officers—are also to benefit from a salary hike which Callaghan described as essential to prevent a "crisis of morale" in nationalised industry management.

"Calibre"

It would, he declared, enable executives "of suitable calibre" to be recruited.

Such bosses of course need to be qualified at enlisting the aid of union bureaucrats in imposing swingeing cuts in manning levels and plant. The "strain" they encounter is the strain of continuously maintaining attacks on the working class.

A workers' government would take steps to establish elected trade union committees at workplace, regional and national level, with full access to the books and plans of the nationalised industries, to develop the basis of a planned use of resources.

Such committees would at first have to exercise control over the existing management, but would eventually replace them altogether.

They would be composed of workers paid the average shop floor wage, recallable at any time. And they would take as their criterion not profit but need.

As workers in steel, shipbuilding, railways and other nationalised industries run up against management attack, they must include such demands alongside strikes and occupations in their fight back.

Police scorn 40% handout

In line with Government policy of providing cash rewards for the most parasitic and anti-working class sectors of society, the special Edmund-Davies report on police pay recommending average rises of 40% is to be discussed this week.

This proposed increase comes on top of the 10% Phase 3 increase, which the police received last September. It would give some police constables an increase from £3,600 to £5,700 a year, and Chief Constables an extra £5,500.

There appears to be no suggestion of special bonus rates for protecting the

National Front or piecework payments for the picket-busting thugs of the Special Patrol Group and the police assigned to harass Irish and black workers and youth.

"Special problems"

But the report does recommend extra rises for police in London and in Northern Ireland because of the "special problems" they face in defending capitalist property relations and combatting the workers' movement.

However the Police Federation seems likely to regard the thumping 40% increases as insufficient to stem the flow of resignations from the police force.

Their claim is for rises of between 78-104%!

Strike breaking

The Edmund Davies report is believed to recommend immediate payment of the increases—which causes problems for Healey's Phase 4 pay limits!

The Callaghan government, however, has rested as much as any preceding government on police and army strike-breaking; and TUC leaders—who have often been grateful for police escorts to protect them against the hostility of their own members—will almost certainly arrive at an agreement to regard police pay as a 'special case'.

Bethnal Green fights on

The fight continues at Bethnal Green Hospital in East London, where workers are occupying against the plans to close the casualty department.

On Wednesday July 5 any false hopes that protests to the government would bring victory were dashed when a delegation from the hospital's action committee reported that commitments or guarantees had been given to preserve the facilities at Bethnal Green.

Following the one day strike and demonstration reported in last week's *Socialist Press*, the most important development in terms of real action has been among ambulance drivers.

Despite instructions that the Bethnal Green casualty department is to be treated as closed, admissions have increased to well above the average.

The threat to Bethnal Green must be answered by stepping up the fight in the unions for the calling of all-out strike action, the opening of the books of the Area Health Authorities.

Alongside the fight to nationalise, without compensation, private suppliers and contractors who bleed profits from the hospital services, this remains the only road to a socialist plan for health service under the control of the working class.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

FBU Executive member grateful for police protection at January's Bridlington conference

SWP CONCEAL TRUTH ABOUT SPEKE

By John Lister

The successful closure by British Leyland management of the Triumph factory at Speke, Merseyside, did far more than add another 3,000 workers to the dole queue in an area of chronic unemployment.

It marked a turning point for the employers' moves towards rationalisation and closures. With the aid of union officials, Leyland convenors and Speke stewards the entire workforce was held back from the slightest practical move to resist the closure.

No steps were made to prepare an occupation of the plant. No call was issued for the opening of Leyland's books to show the urgency of combine-wide action to defend jobs and conditions at Speke as part of the moves to stop the Edwardes plan dead in its tracks.

Derisory

This was not because there was no mood of militant resistance among the workforce.

When Leyland announced their derisory

planned voluntary redundancy payments thousands of workers, who had been held back and demoralised by weeks of bureaucratic haggling and deliberately created confusion, came to a mass meeting ready to follow any lead given by the platform.

They found none. Leyland Combine committee Chairman and Longbridge Convenor Derek Robinson, a leading Communist Party member and part of the 'participation' set-up that planned the Speke closure, took the stage, and in a conscious display of completely hollow 'left' rhetoric on resisting the closure steered the meeting away from any practical action whatever.

Speke stewards, following Robinson's lead, omitted any call for occupation.

This lack of leadership at a crucial turning point proved the key to the eventual closure of the plant six weeks later.

At each point *Socialist Press* stressed the need to

combat this crisis of leadership.

But all of these lessons have been deliberately concealed by the Socialist Workers Party, whose members and supporters, in the guise of their front "Right to Work" organisation, failed at any point to take up the call for occupation, and whose paper *Socialist Worker* gave over its entire front page on April 22 to an uncritical eulogy of Robinson and the abortive mass meeting, describing it as 'A match to fire the Mersey'!

Cover-up

From that point onwards as the sell-out took shape, *Socialist Worker* virtually dropped the issue.

So wretched is the SWP record in the Speke struggle that an article by John Deason in the July 1 *Socialist Worker* had to attempt a cover-up.

Blaming the 'ruthlessness' of the company; the activity of the media; the Prime Minister; and the



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report

Right to Work marchers—militancy but no politics

offers of redundancy pay for bringing about the sell-out, Deason nowhere even mentioned Robinson's role or the lack of any call for occupation!

Astonishingly, as if the closure had not taken place according to plan, Deason claims that:

"The most important thing it proves is the workers' strength"

And, hinting at opposition to the union bureaucracy (which was never shown by the SWP throughout the struggle), he writes:

"Nothing saps the workers' confidence more than blind faith in union

officials, or even in convenors and combine committees."

But if anyone peddled such illusions it was the SWP, with its talk of the "brilliant" mass meeting at which Robinson derailed any real fight!

Deason's talk of Right to Work bulletins trying to "win people's minds" to the idea of nationalisation is a deliberate distortion.

The Right to Work bulletins at no point called for occupation, and Deason himself advised stewards not to call for too much 'all at once' but to go "first" for a general statement of opposi-

tion to closure. That was as far as they got.

The road to hell may be paved with good intentions, but Speke shows that the road to the dole queue is paved on each side with opportunism and political confusion.

Deason's squalid cover-up of this sorry episode is simply further proof that—for all its size and pretensions—neither the SWP nor its 'Right to Work' campaign offers any lead to workers fighting in defence of jobs and conditions against the combined weight of employers and union bureaucrats.

A right wing candidate is born in St Pancras

The selection of Frank Dobson, former leader of Camden Council, as prospective Labour candidate for the St. Pancras South constituency has come as a profound disappointment to socialists and left-wingers throughout the Camden labour movement.

This was a battle to choose a successor to Lena Jeger in a constituency which stretches from Camden Town to Holborn, including the area of the big London terminal railway stations at Kings Cross and also the EGA Hospital,

scene of a long running anti-closure battle.

Dobson—certainly the most right wing candidate available—was steam-rolled into his position against the protests of most of the left within the constituency, from whose failure there is much to be learnt about the fight for a change of leadership within the Labour Party.

The selection process went through the wards and affiliated union branches in recent weeks with all the efficiency of a bureaucratic sledge-hammer.

Dobson, the main right wing candidate, received stage managed votes from several union meetings. He felt compelled to emphasize his

past battles against property speculators when he was Council leader in 1973-5.

The other right winger was John Mills, currently deputy leader of the Council, who runs an export and import firm and strongly supported an increase in Council rents in 1975.

During the pre-selection jockeying two 'left' candidates emerged.

One was ex-councillor David Offenbach who is well known locally for opposition to government policies including the presence of British troops in Ireland.

The other 'left' was Chris Mullen, a former Tribune MP, who was nominated by the two largest wards in the

constituency, Somers Town and St. Pancras.

But the GMC Executive disposed of Mullen by dropping him from the shortlist in favour of the unknown Keith Morrell, a personnel manager from Sainsbury.

When this decision was referred to the GMC for consideration, the delegates there were prevented from reconsidering the list on the basis of a quite non-existent rule.

The reaction of St. Pancras ward Chairman Tommy Lee, and his wife Gladys, was to tear up their party cards and walk out.

Deputy Chairman Jack Firestein who tried to challenge the EC ruling, resigned his position along



with Assistant Secretary Peter Swingler.

In the week before the GMC election conference, the St. Pancras branch voted 22-0 to boycott the meeting and called on all other delegates to do the same.

This was a forlorn and hopeless method of protest, which gave the right wing everything they wanted.

Socialist Press supporters

in the local labour movement, argued strongly that it was not a matter of arguing on grounds of 'national justice' or for particular personalities, but of developing a fight against the right wing and challenging the 'lefts' to break from wage freezing and coalitionism, and to kick out the right wing.

When the selection meeting finally took place on July 2, the 'boycotters' were out in force asking people not to cross their 'picket line' and giving out a leaflet which argued that any result of the vote would be a 'hollow victory' and would deliver to the party, a "mortal blow from which it may never recover".

Questions

The leaflet contained no policies for fighting the right wing, and Jack Firestein who led the forces against the right wing did not even turn up.

However, many left wing delegates, were persuaded that a fight against the right wing had to be taken up, enough to get 16 votes against proceeding with the ballot and only 25 for.

In the selection meeting, many important questions were raised particularly against Dobson, who was compelled to express opposition to the Lib-Lab Coalition and to troops in Ireland.

On this basis, he received 23 votes in the final ballot.

The second highest vote of 10 was obtained by 'left' candidate David Offenbach.

Impotent protests

Since the selection conference, further impotent protests have been made.

A sparsely attended meeting of the St. Pancras branch the following week sent a resolution to the GMC merely protesting about the 'undemocratic' procedures which had been followed and announcing its intention of canvassing in any General Election for 'left' candidate Ken Livingstone in Hampstead, two constituencies away.

Invited Tory

An even more dangerous form of protest came from a meeting of the Central Camden Tenants and Residents Association which refused to invite Dobson to a forthcoming meeting and instead asked his Tory opponent Robert Key.

The right wing clearly will not be defeated by such methods, and it will be necessary to continue the fight inside the South St. Pancras Labour Party on the basis of clear policies aimed at removing Healey, Callaghan and all those who stand behind them.

Six charlatans in bid for Prentice's old seat

Newham North-East Labour Party has finally completed the process of reselecting its parliamentary candidate, begun over three years ago in the fight against the turncoat traitor Reg Prentice.

The result of the apparently endless political

battles, manoeuvres, witch-hunts and court actions is that a certain James Dickens, (previously an MP in South London in the late 1960s), has been given a ticket to renew his parliamentary career.

