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IRAN REVOLUTION AT

THE CROSSROADS

The revolutionary struggles in Iran have reached a stage of new and dangerous crisis.

Carter and all the open agents of imperialism are still forced to stand by, powerless as yet to intervene and direct the course of events.

But it is the forces of reaction *within* Iran which now threaten to overwhelm all the gains made by the oppressed masses when they overthrew the tyranny of the Shah.

Today Khomeini, and the other religious leaders who placed themselves at the head of the mass mobilisations, are moving ahead with ruthless determination to impose their dictatorship in the form of the 'Islamic Republic'.

Bigots

These reactionary bigots still claim to speak in the interests of the workers and peasants. They still denounce the aggressions of imperialism, and especially the leading part played by the US government.

Their fiery words are even combined with cosmetic operations, like the recent nationalisation of the banks.

This apparently radical move has in fact relieved the anxieties of the international bankers. These exploiters and parasites are now looking forward confidently to generous compensation for their undertakings, which had been wrecked and virtually drained of funds in the disruption of the revolution.



Within Iran, it is the national minorities who have so far learned most sharply and bitterly how tenuously Khomeini is committed to democracy.

Fiercely repressed by the Shah's dictatorship, these oppressed peoples have surged forward with their demands for national rights and freedom.

But the Turkmenis, Kurds and Arabs have won only vague and useless promises from the religious leaders, while they have been attacked and slaughtered by the 'Revolutionary Guards' and the remnants of the Shah's imperial forces.

Khomeini

His confrontations with Khomeini's Islamic leadership and Bazargan's bourgeois cabinet have shown the pattern of conflict that will be followed as other democratic movements



come forward.

But Khomeini has already moved further on to the offensive in his bid to gain absolute power by brazenly brushing aside promises of an elected constituent assembly.

Constitution

Instead, his self-appointed and dictatorial 'Revolutionary Committee' will draft the constitution of an 'Islamic Republic', ensure that it is ratified by a carefully selected assembly, and then present it for approval in a referendum with a simple 'Yes/No' alternative for voting.

All opposition will be branded as treachery to the revolution.

Khomeini's recent proclamations have centred on the need for a crusade against those 'atheists' who seek to obstruct the building of the 'Islamic Republic'. All 'insults to the clergy' are now to be subject to the religious authority of the 'revolutionary tribunals' with their violent and arbitrary justice.

Apparatus

These moves are all part of a campaign to consolidate the power of the apparatus which supports the present regime.

While Bazargan makes loud but futile protests about the undermining of his government's authority, the 'Revolutionary Committee' is grasping to hold all the reins of power in its hand.

The strength of the tribunals has been boosted, while work goes on to build new armed forces from the fragments of the Shah's army and the 'revolutionary guards', which directly represent the religious leaders.

Khomeini is striving to



impose a counter-revolutionary dictatorship on the development of the Iranian revolution, and plunge the oppressed masses into a new period of reaction and barbarism.

But that dictatorship has not yet been imposed, and opposition is growing to the threat of counter-revolution from within Iran.

At present in Tehran and

other major cities, it is the liberal and radical section of the professional petty bourgeoisie and clerical workers who are taking the lead in opposing Khomeini's progress towards tyranny.

Shah

Although they played a major part in the strikes and mobilisations which overthrew the Shah, these layers were the most highly educated and most secular within Iranian society.

They had little sympathy with the Islamic leaders, and today they are the loudest in demanding the constituent assembly, an end to media censorship and other basic democratic rights.

Much of Khomeini's fire has been directed at their opposition and their political leaders, while the mullahs have organised large demonstrations in support of the Islamic republic.

Some of the least organised and least politically conscious sections of the working class have even been mobilised in this form, since Khomeini has used crude populist rhetoric to present the democratic demands as a threat to the revolution of the workers and peasants.

Tirades

But at the same time the religious leaders have stepped up their tirades against communism and they have directed the anger of the demonstrations above all against the forces of the left.

The workers of Iran have no interest in supporting either faction in the power struggle between Khomeini and Bazargan. But nor can they afford to stand passively by while the architects of the new reaction seek to destroy all

democratic opposition.

It was the strength of the Iranian *working class* which toppled the Shah, above all through its independent class action in the massive strikes.

Many of the strike committees formed in that period still control factories and other important sectors of industry.

They exist in a state of constant tension with the 'revolutionary guards'—it was an attack by guards on strikers in Khuzestan which led recently to the huge riots and demonstrations of the Arab population.

Soviets

These committees can form the basis of soviets and workers' militias to challenge the authority of the 'Islamic Revolution', and that potential must be developed.

The revolution in Iran has reached a crucial stage, a crossroads where there are many turnings but only one road that can lead the Iranian masses forward to freedom from oppression and exploitation.

What is needed in Iran now, and more urgently every day, is a revolutionary party that can lead the working class forward with its allies in the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie to secure democracy by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and laying the basis for socialism.

Programme

Without the building of such a party, armed and determined to fight with a programme of transitional and democratic demands, the forces of religious and bourgeois reaction will be able to roll back the advances of the Iranian revolution and enthrone their own counter-revolutionary dictatorship.

For a constituent assembly, freely elected by universal adult suffrage!

* For a secular state! Wrest all power from the clergy!

* No to Khomeini's army! Completely disband the forces of the Shah, and build workers' militia to defend the revolution against reaction.

* For the building of soviets based on the factory and strike committees!

* No secret trials! For open hearings before the courts of the soviets.

* Self determination for the Kurds and all oppressed nationalities within Iran.

* Full democratic rights for women! For an end to all sexual oppression and discrimination.

* For the immediate nationalisation of the banks and all major capitalist holdings. No compensation to the exploiters! For workers' management!



'Final offensive' in Nicaragua

In the last ten days the civil war in Nicaragua has taken a dramatic turn with the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) launching a 'final offensive' against the bloody and bankrupt Somoza regime.

As of Sunday 10th June this offensive does indeed appear to be on the verge of overthrowing Somoza.

The regime exercises only nominal control in the capital Managua and the guerrillas control the city of Masaya, only 14 miles from Managua, the country's second city Leon, and the important towns of Chinandega and Jinotega.

Air-lifting

In the east a remarkable development has been the air-lifting of Sandinistas from Costa Rica to capture the Atlantic port of Puerto Cabezas.

Major battles are taking place in the north around Esteli and in the south on the Costa Rican border where a large guerrilla force is advancing inland.

According to a newsman in Managua "It looks as if the whole country is catching fire".

This latest offensive began over the weekend of 2nd-3rd June with a general strike being declared in the capital on Monday the 4th. The strike has been thoroughly successful.

Two thousand of Somoza's

13,000-strong National Guard were deployed to protect scab labour but many of the soldiers have now been sent to the front since the close-down of the city is virtually complete.

Curfew

There is a 8 p.m. to 4 a.m. curfew but at night the streets are the domain of armed revolutionary youth who moved to a full urban offensive on the night of Friday 8th June.

The guerrillas claim to have shot down five enemy aircraft and killed 300 guardsmen. These claims may be exaggerated, but US observers admit that the Guard has suffered very great losses, is extremely demoralised, and on the verge of collapse.

Somoza has responded to the crisis by crawling out of his Managua 'Bunker' for the first time to visit his troops at the front-line in the south. He himself admits that this is "the worst crisis yet".

The forces of the FSLN now number around 5,000, as against 1,300 last September. In addition to this "Popular Brigades" has been established amongst the population and these are taking an active part in the struggle.

Hostile

The vast majority of the people, of course, remains unalterably hostile to Somoza. The question of power now rests almost entirely on posses-

sion of arms.

The turning point in the war was the capture of Masaya on Wednesday 6th June by a 400-strong FSLN force. The Guard has been concentrating its forces in a counter-attack and bombarding the city incessantly.

In order to maintain the attack on this vital centre Somoza has dispatched his son to buy more weapons in the US, presumably in the hope that it will follow the lead of the IMF which granted him a credit of \$65.7 millions in May to refinance loans made to shore up the crippled economy.

Somoza has also threatened war against Costa Rica which has been aiding the FSLN. Isolated attacks by the Guard have already taken place up to ten miles over the border.

Support

This has brought direct military support from Venezuela and Panama to the Costa Rican regime.

On the other hand, Nicaragua is a member of the Inter-Central American Defence Force CONDECA and troops from El Salvador have been seen fighting alongside the Guard.

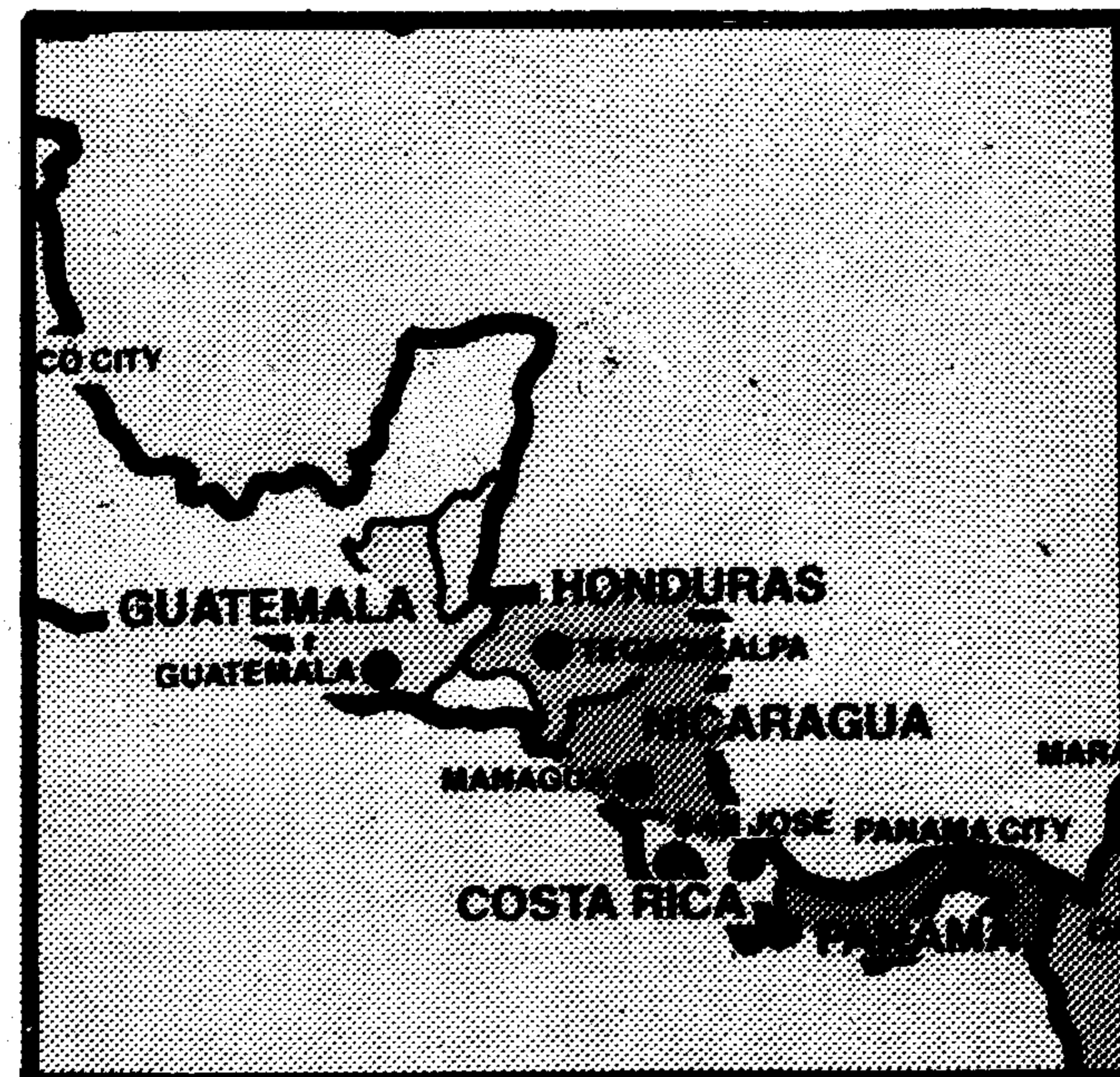
It is not unlikely that the military dictatorships of Honduras and Guatemala will come to Somoza's aid at this critical juncture.

This serves to emphasise the enormous international impact

of the Nicaraguan revolution which threatens to overturn the balance of power throughout Central America.

The liberation struggle of the Nicaraguan masses has in the last week advanced the war against imperialism immeasurably. It is for this reason crucial that the 'final offensive' should succeed and lead to the struggle for the completion of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua.

This would open the door for a score of further such offensives throughout Central and Latin America.



No joy for bosses in

Italy election



CP leader Berlinguer

The results of last week's Italian general election can have given nothing but pain to both the ruling Christian Democrats and the would-be ruling Stalinists.

Both of them lost some votes: the Christian Democrats a mere 1/2% of their 1976 share of the poll; the CP a more significant 4%.

In spite of the relative advance of the smaller parties—especially the outspoken petty bourgeois Radical party—the basic structure of the Italian

parliament will remain the same.

The Christian Democrats (with 262 seats out of 630) remain the largest party but still lack a majority.

And the Communists are still the only other large party though they lost 26 seats to reduce their representation to 201.

It is a result which virtually guarantees the continuation of the long drawn-out political agony of Italian capitalism.

The decline in the CP's vote has certainly strengthened the right wing of the Christian Democrats, who reject all formal governmental compromise with the CP.

An it will strengthen the wing of the CP leadership which wishes to play down the formal compromises of the last two years which clearly led to a loss of support.

So in the short term at least the 'historical com-

promise' coalition which the Stalinists of the CP have for so long tried to build with the Christian Democrats is a dead duck.