On the final short-list the Party General Management Committee interviewed six contenders; every one a Labour 'left'.

Dickens emerged as the most competent charlatan of the evening.

Like all the others he had nothing to say about the role of the 'lefts' in the Parliamentary Tribune Group who have accorded consistent, grovelling support to Callaghan's attacks on the working class.

He made no mention of

the treacherous coalition 'pact' with the Liberals except in so far as he made excuses for the Labour leaders betrayals, pointing to their 'difficulties' in not having a parliamentary majority.

Boasts of his militant record opposing Wilson's policies on Vietnam and spending cuts during his previous sojourn in the Palace of Westminster failed miserably to disguise the fact that here was another fake 'left' looking for a career on the backs of the working class and its labour movement.

Undeserved

His most radical opponent among the sorry crew was Nick Bradley, Young Socialists representative on the National Executive Committee and a supporter of the 'Militant' newspaper, which has a spurious and utterly undeserved reputation as 'Trotskyist'. Though differing with the others on the question of import controls, there was little else to distinguish Bradley save his more 'Marxist' vocabulary.

He too avoided the central question of the need to begin purging the Labour Party of the traitors in the leadership, to break the Lib-Lab coalition, and to base the perspective for

Korchnoi holds no truck with a 'non political' approach to his art. He announced that if he beats the present Soviet champion Anatoly Karpov in next month's world championship match he will be bumped off by the KGB.

Impressed by the obvious veracity of this claim—although no evidence for it was actually reported—papers which usually relegate chess matches to the small print on page 64, blazed the news across their pages.

KGB men had accompanied Karpov to Manila—no doubt ready to gun down Korchnoi's queen if it looks dangerous—and the Soviet authorities were trying to ruin his concentration on chess by refusing his family permission to leave the country.

With all this fire power available on tennis courts and chess boards alike, those in Long Kesh who are still determined to fight British imperialism should take heart.

If they can just get their hands on a tennis racket or a chess set and practice hard enough, the capitalist press will take up their cause like a shot. The British army will be top spun out of Ireland in straight sets.

will doubtless soon rout the forces of communism and double fault the red devils keeping her apart from her family.

The *Daily Mail* in a front page story on her win hardly mentioned the tennis, for its enthusiasm about the Duchess of Kent's bid to back the liberation of her parents. On its sports page, the tennis took second place to sentiments such as:

"During a break in play she looked longingly into the sea of faces wishing with all her heart that her parents and sister, and even the puppy she left behind in Prague were among them."

"The faint hope that winning something as big as Wimbledon might make the Czech Government forgive if not forget her defection to the United States and allow her to meet her family was a giant incentive on her way to the top".

The *Sun* reported that Czech newspapers had carried only the result of the semi-final, without a match report, but in truth many of the British papers forgot the tennis among the columns of political colour.

But at least the Duchess should defend her from the fate that could await former Soviet chess grandmaster Vikto Korchnoi.

Unlike Navratilova,

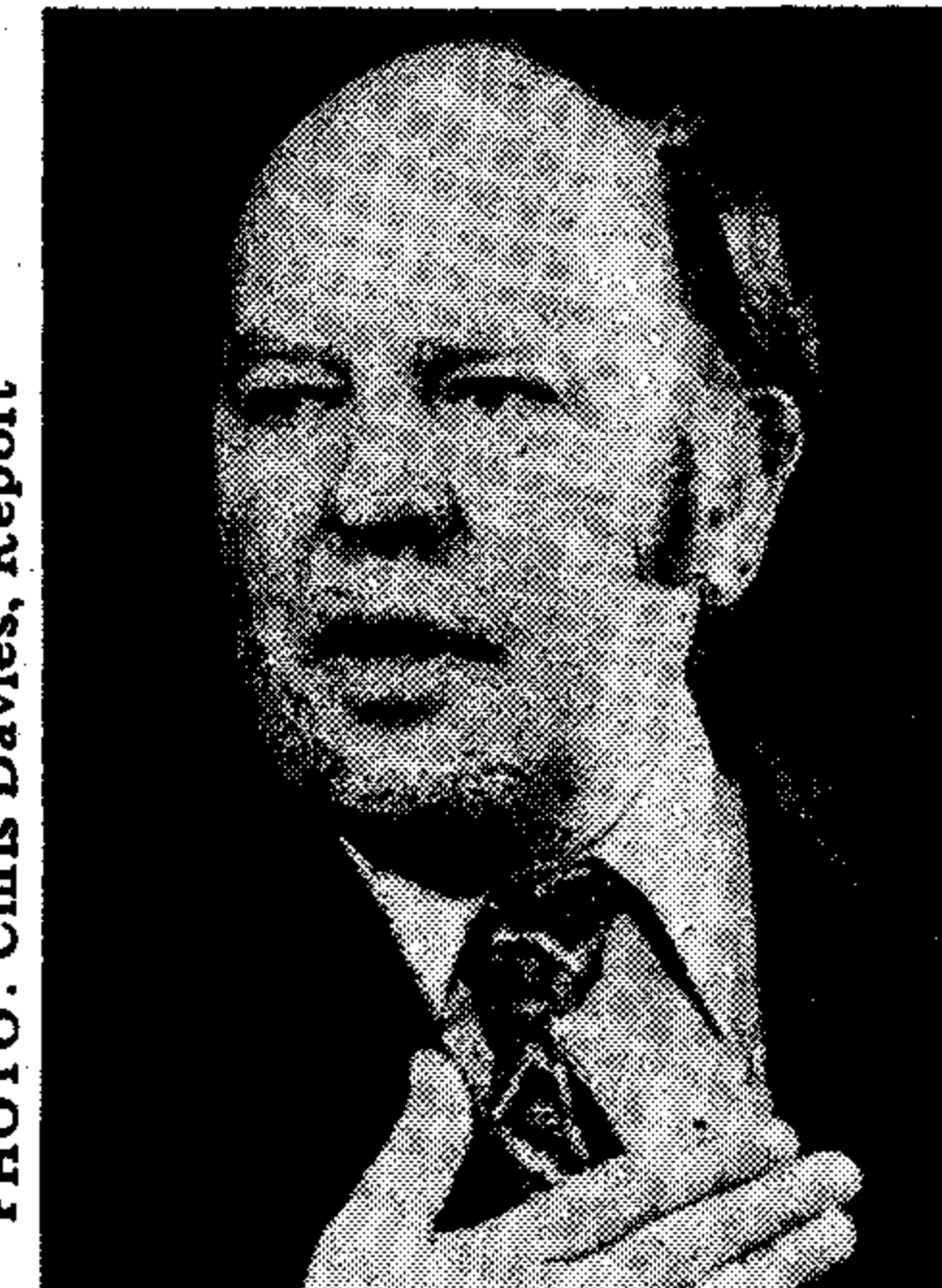


PHOTO: Chris Davies, Report

Prentice

PRESS GANG Wimbledon racket

Naked except for a blanket the political prisoners of Northern Ireland's Long Kesh concentration camp would look out of place among the strawberries and cream and thirty guinea tennis shirts.

It is a pity really. Winning Wimbledon is a wonderful advertisement for a political cause.

Take Martina Navratilova—the poor stateless woman who left Czechoslovakia in search of the streets of gold in the United States and found them.

On the surface her victory at Wimbledon appeared to be about sharp volleying, strong serving and hard running. Beneath the surface where the keen minds of the sports writers see the real forces at work it was the victory of liberation over repression; US capitalism over Czech collectivism.

The bureaucratic regime in Czechoslovakia has committed many worse crimes than preventing Martina's parents watching her play on centre court at Wimbledon and will do worse deeds again.

But armed with the British Press and the Duchess of Kent, Martina



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report

'Militant' supporters during one of the many legal wrangles



Republican fighters in the Spanish Civil War



LESSONS THE FRENCH POPULAR

Final part by Pru Cha

In June 1936 a mass strike wave was unleashed by the French Communist Party in a bid to gain the upper hand over the Socialist Party.

But rather than develop this growing mass movement, the main thought of the Stalinists was on how to bring it to an end.

While the centrist leader Marceau Pivert excitedly declared "Everything is now possible", CP General Secretary Thorez proclaimed: "One must know when to end a strike."

The CP pursued its well-worn theme: 'rash' actions would only alienate important sections of the petty bourgeoisie.

The Popular Front must be responsible for the security of France against Hitler's menace.

Blum was installed as President on 4 June and his first action was to make a radio appeal for calm.

Sell out

A Popular Front meeting on June 5 called for a rapid end to the strikes and led on to the sell out, the Matignon agreement of June 7, which granted salary increases of up to 40%, union recognition and a return to a 40 hour week.

L'Humanite, (the CP daily paper) called for a return to work and these particular strikes were called

off. More strikes broke out almost immediately, but the confidence of the capitalist class was strengthened by the Matignon agreement and employers went on the offensive. By July 10 police were stationed round the suburbs.

The CP response to this was to try to appear more respectable than ever.

L'Humanite carried a headline on July 14, the day of the commemoration of the storming of the Bastille, declaring the CP as the party of order, speaking out against campaigns of fight and panic.

Productivity

It next called for a 'French Front' based on respect for the law, including the Matignon agreement, defence of the national economy, including aid to the middle classes, and a commitment to high levels of productivity in exchange for job security, and liberty and national independence based on 'indivisible peace and collective security'.

Even the Socialists were forced to reject this Tory-sounding idea which they condemned as nothing other than a 'sacred national union'—and which so obviously foreshadows the class collaboration of today's so-called 'Eurocommunists'.

On August 4 General

Franco captured Badajoz and the Civil War in Spain began.

The Spanish workers' movement was fighting for its life against fascism which had strong military backing from both Hitler and Mussolini.

Best placed

The French working class was the best placed in Europe to support the Republic and one might well have expected the party pretending to carry the banner of the Bolshevik revolution to have been fighting for social revolution in France and Spain.

The French CP however considered that its prime task must be to maintain the internal 'unity' of France, to prevent civil war there.

Suddenly in the middle of August the Stalinists made an abrupt turn of policy, calling on Parisian engineering workers to come out on strike to force the Blum government to organise a blockade of arms to fascist forces in Spain.

Dictate

Once again this turnabout derived, not from any considerations in France but from the dictate of the Comintern.

For on August 26 Schlacht, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs had been invited by Blum to a banquet in Paris.

This was the very sign of softening towards Germany which the Comintern most feared.

Thorez leapt to denounce the invitation as "not in conformity with the dignity of our people", and within days was calling on French workers to strike.

If the SFIO could be lured into conflict with Germany and Italy over Spain then collaboration between Hitler and Blum could probably be prevented.

Strike continued

It took the French bourgeoisie two years to regain control. In the autumn of 1936 they unsuccessfully demanded obligatory arbitration and the forcible ending of factory occupations.

100 textile factories in Northern France were occupied at that time. Strikes and confrontations continued, the Popular Front Government struggling to maintain control, prepared to use the full repressive machinery of the state against the workers.

The consequences included the fusillade at Clichy and the massacre of Tunisian miners at Metlaoui, both in 1937.

Blum was finally forced to resign in the autumn of 1937 in favour of the Radical Chautemps. Chautemps then, also unsuccessfully, tried to introduce the 'work statute' which foreshadowed Petain's wartime 'charter', lengthening the working day and increasing the power of the employers.

The full reassertion of bourgeois power was not achieved until the autumn of 1938 with the Daladier-Reynaud agreement.

It was accompanied by legislation placing immigrant workers virtually outside the law, bereft of civil rights.

This final blow came after the formal ending of the Popular Front when both Communists and Socialists abstained in a vote of confidence in the government and after a failed attempt by the workers movement to stage a general strike.

Just as fatal

One month later the Franco-German pact was signed and in June 1940 Paris was taken by the Nazis.

So the Stalinist and Social Democratic attempt

to fend off fascism by a 'democratic alliance' of the middle classes and the proletariat proved just as fatal as the policies of 'social fascism' in the third period.

Obstruct growth

What Stalinism did between 1935-8 was hold back and obstruct the growth of the independent strength of the working class at a time when it was poised for power; prop up an ailing bourgeois system long enough for the working class to become thoroughly weakened and demoralised and then allow the bourgeoisie, itself exhausted by its battles with the workers' movement, to hand itself over to fascism which then set about the systematic destruction of the workers' movement in six year world war.

All along the CP could point to its massive support in demonstrations and elections and its increase in membership as signs of the popularity of its policies.

But Trotsky interpreted the support differently. He said that the election result in May 1936 and the outbreak of strikes immediately afterwards showed the working class saying, "w



Strikers march through Northern France in 1936

FROM WHICH FRONT

berlayne

want you to do the same thing in France that the Bolsheviks did in their country in October 1917".

He pointed to the enormous numbers who turned out to commemorate the Paris Commune on May 25 as confirmation of the revolutionary content of that support.

The fact that much of the CPs 'support' was revolutionary did not make the Popular Front any less dangerous.

In words which apply just as directly to the liberal antics of the Anti Nazi League today, Trotsky pointed out:

"Joint meetings, parade processions, oaths, mixing of the banners of the Commune and of Versailles, noise, bedlam, demagoguery, all these serve a single aim; to curb and demoralise the mass movement".

Conspiracy

He also considered it extremely dangerous to dupe workers into regarding the Radical Party as the party of the petty bourgeoisie rather than as the democratic party of French imperialism.

Far from being an alliance of progressive 'allies' of the working class,

the Popular Front was a conspiracy between the labour bureaucracy and the worst political exploiters of the middle class to kill the faith of the masses in the revolutionary road. The effect of this duplicity might well be to drive them towards fascism.

Careful assessment

In fact Trotsky wrote very little on France in this period. But what is striking from the articles in *Whither France* and in *The Crisis in the French Section* is the careful assessment of the objective situation confronting workers and his preparedness to drastically change tactics if necessary.

On June 10, 1936 in the preface to the full collection entitled *Whither France* he wrote:

"The February days of 1934 marked the first serious offensive of the united counter-revolution. The May-June days of 1936 herald the first mighty wave of proletarian revolution. These two milestones show the way in advance to two possible roads: the Italian or the Russian. Parliamentary democracy, in whose name the Blum government now functions will be crushed into powder between these

two great millstones".

The day before, in an article, 'The French Revolution has begun' he urged the immediate calling of soviets of workers' deputies.

"Whoever vacillates, whoever loses time, is a traitor".

He pressed the paper to be called not *La Commune* but *Le Soviet* and for work to be concentrated around Communist Party members.

Unworthy

He mercilessly castigated those "sceptics, snivellers and phrasemongers" who held themselves aloof from the struggle saying 'It is not yet time'.

"That organisation is unworthy of the name of revolutionary which will fail to find a base for itself in the present strike movement, which will prove unable to fuse itself firmly with the struggling workers... The place of revolutionists is in the factories".

Throughout the period from 1934 to June 1936 he assessed the period as a pre-revolutionary one requiring a revolutionary offensive, one to which the party should give every possible impetus.

Defensive tactics

But then within days, with all the parties of the Popular Front gunning for the strikes to end and police forces stationed at the ready the threat of counter-revolution raised its head and Trotsky wrote urgently that the revolutionary party must adopt more defensive tactics.

"If we call the first wave 'the February revolution' then it is the July events which are being prepared now".

He considered a partial defeat of the proletariat between 'its first rather imaginary victory and its final definitive victory' as almost inevitable.

At this point therefore it would be wrong to accelerate a second general strike. The task was to prepare for it and to prepare workers for the struggle against betrayal within their own ranks.

Participate

If a new strike wave broke out then the party must participate in it, but the precondition for the success of a new general strike was factory committees and soviets and these

must be built.

His method of pushing workers beyond the policies of the Communist Party and the SFIO while avoiding 'revolutionary adventurism' is illustrated in his proposals for the French Trotskyists' intervention in the Lille confectionary workers strike.

They could:

"... for example, address a manifesto to the workers of France, explaining that it is entirely possible for the workers to run the factories themselves provided that the banks and key industries are in the hands of the people.

"Some corresponding quotations from the Socialist and Communist programmes could then be given and a conclusion drawn up pointing out in the direction of a workers and peasants government.

"If the bourgeois Radicals oppose it, then it is necessary to base oneself on the support of the real people, the four or five million trade unionists.

"The manifesto need not necessarily criticise the government. It should make some positive proposals to the government in the name of one factory going through a great experience".

Opposed

Trotsky was opposed at this stage to calling directly for the bringing down of the Blum Popular Front government.

of the workers' movement in France in the 1930s, led Trotsky to conclude:

"All this implies that the proletariat will be drawn into the imperialist conflict not only without the leadership of its traditional organisations, as was the case in June, but also against them".



Trotsky

The need to break workers from their reformist and Stalinist leadership and build an independent leadership is central to the method of the Transitional Programme, published in 1938 at the founding conference of the Fourth International.

That document, of course, distilled the experience of the Trotskyist

Pivert had taken a post in Blum's government in 1936 and when he resigned in 1937 and the GR was dissolved by the SFIO he continued inside the SFIO.

In June 1938 however, the Pivertistes were expelled and immediately formed the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (PSOP).

This resulted in splits in both the PCI, most of whose membership wanted to join, and in the POI, two of whose leaders, Rous and Craipeau wanted to join.

Strong current

Trotsky himself refused to attribute all these problems of the French sections to leadership and organisation.

The main explanation, he said in 1939, lay in the general nature of the period: the uninterrupted series of international defeats, the spread of fascism, the degeneration of Stalinism, the demoralisation created by the People's Fronts all combined to create extremely difficult objective conditions for a small revolutionary group—it was a very small boat in an extremely strong current.

Certainly a great deal more could have been achieved.

In June 1936 he wrote:

"If after the Mulhouse congress, the French section had unleashed the vigorous revolutionary internationalist offensive that all circum-



German troops enter Paris, 1940

Rather the call should be 'Drive the bourgeois Radicals out of the Blum government', for this was the way to get the ear of Communist and Socialist workers and expose the way their leaders tied themselves to those like Daladier who were responsible for such policies as the two year draft, the banning of socialist papers in the barracks, and such like.

Counter-revolutionary

This careful strategy of strengthening and preparing the workers' movement to defend itself against the employers' counter-offensive and prepare for the next stage in the onslaught for power figured nowhere in the strategy of the Stalinists who merely called in a counter-revolutionary way for a return to 'order'.

One can see how following through the experience

movement in fighting for revolutionary policies and at many points in Trotsky's writings on the 1930s one can see the foreshadowing of its main points of programme.

Demands

The Programme of Action for France written by Trotsky in June 1934 already uses many of the demands such as the ending of business secrets, for a workers and peasants government, workers militias and many democratic demands such as equal pay.

The Trotskyist movement in France, although split, did continue to produce newspapers and to continue on a clear position of exposing the betrayals of Stalinism.

Weakening towards the centrism of Pivert continued to be their main problem.

stances dictated, it would now have a very much larger membership and an infinitely greater authority and capacity for struggle".

Nevertheless the Trotskyists were a steeled cadre unlike any other.

Many of them were handed over to the Nazis by Stalinists in the war, but they played an extremely courageous role in the resistance and were the only section on the left to spread revolutionary propaganda to the German troops and in the concentration camps.

It was on the strength of this record that they emerged as a relatively strong and solid section of the Fourth International after the war.

Next week:
The Popular Front in Spain

Better red than dread



PART TWO

The Rastafarian movement started in the slums of Kingston where its appeal amongst the poor grew in response to its theme of the black nian returning to Africa.

At this time Jamaica was like most of the capitalist world, in the throes of the Great Depression and the Rastafarians offered black Jamaicans dreams of escape from this.

Indeed, Howell, in order to raise finances for an island-wide evangelical campaign sold pictures of Haile Selassie as passports to Africa.

In December 1933 Howell at an open air meeting advocated six principles of Rastafarianism:

- 1) Hatred of the white race.
- 2) Complete superiority of the black race.
- 3) Revenge on whites for their wickedness.
- 4) Negation, persecution and humiliation of the government and legal bodies of Jamaica.
- 5) Prepare to return to Africa.
- 6) Acknowledgement of Emperor Haile Selassie as the Supreme Being and only ruler of black people.

Within weeks of making this speech Howell was arrested and charged with sedition. He was convicted and jailed for two years.

The state then very quickly moved to arrest the

other leaders of the Rastafarians, jailing them too.

The movement was forced to continue in secret and on his release from prison Howell established a cult commune, known as the Pinnacle, in the hills of St. Catherine, overlooking Kingston.

It was during this period in the hills that the smoking of ganja (marijuana) became one of the rituals of the Rastafarians.

Chalice

Biblical references to herbs and weeds were used as the theological basis for adopting this ritual and Rastafarians communally smoked ganja from a pipe (chalice) before meditation or prayer.