The smaller parties between the two giants (the Socialists with 62 seats, the

Social Democrats with 20 and the Republican with 16), could produce a parliamentary majority in a 'centre-left' coalition with the Christian Democrats.

But it is unlikely that any of them will risk the

loss of their support to the CP which this might involve.

So Italian capitalism emerges from this election further away than ever from a stable parliamentary solution to its problems.

The one outcome which the bourgeois papers and the political leaders are not even discussing as a possibility is for a coalition of workers' parties to take power.



ITALIAN CP DEMONSTRATION: 'We should ally ourselves with the workers movement in the West.'

Portugal faces new crisis

Portugal was plunged into a new political crisis last week as the non-elected government of ex-Salazar official Carlos Mota Pinto resigned.

The reason for the resignation was the certainty that parliament would pass the censure motions separately tabled by the Socialist and Communist Parties.

Together these parties have a majority, and could constitutionally take over the government.

The censure motions against Mota Pinto's grossly anti-working class government reflect pressure on their party leaders from the working class bases of the CP and SP.

But the Stalinist and reformist leaders are agreed on one thing above all: the avoidance at all costs of the formation of a CP-SP government.

This, they know, would immeasurably increase the demands of the Socialist and Communist parties that their leaders carry out policies to meet their growing material problems of unemployment and falling living standards.

FROM SOWETO TO CROSSROADS

Part Two: by Jim Farnham

The massive events of Soweto were an example of spontaneous action by the working class generally, with youth playing a key role.

Within the overall ideological framework of the black consciousness movement, and under the leadership of the Soweto Students Representative Council, the working class for a time made real progress towards a fighting unity and independence.

Yet that leadership lacked the political training, experience and programme needed to consolidate and develop that independence and unity.

As inevitably happens with such spontaneous movements, the absence of a revolutionary leadership allowed sections of the black petty bourgeoisie and capitalists to assume a leading role.

Opportunist clique

This was the origin of the 'Soweto 10', a grouping of black businessmen, clerics and professionals.

It was just when the Soweto mobilisations were being threatened by the limits of spontaneous political development on the one hand and state repression on the other, that this opportunist clique intervened to demobilise the class and undermine its independence.

The Soweto 10's master plan was to turn the working class away from reliance on its own strength, towards reliance on such bodies as the UN, the OAU and allegedly "progressive" sections of capital in order to gain the "liberation" of Soweto and South Africa.

In that situation, facing a leadership tied to the interests of capital, the task of revolutionaries was to expose the reformist nature of the Soweto 10 as part of the struggle to build a revolutionary leadership.

But the leaderships of the traditional nationalist movements—themselves more closely tied to the imperialists, Stalinists and bourgeois African



governments than the interests of black workers—proved incapable of doing that.

In the same way, they proved incapable of providing the weapons, defence and leadership for which workers in struggle turned to them.

In fact, for the last sixteen years the traditional nationalist organisations had been sectarian, leaving the working class defenceless in its day to day struggles.

Hollowness

And while this sectarian desertion has been covered over with much rhetoric about preparing for armed struggle, the events of Soweto have demonstrated the hollowness of that rhetoric.

The reality behind the words has been the substitution of small groups of freedom fighters for the mass of the class on the one hand, and on the other, the sacrificing of the independence of the class in favour of popular frontist alliances with "progress-

ive" sections of capital and the petty bourgeoisie.

It is only because of the political bankruptcy of the traditional nationalist organisations that opportunist collaborators—the Curry's, the Buthelezi's, the Motlana's—can manoeuvre themselves into positions whereby they can use the strength of the working class masses to promote their own petty bourgeois interests.

As Botha continues Vorster's campaign of repression, as the opportunists manoeuvre, and the traditional black nationalist movements continue to provide no alternative revolutionary leadership, the gains and advances of workers in struggle are all threatened.

Soweto and subsequent political developments clearly demonstrate the willingness of the mass of the oppressed working class to participate actively in their struggle for freedom.

But they also show that the failures of the traditional petty bourgeois leaderships and

political perspectives act as obstacles to the development of the South African revolution. The key crisis facing workers in struggle is one of leadership.

As we showed last week, the struggle of the squatter community at Crossroads expresses a continuity with the political content of the Soweto struggle.

But the undoubted gains made at Crossroads now stand threatened by precisely that which has threatened the gains of Soweto—the crisis of leadership facing the working class.

Indeed, the role played by the Soweto 10 has now opened the way for white liberals to make a far more direct bid for influence within the mass opposition movement.

Soweto 10

Organisationally, this is done more and more through the Urban Foundation—which includes leading members of the Soweto 10 and their cohorts as its members and allies.



Children play at Crossroads

The Urban Foundation has become a crucial instrument of the ruling class in its efforts to co-opt black petty-bourgeois, buy off a layer of skilled black workers as ruling class allies, and tie the mass of black workers to the tails of co-opted reformists.

The gains made in Crossroads are being portrayed by the liberals and reformists as the product of the 'co-operation' between the workers of Crossroads and themselves—as part of the attempt to foster the illusion of a 'good' section of capitalists under whose guidance benefits can be achieved.

In reality the experience of Crossroads, like all working class struggles, confirms something entirely different.

Vicious attacks

Before workers had reached the level of organisation and mobilisation which they did in Crossroads, other squatter communities were being subjected to increasingly vicious attacks from the state. Throughout the country the enforcement of influx control was being stepped up.

The strength of Crossroads derived not merely from more organisation but also from the level of rank and file participation and unity embodied in Crossroads organisations.

In particular, Crossroads is testimony to the crucial role of working class women and youth in the struggle—the active, united participation of all sections of the working class community was a major factor in forcing concessions.

Major strengths

From the very outset of the struggle, sections of the ruling class and its agents have attempted to isolate Crossroads and create divisions within it—the separation of African from Coloured, migrant from urban, "legal" from "illegal", employed from unemployed.

One of the major strengths of Crossroads has been its uncompromising demand for all residents to have the legal right to remain.

But however united the community of Crossroads was, their struggle could not have developed to the point it has if it remained the struggle of an isolated working class community.

The mood of solidarity with Crossroads amongst the working class nationally was absolutely crucial in forcing concessions from the capitalist-apartheid state.

These struggles have shown that the only real basis for the winning of concessions is the strength of the proletariat, and the only real safeguard of that strength is the development of the political independence of the working class.

Material concessions have been won by the workers of Crossroads because, through the development of their own strength and organisation, they have objectively asserted a level of class independence.

As we have pointed out, those concessions go nowhere in meeting the objective material needs of the Crossroads workers—whose struggle is far from over and whose victory is far from won.

Defenceless

The defence and extension of what has been gained materially can only be secured through the programme, perspective and organisational forms which develop working class independence.

The petty bourgeois leaderships of the traditional nationalist movements—tied to a political perspective aiming at the reform of the capitalist state and based on the denial of the independence of the working class in favour of a popular frontist nationalist alliance—can only serve to obstruct that struggle.

In fact, their guerrillaist strategy has not only failed to provide political perspective, but has also left the workers of Crossroads defenceless in the face of state attacks.

Leadership

The major crisis confronting the struggle of workers in Crossroads—and the whole of South Africa—is one of leadership.

The threat to the gains made in struggle rests on the absence of a revolutionary leadership capable of consolidating and developing independent working class forces.

The crucial task now is the development of the political perspectives, programme and cadre which, drawing on the lessons of Soweto and Crossroads, are based uncompromisingly on the independent class interests of the proletariat.

***Build the South African revolutionary party!**

***For a revolutionary programme of democratic and transitional demands stemming from today's needs and today's consciousness and leading unalterably to the workers' seizure of power.**

***Build the independent organisations of the working class—in the factories and schools, on the farms and mines, in the communities.**

***The first task of the armed struggle is the defence of workers!**

***Cadres with military training to develop defence squads within the country.**

***Destroy the influx control and migrant labour systems!**

Concluded

Manley tightens wage control

The Jamaican People's National Party government of Malcolm Manley has cut the pay ceiling from 15% to 10% in a further desperate attempt to stabilise the economy and meet their obligations to the International Monetary Fund.

IMF loans together with a wide range of import credits are likely to reach a massive \$400 million dollars by this time next year. The population of Jamaica is 2 million.

Force election

The opposition pro-imperialist Jamaican Labour Party has rejected the 10% guidelines and called on the Jamaican people to force a general election within the next six months after Manley turned down the offer of a 'Social Contract' advanced by the JLP and the Bustamante Industrial Trade Union (BITU) which supports the JLP.

The President of BITU, the Right Honourable Hugh Shearer told the annual general assembly of the union that delegates had

mandated the union to oppose the 10% guideline and "take and support strike action" where "we are satisfied that the employers have the ability to pay more than they offer".

Strike wave

The island has already been hit by a wave of strikes this year as a result of massive price increases and rioting broke out when the price of gas was increased in February.

While many of the strikes are the wholly justified militant response of workers to a 60% level of inflation, the employers have also locked out workers or even paid them to stay at home during strikes called by the JLP.

Turned to IMF

Manley has only himself to blame for the hostility of the Jamaican workers and peasants.

Elected on an anti-imperialist, 'socialist' programme in face of a major 'destabilisation' attempt by the CIA, he was faced with the choice between bold socialist policies to tackle Jamaica's immense economic



Manley

problems or reliance on the capitalists to bail out the economy—at a price.

Not unexpectedly, this left-talking social democrat turned to the IMF for loans and he is now faced with the task of trying to make the Jamaican working class pay the price of such aid.

But Manley still has some friends left on the island. The Workers Party of Jamaica, formerly the Workers Liberation League, and the larger of the two Stalinist parties on the island (the other being the Jamaican Communist Party) has offered an electoral alliance with the PNP.

The WPJ, led by Dr. Trevor Munroe (who is also president of the University and Allied Workers Union) has announced their intention to 1) enter candidates in the next election, 2) defend the government, and 3) seek an electoral alliance with 'progressive' sections of the PNP.

Hack columnists

It was the third point that prompted hasty denials from Jamaica House. But the capitalist press, who see their daily task as convincing the Jamaican people that the PNP is a communist front organisation, lost no time in setting their hack columnists to work, using the WPJ statement and the fact that Manley has only recently returned from a visit to the



Munroe

Soviet Union.

There is only one way forward for the Jamaican workers and peasants and that is the building of a Trotskyist party capable of mobilising the masses in the struggle to expropriate the foreign and native capitalists and institute a planned, socialist economy.

Fascist threat to 'troops out' campaign

An RCG meeting on Ireland held in Manchester on May 31 was violently attacked by 50-60 National Front fascists.

This must serve as a stark warning of the need to defend labour movement activity in solidarity with the Irish liberation struggle. In particular, the demonstration called in London by the United Troops Out Movement this coming Saturday has allegedly been singled out as a target for the fascist thugs of the British Movement.

Poorly stewarded

Previous such marches—including marches run by Sinn Fein, who should know as well as anyone the record of the police in harassing Irish militants—have frequently been woefully poorly stewarded, or simply relied on police to

ward off fascist attacks.

In supporting Saturday's demonstration on the basis of the struggle for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland and the repeal of reactionary legislation such as the so-called "Prevention of Terrorism" Act, the Workers Socialist League will also be arguing for the march to make adequate arrangements to defend itself against attack.

IN OXFORD the highly successful May 19 labour movement conference on Ireland has been followed up by the consolidation of a working committee.

Supported so far by Oxford Trades Council, Oxford NUJ Branch and the ACTSS 5/833 Branch, but attended also by delegates from the Women's Movement, Oxford UTOM/'H' Block Committee and other

observers, the committee is preparing the first issue of a labour movement bulletin.

This will include the transcript of the vivid speech to the conference by 'troops out' campaigner Brendan Gallagher, and a brief account of the Conference as a whole.

Fact-finding

The bulletin is intended to prepare the basis for the sending of a 12-strong labour movement fact-finding delegation from Oxford to the occupied six counties of Ireland in the spring of next year.

A number of other local trade union bodies have expressed interest in the work of the Oxford committee, offering the prospect of additional delegates becoming involved in the production and sale of the bulletin.

It is planned that the bulletin should act as a forum for information and debate on the war in Ireland within the local labour movement.

PRESS GANG



The general election is more than a month over and the derisive response from workers to the EEC elections has left capitalist politicians of all parties grinding their teeth.

But it is clear from the press that the capitalists still vitally need Callaghan and the rest of the Labour Party leadership.

The amount of column inches given over to red witch-hunts against Labour (usually those who least deserve it) would almost suggest that the election was still to come.

The Sunday papers gave prominence to a letter from Tory leader of the Commons St. John Stevas to his constituency chairman, in which he ranted on about Callaghan having abdicated the Labour leadership to 'Marxists'.

Leaving aside the fact that the man St. John Stevas seems to fear is Benn, the letter is remarkable for the way in which it spells out the concern Tories have with the internal life of the Labour Party, and with charting the progress of the Labour traitors.

Just why is clear from the speeches made by Labour Party Chairman, Frank Allaun, who

blamed the Labour leadership for the election defeat, and from Arthur Scargill who called on Callaghan to resign.

Neither has taken up any fight against the leadership of Callaghan, Healey or Mason, but both have a need to protect their left flank.

The *Sunday Mirror*, which blamed the oil shortage on the Tories ("Funny isn't it that French motorists are having no problem getting petrol. Nor are the Germans. Nor are the Italians. Nor even are the Spaniards") called these attacks on Callaghan 'astonishing'.

The *Observer* ran an account of the letter and speeches, side by side with a report on the CP headed "Reds in a new move on the unions", which turned out to be a dreary quarrel between Mick Costello, CP industrial organiser, and Dave Cook, national organiser.

When the *Observer* is reduced to ploughing through the CP's *Marxism Today* to find some signs of a threat from the Stalinists, then they are really scraping the bottom of a very empty barrel.

The *Sunday Express* meanwhile was rushing to the defence

of another ex-agent inside the Labour Party Cyril Nottingham, last year's Mayor of Scunthorpe.

Nottingham, a sizable trader in the town, was so right wing that even his local Labour Party expelled him.

And showing the loyalty that Labour right wingers are always proclaiming (don't split the party) Nottingham immediately stood as an independent.

Now the *Express* claims that a vendetta was being run against him which had left his wife and children terrified.

This seemed mostly to consist of someone with a camera taking photographs 'in a private area' in:

"an attempt by his enemies to try to present trumped up charges against him of breaking health regulations".

The policies of Callaghan and Nottingham or of Benn and Scargill are all damaging to the health of any party which claims to base itself on the interests of the working class.

By championing the cancer of Callaghan against the quack faith-healing of Benn, the Tory press hope to damp down inside the Labour Party those healthy antibodies which are genuinely prepared to fight for a clean out of the entire disease.

Tories slam into living standards

Thatcher must press ahead ruthlessly with cuts in public spending—and on no account allow threshold payments to workers to protect wages against inflation: that is the conclusion of a forecast by the London Business School last week.

It warns of the danger of allowing workers' purchasing power to grow while restricting the money

supply to industry.

And it blames Heath's policy of threshold payments in 1973-4 for the economic chaos that ensued in the wake of the oil crisis.

But while the well-heeled academics of the London Business School attempt to strengthen the Tories' resolve to foist the whole weight of the crisis onto the working class, it is only a policy of fighting for cost-of-living clauses that can protect real wages against the coming tidal wave of price inflation.



Tory Chancellor Howe

With even leading stockbrokers already forecasting that inflation will reach 14% by the end of the year, and oil prices still rising, living standards are obviously under pressure on all sides.

Next week's Budget seems certain to bring thumping increases in VAT on a range of basic goods and services purchased by workers, in order to finance tax handouts to top paid managers and employers.

But, on top of this, the passing of the EEC elections will herald final moves for the delayed Tory devaluation of the Common Market "Green Pound" which will soon send food prices soaring to new heights.

And further price increases are on the way. Steel prices—affecting the price of a whole range of goods—will go up for between 5-15% in July.

Coal to power stations is also to go up.

And London Transport Tube fares are also going up—affecting hundreds of thousands of workers.

IMG SEEKS 'UNITY' WITH DROMEY

What kind of "unity" against the Tories?

This question becomes more and more important as the opportunist line of various 'left' wing tendencies takes shape in the wake of the May 3 elections.

The Communist Party of course has intensified its turn to popular front alliances with a huge spectrum of so-called "progressive forces", and in the National Union of Students has consummated a marriage of its supporters with the Young Liberals in a new, broader-than-ever, Broad Left.

The Socialist Workers Party, meanwhile presses ahead towards its 'Rank and File' conference 'Defend Our Unions', at which no doubt they will once again offer the prospect of 'unity' on a minimal programme and combine to avoid the real issue of confronting and removing the trade union and Labour bureaucracy.

Bandwagon

This leaves the opportunist International Marxist Group aimlessly casting around for a bandwagon to jump onto.



Dromey speaking from the platform of the Stalinist-backed 'Better Life for All' campaign

After the evident failure of their own "Socialist Unity" trade union conference which attracted only 150 people, the IMG's *Socialist Challenge* has

attempted to latch onto the SWP conference.

But the latest *Socialist Challenge* also reveals leading IMG member Jonathan Silber-

man grovelling to the organisers of the conference on unemployment called by the bureaucracy of the SE Region TUC.

In an interview with 'left'

careerist and *Morning Star* hero Jack Dromey and veteran Stalinist Jack Dunn, Silberman manages to fill two columns of discussion on unemployment without once mentioning the thorny question of import controls.

Chauvinist defence

Dromey of course was the one who got up only a few weeks ago at the Trades Councils Conference in Harrogate to make a viciously chauvinist defence of the policy of import controls—which seeks to "solve" the unemployment problem in Britain not by fighting British employers but by exporting the unemployment to workers in other countries.

Dunn, too, as a member of the Communist Party, is committed to this same reactionary policy.

But not only did Silberman avoid this—the essential nub of any serious fight that might take place at the SERTUC conference—but he allowed Dromey to declare on the fight against unemployment that:

"It is not a problem of the

rank and file versus the leadership. It's a problem that the dominant ideology at all levels has been in favour of the mixed economy."

This is the position that allows Dromey and his fellow bureaucrats to blame the working class for defeats brought about by the absence of leadership and the back-stabbing by union officials.

Not a word of criticism or challenge to this reactionary view is uttered by Silberman either in the interview or in the introduction.

What kind of unity can the self-styled 'Trotskyists' of *Socialist Challenge* offer the working class on this basis?

Only the kind of a-political 'unity' that Dromey exploited during the Grunwick struggle to shield the APEX and TUC bureaucracy and pave the way for defeat.

No meaningful 'unity' can be achieved by cuddling up to opportunists and Stalinists.

To create conditions for unity in action there must be a clear conflict with those who in fact oppose action, and oppose the programme needed to win.

Callaghan does not speak for Party—says 'Militant'



Workers fuming at Callaghan's recent reactionary declaration that the Labour Party will oppose political strikes against the Tories would be amazed at the editorial article in the June 1 issue of *Militant*.

It proclaims, barefaced, that: "in taking this position, Jim Callaghan does not speak for the Party".

The opposite page carries an article on the enforced resignation of Spanish reformist leader Felipe González after he had failed to achieve deletion of the Party's paper support for 'Marxism'. But the message is lost on *Militant*.

Never mind the fact that Callaghan rules the roost unchallenged as Labour leader while spineless "left" talkers from the Tribune Group and paper "Marxists" around *Militant* talk of anything rather than how to launch a fight to remove him.

Criminal record

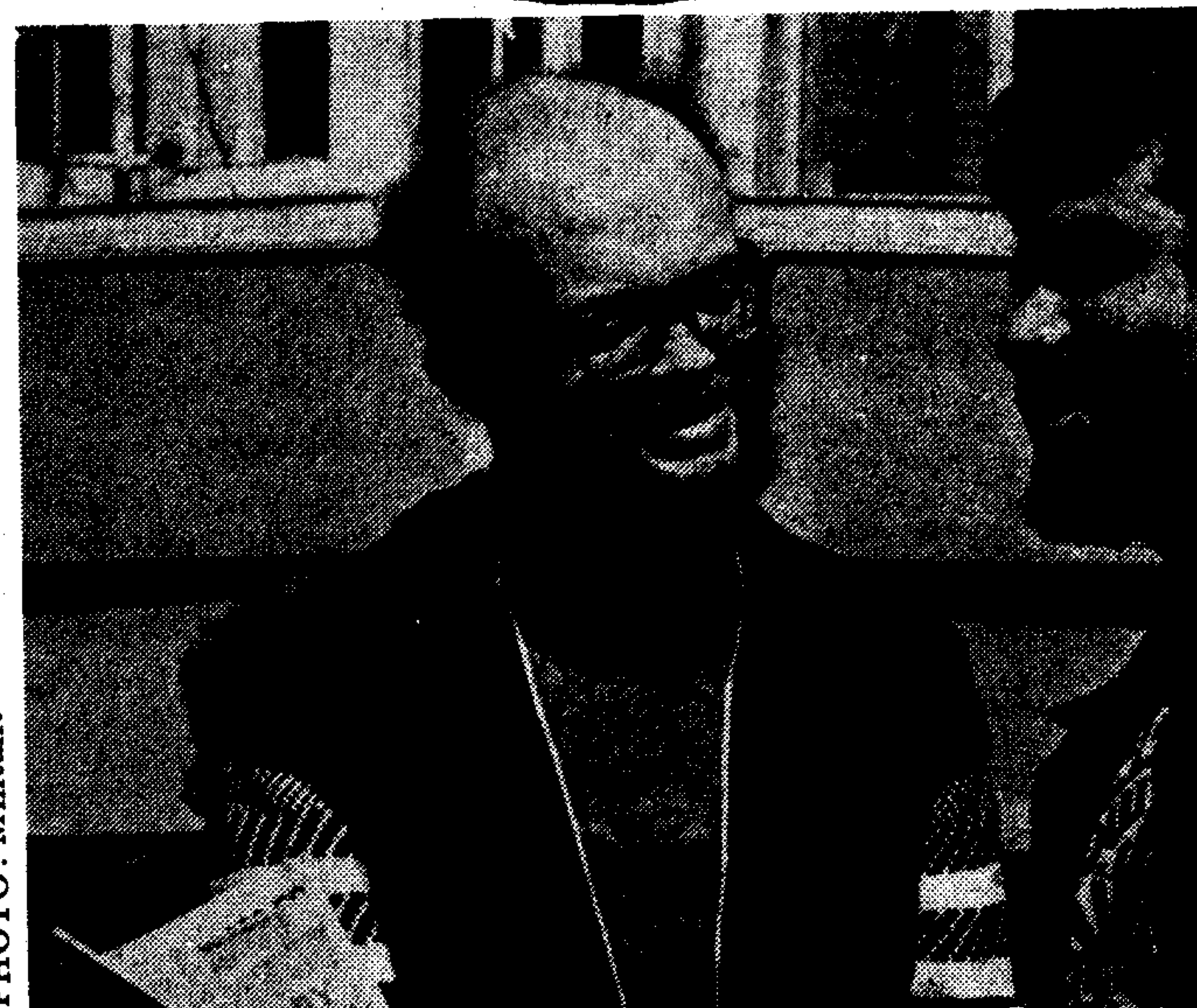
Never mind the fact that despite the formal "democracy" of Labour Party conferences Callaghan and his extreme right wing leadership clique—like Wilson before them—unilaterally decided government policy on everything from wage control to spending cuts, and continue to lay down their own ultimatums on the line of the Opposition.

Never mind the fact that Callaghan's criminal record of betrayals—which led to the return of a Tory government—has only three weeks ago been given an unopposed seal of approval by his re-election as leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Never mind even, the fact that, sensing the angry mood of



PHOTO: Andrew Ward, Report



Ageing 'Militant' figurehead Phil Frampton

Labour supporters and trade unionists all over the country, Yorkshire miners' leader Arthur Scargill has correctly called for Callaghan's removal—albeit calling also for his replacement with his "left"-talking former cabinet accomplice Tony Benn.

For *Militant* all these things are irrelevant. They have no intention of removing the right wing leaders.

If the line of the editorial is anything to go by, they intend rather to persuade Callaghan to adopt their own 'socialist' policies.

The article consists in the

main of a protracted polemic against "Jim", pointing out to him in laboured terms how legitimate is trade union action, and how undemocratic is the privately owned Tory press.

Reformist party

Politely, *Militant* points out to Callaghan and his supporters—who have always regarded the Labour Party as a more efficient means of running British capitalism—that:

"The Labour Party was created because the trade unions learned through experience that

they needed a political arm".

But what they *don't* point out of course is that reflecting the politics of the unions themselves—which were built with the limited perspective of reforming conditions within capitalism—the Labour Party has from the start been only a reformist party, surmounted by a reactionary, class collaborationist bureaucracy, of which the Callaghan leadership is simply the latest expression.

The sole purpose of Marxist work within the Labour Party is to create the conditions to expose the treachery of this

bureaucracy, and its supposed "left wing" elements such as Benn, in the eyes of the Party's mass working class membership. Such exposure together with the fight for an alternative programme of action can create the conditions for the building of a revolutionary party.

Militant has no such perspective. Instead it prattles on gamely about the prospects of achieving a "socialist programme" for the Labour Party with the existing reformist leaders still in the saddle. The article concludes with faint dreams of:

"A programme for the socialist transformation of society is the key to uniting the working class—to abolish the never-ending cycle of wage-rise and inflation, reform and counter-reform and establish a

planned economy . . ."

What *Militant* will not tell its readers is that such a programme can only be implemented through the mass, revolutionary mobilisation of the working class.

This means a thorough break from reformism and parliamentary methods of struggle. And it means also ousting the Callaghan leadership along with every other right winger and 'left' talker that opposes such struggles.

This is why *Socialist Press* supporters in the Labour Party will continue to focus attention both on the need to remove Callaghan, and on the betrayals of those Labour 'lefts' such as Benn, Kinnock and Skinner who sit mute on the party's NEC and refuse to mount the slightest challenge to his control.

The Eurobankrupts



France has been plastered with posters for the EEC elections. Whose slogans do you think these are?

"No to a German Europe! I love my country—to stop its decline. For an independent France and a peaceful and democratic Europe!"

"For France!"

"No to the Europe of Giscard and Schmidt!"

"Say no to those who sell you cheap—your job, your life, France!"

They are all French Communist Party slogans! They show the extent of that party's national chauvinism and dedication to simply reforming the capitalist state.

"For France"

Apart from being more glossy and colourful, they are not one wit different from those of the French Socialist Party, which says things like:

"For France. Make Europe with the Socialists. Together for our country!"

They are not even very different from the bourgeois parties' slogans. The main distinguishing fact is that the bourgeois parties use the tricolor as pictorial background while the CP use a map of France.

Of course CP and SP slogans also call for a workers' Europe—they address themselves to the 'peasants and workers', and say



French and Spanish Stalinist leaders embrace: but CP policy in Europe is completely nationalist

"we want a Europe of workers". But visually they are also populist—a blue-eyed blond child gazes up at a huge bunch of red roses; a woman in a white nightdress stretches out of a sunlit window to open the shutters.

The joint campaign of the LCR (the Mandeliste USFI section in France) and Lutte Ouvriere (a Trotskyist party similar to the SWP) cannot afford the extravagant placards of the CP.