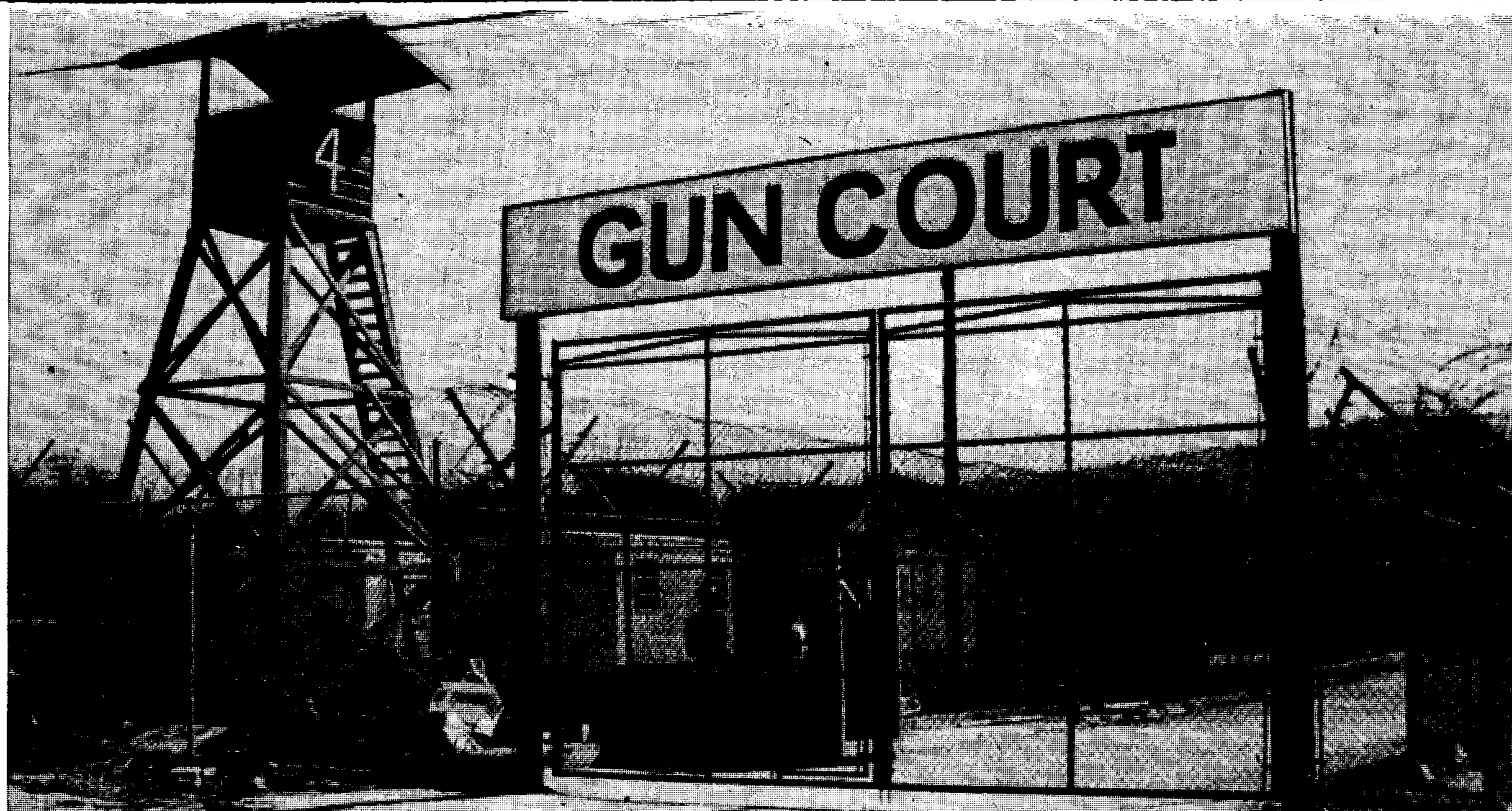
The commune was run in the style of the Maroons (slaves who had run away and forced the colonialists to accept their independence from slave society).

Howell took 13 wives and the neighbours were instructed to pay their taxes to the commune and not to the government.

"Dread locks"

At this point the police raided the commune, arresting 70 Rastas, of whom 28 were imprisoned. Howell escaped the raid but was finally caught and given a second two year prison term.

By 1953 the commune was re-established and it is from this period that the Rastafarians began to grow their hair long.



Manley's Gun Court

As it grew it curled into locks and the style became known as "dread locks" or "natty dread".

In 1954 a second police raid forced the Rastas out of the hills and back into the slums of Kingston where they were continually harassed by the police.

They began to refer to Jamaica and its state institutions as "Babylon" and saw themselves as the real Israelites living in exile.

"Zion" was their homeland; and Zion was Ethiopia—Africa.

With the post-war boom, many Jamaicans were tempted to migrate to Britain in search of work and a higher standard of living.

The slogan of the Rastas in opposition to this was "Ethiopia Yes, England No, Let My People Go".

Haile Selassie had granted 500 acres (!) of land to the blacks of the West as a mark of gratitude to the many thousands who had given Ethiopia financial aid when Mussolini launched his invasion in 1936.

"Living God"

The Rastas argued that the blacks would be given more if this land was properly used.

By 1960 the Rastafarian movement had developed an extensive set of beliefs, rituals and symbols.

Central to the faith were six basic beliefs.

1) Haile Selassie is the living God.

According to Rastas, Jesus was Haile Selassie transformed into a white man for the Christians. The white God is in fact the devil and Haile Selassie since his death in 1975, lives on in spiritual form.

2) The black person is the reincarnation of Israel who at the hands of the white man has been exiled to Jamaica (Babylon).

"Inferior"

This exile was a punishment by God through the form of slavery. God has long since pardoned the blacks but they are kept in Babylon through the trickery of the whites.

3) Whites are inferior to blacks.

4) Jamaica is a hopeless hell but Ethiopia is heaven.

5) The Emperor of Ethiopia is arranging for the return of the blacks.

6) In the near future the blacks will rule the world.

The Rastafarians also oppose the eating of meat, especially pork, and the drinking of alcohol. They oppose the use of physical violence and the causing of injury to any person.

They also regard the role of women as being subordinate to that of the

men—their job is to stay at home, cook, look after the children, and so on.

While the elements of hatred and revenge against whites that appeared in Howell's original formulation are greatly modified, this more developed set of beliefs is nonetheless reactionary from beginning to end.

Rastafarianism is often attacked because of its association with the feudal despot, Emperor Haile Selassie.

But this is really to miss the point. Rastafarianism is a religion. It is the fact that Rastas choose to deify anyone at all, rather than the reactionary nature of the individual they deify, that immediately condemns the Rastafarian movement as a diversionary movement in the struggles of the Jamaican masses.

Ethiopia is not seen by the Rastafarians as a paradise on earth. Rather it is seen as a state of mind, as representative of a once

powerful black culture that is about to be reborn and on the basis of which the blacks will rule the world.

The reactionary role of Rastafarianism is in essence the same as in all religions. Instead of starting with the material world, the class nature of the society in which they live and the need to develop the class consciousness of the proletariat and oppressed masses through the building of a revolutionary party to overthrow capitalism, the Rastas start from a Black God who is going to give black people the strength to throw off their (inferior) white oppressors and rule the world.

To offer the prospect of a return to Africa, which is quite impossible since no regime would be willing to accept mass immigration from Jamaica into already stretched economies on the African continent, is to divert the Jamaican masses from the real struggle they face of overthrowing

capitalism on their island, expropriating the giant monopolies with their stranglehold over the economy and fighting for the establishment of a socialist federation in the Caribbean.

The reactionary position of Rastafarianism on the role of women, similarly bolsters capitalism through the strengthening of bourgeois concepts of the family.

Rasta programme

The current role played by Rastafarianism will be discussed in more detail once we have examined how it grew from a persecuted minority into the powerful force that it represents today.

Three major events transformed the influence of Rastafarianism within all levels of Jamaican society.

Firstly in 1961 Ras Sam Brown stood as a candidate for political office on a 21 point programme entitled

ITALIAN STALINISTS CALL TO REHABILITATE' OLD BOLSHEVIK

The appearance in the Italian Stalinist paper *Unita* on 16 June of an article on 'The Bukharin Case' by the historian Paolo Spirano has a political and historical significance out of all proportions to a few columns of newspaper.

Nickolai Bukharin was a long-standing member of the Bolshevik Party, a major theorist and populariser of Marxism and a leader of the Russian Revolution.

It was Bukharin during the 1920s who invented the 'theory' of 'socialism in one country' and became associated with the continuation of the New Economic Policy by calling on the more well-off peasants to 'enrich yourselves'.

Bukharin was also an active opponent of the Left Opposition led by Leon

Trotsky, and of their calls for revolutionary internationalism and for the need for a drive to industrialisation.

He thus played a part in the building of the bureaucratic clique under the leadership of Stalin, which after 1928 moved sharply to the left with the policies of forced collectivisation and ultra left attacks on social democracy internationally.

This bureaucracy then had no further need of Bukharin's theories, and abandoned him.

Show trials

In March 1938 Bukharin appeared in the third and last of the great Moscow show trials, the literal embodiment of the violent break by Stalin's bureaucracy from all the traditions of Bolshevism.

He 'confessed' to an enormous range of preposterous and impossible

crimes including a plot to murder Lenin. He was found guilty and immediately shot.

Though at his trial Bukharin, who had been under arrest for thirteen months, pleaded guilty to everything, as his script no doubt dictated, he denied virtually every detailed charge.

He also left a 'testament' with his widow addressed to a Future Generation of Party Leaders' in which he expressed his helplessness before a hellish machine which... has acquired gigantic power, fabricates organised slander, acts boldly and confidently'. The police were now 'a degenerate organisation of bureaucrats, without ideas, rotten, well paid'.

In appealing to future generations to 'sweep the filth from my head', Bukharin concluded with the words, "Know,

"The Foundation of the Rastafarian Movement".

This programme proclaimed the Rastafarians as:

"... the most advanced, determined and uncompromising fighters against discrimination, ostracism and oppression of Black people in Jamaica."

Sovereignty

The Rastas, he argued, stood for the recovery of the dignity, self-respect and sovereignty of blacks; against white and brown (half caste) supremacy; against the political, social and economic exploitation of blacks and for a political movement to take power on behalf of the oppressed.

Despite proclaiming that "The Rastafarian is he who will never relinquish the fact that he is an African" the whole political programme was drawn up very much in the context of a black population destined to remain in Jamaica and therefore took as its starting point the need to change the conditions of the blacks within Jamaica itself.

But even at this level Rastafarianism is completely unable to offer a way forward to the Jamaican working class.

Lacking any real grasp of the political forces at work in Jamaican society the Rastas are now being cynically used by the Manley government in its attacks on the Jamaican masses.

Camps bulldozed

The second major contributory factor to the growth of Rastafarianism was the physical destruction of their camps in the slum area of Kingston known as Back O'Wall. In 1965 gang warfare, mischievously attributed to the Rastafarians, reached a high point. The government decided to



Black youth in Jamaica

bulldoze to the ground three Rasta camps. The inhabitants who barely had time to save themselves from the bulldozers, lost everything—their homes, and what few possessions they had.

Forced out of the shanty towns they dispersed throughout the island, taking their dubious theology with them.

A year later on April 21 1966, a further impetus to the Rastafarian movement came with the visit to Jamaica of Haile Selassie ("the day Jah come").

His visit had nothing to do with the Rastas but 100,000 of them took over the welcoming celebrations at the airport and the government was forced to invite leading Rastas to the official reception at Government House.

April 21 is now a Rasta Holy Day.

In talks with leading Rastas Haile Selassie is reported to have said that they should not seek emigration to Ethiopia until they had liberated the people of Jamaica.

Since that period the slogan of the Rastafarians has been "Liberation before Migration" and this has inevitably strengthened the political side of Rastafarian activity.

Numerous sects

The Rasta movement has always comprised numerous sects and has never taken the form of a united movement with a nationally acknowledged leader.

Consequently some of the purely religious group-

ings shun political activity and live in the hills, immersed in religious ritual while other Rastafarian groups concentrate on pursuing political, social and cultural functions within Jamaican society and are particularly identified with radical politics.

The continuing popularity of Rastafarianism amongst young blacks today can be attributed to the extreme poverty of the mass of black Jamaicans and the militant stance taken up by many of the top reggae singers who associate with the more political wing of Rastafarianism.

Reggae singers like Bob Marley built their reputations with songs whose themes were as much about revolution, social inequality and fighting for equal rights and justice as about Babylon, Africa and Black Star Liners.

"Rod of correction"

Such was the force of the Rastafarian movement that PNP leader Manley, on returning from Ethiopia with an ornamental rod presented by Haile Selassie, took what he called "this rod of correction" with him throughout his 1971 election campaign. The PNP won the election.

Manley subsequently expressed sympathy towards the Rastafarians and in an attempt to head off growing militancy amongst the Jamaican poor, he adopted an increasingly left wing stance—in particular concerning relations with Cuba.

In the 1976 elections, prior to which the CIA and the JLP conducted a "destabilisation" campaign in an attempt to depose the left-talking Manley, the PNP won its biggest ever majority.

Since then Manley has replaced left talk with acceptance of IMF loan

conditions including wage controls and enormous price increases on basic items.

And the Rastafarians and reggae stars have been involved by Manley in a campaign of "national unity" to boost production and put an end to the gang warfare that has been a predominant feature of ghetto life in Kingston for so long.

At a recent "peace concert" to celebrate the end of the gang warfare—claimed by the Rastas to be a result of their work—slogans adorned the arena calling on Jamaicans to work harder and produce more.



Manley

Rastafarians and reggae stars gave their support to "national unity" supposedly symbolised by Manley and opposition leader Seaga shaking hands on stage while Marley sang—not "Get up, stand up, stand up for your rights", but "One Love".

The only reggae star to cut across this obscene spectacle was Peter Tosh who berated Manley at length for his failure to bring social justice to the poor.

But according to Tosh, the solution to Jamaica's economic crisis lay in the legalisation of ganja and its

sale for export in order to finance social equality.

If the "peace concert" revealed anything at all it was the complete bankruptcy of radical Rastafarianism.

"Babylon"—the State of Jamaica—is on a thin wire, the Rastas say. And indeed it is.

The number of killings may well have declined and the political tension that existed prior to the 1976 elections may to a certain extent have evaporated.

But the overwhelming majority of Jamaicans continue to live in grinding poverty under conditions which can only worsen as the world crisis of capitalism deepens and the monopolies launch fresh attacks on the conditions of Jamaican workers.

As workers begin to see clearly the real role of so-called "Democratic Socialist" Manley as a supporter and defender of the capitalist system, many youth may be tempted to turn to Rastafarianism for an answer.

Oblivion

But there can be no solution to the problems confronting workers and peasants in Jamaica in turning to a religious movement which rationalises the oppression of women, whose supporters spend much of their lives in a ganja-induced oblivion and which allows itself to be cynically used by the government in its attacks on the working class on behalf of imperialism.

The fight for a revolutionary party in Jamaica must therefore take place in implacable opposition to Rastafarianism and everything it stands for.

By Winston Smart

comrades, that on that banner, which you will be carrying in the victorious march to communism, is also my drop of blood".

Rehabilitation

His wife and young son, whose lives were the price that he probably paid for by participation in the show trial, have been fighting for his rehabilitation since 1961 not long after their own release from 20 years in prison camps.

Since that time, A.M. Larina, Bukharin's widow, and Yuri Larin, his son, have addressed numerous appeals to political, legal and other bodies in the Soviet Union. In June 1977 there was finally a reply from an official of the Communist Party Central Committee who said that the charges still stood.

Following this, in March 1978, Yuri Larin addressed a letter to Italian Communist Party General Secretary Berlinguer calling for him to support his father's rehabilitation. The *Unita* article of 16 June is perhaps a reply.

This is an important event, a confirmation of the battle of Trotskyists over three generations now to expose the lies and falsifications of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Roots of terror

However, the rehabilitation has not been made, and the campaign will not be complete until it goes to the roots of the terror directed against the Russian Revolution and particularly against the one person who fought to keep alive in the most nightmarish period the



Bukharin

traditions and ideas of that Revolution—Leon Trotsky.

During the monstrous trial of Bukharin, British Communist Party General Secretary Harry Pollitt wrote that it represented a "new triumph in the history of progress". Shortly afterwards, Jack Lindsay, who still contributes marginal notes to the *Morning Star*, wrote a letter to *Tribune* of 18 March 1938 hailing the trials as showing "the power of the masses" over "individualistic minds".

Since Khrushchev's "secret" speech to the 20th Soviet CP Congress in February 1956 it is no longer necessary for Stalinists to maintain such outrageous opinions as these. Many of

Bukharin's co-defendants have now been rehabilitated and it is possible to be a perfectly respectable Stalinist scoundrel of the ilk of Monty Johnstone and protest against 'mistakes' and the cult of personality.

But what lies at the root of the murder of Bukharin?

Why was Bukharin but one of the whole generation of old Bolsheviks murdered, humiliated or driven to silence?

What social forces lay behind this terror system?

Why was the chief defendant always none other than Leon Trotsky, who was devoting his energies to setting up the Fourth International to take up the revolutionary struggle



Stalin

against the Stalinist bureaucracy?

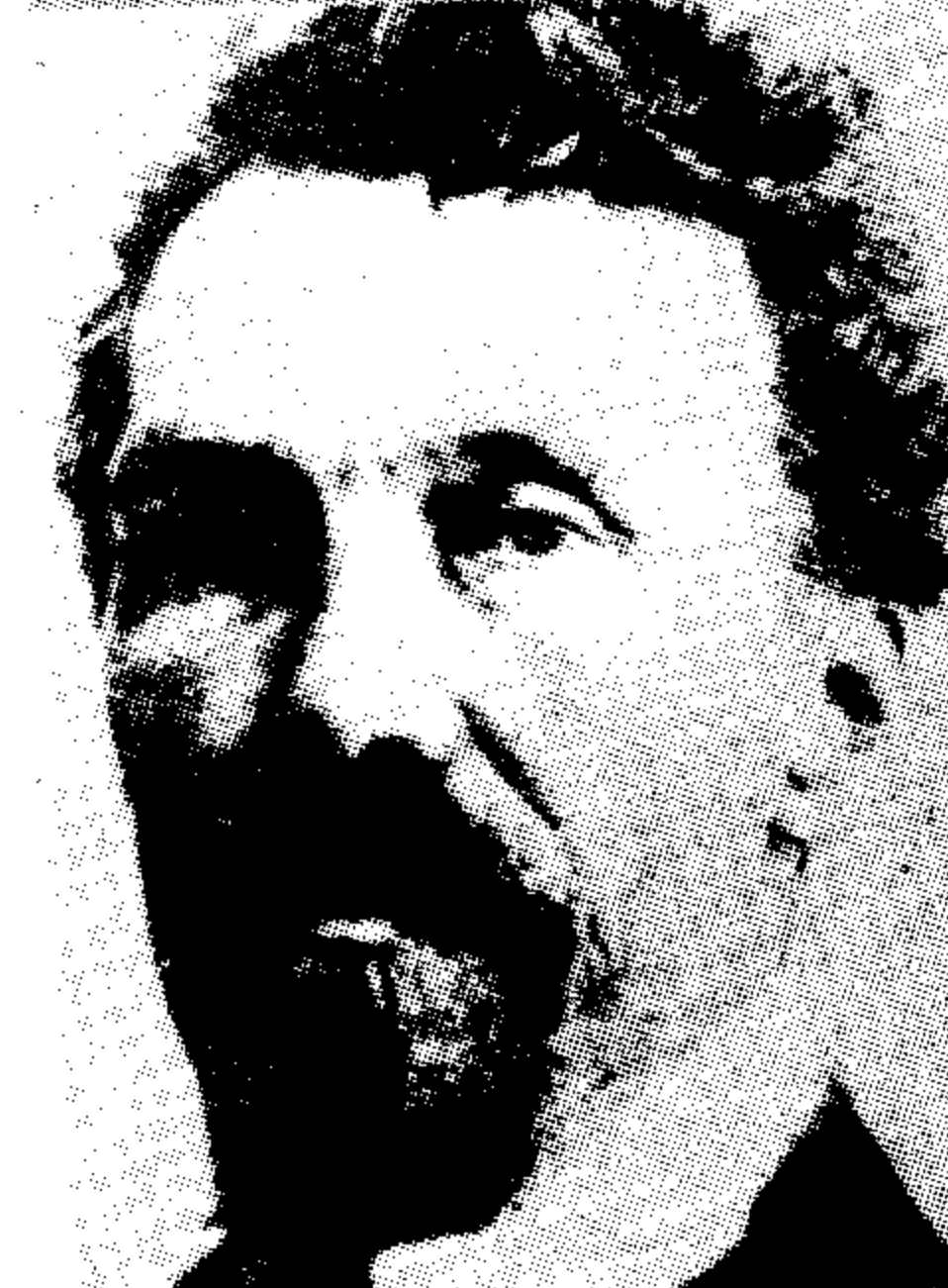
No Stalinist can answer these questions or ever will. Spirano takes up the 'case of Bukharin' in Italy at a time when the CP is in open alliance with the Christian Democrats in opposition to wage increases and democratic rights let alone revolutionary struggle.