Most of its posters simply

call for a vote for its two candidates—Krivine and Aiguiller.

But the outright national chauvinism of the CP and SP campaigns make an easy target for these Trotskyists.

A Lutte Ouvriere poster says:

"A French exploiter is no better than a German exploiter. Let us wipe out the frontiers, let us chase out all the exploiters. For the United Socialist States of Europe!"

This was the line of the mass rally addressed by Aiguiller and

Krivine at the Lutte Ouvriere 'fete' outside Paris on June 3.

Their demagogic speeches celebrated the new upsurge of struggle; warned the bourgeoisie of things to come; called for the mobilisation of all unorganised sections; heralded dissidents and workers in Eastern Europe and insisted on international solidarity as against the nationalism of the Stalinists and the bureaucracy.

All this routine stuff won tumultuous applause from the 5,000 strong audience. Both speakers declared their "Trotskyism" and that they were based on the Transitional Programme.



Krivine

But what neither speaker did was to utilise the opportunity at such a rally to explain the actual tasks facing the European working class in fighting to defend jobs and wages and against fascism.

Neither touched on the actual programme of demands and action necessary to achieve this.

In fact the two organisations have specifically agreed not to mention such matters—for the sake of 'unity'!

What is lost by such 'unity' is the ability to give any pretence of leadership to the working class.

The LCR is begging Lutte Ouvriere to join them in the USFI.

The LO says, quite reasonably, that it has not enough confidence in the Fourth International to join—to which leading LCR member Charles Michalou happily replied that the LCR-LO fusion might not be in the Fourth International: it might be called something else altogether!

Motley array

Meanwhile in Britain the LCR's sister group, the International Marxist Group, finally revealed in the *Socialist Challenge* published on the 7 June election day that they were advocating not simply a vote for their "revolutionary" candidacy to the spurious

Assembly, but also for the motley array of careerist Labour fakers who have eagerly sought the five figure salary and jet-set prestige of a Euro-MP's job.

In this stand they were joined by the centrists of the Militant group, whose energetic and totally opportunist campaign in Liverpool in support of so-called "red" Labourite Terry Harrison in particular and a Labour vote in general no doubt contributed to the record-setting low 15% turnout in parts of the city.



IMG candidate Ali

CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES WITH ANTI-IMPERIALIST RE

The struggles of the last eighteen months in Central America have occupied the attention of imperialists and revolutionaries alike to a degree unprecedented since the Cuban revolution.

Indeed, one of the principal fears of the White House and the Pentagon is that these struggles will develop into 'another Cuba'. These fears are not unfounded.

Central America has for over four hundred years been an important key to imperialist control in the Americas.

Staging post

It was a critical staging post for the Spanish in their conquest of South America and later for the transport of minerals across the isthmus from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Spanish hegemony in the area was not, however, unchallenged. The forces of British, French and Dutch mercantile capital made serious inroads from the late fifteenth century onwards.

The British and French managed to gain control of the majority of the Caribbean islands, whilst all three powers moved down the coast of the mainland to scissor up Guyana, and Belize (formerly British Honduras), of course, remains a British colony in all but name.

Imperialist domination remained secure until the early 19th century when the slave uprising in Haiti under Toussaint l'Ouverture wrested independence from republican France.

Civil war

Haiti was followed by the Spanish colonies which belatedly freed themselves from the metropolitan power after the South American and Mexican rebellions of 1809-1825.

The only remaining Spanish colony of any importance was Cuba where



Army takeover of university in San Salvador

the struggle for independence led to a bloody civil war from 1868 to 1878 and a massive popular insurrection in the late 1890s.

This uprising was only brought to an end by the intervention of US troops in 1898.

New phase

The arrival of the marines, along with Theodore Roosevelt and his 'Rough Riders', heralded an entirely new phase of imperialist control in this area of critical strategic importance.

The demands of the burgeoning monopoly capitalism of North America were most evident in the annexation of Panama from Colombia in 1903 and the construction of the canal. But control of the entire area was essential to protect this vital trading link.

Puppet regimes abounded but proved

incapable of sustaining the political control and public order required by the U.S. for a cheap and reliable supply of primary commodities—sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco, citrus fruits.

While Britain, France and Germany contented themselves with blockading Venezuela when she resisted repaying loans, the U.S., much closer and already becoming the dominant world imperialist power, resorted to direct military intervention.

Coca Cola

The marines invaded Mexico in 1914, occupied Haiti from 1915 to 1934, Cuba from 1899 to 1909 and 1921 to 1926, Nicaragua from 1909 to 1936, and made incursions into several other states.

Today the occupation continues: Coca Cola, Baseball and Chase Manhattan

coexist with widespread starvation, the most massive concentration of wealth (even by South American standards) and the most brutal repression (even by South American standards).

For years the leisured presumption of Wall Street and the Pentagon has been that no major alteration of the system of control in Central America was necessary.

When a local dictator or national bourgeoisie ran into difficulties the marines could be dispatched, as in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

No impact

Although Kennedy established the Alliance for Progress as a new 'humane... democratic' system in direct response to the Cuban revolution, it had virtually no impact—and nor could it, since the social relations of production in Central America are so inextricably linked with super-exploitation by the companies of the imperialist power.

Now even the hawks are beginning to blink and toss around alternatives.

Worried by the sugar workers' strike of 1976 and continuing agitation in Guyana; the growing restlessness of the Haitian masses with the corrupt and unscrupulous dictatorship of the Duvalier family; the nationalist campaign in Panama over the canal; the overtures made by Castro to the Manley regime in Jamaica; the recent coup in Grenada; and the persistence of guerrilla warfare throughout the area, the State Department began to revise its programme.

However, as soon as it had embarked on reversing its policy for the Dominican Republic by supervising the electoral defeat of the Balaguer government that it set up after the 1965 invasion, U.S. imperialism was faced with the outbreak of civil war in Nicaragua, the renewal of worker and peasant mobilisation in Guatemala, and the rapid escalation of guerrilla activity and mass protest in El Salvador.

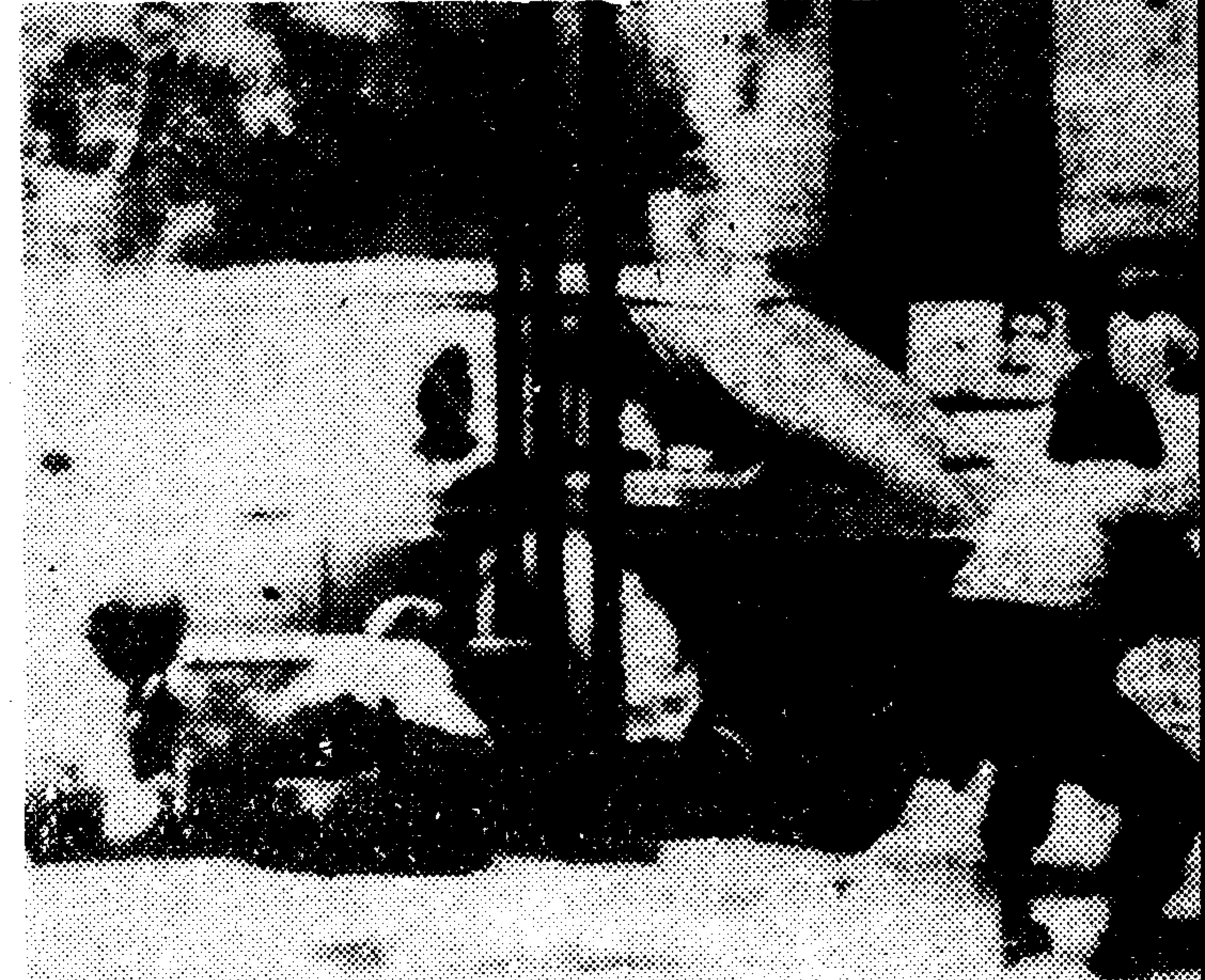
Long tradition

In these three countries, the epicentres of the current struggle, there has been a long tradition of anti-imperialist militancy and armed insurrection.

This has hitherto largely taken the form of rural guerrilla warfare or spontaneous peasant uprisings, reflecting the great numerical predominance of agrarian workers.

Whilst the urban proletariat has grown appreciably in the last decades, it continues to be conditioned to a high degree by the deadweight of rural society under capitalism.

The statistics for Guatemala speak for themselves: 1% of the popula-



Shooting during riots in San Salvador



Guatemalan Indian peasant

tion owns 80% of the land; 70% of the population receives an annual average income of 40; unemployment runs at 20% and underemployment at over 50%; 1.2% of the labour force is unionised; and 63% of the population over seven years is illiterate.

Guatemala has been one of the most turbulent states in the area. In 1944 a coalition of students, labour leaders, petty bourgeois professionals and reformist army officers overthrew the 13-year dictatorship of Gen. Ubico, which had been set up to ensure survival during the world recession when the market for coffee had completely collapsed.

Universal suffrage

The ten years of rule by the reformist wing of the bourgeoisie saw the introduction of universal suffrage (except for illiterate women), basic

trade union rights and 'democratic' freedoms.

Agrarian reform

But even the reformists, who were closely supported by the Stalinist PGT (Guatemalan Workers the local CP), were clear that these concessions would not avert major political crisis unless they were backed by a broad agrarian reform.

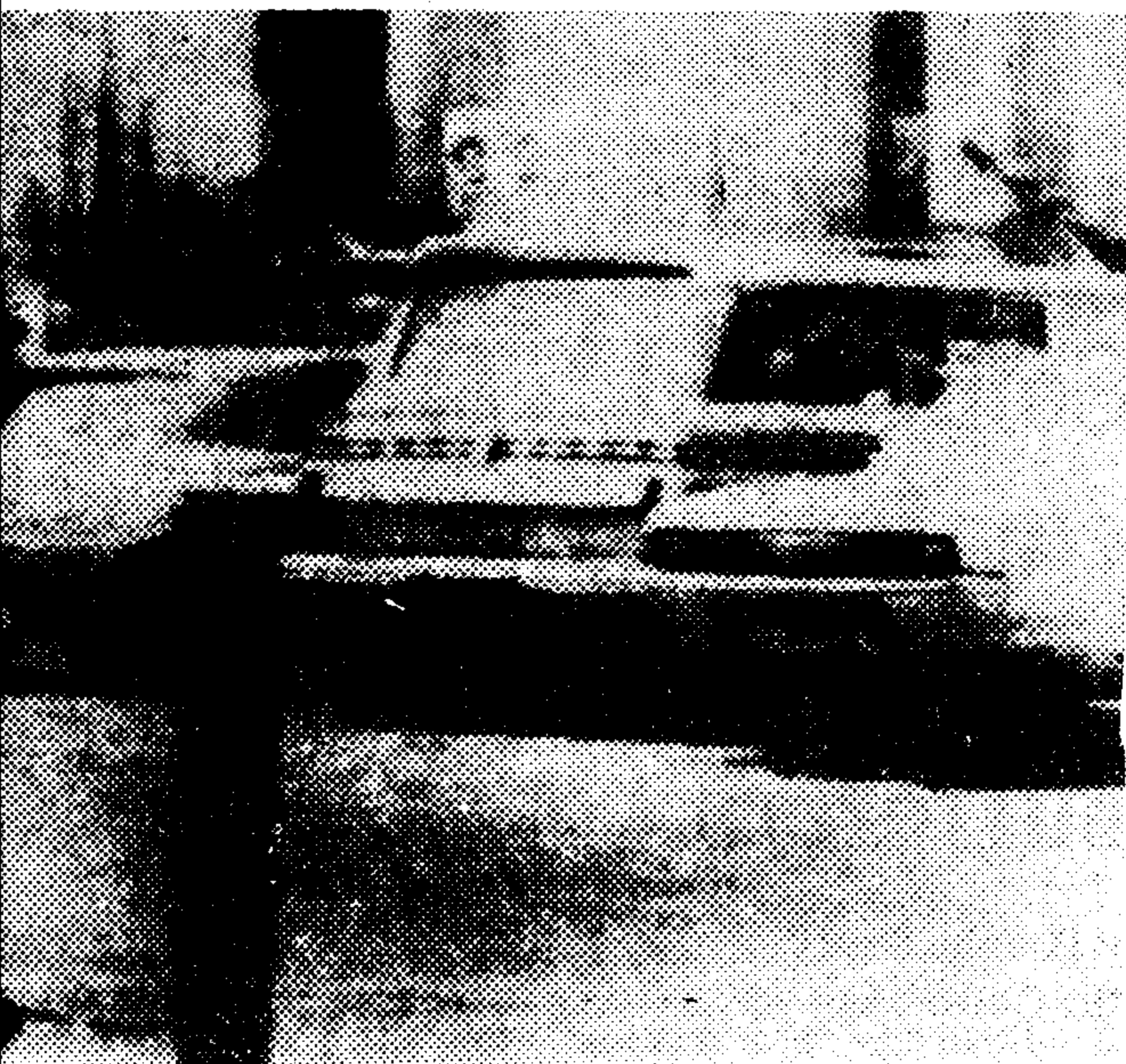
The peasants had already carried out extensive seizures of land before the measure was put into effect. The law itself only affected 'unused' land and, naturally, offered compensation.