A paper which openly takes part in the defence of capitalist 'order' can never fight against the degeneration of socialism in the international workers' movement.

Bukharin was the only other oppositionist of the 1930s besides Trotsky to build up an international following, a movement.

Supporters of the 'right opposition' were fairly numerous for a time in Germany and Lovestone in the United States kept a Bukharinite organisation going into the 1940s before becoming a functionary of American imperialism—The International Trade Union Movement.

Although these move-



Purge victim Rykov

ments have long since disappeared, there has been in more recent years a recrudescence of interest in the theory and practice of Bukharin.

Not working class

The basis for this can partly be seen from the last appeal of Bukharin already quoted. This addresses itself not to the working class, or even to ordinary party members, but to party leaders. In other words, reform, regeneration, opposition to Stalinism can come from within the bureaucracy itself.

Thus many of those who pick up Bukharin's case now do so for their own purposes, to emphasise the view that the bureaucracy can be changed. The most rotten, counter-revolutionary bureaucracy in Western Europe, the Italian CP, takes up the cause of Bukharin in part at least to try to revive their own utterly compromised revolutionary traditions, in an effort to convince those around them that no matter



Trotsky

how bad they seem, this bureaucracy can be 'reformed'.

The Italian Stalinists take from Bukharin not his good side, his years of propaganda for socialism, his symbolic importance as an old Bolshevik. Instead they take a man broken by a bureaucratic edifice whose first bricks he himself had built.

All efforts for the rehabilitation of Bukharin and every other victim of Stalin's crimes against the working class must be supported. In the end, however, these crimes will only be avenged by those who fight politically against his counter-revolutionary successors.

The continuity of that struggle is the struggle for Trotskyism, and not for any form of compromise with capitalist exploitation or bureaucratic 'reform'.

By John Docherty

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

NUJ JOBS FIGHT CONTINUES

New sackings at Alfred Herbert

If 700 sackings announced by machine tool manufacturers Alfred Herbert are successfully carried through, the workforce at the Edgwich plant in Coventry will have been halved since September of last year.

The company was rescued by the government in 1975 amid great ballyhoo about the "benefits" of the National Enterprise Board.

Low levels of orders have been blamed by management, and with stagnation in the economy the demand for machine tools is bound to have decreased.

Incapable

However the union leadership at Herberts have shown themselves incapable of dealing with sackings on this scale.

Only last October 460 sackings were announced, and, after initial opposition, union leaders caved in.

The task facing Herbert workers is to fight for the opening of the company books and work-sharing on full pay.

They must resist the reactionary demand for import controls which is

bound to be revived in the coming period.

The example of Herberts illustrates graphically the fraud of the NEB so beloved by left-fakers such as Wedgewood Benn.

After handing over millions to Herberts management, the NEB now goes along with the new round of sackings.

"An instrument for defending profits not workers"—the NEB summed up in a nutshell.



PHOTO: Minda

NUJ picket line at the Kingston print works

The continuing strike to save jobs by 45 NUJ members of the *Richmond Herald*, *Surrey Comet* and *Middlesex Chronicle*, (Trident Group), was recently attacked by police.

Last Friday night, a peaceful picket outside the Church Street, Kingston printing plant was halted by force by a 15-strong team of police.

Several of the 25 pickets were violently hurled to the ground and three trade unionists and the husband of an NUJ journalist were bundled into a police van, and later charged with obstruction.

However the journalists have resolved not to be intimidated and are making renewed appeals for mass pickets—particularly on Tuesdays and Fridays until late evening.

Sympathetic

SOGAT drivers sympathetic to the strike, upon telephoning their union leadership, have been continually instructed to cross the picket line.

And worse, NGA members at the plant continue to print material written by non-union executives, while their FOC, Les Head, while professing personal sympathy, has not organised any supporting action.

Support

Strike headquarters is at 162, London Road, Kingston to which messages of support should be sent.

Donations to NUJ (*Richmond Herald*) Dispute Fund, Williams & Glyns Bank, Thames Street, Kingston. (Account No. 12031434).

GEC SYMPATHY STRIKE

Following the sacking of 17 computer operators at GEC's Stoke plant, Coventry, some 1600 members of ASTMS and TASS staged a token strike and one-day mass picket last Wednesday.

The sacked operators had been threatened with dismissal on June 27 when they refused to accept the management offer in response to their pay claim.

On strike for 19 weeks, they have recently been joined by contract engineers

who have been locked out following imposition of sanctions.

At the mass picket one ASTMS worker, told *Socialist Press*:

"The tactics of GEC are intimidation not negotiation".

The company, notorious for its low wages, has decided to hit back at the workers who have submitted a number of pay claims over the last few months.

One feature of the GEC pay fights has been the insistence by union leaders that the claims are within the 10% limit. For example the

operators claim is for extra responsibility.

Key sections

Pickets told *Socialist Press* that all out strike action in support of those sacked had been rejected for the time being. The lessons of other strikes where workers, starved of real support and leadership from the trade union officials, have collapsed after weeks on strike have led the GEC workers to think in terms of pulling certain key sections out and financing their strike by levies on the

members still at work.

"This is to show that we have got strength and will come out if they won't talk to us" said one picket.

The tenacity of the different groups of workers at GEC shows that given correct leadership important gains can be made. However, unless the problem of wage control is tackled head on the workforce will remain vulnerable.

All possible support must be given to the operators whose sacking provides the central focus of the many battles with GEC management which are looming in the next few months.

WSL

The Workers Socialist League is a Trotskyist organisation fighting to construct a principled revolutionary leadership in the working class in Britain and internationally and for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International on the basis of the Transitional Programme.

The WSL fights at every step against the existing leaders of the trade unions and the Labour Party—now firmly harnessed to the bourgeois politicians of the Liberal Party in an unspoken coalition arrangement.

Against their policies of class collaboration we put forward instead a programme which points to the independent class interests of the working class, its need to organise independently to overthrow capitalism, destroy its repressive state machinery and establish a socialist planned economy.

Only in this way can workers resolve today's problems of tumbling living standards, mass unemployment, slashed social services, racial, national and sexual oppression.

For more details on the WSL and its work, fill in the form below.

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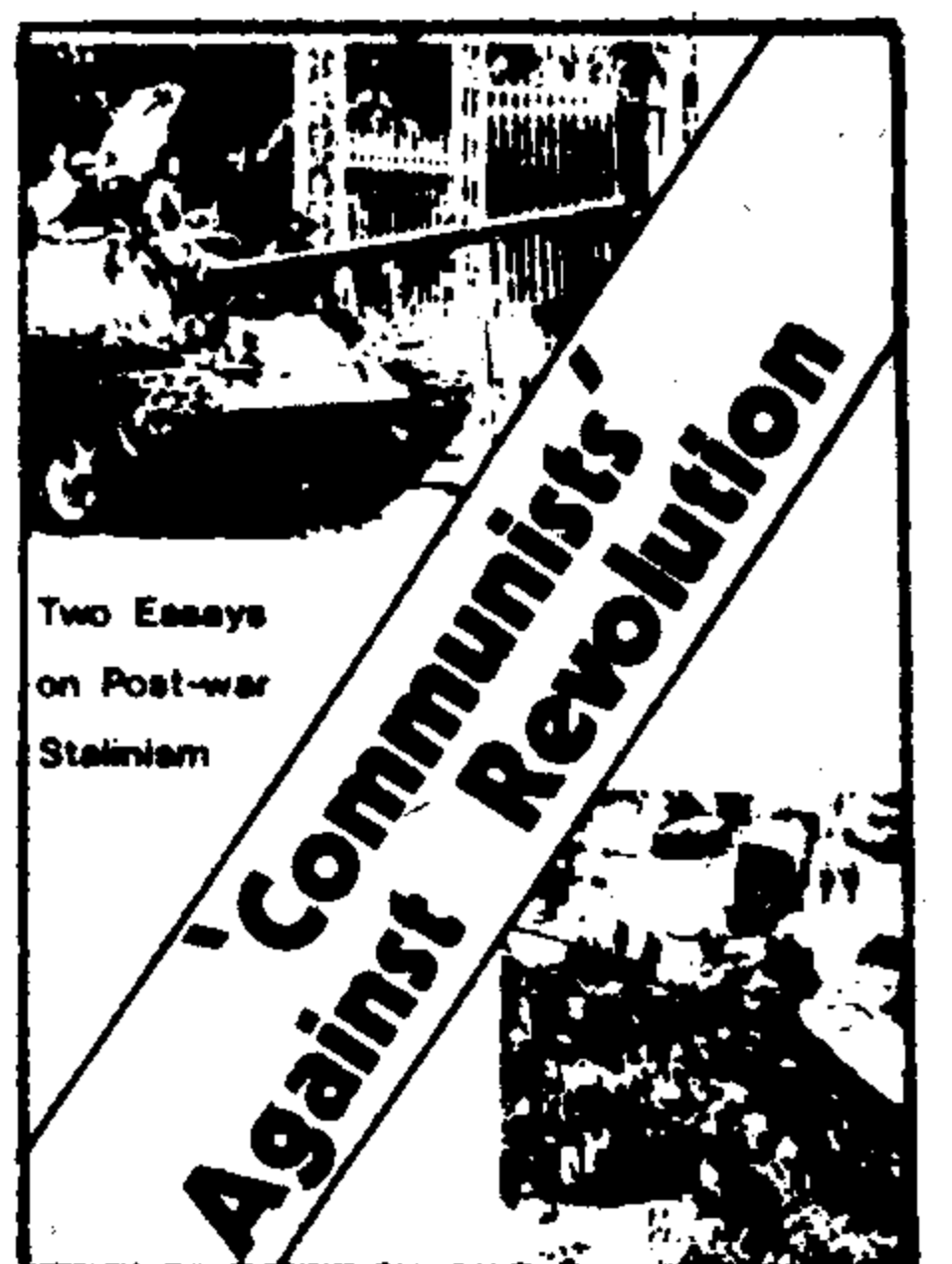
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BOSSSES SPOT GARNERS' ALLY

TGWU officials hold back support!

Cyril Margolis "must now feel that the entire world is against him".

So says the *Caterer and Hotel Keeper* of July 6.

In an editorial relating the pressures now building up on Margolis from all sides, this trade magazine for the bourgeoisie, omits to mention the fact that the editorial itself reflects the growing hostility amongst the largest sections of capital in the industry to Margolis's stand.

"We now feel that this unhappy episode is developing characteristics which should concern the industry as a whole". The strike "represents a valuable confidence booster and training ground for future militant action in this industry".

The fact that trade magazines such as this and the *Catering Times* over the past two weeks have lead on "the dangers for our industry" if the strike is prolonged shows how sensitive Margolis's stalemates are to the danger for them of recognition gained not through a deal with the bureaucracy but a victorious struggle of workers fighting to mobilise the working class in picketing and blacking.

This fear has increased the pressure on Margolis, but contains within it an indictment of the union bureaucracy itself.



Saturday's poster parade—TGWU banners brought from Oxford

"Unless some compromise is reached soon, the dispute will undoubtedly escalate. The TGWU has the power (though it has been unable or unwilling to use it yet) to cripple the group through the blacking of all supplies".

(*Catering Times*, 29 June)
The much vaunted "Poster Parade" last Saturday was further evidence that unless fought, this Regional bureaucracy will continue to block all attempts to mobilise the working class around

measures (mass pickets and secondary blacking) that the bourgeoisie so fear.

Supported by no one around the strike except strike committee chairman Rahman, this intended mobile picket turned out to be a repeat performance of the series of diversionary marches organised by Westminster Trades Council in February.

Back streets

With Nicholson of the TGWU Executive Committee, Abrahams, the TGWU full time catering officer and Gordon McClelland, Secretary of the Communist Party, leading the march around the back streets of the West End, away from the restaurants until finally being dispersed near the Garners Steak House in Oxford Street—the bureaucracy intended to show that they were committed to winning the strike.

Unfortunately for them, large sections of the march led by three delegations from the TGWU in Oxford and the large WSL contingent exposed this fraud by raising demands for "mass picketing", "effective blacking" and a regional "financial levy for the strikers"—policies of the strike committee which the bureaucracy has been implacably opposed to.

Empty gesture

That this "poster parade" was an empty gesture was shown by the

fact that only one branch of the TGWU Region 1 (the strikers' own 1/647) had been mobilised to support it.

This scandal was compounded at the end, by the refusal of the leadership to lead the marchers onto a mass picket of Garners Steak Houses.

Despite this sabotage a large section of the march, including all WSL supporters and members, and a numerically larger contingent of SWP members, set up a picket of 100 outside the Haymarket Garners (notorious for vicious attacks by the scabs and persistent police harassment).

This successful mass picket is of immense significance; it openly challenges the attempts of the police to intimidate and control the picket line with limitations of six pickets and numerous arrests; it was a demoralising blow to the scabs and most importantly it challenged the TGWU leadership's refusal to organise such pickets to close Garners and protect the picket line.

Coming directly after the bureaucracy's token poster parade this first effective mass picket has laid the basis for escalating support for the strike.

Deserted

All this was lost, however, on the SWP. Unable to grasp any of the important turning points in this strike leading members of the London area instructed the membership of the SWP to desert the picket line at 8.45, thus leaving the remaining forces open to attack by police and scabs and endangering the potential gains of this first mass picket.

In a completely opportunist way they invoked the authority of the strike committee, and the Garners support committee to justify this act of sabotage; despite the fact that only minutes before a leading member of the strike committee had asked the mass picket to stay until 11pm; and to our knowledge closing down a picket line has never been discussed on the support committee.

In spite of the combination of bureaucratic sabotage and the unserious tokenism of the SWP the picket line succeeded in turning all customers (except six self-confessed fascists) away from the restaurant and by 11.30pm when it was finally called off it still mustered about 40 people.

*Organise regular mass pickets of Garners Steak Houses.

*Organise regular daily delegations from the TGWU to the picket line.

*Organise a regional levy to finance the strikers.

*Ensure effective secondary blacking.

Support for these policies must be fought for in all labour movement bodies.

WORKERS SOCIALIST LEAGUE

Public Meeting on unionisation struggles includes showing of the film "Look Back at Grunwick"

Speakers from Garners strike committee and BL shop steward in personal capacity.

Thursday 20 July at 8pm Southall Town Hall

Cowley jobs in danger

The Cars Council, British Leyland's top management 'participation' committee on which union bureaucrats sit side by side with managers, was informed last week of further production cuts and job losses in its Cowley factories.

No information has yet been given to workers or to the shop stewards movement, but it is known that management plan to cut Marina production by 800 per week and Maxi production by 140 a week.

This takes place at a time when 32,000 old model Marinas remain unsold, and management are preparing

to launch the publicly announced new model.

The decision clearly reflects the deep sales crisis now gripping Leyland in all its divisions—Cars, Truck and Bus, Special Products and Components.

Last week, management at Leyland's Pressed Steel plant at Swindon warned that the company is manned to cater for 25% of the British market, and a failure to reach this target in August could mean further loss of jobs.

Last month Leyland sales accounted for only 18% of the British market.

The cuts in production in Cowley are likely to mean a loss of 1,000 jobs from the Cowley plants' present 13,000 manual labour force.

Plessey sackings

The giant Plessey combine is to sack 600 workers at its Edge Lane plant in Liverpool, blaming a reduction in demand for traditional telephone equipment and a turn to new electronic systems.

Last year Plessey made 1,800 workers redundant when it closed plants at Speke and Kirkby.

Sit-in action at all Plessey's Liverpool plants took place, but leaders failed to put forward any demands to link to broader layers of Plessey workers elsewhere, and the sackings took place.

The new planned sackings would cut the Edge Lane workforce from 5,100 to 4,500.

There is clearly scope here for the available work to be shared between the whole Edge Lane workforce without loss of pay.

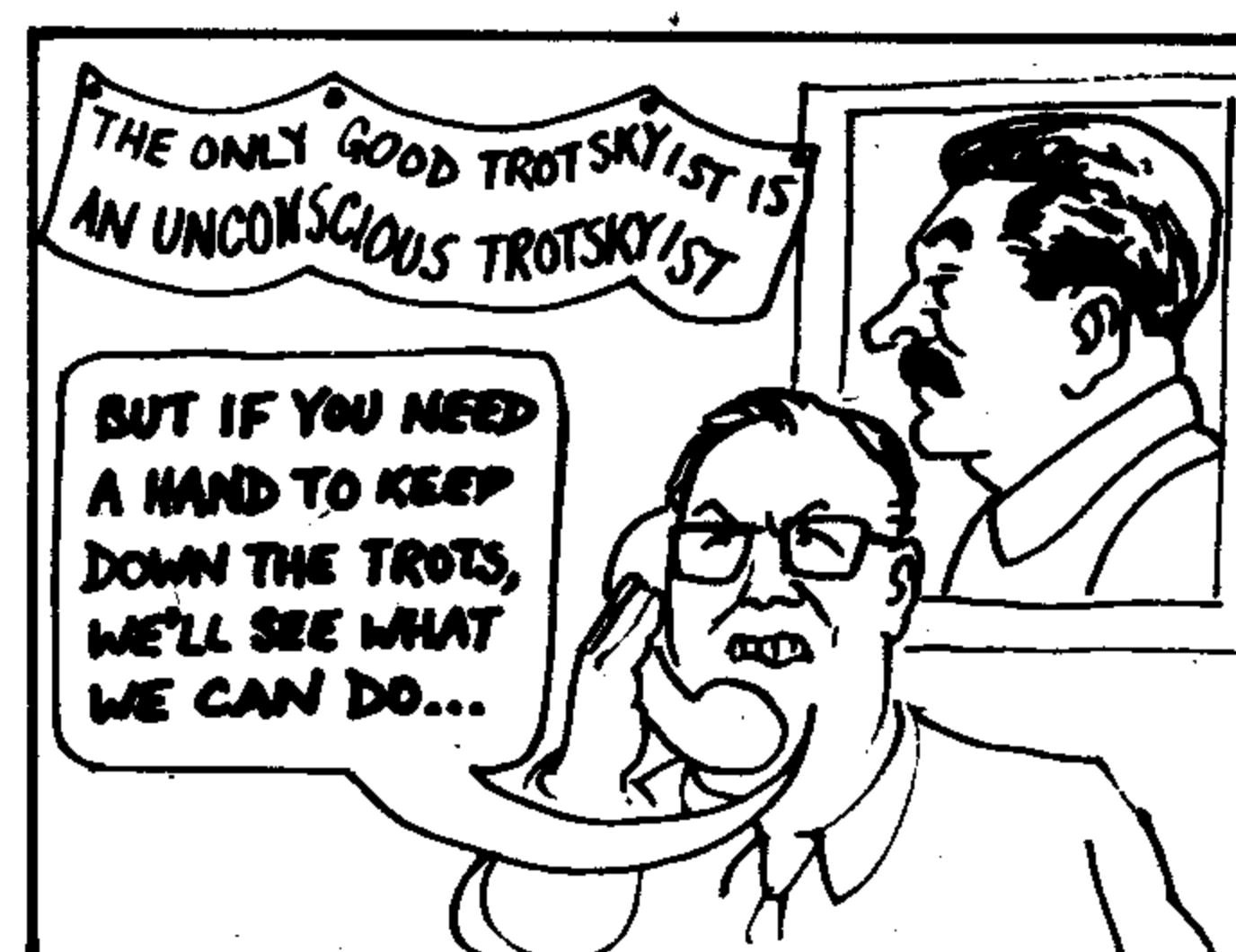
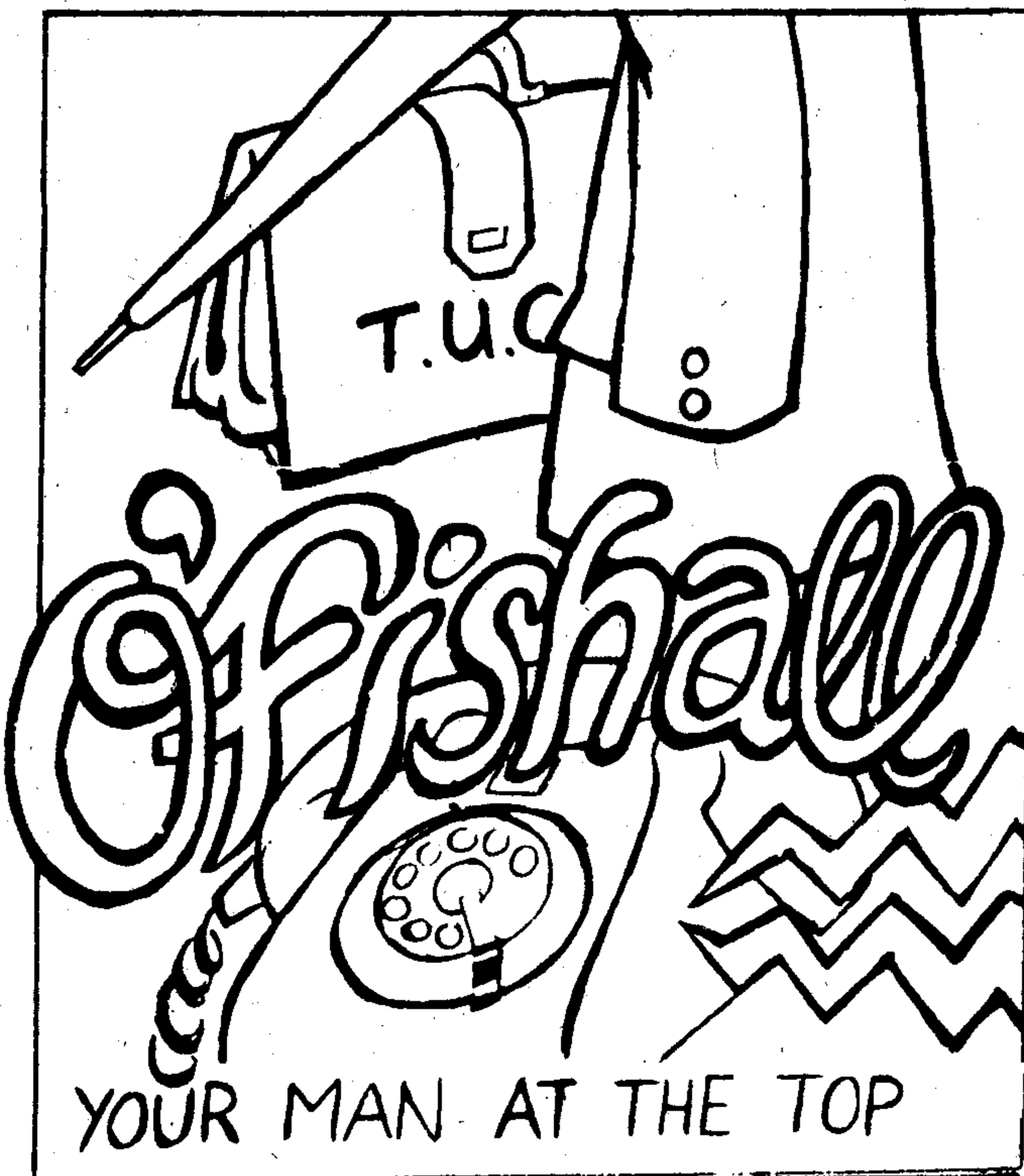
If management should refuse this demand, the redundancies must be fought by occupation linked to the fight to open Plessey's books and uncover the planned attacks on other sections of workers in the combine, and the demand for the combine to be nationalised, without compensation, under workers' management.