The United Fruit Company (now known as United Brands), the largest landowner in the country, suffered particularly heavily, since it used only 15% of its lands, claiming the rest was necessary as a reserve 'in case of disease'.



Haitian dictator Duvalier

WE SEE THE BELLION



Armoured cars in Guatemala City

Moreover, the company had been declaring absurdly low tax returns on its land and it was on these figures that the regime assessed the amount of compensation due.

Imperialism had not been subjected to such an affront since the nationalisation of U.S. oil firms in Mexico and Bolivia in the late 30s.

The response was swift. Within two years the CIA organised an invasion on the grounds of 'communist' infiltration and influence in the Arbenz government.

Upped and left

Arbenz, rather than make an anti-imperialist stand as demanded by the masses, upped and left.

The PGT responded to the defeat by adopting a policy of 'national reconciliation' under the new right-wing dictatorship.

Despite the loss of all their conquests the masses continued to resist. The example of Cuba was extremely important and by the early 60s the PGT was obliged to follow the petty bourgeois opposition in setting up guerrilla bands.

A succession of military regimes has been able to wipe out the rural guerrilla threat but it has also needed to set up 'unofficial' death squads going by such names as 'Ojo por Ojo' (an eye for an eye) and the 'The Secret Anti-Communist Army' to terrorize the workers and peasants.

These groups now constitute a state within the state and have begun to turn their attention towards members of the frightened bourgeoisie.

100% increase

Such was the confidence of the regime that at the end of last September the Mayor of Guatemala City announced a measure that no government in the last thirty years had dared authorize: a 100% increase in urban bus fares.

This was a particularly significant move because transport costs take up at least 15% of the urban workers' wage and an average of three people from each family use the

buses every day.

Furthermore, the real increase was much greater since the bus routes, which are privately operated, were altered so that a number of trips were necessary to get from the working class suburbs to the industrial area.

The workers replied immediately. There were a series of mass demonstrations and whole families turned out in the streets of the ghettos to engage in running battles with the police. At least 500 people were arrested.

A general strike was called—and over 60% of the urban workforce responded. This is particularly impressive since the two organisations that made the call—the National Council for Trade Union Unity (CNUS) and the Council of State Employees' Organisations (CETE) are less than five years old.

The basic demands were for reinstatement for all fired as a result of union activity, the release of all those arrested, and the return to the old bus services.

The regime was obliged to re-establish the old system but had to pay the private companies a subsidy of 50 million as the price for this move.

Key concerns

The inexperience of the unions, however, was manifest in their failure to agitate over the basic economic and political demands that had also played a major part in bringing the masses on to the streets.

The rate of inflation and the right of assembly and organisation are key concerns to the workers and slogans on these issues were as much in evidence as those protesting about the fare increases.

This weakness was exploited by the military who quickly set about assassinating union leaders and instituted general repression. In the last week of April alone over eighty people were killed by the police.

This is not gratuitous

violence. It is class violence exercised with one simple aim in mind: to stamp out the insurrectionary movement of the masses.

The regime is quite clear about its objectives the means it has to use. It is far more worried by the events in the rest of Central America than by Carter's bleatings over 'human rights'.

The most immediate threat to the Guatemalan regime is the collapse of its brother in El Salvador.

The oligarchy in this small, vastly over-populated state (it has a population density of 505.2 per square mile compared with an average of 93.7 for Central America as a whole) is smaller and more consolidated than anywhere else in the region.

The fourteen families that control the bulk of the nation's wealth have diversi-

tion, eighty or so farmers and foremen being killed in the process.

The army was sent in and spent two weeks killing as many peasants as it could lay its hands on.

The final death-toll was over 20,000 and may have been closer to 30,000.

For over forty years El Salvador has been ready to explode. It was in sober recognition of this fact that in 1961 the army stopped indulging in internal coups and adopted a system of electoral fraud which has kept a string of gruesome and witless generals in power.

The cost of this 'democracy' is popular mobilisation and political violence every four years.

So great was the fraud in 1977 that even the imperialist powers themselves dithered before granting recognition.

the People's Revolutionary Bloc (BRP), which is a reformist organisation and presently in a dominant position inside the opposition United Front for Popular Action (FAPU).

The armed wing of the BRP is the FPL (Popular Liberation Force) which is responsible for much of the guerrilla activity in San Salvador.

There are two smaller guerrilla groups—the People's Revolutionary Army (ERP) and the Armed Forces of National Revolution (FARN)—which have mainly concentrated on kidnappings and bombings. These groups appear to be to the left of the BRP.

The BRP has grown rapidly since 1975 when it became perfectly obvious that it could never come to power through legal means.

It is, nevertheless, far from a united political party

their faculty colleagues, and in 1975 dozens of students were killed after an occupation.

The western bourgeois press has concentrated on the reaction of the youth in the setting up of the guerrillas. No reader of the *Guardian* can have overlooked the coverage of the fate of the two local managers of Lloyds Bank International, one of the leading institutions of imperialist capital in Central America.

How many column inches are given over to revealing the plight of those who are regularly shot down in demonstrations or in agitating for conditions of work that would have been rejected by British workers a hundred years ago?

How often are we told of the more residual but no less devastating violence of superexploitation and starvation?

Let us take a normal 'work situation' in the 'La Constancia' factory in San Salvador.

This factory, one of the more advanced in the country, manufactures un-nutritious soft-drinks of the type peddled throughout the sub-continent. Last year its profits were \$12 millions.

Occupation

Hours of work are organised entirely to meet production schedules so that the night shift leaves the plant at 2 a.m. When workers asked for transport at the end of the shift the bosses refused even to contemplate discussions.

Clearly there was no alternative but direct action. At the end of April a hundred workers occupied the plant and threatened to blow it and themselves up unless the management would negotiate.

The army arrived before the capitalists, who were relieved to hear that this was now a matter of public order and that they could go home.

The occupation lasted four days before troops stormed the factory, killed eight people, wounded twenty and arrested everyone.

Such events occur weekly in El Salvador. A pre-revolutionary situation exists and civil war is close at hand.



Victims of army slaughter in San Salvador

fied their interests and prefer to reside in Miami or Switzerland than stay at home to witness the methods used by their military lackeys to guarantee optimum return on investment.

Six of these families own 72,000 hectares of land between them while 305,000 peasant families farm a total of 42,000 hectares in lots that are too small for subsistence.

The sheer desperation of the peasantry broke into open rebellion in 1932 when the crash of the coffee market led to famine throughout the countryside.

Land was seized and crops taken to avoid starva-

The current crisis is a direct result of the popular movement initiated by the last election.

This mobilisation has deepened and extended on an unprecedented scale because of the ability of the unions to maintain their organisation in the face of the predictable onslaught of the military and its private death squads—"Orden" (Order) and "The White Warriors".

The state has been unable to stop the work of the two major peasant unions—FECASS of the Christian Democrats, and the more leftist Union of Rural Workers (UTC).

FECASS is controlled by

and while it may receive the blessings of the Archbishop of San Salvador it is heavily reliant on radical student cadres.

Students play an important role in the anti-imperialist struggle throughout Latin America and El Salvador is no exception. The authorities have long recognised this and the university has been under military occupation for over seven years now.

The important conquest of university autonomy and the right of the students to elect lecturers and professors were lost, left-wing academics were shot, often at the instigation of

Film review

POLITICAL

"PODS"

Tony Richardson reviews the film 'Invasion of the Body Snatchers' directed by Phil Kaufman

This is yet another Hollywood re-make. And at first sight it seems just another particularly well-made science fiction film.

But two questions make this film important.

One is what happened to the original film made by Don Siegel in 1956.

The second question is why particular films are made and re-made at particular times.

The *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* is about the take-over of human bodies by aliens. The humans are turned into beings without feelings.

As the victims fall asleep, pods burst, revealing duplicate people. The "original" person dies.

The film was first shot at a time when McCarthyism—the frantic witch-hunting of Communists, particularly in the media and film industry—was rampant in the USA.

Plot changed

The studio made Siegel add a new beginning and a new end to his film. Instead of a pessimistic ending, the plot was changed to show the main star (Kevin McCarthy) narrating, and the main action as a 'flashback' to warn the forces of order.

This was specifically designed to create the idea that the FBI and state witch-hunters could step in to save any situation, no matter how hopeless.

And beneath the veneer of science fiction lay an underlying anti-communist message.

The way in which Siegel's film was altered shows one of the ways in which films are politically shaped—in this instance by studio intervention even after the main plot and screenplay have been accepted.

Underbelly

Such interference did not end in 1956. Director Mark Rydell in a recent interview described the ways in which a film he made in 1976 (*Harry and Walter Go to New York*) was

altered. "They [the studios] cut out all the underbelly of the film, by removing the whole social element that was present. . .

"Diane Keaton played a rebellious, leftist newspaper editor kind of like, what can I say, something that would be like the *Daily Worker* of that period.

"And there were scenes of police brutality. Young people came in having been beaten on the streets by policemen. That whole newspaper office was trying desperately to sell newspapers, but the problem was that nobody wants their sheet: all they're buying are pictures of nude women or the Police Gazette.

"Then there were some scenes at a laundry where children were being paid eight cents a day; and there were people picketing for good reasons.

"But they cut all of that out and in the process removed a lot of the characters between Jimmy Caan and Elliott Gould."

On top of this open censorship there are of course the political limitations of the directors themselves.

This brings us to the second important question about the remake of *Bodysnatchers*: why re-make this film.

Commercial skills

It is generally not simply a question of the big studios deciding that a certain film is to be made—though this does happen. More often the studios choose from the ideas put forward by the talented people who are attracted to Hollywood and the film centres.

Making such a selection is one of the commercial skills of the studio bosses. The most successful know how to recognise and exploit new developments.

Many of the world's great directors—like Hitchcock—have made their way to Hollywood. But other directors too have been used as a source of new inspiration.

But films are above all a

business. Once a talented director has made a successful, money-spinning new science fiction film, science fiction films are churned out routinely to order until they are no longer so profitable.

In some cases the market may be created for certain types of films by careful publicity build-ups—as in the gang-war films.

Petty bourgeois fear

But this is not the driving force behind all directors.

So why, then, did Kaufman make this film?

He argues that his motives were similar to those of Siegel in

1956:

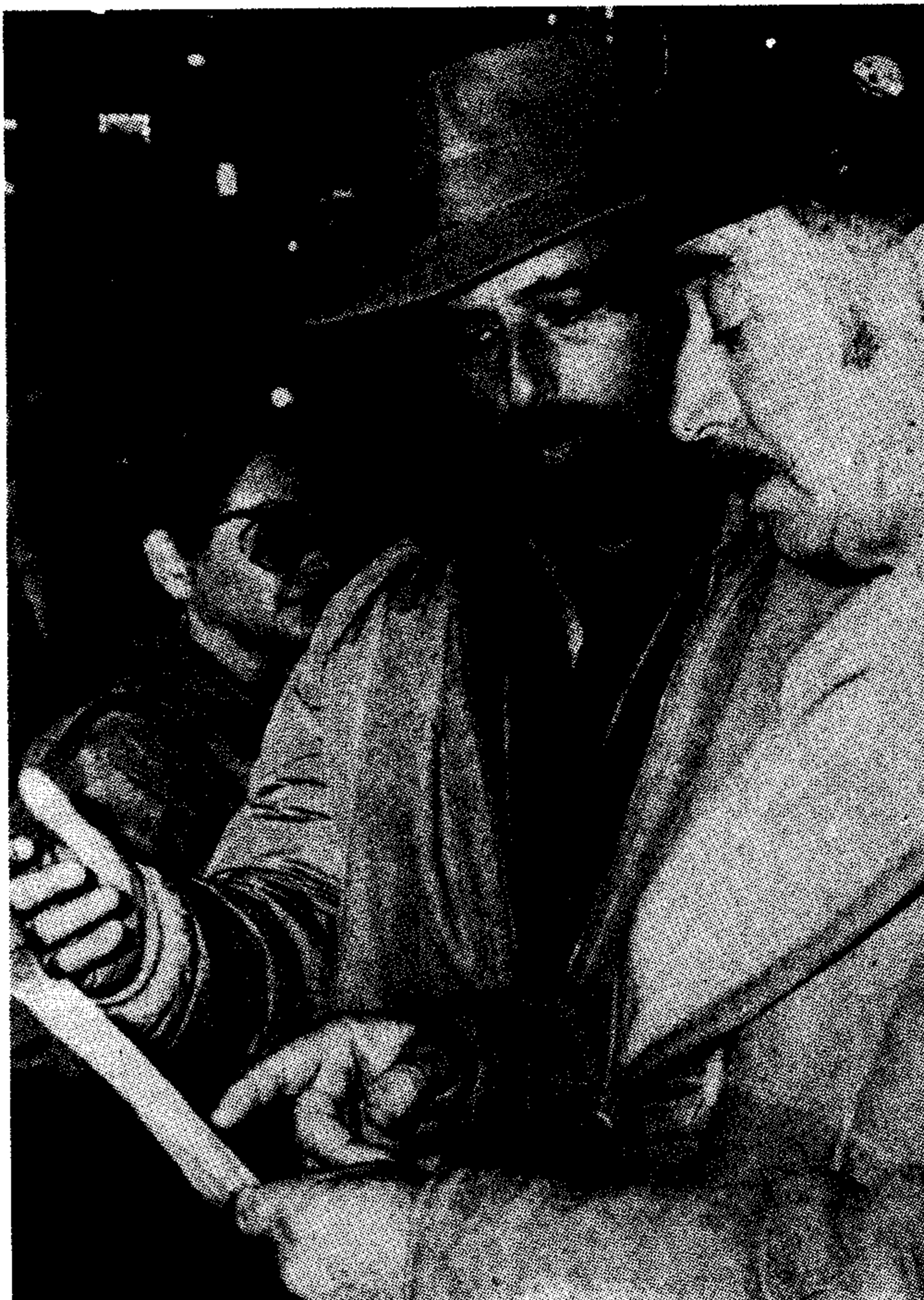
"against the bureaucratic, emotionless neutrality that was beginning to pervade the world—which I think is on the rise again."

But it seems more likely that Kaufman is motivated by his petty-bourgeois fear of the rise of the mass class struggle in the US.

He continuously looks back longingly at the early sixties when middle class individualism—epitomised by the rising Bob Dylan—was at its peak.

Now he talks of the "paranoia and chaos" in New York and the other big US cities.

Like Siegel, Kaufman has



Kaufman with the original director, Don Siegel



Sutherland as the Health Inspector

contempt for the masses. Siegel admitted his position:

"The fact is that most people are 'pods'. They have no culture or aspirations. They have no emotions."

Kaufman actually refers to people being "pods" even before they are taken over.

This is the reactionary side of Kaufman's approach.

It is true however that he attacks careerism, and cites his hostility to Watergate [the 'takeover' by outside forces of the American government?] alongside his attacks of "uniformity".

And when in the film the health inspector (Donald Sutherland) phones desperately around different organisations only to be told "don't create panic", there is more than a slight swipe at the corruption of the bourgeois state machinery.

The police are involved in the cover-up; the CIA and the FBI are both in it; and in Kaufman's version the "pods" are even exported (shades of Muldergate?).

Kaufman also compares the words of one of the film's "taken-over" characters to the ideology of fascism.

But in seeing the solution in the shape of a "prophetic Dylan" and the individual struggle of 'some people' against the Vietnam war, Kaufman looks to the individual as the only way

forward.

The reality of Watergate was that Nixon, absorbed into the apparatus of the crisis-ridden US state machinery, was 'taken over' and driven forward to seek virtually dictatorial answers.

This was entirely the opposite of the way in which workers' consciousness of their role as a class develops in rising struggles.

Only the development of such a class consciousness and class action offer a way forward for mankind and an end to the corruption symbolised by Watergate.

Blames masses

Kaufman however blames the masses—and their supposed "pod-like character—for fascism. Such a view ignores the fact that fascism establishes its power only through the physical destruction of the organised strength of the working class.

Despite his political faults however, Kaufman has made a film worth seeing. He is an astute observer and superbly depicts the corrupting effects of capitalism.

He shows how those supposedly investigating the "pods" are themselves 'taken over' and thus enlisted on the other side.

But remember when you go that in the cinema as well as on the television politics at each level help shape the things you see and hear.

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On the run from the pods: Donald Sutherland, Brooke Adams and Jeff Goldblum

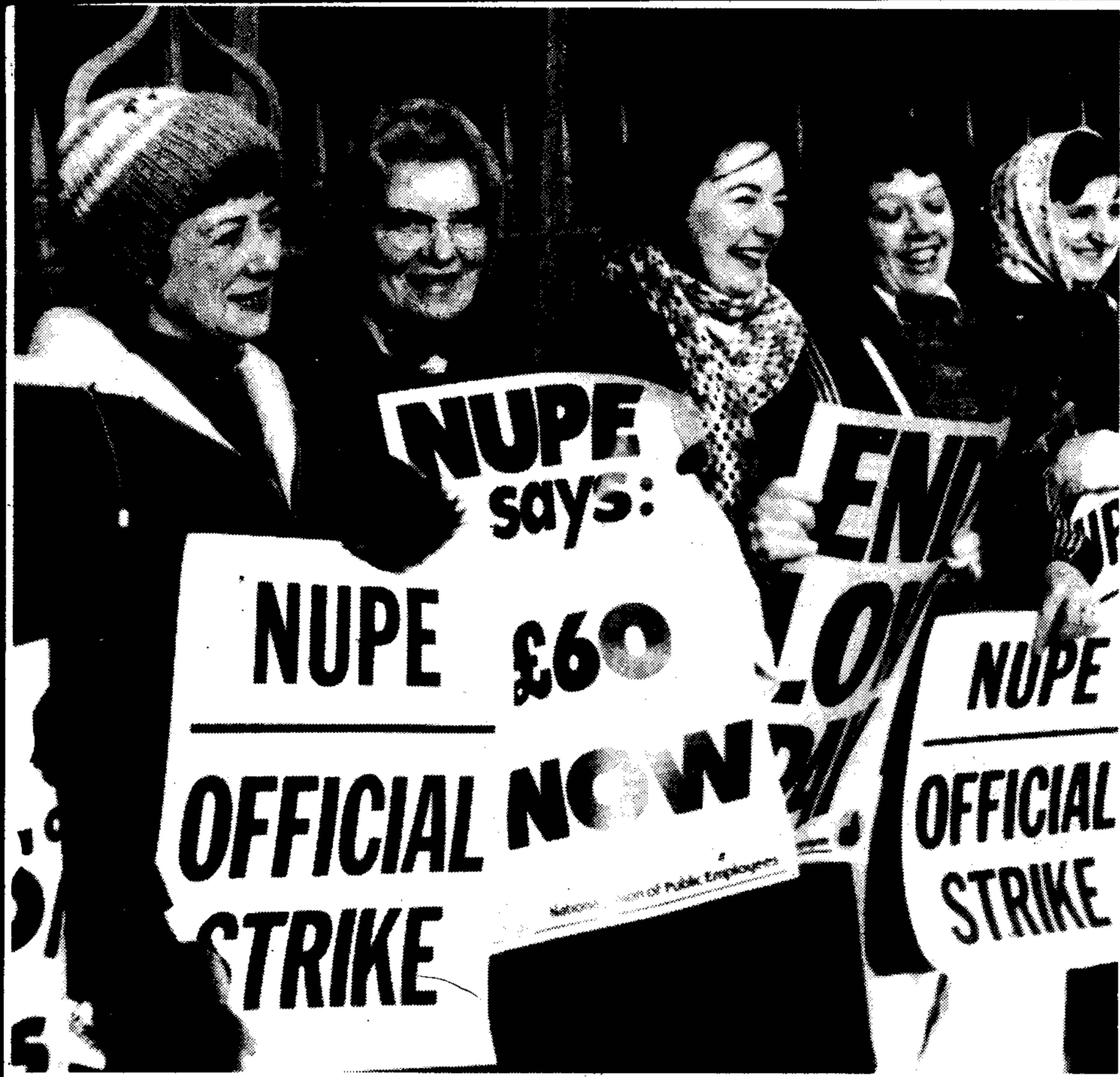


PHOTO: Derek Speers, IFL

WSL launches new women's paper

Working women are in the front line of attack as the Tory government sets out to slash jobs, living standards and social services for the working class as a whole.

But at the same time women workers have been at the forefront of struggles for unionisation, against low pay in the

public sector, and against cuts in health care and education.

The special problems that they face in playing their full role in the fight against the betrayals of trade union and Labour leaders are real, material problems created by capitalist oppression and intensified in the present conditions of mass unemployment, attacks on union rights, nursery cuts and closures and crumbling social services.

Woman Worker, the new women's paper launched this week by the Workers Socialist League, addresses itself to these problems and to the political development of leadership amongst working class women.

This is not, of course, to say that *only* working class women are oppressed by the social relations of capitalism.

Socialised facilities

But as Marxists we do insist that the oppression of women in the individual family unit can only be ended with the ending of the capitalist system of production, and the establishment of a socialist society in which the individual drudgery of domestic labour, child care and health care can be replaced by socialised facilities.

At present the family unit serves capitalism by both creating and rearing the next generation of workers and by servicing the worker for daily labour.

It serves as a means of disciplining and repressing youth, of dividing the class strength of the working class, and as a sitting target for capitalist marketing and advertising techniques selling every conceivable consumer product. Within the home the woman worker and mother is doubly oppressed and exploited—both directly as a worker and also as a woman in carrying the weight of domestic labour and main responsibility for child care.

Confined to home

The task of *Woman Worker* is both to attract the most militant layers of women workers and to break down the isolation of those women who find themselves confined to the home—through unemployment, lack of nursery facilities or caring for the sick and elderly.

The paper will focus on particular problems facing women:

***Unionisation.** Despite growing numbers of women in the unions, women's involvement in leading positions and union meetings remains slight.

Many women are also in low paid jobs and face the prospect

of bitter struggles for the most basic right of trade union organisation.

Woman Worker will raise the questions of political leadership involved in these struggles and fight for the full involvement of women in the unions at every level.

***Low Pay.** The problem of lower pay for women is more the general fight against low wage rates than of women's inequality.

Woman Worker will fight for wage increases, linked to cost-of-living clauses to protect against inflation.

***The Cuts.** With so many women working in the public services, the cuts hit women particularly hard—through loss of jobs. Hospital and nursery closures also force women in the home to shoulder added burdens of child care and care for the sick.

Woman Worker, drawing on the WSL's experience of struggles in the cuts fight will fight for strikes and occupations to stop the cuts.

***Abortion Rights.** The Thatcher government's NHS cuts will hit at the right of working class women to obtain an abortion. But there is also the near-certainty of a new right wing Tory Bill to restrict existing legal abortion rights.

Woman Worker will fight for every woman's right to free, safe abortion on demand.

***Internationalism.** The crisis that spurs on the Tory attacks is an international crisis—affecting workers in Ireland, Iran and Spain at the same time as in Britain.

Struggle

Woman Worker will bring in these international developments and show the role of those political leaders who head off struggles there just as Callaghan and the trade union bureaucracy do in Britain.

In addition *Woman Worker* will struggle against those bourgeois feminists who see the answer to women's problems not through socialism but through an all-class "sisterhood" of all women.

It will spell out clearly the need for women to fight for revolutionary leadership in the working class as the *only* answer to the material problems they face—the kind of leadership fought for by the Workers Socialist League.

Woman Worker is on sale now. It is available, price 6p, from *Socialist Press* sellers or (15p including postage) from the WSL, 31, Dartmouth Park Hill, London NW5 1HR.

FIGHTING TO ORGANISE BOLIVIAN WOMEN

Penny Woolcock reviews 'Let Me Speak! Testimony of Domitila, a woman of the Bolivian Mines' by Domitila Barrios de Chungara with Moema Nezzar. Stage 1. Price £2.95

This is a moving personal account by an articulate, class conscious woman sadly overshadowed by her failure to develop politically and align herself to a revolutionary party.

Domitila Barrios de Chungara, daughter and wife of tin miners at the Siglo XX (Twentieth Century) mining camp site of Bolivia's largest mine, has been for several years the Secretary General of the Housewives Committee.

The positive side of the book is the first hand account it gives of workers' struggles against poverty and exploitation in a country where strike action provokes the arrival of truckloads of trigger-happy soldiers who fight pitched battles against workers who are left to defend themselves with sticks and dynamite.

The miners are highly organised in a union which has as its programme the Thesis of Pulacayo, based on Trotskyist principles, and which controls the three local radio stations.

Domitila's husband has a relatively privileged job—working seven days a week in a government mine for a wage of £6 per week partly paid in vouchers for the company store and a one-room house for himself and his family.

This house, however, is available only until he like all the other miners contracts silicosis and possibly TB as well, and dies by the age of 35.

Less fortunate, but still highly coveted work is a place in one of the exhausted mines—for which payment is only made for tin extracted.

March

The third option is a two year waiting list for panning tin in the river for less than starvation pay.



Bolivian miners in struggle in 1971

Women were allowed to be face workers organised in the same union until 'progressive' legislation denied them access to these jobs and therefore to the trade unions.

In 1961 a march was organised from Siglo XX to La Paz to demand 3 months backpay, medical equipment and food.

Arrested

The leaders were immediately arrested and several of their wives went to La Paz and went on a hunger strike sponsored by the Federation of Factory Workers.

The enormous support and solidarity which built up around this pressured the government to release the leaders, pay the wages and provide supplies to the company store.

The success of this action prompted the formation of the Housewives' Committee of the Siglo Veinte (similar committees have since been set up in other sites) which is affiliated to the COB (Central Obrera Boliviana, Bolivian equivalent of the TUC).

The committee organises demonstrations and solidarity action with the workers but also sets up its own campaigns on issues such as increasing family allowance and jobs and housing for miners' widows.

The Housewives' Committee, and Domitila in particular, have been lionised by the Women's

Movement.

But contrary to the cross-class organisation favoured by bourgeois feminists, it is definitely organised on class as well as sex lines.