No lead in docks

The national port shop stewards committee held a meeting on Saturday in which according to the *Morning Star*, "they pledged full support for any strike call issued by the unions and decided to call a token one-day national stoppage in solidarity with the London men".

This clearly represents a continuation of their bankrupt policy of putting forward an "alternative plan" for profitability, coupled with reliance on the union bureaucracy who have no intention of leading a fight to save jobs on London's Royal Docks.

Brian Nicholson, chairman of the London Docks Joint Union Committee even went so far as to argue for the unity of unions, churches, community organisations, MPs and local councils around an alternative plan.



SOCIALIST PRESS



Lobby to defend Cowley 9

The Cowley 9 Defence Campaign—the ad hoc grouping set up to fight witch-hunting moves by TGWU bureaucrats to victimise 9 BL Cowley shop stewards—has called for the biggest possible lobby by TGWU members of the union's Midlands Regional Committee, now scheduled for July 19.

The Committee meeting has been put back from the

customary second Wednesday in the month, and now falls in the middle of works holidays throughout British Leyland and much of the Midlands.

This warning sign that the Committee intends to take action against the 9—who include the convenor and three elected deputy convenors in the factory—has been anticipated by TGWU stewards in the Cowley Assembly Plant.

A meeting of 140 stewards voted unanimously to support the lobby on July 19, and to convene a



Buckle

further meeting immediately after the holidays if any of the 9 should be victimised.

Meanwhile one of the

key figures in the witch-hunt and the District-level kangaroo court "inquiry" into the Cowley 9, District Secretary David Buckle, has been relieved of his responsibilities as official covering car transport firms in Cowley.

He has been replaced by his junior official, District Organiser Geoff Hulett.

This switch follows the successful reinstatement of Cartransport convenor Brian Preston after a year-long battle by transport drivers—blocked every inch of the way by Buckle.

"COMMON CURRENCY" WILL SOLVE NOTHING!

One currency for Europe—an end to the enormous plunges of the pound and the lira—an international effort to cut inflation and unemployment and to boost growth...

The claims coming out of last week's heads of state meeting at Bremen were anything but modest. Chancellor Schmidt of West Germany and President Giscard d'Estaing of France were prepared to hail the summit as the most important event for Europe since the creation of the EEC as a prop to international capitalism.

Even Callaghan, who did his best to have the plans at the summit kept secret, was prepared to share in the glory of the 'success'.

But all the EEC leaders know full well that the crisis of capitalism that rages through Europe will not be resolved by ringing declarations and carefully worded formulae.

Nothing signed

Behind the brave speeches it was painfully obvious that nothing had actually been decided; nothing had been signed.

The move towards one currency for Europe—which would eventually displace pounds, francs, deutch marks and the rest has been a longtime dream of the capitalists. If there is one currency there cannot be sudden plunges of exchange rates between EEC countries which damage trade and profits.

When the EEC 'snake' was created—by which all currencies were supposed to be kept within 2.25 per cent of each other—it was seen as a first step on the road to monetary unity. Within a few months France, Italy and Britain had pulled out.

It was impossible then as it is impossible now, to paper over the enormous weaknesses in some economies and arbitrarily to declare them as strong as West Germany.



PHOTO: John Sturrock, Report.

Callaghan

The new plan is little different in its early stages. But side by side with the moves towards unity the international supporters of capitalism—cheered on by former Labour traitor Roy Jenkins—want to set up a giant new European central fund.

This fund would require member countries to pay in up to 20% of national reserves to create a pool bigger even than the IMF and it is this body which would be given the new currency to handle.

The heads of state hope that such a body, controlling so much of the member countries' reserves would become a new permanent and massive tool to impose spending cuts and wage controls—an external disciplinary force to back up the capitalists in each country.

Enthusiasm

In their enthusiasm for speedy results the heads of Germany and France are calling for the final details of this vague plan to be signed at the next summit in December and implemented in part on January 1, 1979.

Not once in the post summit euphoria have any of the EEC heads, or for that matter the capitalist press, reminded themselves of the OECD report last week which stated

categorically that the economies of Europe were in such bad state structurally that unemployment was going to remain at least at present levels for the next decade, even if there is a slight and temporary decrease.

Anarchy

Nor have the heads of state given even in the vaguest outline any idea how they plan to dispense with the anarchy of capitalism which has created butter and wine mountains as a result of the Common Agricultural Policy. Nor have they even hinted at

which countries will cut back their steel production to agreed levels.

Nor have they solved a single one of the thousands of manifestations of the capitalist crisis that caused them to embark on their search for the new Golden Fleece.

Some idea of the gap between the fine words and the banal reality behind the summits might be glimpsed at the Bonn summit this week where the EEC states will be joined by the US and Japan.

Here the Germans will press their case for less protectionism, EEC countries as a whole will press for more protection-

ism against Japan and the US will try to persuade everyone else to buy American.

It has already been agreed that Japan should be prepared to spend some of its vast surpluses on European and American goods—and take the pressure off the governments of these countries.

But when the Japanese capitalists heard of the plan they strenuously resisted any imports that would hit their markets. The result?

The Japanese government has decided that it will spend currency in the west on: two Boeing jets for state use; buying outright all its Embassies in the relevant

countries; and \$1 billion on paintings by old masters!

It is certain that every single one of the heads of state at Bremen will continue to attack the working class of his own country. Whether the capitalists can bring themselves to a degree of unity heralded by the summit statements last week is an altogether different question.

FUND

Well we're nearly there! This week we stand poised to go over the top on our £2,000 Special Fund with a total to date of £1994.27.

Among donations gratefully received were BH, £20 and BS £50.

With two and a half weeks to go to the end of the month and the closing date of the Special Fund we are well placed to go well over our original target.

How much we do so is up to you.

Every extra penny we receive can be put to good use in developing the work of the Workers Socialist League and Socialist Press.

Let's see how much extra we can raise in the remaining days of the fund.

All donations should be sent to:

WSL Special Fund
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London NW5 1HR

Drain calls for permanent wage controls

In a week where the NUM passed *unanimously* a resolution opposing any renewal of the social contract, the leader of Britain's biggest white collar union has made a call for permanent wage controls in the public sector.

NALGO General Secretary Geoffrey Drain did not distinguish between Tory and Labour governments.

In either case, he declared, the public union leaders should "thrash out" the amount of money available for pay increases, and decide how to divide it among the workers involved.

This policy—which would abandon any prospect of a trade union challenge to government spending cuts or pay limits, and leave the defence of the living standards of millions of workers to the tender mercies of Labour bureau-

crats or Tory politicians—is entirely in line with the new scheme being hatched by the Labour Party and TUC leaders.

A new draft joint policy statement "Into the 80s: An Agreement" was discussed at last week's TUC-Labour Party liaison committee meeting.

Even timid 'left' Eric Heffer felt obliged to raise a passing whimper at the complete absence of even a veneer of 'socialism' in this plan for a permanent straightjacket on wages.

But there is no likelihood that this will deter Heffer, and every other Labour 'left', from giving the plan their tacit support in the same way as Phases 1, 2 and 3 of wage control.

With or without a meaningless garnish of phrases about 'redistributing wealth', 'priority to the low

paid', and nonsense about 'helping' old age pensioners, Callaghan is shrewdly confident that TUC leaders and Labour 'lefts' are incapable of waging a fight to remove this right wing cabinet of wage-cutters as he enters the pre-election period.

Press ahead

Labour Party members and trade unionists must not wait around for action from these 'lefts': they must press ahead with catching-up pay claims in defiance of Phases 3 and 4 and put down motions demanding that Labour MPs either fight the Callaghan-Healey leadership or stand aside for those who will.

There must be a fight to ensure that a full Labour Party conference to decide the manifesto is held prior to the election.



Drain