"The capitalists repress the people, they're organised. Their wives are also organised in those groups like 'Lady Potamans' and 'Lady Lions' that exist in Bolivia and that surely exist in other countries too. So we, the wives of the workers, need to be organised too, don't we?"

It is clearly the exclusion of women from the labour market which has given rise to this curious phenomenon because Domitila is not a bourgeois feminist.

She was horrified at the self-indulgence of the International Women's Year Conference in which she was invited to participate.

On the other hand her position on "women's work" is deeply reactionary.

She makes no criticism of the sexual division of labour, seeming almost to subscribe to the 'wages for housework' theory, which seeks to legitimize women's status as domestic servants, although she pushes for women to be involved in politics from that position.

She makes no demands for the socialisation of child care and domestic labour, but rather demands that women should be politicised in order to "educate their

children with other ideas".

The logic of this position is to arrive at a shorter working week and better pay for the men: and simply bigger houses, well fed children and more house-keeping money for the women.

Domitila's general politics reflect the most backward aspects of the Housewives Committee.

Her individualistic approach extends to all levels of government.

Recognising that the working class has been betrayed by its leadership, she blames this on the individual leaders.

She says "we want a worker like us in power", and calls for leaders who will not betray the people; but she appears to have no concept of the need for total economic and social revolutionary change.

She had illusions in 'progressive' General Torres when he was in power in 1971 and glosses over the Popular Assembly that emerged at that time.

Dual power

Unable to understand the importance of the development of dual power which potentially emerged during that stormy period prior to the coup by General Banzer, she says that the government was not a government of the people not because of its thoroughly capitalist character, but because the workers should have taken Ministerial posts in Torres' cabinet.

As a result, despite the fact that she professes herself in favour of armed insurrection, Domitila cannot be characterised as a revolutionary.

However, despite its political weakness the book should be read as a reminder that the capitalist bribes paid to the labour aristocracy of the industrialised west can only be afforded through the cruel and brutal exploitation of our comrades in the underdeveloped nations.



Iranian women in struggle against oppression



INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Weighell bleats at rises

Union leaders have been the first to bleat at the thumping salary increases paid out this week to top civil servants, judges, army officers, doctors and dentists.

They are not so much hostile to the Tories rewarding their friends and allies in high places as bitter at the fact they will now have to fight harder to head off the growing militancy on wages among their members. NUR leader Sidney Weighell in particular pointed to the

problems he will have to face at his union conference, where a 30% claim is to be debated. But the sheer size of the Tories' £199 million pay hand-out dwarfs such claims. Dentists for instance—among the most reactionary and money-grabbing elements of the medical profession—are to receive an annual basic rate increase of nearly £3,000: that's more than the total wage of many workers in the public sector who were so viciously witch-hunted by the Tory press last winter for demanding a £60 basic rate!



Weighell

NUT must throw out Jarvis's pay betrayal

This weekend the National Union of Teachers (NUT) is holding a Special Salaries Conference at Central Halls, Westminster.

General Secretary Fred Jarvis, and the NUT Executive hope to persuade delegates to swallow the pay deal cooked-up and agreed with Tory Education Secretary, Mark Carlisle.

Teachers would then receive a measly 9.3% increase overall in their pay cheques.

This deal effectively abandons an original claim for an immediate 36.5% increase on the salaries' bill which is necessary merely to restore living standards to the April 1975 level.

It also involves the acceptance of a 'staged' increase with a study by Professor Clegg's 'Pay Comparability Commission'.

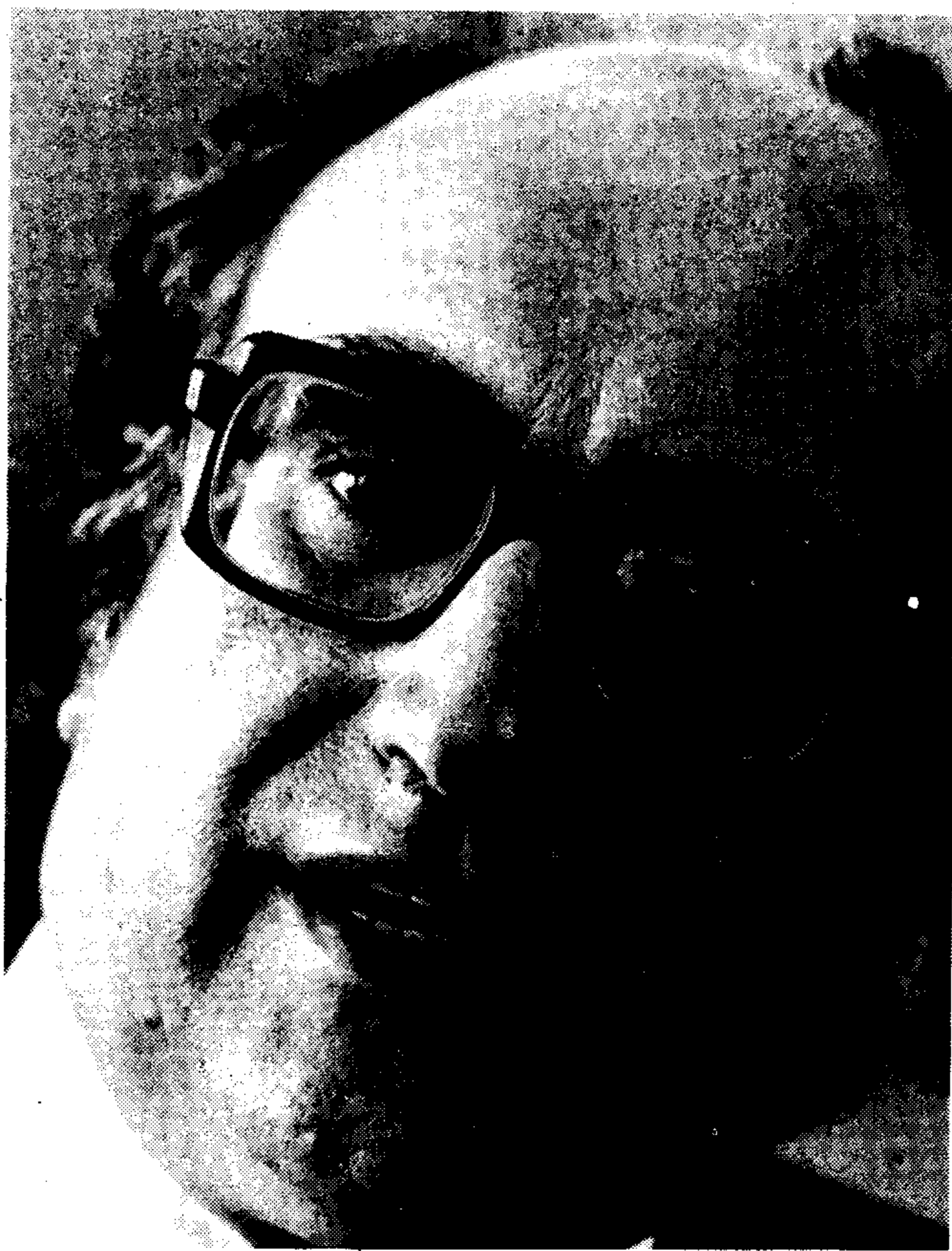
Sell-out

It is, in short, a fraud a sell out, and must be rejected by all teachers seriously concerned with the defence of living standards and, in the last analysis the defence of the education service itself.

This year NUT leaders had to put on their 'militant face in order to contain and divert growing anger over pay.

From Easter onwards they organised a futile and demoralising 'withdrawal of goodwill action—and then called it off as demands for strike action began to roll into the headquarters at Hamilton House.

Local associations in the big cities (which are heavily discriminated against in the NUT's conference representation system) are particularly moving towards a militant position.



Jarvis

Now the bureaucrats are claiming (against growing disbelief testified by the large numbers of protest resolutions passed) that their new deal is 'the best possible'.

At the NUT conference at Easter in Scarborough, delegates in support of the Workers Socialist League opposed the union leadership's treachery on pay from the platform.

They distributed material warning of just such a sell out.

Against the chatter and the empty slogan 'Fight for Houghton' (the major 1974 award that has been used as a standard by teachers since), the Socialist Press Conference Special' warned that the union leaders were only interested in the 'terms of reference' for the Comparability Commission.

The NUT is now in a considerable crisis. But nothing is further from the minds of the leaders than a serious struggle.

Official literature from Hamilton House even extols the virtues of sending the claim to the 'Pay Comparability Commission' by pointing out that if this fails to deliver the goods the case could go from there... to arbitration!

But, again, as the Workers Socialist League has pointed out, only an all out struggle to smash the 'professional association' mentality reinforced by the union leaders and for the necessary industrial action and mobilisation can defend teachers' living standards.

Sabre-rattling

Jarvis and Co. have worked all-out to betray the struggle. Now they offer only sabre-rattling about the terrible things they will do if things haven't improved in 1980!

In last week's *The Teacher* (newspaper of the NUT) he blustered and begged at the same time:

"Since Mrs. Thatcher has reaffirmed her party's commitment (!) to the Houghton principles and said she is aware of what has happened to teachers' salaries in recent years we are entitled to expect that there will be no shilly-shallying in sanctioning the full restoration of Houghton by September 1980. I predict there will be an explosion in the education service if that does not happen".

Jarvis's touching faith in the Tories' 'commitments' and his mealy-mouthed servility (in general, threaten to cost him members.

The National Association of School Masters/Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT)—the smaller rival union is making a meal of the impending betrayal.

Yet the NAS/UWT leaders are a thoroughly reactionary group led by Terry Casey. Teachers as a whole can now place no trust in the words of the hypocrites, opportunists, fakers, careerists, scoundrels and lackeys in the bureaucracy of either union.

Delegates at this week-end's conference must kick out Jarvis's plan—but not in order to ally with the leaders of NAS/UWT.

Strike action on a national basis must be urgently prepared and taken, calling on other sections of the trade union movement with claims in for solidarity.

In this way teachers can act as the spearhead of the movement on wages that is certain to threaten this Tory government as it threatened its Labour predecessor.

This is the first step that must be taken on the road for the building of a principled leadership in the teachers' unions.

*Reject Jarvis's betrayal! Reject Jarvis! All out for the full claim!

There is no doubt that the Tories regard such people and in particular NHS doctors and consultants as useful allies in the coming spate of cuts and devastation in the Health Service.

This is why they are so keen to "reverse an erosion in morale" among the most highly paid professional workers, while London Underground train crews are refused an improvement on a 10.3% pay offer on basic rates of as low as £45.

A FURTHER cash bonanza for dentists could be on the way if a report issued last week by the National Economic Development office were implemented.

It proposes the abolition of VAT on sweets—to allow the British confectionary industry to compete with foreign manufacturers.

This would no doubt assist British youth and workers to compete for leadership of the world league on tooth decay—and British dentists to coin in still further loot.

JOIN OUR FIGHT AGAINST TORIES!

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

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

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

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

TUC leaders, too, have set out to establish a basis for collaboration with Thatcher and the Tory cabinet, paralleling their anti-working class alliance with Wilson and then Callaghan. But the working class has experienced and overcome such betrayals before—to topple Heath's union-bashing government in 1974, and smash through Callaghan's reactionary Phase 4 of wage controls in a series of monumental pay battles last winter.

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

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

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

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

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

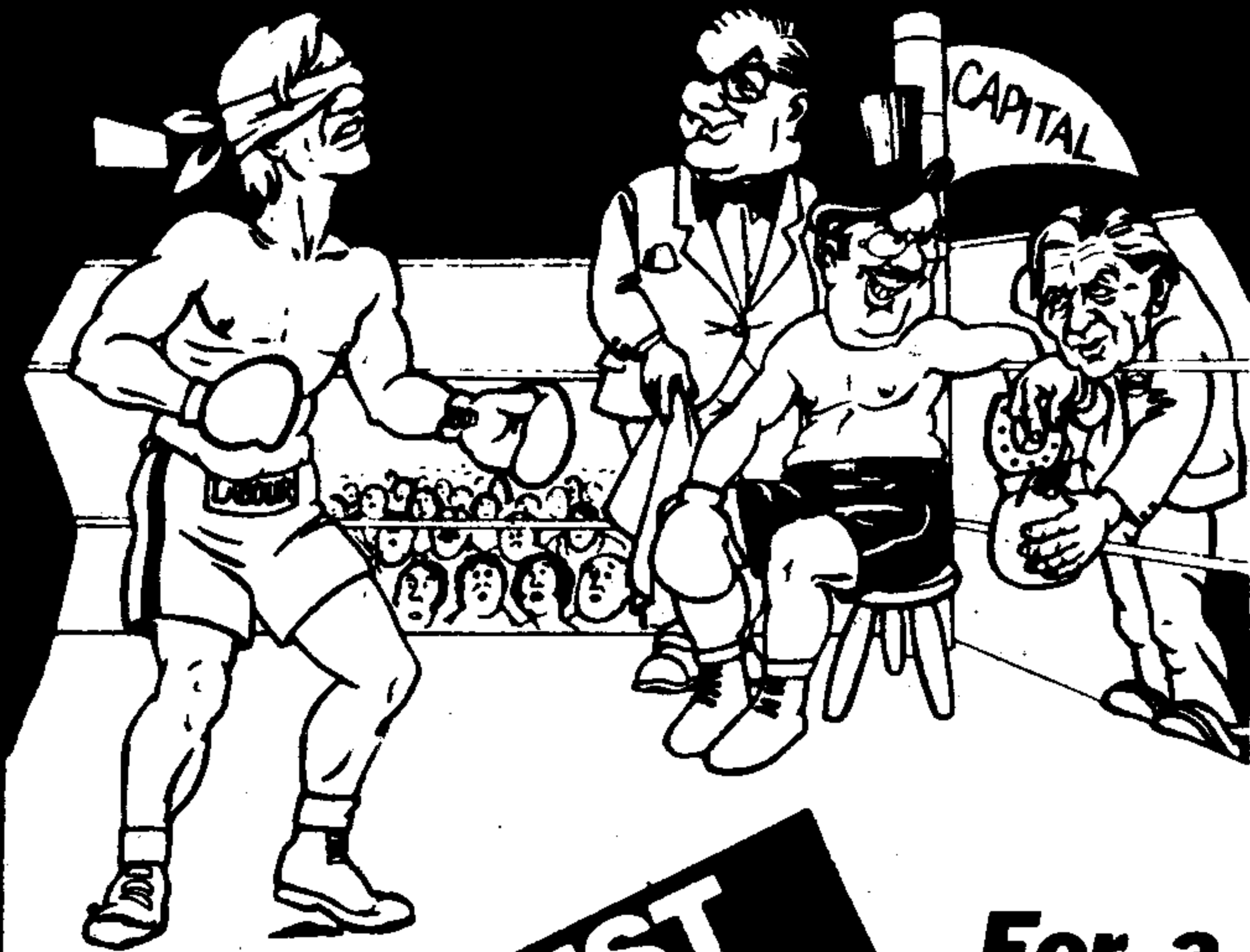
This means fighting for the reconstruction of the Trotskyist Fourth International.

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

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

JOIN US and take forward the struggle for socialism!

DON'T GO INTO THE FIGHT BLINDFOLD!



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Call to remove 'left' traitors

"As all the strikers in this room show, the working class is strong and willing to fight. We were ready to carry on, but the officials cut off even the token support they had given us.

"At Grunwick it was easy to say that the right-wing sold out the strike. But Ron Todd, Les Shorter, Brian Nicholson and Communist Party member Sid Staden are the TGWU officials that strangled our strike, and these are all well-known left wingers".

These words from Manuel Blanco, giving the opening report on behalf of the Garners Steak Houses Strike Committee, set the tone of last Saturday's Conference called by the Garners' Strikers to draw the lessons from the ending of their 17-month long struggle for union recognition.

A notable turnout from the Garners Strike itself were joined by over one hundred and thirty delegates and visitors attracted by a strong platform including representatives from many of the major past and present unionisation battles of the last few years.

From fairly early on it became clear that the main issue was whether union leaders' betrayals should be confronted head-on or avoided by turning towards 'rank and file' solutions.

Phil Gilliat of Sandersons Forklift, Skegness, where TGWU members are in their third year on strike, said such actions were seen by the union leadership as 'liabilities'.

He counterposed reliance on union officials to the support given by socialist organisations.

The main problem in his view, was the "apathy" of the rank and file.

What was needed to counter this, he declared, was a "middle way" which had credibility on both sides.

Jayaben Desai, former Treasurer of the Grunwick Strike Committee paid tribute to the Garners strikers, saying that the problems they had to face, particularly regarding lack of finance, were worse than at Grunwick.

She stressed the lessons being learnt by the trade union leaders in how to break workers' strength, and how many of them talk 'left' but in practice support the right-wing in complaining of the "problems" which prevent them doing anything.

Many of the contributions from the floor brought out the treachery of the TGWU Region 1 officials.

A speaker from the Garners Support Committee quoted

LESSONS OF GARNERS BETRAYAL

Regional Organiser Les Shorter as saying the problem was that immigrant workers in catering were "not used to unions" and that the defeat of the strike would not affect prospects for unionising the industry".

Joe Carbury, a delegate from Kirby's Birds Eye factory on Merseyside, spoke of TGWU Chairman Stan Pemberton replying to a question about support for Garners by saying they should "steer clear of recognition disputes".

He added that the only thing the Garners Strikers lacked was the administration of the union and its £30 million assets.

The most coherent plea for rant and fileism, came, not surprisingly, from 'Right to Work' campaign leader John Deason.

He called for people to be "realistic" as it would "take years to change the TGWU".

And Deason claimed that the need was for a "bridge" to be built here and now.

This "bridge" however, was not any sort of 'programme' but the Rank and File organisation.

Taking sharp issue with this view, Cowley BL Body Plant Shop Steward Tony Richardson said the problem was that the Communist Party and union officials had not simply made mistakes, they had sabotaged the strike.

The need was for more politics in the rank and file



forewarning workers about the treachery of the so-called 'left wing' leaders and officials.

This point was developed by many other contributions.

Speakers stressed that in the Garners strike the method had been not to find a way round the officials but to mobilise the membership against them in the course of fighting for policies necessary to win.

Those who saw only the "apathy" of the rank and file failed to recognise the way in which this "apathy" is instilled, preserved and fought for by the union bureaucracy.

TGWU 5/55 Chairman Tim O'Sullivan said his twenty years experience in the union confirmed that the starting point for union officials was com-

promise and the membership should take every opportunity they could to replace the present leaders.

Victimised chamber maids' Shop Steward Ellen Gallagher from the week-long strike at Park Lane's Grosvenor Hotel outlined the events leading up to their sacking.

Management were only offering compensation and refusing to concede reinstatement and recognition of their union—even though building workers in the hotel had supported them.

The staff in other unions were meeting to decide on supporting action, though GMWU workers who had come out were instructed back to work by the official after one day.



She referred to the continued refusal of the shop's directors to concede their demand for collective bargaining rights and to an unsuccessful attempt the previous day to whip-up those still at work against the strikers.

Trade was being badly hit and the options for the company were to give up or close down.

Final platform speaker Pat Lally, remarking on the predictable absence of TGWU officials, said he was speaking as an individual union member whose branch had supported the strikers from the first week.

Pointing to the way in which the growing crisis was forcing forward previously unorganised sections, he emphasised the changes in attitude of the bosses represented by these marathon strikes.

The lesson in Garners was the same as Grunwick. There, it was the 'lefts' such as Jack Dromey who complemented the open right wing.

The declaration endorsed by the Conference significantly included the call for the removal of the two TGWU Regional officials central to the sell-out—Regional Organiser Les Shorter, and CP member Regional Secretary Sid Staden.

The seven-month long strike at London Economist Bookshop was outlined by ACTSS Shop Steward Helen Miller.

Nottingham: step up the fight!

A joint mobilisation by NUJ and NGA branches and chapels seems set to turn out a much larger mass picket than previously in support of the struggle for union rights at the Nottingham Evening News.

The June 16 picket however, can only be of value in the long running struggle for the reinstatement of 28 sacked journalists and print union recognition if it is followed up by a programme of official strike action.

So far there is no indication of whether and when the NUJ leadership will implement the decision of the April Conference to call a one-day solidarity strike throughout the Newspaper Society.

A meeting of the special Nottingham subcommittee of the TUC's Printing Industries Committee is to be held as we go to press. NUJ bureaucrats, reluctant as ever to give a lead to their members, will be looking for support from the NGA and SLADE.

Should this support be forthcoming, the one-day action would produce a shutdown of Newspaper Society evening papers and thus bring fresh

pressure to bear on the viciously anti-union T. Bailey Forman management.

Only this kind of action—which must be extended beyond a one of token protest—can offer the hope of victory in this crucial dispute.

The danger is however, that Nottingham journalists will become increasingly reliant on their supposedly "alternative" paper, the Nottingham News, as a substitute for trade union action to secure reinstatement.

There is even discussion and investigation into the prospects of launching the News as a co-operative.

Coming at a time of the collapse of the KME co-operative on Merseyside and not long after the bitter lessons of the Scottish Daily Express, such a venture must be rejected not only as impractical but as a total diversion from the central fight for trade union rights at the Evening Post.



SOCIALIST PRESS



EEC fraud falls flat

Tories hand over to profiteers OPEN THE BOOKS OF THE OIL FIRMS

"Who runs the country?" has become the regular question posed by every anti-union politician and reactionary since mass working class action brought down Heath's hated Tory government in 1974.

But with the Tories back in office, the question must now be raised in very different form by the organised workers' movement.

Already after a few weeks of Thatcher in power, the capitalist firms that back the Tories have been rewarded by a lifting of all price controls: and the bosses have been given wage increases and massive tax cuts.

Recession

But more ominously still, as the world-wide oil shortages pushes the capitalist nations towards a new wave of recession the Tories have handed over complete control of dispensing oil supplies to the giant private oil monopolies.

It is the managers of these massive, profiteering multinational firms that now decide whether the trains will run; whether buses can operate; whether farmers can have fuel supplies; and whether workers can have petrol to get to work each day.

Workers' Control

They decide how much we have to pay for our fuel. When striking lorry drivers' pickets and elected committees

last winter established a measure of workers' control over the movement of supplies and oil,

Tory leaders and the capitalist press launched a monumental anti-union witch-hunt, claiming



that the country was being "held to ransom".

Now with the complete support of the press a handful of unknown, highly paid managers and industrialists, accountable to nobody and basing their decisions solely on their own profitability, are literally holding every car driver, rail or bus passenger and working class family to ransom. Prices are rising almost weekly. There is no end in sight.

The Tory press eagerly clamours for these faceless bosses to "price motorists off the road". Who are these anonymous "motorists" who would be forced to abandon the use of their cars by massive petrol price increases?

Middle class

Of course they are not the employers, the managers or the prosperous middle class who (in the rare instances where they actually pay for their own petrol and cars rather than claiming them on expense accounts) have fat salaries and plenty of cash to spare.

The casualties will be the working class: family holidays;

the worker who has to drive long distances to work; women in the home; and all those whose wages barely cope with existing prices of fuel and transport.

Profits

Meanwhile the oil firms themselves are raking in huge profits from the present crisis: the world shortfall of oil supplies gives them the whip hand to raise prices to new dizzy heights—and to direct supplies to countries where the price is highest.

In the USA, the profits of the Exxon oil monopoly have risen by 40%. In Britain BP has also turned in increased profits.

The workers' movement must demand a full scale inquiry into the workings of these profit-grabbing firms.

This means fighting to force the opening of the books of the oil firms and related companies to elected trade union committees.

The figures released would undoubtedly spell out an unanswerable case for the nationalisation of these firms, without compensation under workers' management.

Nationalisation

Such nationalisation, inconceivable under a Tory government, would require the full scale mobilisation of the working class to defeat Thatcher's gang of employers, speculators and bankers.

Central to such a mobilisation must also be the question of defence of living standards.

Big wage increases to catch up on recent price rises must be demanded: but at the same time steps must be taken to protect wages against inflation through the fight for cost of living clauses, providing regular automatic rises to keep up with a trade union prices index.

Behind the barrage of boring and absurd generalisations about the "swing" in last week's farcical European elections, one clear result stares every politician and Euro-careerist in the face: had the election been a referendum on whether Britain should stay in the EEC, the result would obviously have been a resounding 'no'.

The abysmal 32% turnout was not the result of apathy. It was a clear indication that for millions of workers the election—to a totally impotent and fraudulent "Assembly"—offered them no way of expressing their hostility to the EEC itself.

"Democracy"

Workers correctly saw that to vote for any candidate meant lending credibility to the spurious facade of "democracy" with which this reactionary capitalist bloc has sought to disguise its arbitrary and anti-working class policies.

This is why in general it was working class areas including the major industrial centres that turned out the most laughably small vote: and why Labourite opportunist Barbara Castle who postured as an outright opponent of the EEC was among the most successful Labour candidates.

With further substantial EEC price increases to come in Britain in the near future and attempts by the European bourgeoisie to step up the integration and rationalisation of basic industry on a EEC-wide basis, there is little doubt that this mass hostility to the Common Market will continue to grow amongst British workers.

Revolution

But the answer is not to call simply for 'Britain Out' of the Common Market. Workers have no common interest with "British" employers.

The fight must be for socialist revolution in Britain and throughout Europe.

The struggle to force a British withdrawal must therefore be coupled to an appeal to workers in the other EEC countries to take up a similar struggle against their own ruling classes and to fight for a Socialist United States of Europe.

Blair Peach: Demand a workers' inquiry



If the four-day questioning and subsequent highly suspicious release of a Special Patrol Group policeman last week was designed to allay suspicions of a cover-up on the murder of Blair Peach in Southall, then the ruse failed abysmally.

Instead, the revelation that a search of SPG members' lockers uncovered a whole range of illicit weapons, and talk of a lead-weighted truncheon must reinforce the case argued by four eye witnesses and implicit in the Pathologist's report: that a single blow to Blair Peach's head by an SPG thug was the blow that killed him.

Three weeks ago police investigations had reportedly narrowed down the list of suspects to six SPG men.

Yet the release of the unnamed constable last week without charge means that still no arrest has been made for the murder, carried out during the Southall anti-racist demonstration on April 23.

And the inquest has been postponed until July 17. The police clearly intend to take no action at all, and to use the killing of Blair Peach as a precedent for establishing their right to maim and kill demonstrators.

It is vital that trade unionists everywhere take up the struggle for a full-scale workers' inquiry into Peach's murder and the actions of the SPG in Southall.

And, while we support the growing demand for the disbanding of the SPG, it is important to recognise that the role the SPG play is simply an extension of the day-to-day repressive role of the entire police force as armed defenders of the capitalist state.

SERTUC CONFERENCE
"Care of the Under Fives"
Saturday 30 June 1979
Congress House, Great Russell St, London WC1
Credentials (50p) from Jim Watson, 106 Mount View Road, London N4
Speakers:
Arthur Latham, Chairman, London Labour Party
Reg Race, NUPE
Margaret Cohen, National Campaign for Nursery Education
Chair: Tess Gill, NCCL

OXFORD TRADES COUNCIL CONFERENCE

The TUC Under-fives Charter
Sunday July 8
OCCR Hall
Princes Street

Speakers from Oxford City Nursery Campaign and the NUT among others